MANKIN NEGRO BLOC VOTE BRINGS COMMUNIST APPROVAL

FOR ONCE AND ALL, GET THE

TRUTH

READ THE TRUTH NOW... VOTE NOVEMBER 5th

ABOUT THE RACE FOR CONGRESS IN THE 5th GEORGIA DISTRICT

MRS. MANKIN ENDORSED BY COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN

The welfare and interests of nearly half a million citizens are at stake in the present Congressional Campaign.

Judge James C. Davis defeated his two opponents for Congress in the Democratic Primary, and became the nominee, but one of those opponents, Mrs. Helen D. Mankin, still attempts to masquerade as a Democrat. She does this on the flimsy ground that in July four members of a now defunct contest committee made the ridiculous, unprecedented ruling that the party should have two nomi-

Daily Worker

New York, Monday, March 11, 1946 12 I

PUBLISHED DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY BY THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS CO., INC., 50 East 13th St., New York 3, N. Y. Telephone ALgonquin Cable Address: "Daiwork," New York, N.Y.

Howard C. Boldt

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Every other defeated candidate has abided by party rules, accepted defeat honorably, and extended congratulations and support to the nominee. But through fraudulent manipulations, Judge Davis is still opposed by one of his defeated opponents, who has no interest in the Democratic Party, who has in this one campaign twice defied its rules and became a bolter from its ranks, and who, if she were able, would destroy the Democratic Party—if by so doing, she could promote her own political advantage. This double-dealing trickster, who lays claim to political respectability in public places, carries the stigma of repeated endorsements by the communist party's official organ, the Daily Worker.

Its issue of March 11, 1946, endorses her and its issue of July 28, 1946, calls upon Georgia Communists and sympathizers to send her back to Washington.

Communists Plan Revolution

This official organ of that party whose avowed purpose is to bring on revolution in America is published by a negro Communist party member of the City Council of New York City. Our present congresswoman who in the February election was defeated until the Ashby Street box came in and elected her with its 956 block votes, and who was defeated in the July Primary, has found great favor with the communist party and its motley crew of red and pink followers who are anti-freedom, anti-church, anti-decency, anti-American. This is the group who want her in Washington to join hands with them in their program to sabotage the American Government, and place American men and women, boys and girls, churches and schools under their filthy, indecent, communistic, un-American doctrines.

PAC Endorses Mankin

The Communistic Political Action Committee has joined hands with its ally the Daily Worker in repeatedly endorsing Mrs. Mankin. The Political Action Committee endorsed her in February when the Ashby Street block vote changed her from a defeated candidate to an elected candidate and sent her to Washington. It again endorsed her in the July primary, when the Ashby Street box again went overwhelmingly for her by a vote of 3,378 to 143, as did the Forrest Avenue box and all other similar boxes, with the result that in just three of those Negro block vote precincts, Mrs. Mankin received nearly 7,000 votes.

This communistic Political

(Continued on Page 6)

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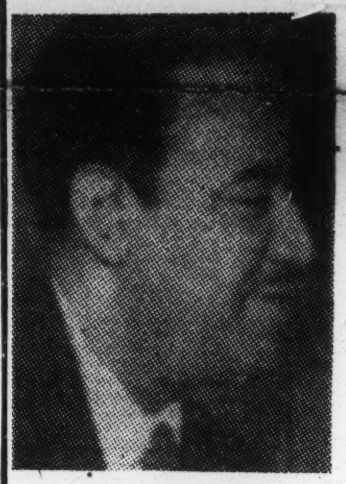
Daily Worker

President—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; Secretary-Treas.—Howard C. Boldt
Morris Childs — Editor
Milton Howard — Associate Editor
Alan Max — Managing Editor
Rob F. Hall — Washington Editor
General Manager



The President of
"THE DAILY WORKER"

SOME TASKS Georgia progressives face are:

- To support Mrs. Mankin in her campaign to be seated in Congress on the basis of her large plurality.

★

The Proof: **—Here are typical endorsements of Mrs. Mankin by Communist enemies of Georgia and the 5th District. These examples are taken from the March 11, 1946, and July 28, 1946 issues of the official organ of the party, The Daily Worker. When The Daily Worker says "Progressives," it means "Communists."**

Mrs. Mankin admits some doubts about permanent FEPC legislation, but that doesn't mean her position is identical with that of Rankin and Bilbo. She says she might be persuaded to support it, and progressives think she will.

This should not be surprising. During ten years in the Georgia Assembly, Mrs. Mankin supported the State application of the New Deal program, and thus won the backing of CIO-PAC and the Negro people of Atlanta.

In fact, it was the vote of the overwhelming Negro precinct of Atlanta that elected Mrs. Mankin. There were 17 candidates for the House seat made vacant by the appointment of former Rep. Robert Ramspeck to a judgeship, and toward the end it appeared that Thomas L. Camp, Ramspeck's secretary, had won. But then the returns from the Negro precinct were brought in, Mrs. Mankin had received 956 votes, or 99 percent of the precinct's total, which gave her a plurality of 792 over Camp.

MUST FIGHT FOR SEAT

Negroes were able to vote for Mrs. Mankin because this was a special election and did not come under the white primary law. In September, Mrs. Mankin must fight for her seat in the primaries.

READ HER FALSE CLAIMS..

RE-ELECT HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN

As Your Representative

HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN

TO CONGRESS

Mrs. Mankin's success in Congress has been outstanding! Her voting record is excellent. She has supported bills designed to keep down the cost of living; she is responsible for introducing the bill for terminal leave pay for enlisted men; she is support-

Caught in a Falsehood

On this page are photographs of two ads Mrs. Mankin ran in the July Primary.

The ad to the left claims credit for introducing the G. I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill.

The ad below claims she accomplished its passage.

Both claims are false.

She went to Congress February 25, 1946. Congressman Rogers of Florida introduced the G. I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill September 13, 1945. He pushed the bill through—not Mrs. Mankin.

Read his letter on opposite page.

Her claims about the G. I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill are willfully and knowingly false and untruthful.

Are you one of those whom her **brazen frauds** have deceived?

Will we keep a Representative who cannot perform, and covers up with false claims?

TO CONGRESS

Mrs. Mankin's success in Congress has been outstanding! Her voting record is excellent. She has supported bills designed to keep down the cost of living; she is responsible for introducing the bill for terminal leave pay for enlisted men; she is supporting Federal Aid to education . . . and she is a staunch supporter of better housing for everyone!

She Has Made a Good Representative; Let's Se
Back to Congress

This Space Is Sponsored By Mankin--For-Congress-Cl

774

In the above advertisement Mrs. Mankin falsely claimed credit for introducing the G.I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill. It was introduced by Congressman Rogers of Florida. Read his letter on opposite page.

Her Claims

In these two advertisements Mrs. Mankin falsely claimed to have introduced and passed the G.I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill. It was introduced and passed by Congressman Rogers of Florida. Read his letter on opposite page.

Leave Pay Bill are willfully and knowingly false and untruthful.

Are you one of those whom her **brazen frauds** have deceived?

Will we keep a Representative who cannot perform, and covers up with false claims?

Helen Douglas Mankin has been your representative in Congress for four months. During that time she has accomplished many things of benefit to you and your families, among these are: Free school lunches, housing for veterans, terminal leave pay for enlisted men —and above all she has fought hard to keep down the cost of living!

"Helen Douglas Mankin gets things done"

VOTE ON JULY 17th

FOR HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN

.....THEN READ THE TRUTH

Caught in a Falsehood

Study Mrs. Mankin's two ads on the left. Read Congressman Rogers' letter above. You will see her claims about the Terminal Leave Pay Bill are fraudulent.

Study her other claims.

They are fraudulent too.

1. **FREE SCHOOL LUNCHES.** The free school lunch bill which passed the House was introduced by Congressman Flanagan of Virginia on June 4, 1945, before Mrs. Mankin went to Congress. It passed the House February 21, 1946, four days before she was seated.

It passed the Senate on February 26, 1946, with amendments. Conference committees were appointed, and she was not a member of either. They ironed out the Bill. Their report was agreed to in the House May 23, and in the Senate May 24th.

The last school year before Mrs. Mankin went to Congress, Georgia received from Washington $2,600,000.00 for free

DWIGHT L. ROGERS
FLORIDA

COMMITTEE:
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

SECRETARIES:
HATTIE MAE COKE
WERDNA I. O'BANNON

FILE REF.:

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 19, 1946.

In re: H. R. 4051, granting Terminal Leave Pay, Known as the Rogers Bill.

Honorable James C. Davis,
Judge of the Stone Mountain Judicial Circuit,
Decatur, Georgia.

Dear Judge:

In reply to your inquiry, I wish to say that I introduced in the House of Representatives House Resolution #4051, which passed the House on June 11, 1946, by a vote of 379 to nothing, it being the bill which provides terminal leave pay for enlisted men.

I introduced this bill on September 13, 1945, during the time Honorable Robert Ramspeck was the Representative in Congress of the 5th District of Georgia, and had a hearing on the bill before a sub-committee of the Military Affairs Committee of the House during the latter part of the year 1945.

The members of the House who most assisted me in getting members to sign the discharge petition were Congressmen Wickersham, of Oklahoma, Beckworth of Texas, Earthman of Tennessee, Tarver of Georgia, and Boren, of Oklahoma, and the Congressional Record will show my

February 26, 1946, with amendments. Conference committees were appointed, and she was not a member of either. They ironed out the Bill. Their report was agreed to in the House May 23, and in the Senate May 24th.

The last school year before Mrs. Mankin went to Congress, Georgia received from Washington $2,600,000.00 for free school lunches. This year since she went, it is only $1,800,000.00, **a cut of nearly one-third.** She not only had nothing to do with originating this legislation; she also has been totally ineffective in maintaining it on its former level for her own people.

2. HOUSING FOR VETERANS. This is another "claim" of accomplishment, with nothing to support it. Ask any veteran—look in any newspaper's want ads. See if Mrs. Mankin has provided houses for the veterans. What is this claim worth in the face of the facts?

3. G. I. TERMINAL LEAVE PAY. Mrs. Mankin claims to have been responsible for introducing this bill. (See her advertisement.) The truth is it was introduced by Congressman Dwight L. Rogers of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, before she went to Congress—Her claim is absolutely false.

READ CONGRESSMAN ROGERS' OWN STORY—over his own signature—OF HOW THIS LEGISLATION CAME INTO BEING. He publicly thanked the Congressmen who helped him with the bill, and Mrs. Mankin was not one of them. (See his letter.)

4. COST OF LIVING. The OPA is the only real medium through which she could have fulfilled her claims about holding the line for low prices— avoiding inflation—and otherwise helping to lower the high cost of living.

Here is her record on OPA.

She voted on BOTH sides of the OPA bill. The Congressional Record shows that she voted FOR the bill—and afterwards, when the President had VETOED the bill, she voted to SUSTAIN the veto.

This is another instance of the provable fraudulency of the claims which Mrs. Mankin is making in a desperate effort to go to Congress—to demonstrate how utterly without truth and conscience she has been in her feverish determination to deceive the people of the Fifth District—to picture her, in short, in her true colors . . . which are completely FALSE and wilfully deceptive.

Have **you** been duped by her wilfully false claims?

In reply to your inquiry, I wish to say that I introduced in the House of Representatives House Resolution #4051, which passed the House on June 11, 1946, by a vote of 379 to nothing, it being the bill which provides terminal leave pay for enlisted men.

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The members of the House who most assisted me in getting members to sign the discharge petition were Congressmen Wickersham, of Oklahoma, Beckworth of Texas, Earthman of Tennessee, Tarver of Georgia, and Boren, of Oklahoma, and the Congressional Record will show my acknowledgment of their assistance in a speech before the House on June 11, 1946.

I am proud of the authorship and work that I did on this bill, and if there is any other information I can give you, I will be glad to do so.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Dwight L. Rogers

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Mrs. Mankin says SHE did it—but here is an unanswerable letter from Congressman Dwight L. Rogers, of Florida, the man who REALLY introduced the bill to provide terminal leave pay for veterans before Mrs. Mankin went to Congress, and pushed it to a successful conclusion.

A Congresswoman who will steal credit from her colleagues in Congress—as Mrs. Mankin has tried to do—can have no possible influence in getting their cooperation and help in passing legislation to benefit her own district. We need in Congress a real man who CAN—by honest dealing and fair play—get this cooperation from his colleagues.

HER CRIES OF "UNFAIRNESS"

Mrs. Helen D. Mankin, as virtually the only plank in her political platform, claims that she has been treated "unfairly" in her race to become Congresswoman from the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia.

She bases that claim on the fact that Judge James C. Davis (only legal nominee of the Democratic party) was named by Georgia's time-honored county unit system, while she obtained a simple majority of the popular vote, in Fulton County because of Negro block voting there.

She neglects, of course, to point out that former Congressman Peterson, of the First Georgia District, and former Congressman Tarver, of the Seventh Georgia District, had the same thing happen to them. THEY received the majority popular vote, lost by the county unit vote—**and are taking fair defeat silently and with the good grace becoming the gentlemen they are.**

Honorable James V. Carmichael obtained a majority of the popular vote in the governor's race, but lost in the county unit tabulation. And Jimmy Carmichael hasn't screamed to high heaven about "unfairness"—because he knows the system is right and he is one of its most eloquent champions.

Mrs. Mankin charges that "the rules were changed in the middle of the game"—that the plan of nomination was switched from the popular vote system to the county unit system after her race with Judge Davis had already begun.

That charge also needs debunking.

The facts are these:

New rules are made, and always have been made—

to bolt the party which had not made her its legal nominee.

It is Mrs. Mankin—and NOT Judge Davis—who wants to change the rules. In fact, she wants to install a complete new set of rules of her own devising . . . after the game is OVER!

Willful Deception of Veterans

Mrs. Mankin's claim that she persuaded 168 Congressmen to sign a petition to put Congressman Rogers' G. I. Terminal Leave Pay Bill on its passage is as dishonest and fraudulent as her claim that she introduced the bill. This popular bill, the work of Congressman Rogers, passed the House by a vote of 379 to nothing. See his letter on page3.

A congresswoman who falsely and dishonestly claims another Congressman's work can do us no good in Congress.

The veterans need an honest worker—not a dishonest claimer.

The schools need an honest worker—not a dishonest claimer.

The housewives need an honest worker—not a dishonest claimer.

Both labor and industry need an honest worker—not a dishonest claimer.

The 5th District needs an honest worker—not a dishonest claimer.

Mrs. Mankin claims that she "gets things done."

She falsely claims credit for federal funds for school lunches—legislation that was evolving long before she ever set her sights on the Capitol dome (See Page 2).

EVERY FIFTH DISTRICT CONGRESSMAN WHO EVER WENT TO WASHINGTON HAS BEEN ELECTED BY THE COUNTY UNIT SYSTEM—AND ONLY ONE WAS EVER RE-ELECTED BY ANY OTHER METHOD.

Just What Is

Masquerading under the misle Practices Commission," the FEPC negroes without any discriminati their total of available jobs.

Think of this in terms of YOU stenographers, clerks, bookkeeper ployers would be forced to place completely equal footing—even t room facilities. It would force th Negro firemen, and force the Pow car operators.

Real Southerners encourage N working conditions for Negroes . . OF OUR CHERISHED SOUTHERN CAUSE A LAW SAYS WE HAVE T

As the matter stands, now sta southern congressmen who are wil the FEPC could put an employer

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That charge also needs debunking.

The facts are these:

New rules are made, and always have been made—brand-new—for EACH Congressional race every two years. Rules for the Democratic Primary of July 17th, 1946, were laid down by the Fifth District Democratic Committee, on May 3rd.

The committee which made these rules was not appointed; it was ELECTED, by the Fifth District Democratic Convention—just as this committee is always elected.

Mrs. Mankin recognized the validity of this committee, because she not only tried to name her own representative to the committee, but she appeared before it to argue her case.

This committee, on May 3rd, duly and legally ruled that the candidate for Congress from the Fifth District should be named by the county unit system—just as Fifth District Congressmen Lon Livingston, William Schley Howard, William D. Upshaw and Leslie J. Steele had been named—and just as Congressman Bob Ramspeck had been nominated for his first term.

The committee simply decided that it was wise, because of new conditions in the district, to return this year to the county unit system after the popular vote system had been tried.

THE COMMITTEE'S ACTION WAS TAKEN WEEKS BEFORE JUDGE DAVIS EVEN DECIDED TO ENTER THE RACE.

No rules were changed—they were followed to the letter, and, when he was nominated on the county unit system—Judge Davis became the sole and only nominee of the Democratic party.

Any subsequent action by any committee of Mrs. Mankin's personal choosing or by any other individual has absolutely no standing in the Democratic party.

She gave her own tacit endorsement to that fact when she circulated a petition to run as an "independent" in the general election—attesting her willingness

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Mrs. Mankin claims that she "gets things done."

She falsely claims credit for federal funds for school lunches—legislation that was evolving long before she ever set her sights on the Capitol dome (See Page 2).

She WAS able, let it be admitted, to vote on BOTH sides of the OPA question. The Congressional Record testifies to that: her votes are recorded first for the OPA bill, then against the OPA bill. It is because of this kind of wishy-washy action by Congress that we are now in the midst of inflation and constantly rising high prices.

Yes, of course it is confusing. Her whole record of voting is, for that matter.

From February 26, the day after she took office, and June 12, when the active campaign for the July primary began—records of C
Mankin failed to answer to
and was recorded as "not vo

That is a total of 43 failur
in just two weeks.

What was she "getting do

**Think of this in terms of YOU
stenographers, clerks, bookkeepe
ployers would be forced to place
completely equal footing—even
room facilities. It would force th
Negro firemen, and force the Pow
car operators.**

**Real Southerners encourage N
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on both sides of the Case anti-stri
m**

ARE MOCKERY OF THE TRUTH

CT CON-
EVER
INGTON
BY THE
STEM —
AS EVER
OTHER

Hon. James V. Carmichael, defeated by the county unit vote for governor, although he won by the popular vote—took his defeat like a gentleman and without complaint. If Mrs. Mankin is entitled to another chance — so is Jimmy Carmichael.

at Is This FEPC?

er the misleading title of "Fair Employment ," the FEPC would force employers to hire discrimination whatsoever in proportion to e jobs.

rms of YOUR own office. If there are 30 bookkeepers, cashiers, etc. in it, the em- ed to place three negroes in his office on a ing—even to such details as common rest uld force the city to hire Negro policemen, rce the Power Company to hire Negro street

ncourage Negro employment and improved Negroes . . . . BUT IN THE FRAMEWORK SOUTHERN TRADITIONS AND NOT BE- WE HAVE TO DO IT.

ds, now stalled in congress by your REAL who are willing to stand up and be counted, n employer who resisted the Commission in

She Calls Herself a "Life-long, Genuine Democrat"

Mrs. Mankin, in the first radio speech of this campaign, paid tribute to herself as a "life-long, genuine Democrat."

Will that statement stand up?

Would a life-long, genuine Democrat, having been defeated for nomination in the regular Democratic primary, start immediately in circulation a petition which (if it had been successful, which it wasn't) would have entitled her to bolt the party and run in the general election as an "independent?"

Would a life-long, genuine Democrat refuse to qualify with the regularly constituted Democratic authorities?

Would a life-long, genuine Democrat refuse to sign the party pledge?

These things are among those things which she has —and has not—done.

Do they sound like the performances of a life-long, genuine Democrat?

(Continued from Page 6)

Senators and Congressmen of Georgia are opposed to the Political Action Committee and the Communist Party and its radical Legislative Program, and have shown it. The Democrats of Georgia who elect these Senators and Congressmen are opposed to the Communist Party and their program and have shown it

Congress like Marcantonio, Mankin and Pepper, who have banded together to defeat every candidate for public office who takes a stand for America, AGAINST their legislative program of radical, vicious and communistic bills, chief among which is the ultra-radical, F.E.P.C. bill.

The F.E.P.C. bill will create trouble was never known before. If the F.E.P.C. bill ever becomes law, it's enforcement will cause a wave of strikes, labor troubles, general disorder and work stoppage to sweep over the country from one end to the other.

Have we forgotten that in Philadelphia, in August, 1944, the war time temporary Fair Employment Practice Committee, in its meddlesome efforts to mix whites and blacks, ordered the Philadelphia Transportation Company to hire eight negroes as motormen and operators? 2,000 streetcar and bus operators petitioned this F.E.P.C. enforcement group not to force the hiring of negroes as operators. Their petitions were disregarded, and the negroes put to work. The 6,000 transportation employees then struck, stopping the transportation of 3,300,000 riders. The F.B.I. came in to investigate the strikers—many were arrested. The government broke the strike with soldiers at bayonet point. This was not in Georgia—It was not in the south—It was in Pennsylvania, a Northern State. It is only a sample of what we may expect if the F.E.P.C. bill becomes law.

FEPC Causes Strikes

lasted for weeks and weeks, and the War Department finally took over the Plant. And instead of bettering the condition of negroes, the F.E.P.C. advocates aim to put them into political slavery, to use them as tools for the nefarious and revolutionary schemes of the communists and the PAC, and to turn all the negro vote into a block vote like that of the Ashby Street box which went for Mrs. Mankin 967 to 7 in February and again 3,378 to 143 in July.

FEPC People Support Mankin

In Februrary, just before Mrs. Mankin's block vote election, she ran an advertisement in which eight Atlanta people endorsed her who had previously signe da petition to Congress to pass the F.E.P.C. bill. In July just before she again received all the negro block vote she ran a similar advertisement in which nine Atlanta people endorsed her who had previously signed the petition to Congress to pass the F.E.P.C. bill.

All these things are not coincidence. They are planned acts of vote-getting to dovetail with such political frauds as printing and distribution of marked sample ballots to block voters, and the like.

And when you send Judge

bookkeepers, cashiers, etc. in it, the em-
ed to place three negroes in his office on a
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SOUTHERN TRADITIONS AND NOT BE-
WE HAVE TO DO IT.

ds, now stalled in congress by your REAL
who are willing to stand up and be counted,
n employer who resisted the Commission in
without even the justice of a trial by jury!

PORTED BY THE FEPC CROWD. THEY
HAT THEY ARE DOING!

cords of Congress show that Mrs.
answer to her name at 27 roll calls
as "not voting" at 16 other roll calls.
of 43 failures to represent her people
s.

"getting done" during all this time?

genuine Democrat?

(Continued from Page 6)

Senators and Congressmen of Georgia are opposed to the Political Action Committee and the Communist Party and its radical Legislative Program, and have shown it. The Democrats of Georgia who elect these Senators and Congressmen are opposed to the Communist Party and their program, and have shown it. Mrs. Mankin is the only Georgian in Washington who has the endorsement of the communist party's official organ, The Daily Worker, and with the facts out in the open, it is easy to understand why she has it.

The Political Action Committee, as you know, is an organized group of racketeers who have many favorites in Congress like Marcantonio, Mankin and Pepper, who have banded together to defeat every candidate for public office who takes a stand for America, AGAINST their legislative program of radical, vicious and communistic bills, chief among which is the ultra-radical, F.E.P.C. bill.

The F.E.P.C. bill will create more friction between whites and blacks than any law ever written. It is the bill which would force the city of Atlanta to hire Negro city firemen and negro policemen and force the Power Company to hire Negro Street Car operators, force the hiring of Negro cotton mill foremen, telephone operators, stenographers, bookkeepers, and clerks. It will foment trouble where

struck, stopping the transportation of 3,300,000 riders. The F.B.I. came in to investigate the strikers—many were arrested. The government broke the strike with soldiers at bayonet point. This was not in Georgia—It was not in the south—It was in Pennsylvania, a Northern State. It is only a sample of what we may expect if the F.E.P.C. bill becomes law.

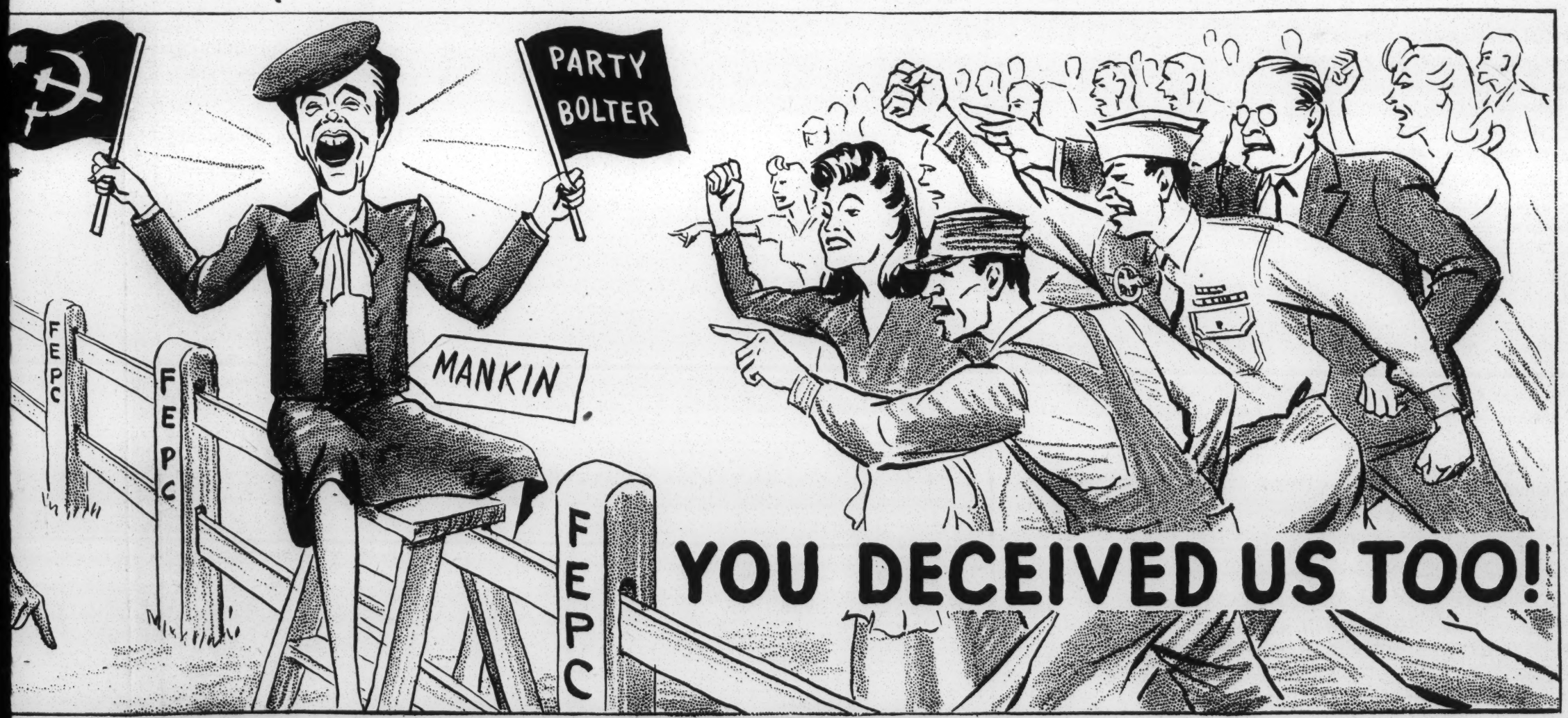
FEPC Causes Strikes

Another sample of F.E.P.C. action was its order to the Western Electric Company at Point Breeze, Maryland, to tear down all walls and partitions between White and Negro wash rooms and rest rooms, although both whites and negroes were satisfied with separate wash rooms. The partitions were torn down, the employees struck, — The strike

block vote she ran a similar advertisement in which nine Atlanta people endorsed her who had previously signed the petition to Congress to pass the F.E.P.C. bill.

All these things are not coincidence. They are planned acts of vote-getting to dovetail with such political frauds as printing and distribution of marked sample ballots to block voters, and the like.

And when you send Judge Davis to Congress, there he will be found standing on the side of these other Georgia Senators and Congressmen, filling that gap in their ranks which opened when Mrs. Mankin went to Congress. Judge Davis will be on the side of Georgia, and AGAINST these advocates of the infamous F.E.P.C. bill, who are Mrs. Mankin's friends, supporters and endorsers.



nce on Labor legislation, on price inflation legislation and on FEPC legislation. She voted
e anti-strike bill, she voted on both sides of the OPA bill—and has dodged every vote on
motions to place the FEPC bill on its passage.

EXCERPTS FROM JUDGE DAVIS' MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE!

"Throughout the generations, the voters of the Fifth Congressional District have found it wise to use the county unit system. A long list of Congressmen, including Honorables Lon Livingston, William Schley Howard, Leslie J. Steele, William D. Upshaw—all of these men were elected to serve as our congressmen on the county unit system. Hon. Bob Ramspeck was elected to his first term by the county unit vote. Conditions which had arisen in the district caused the committee to return to it this year, after giving the popular vote method a trial during the remainder of Mr. Ramspeck's service.

"Other candidates have been defeated this year and in the past, who received a majority of the popular votes, but lost the county unit majority. Neither Congressman Tarver, in the Seventh District, nor Congressman Peterson, in the First District, will go back to Congress in January. They ran on the county unit system, and both were defeated, although both received larger popular votes than their opponents. They submitted gracefully to that defeat because they honor their party and obey its rules."

"No rules have been 'changed in the middle of the game.' No candidate has been treated 'unfairly.' The rules were made and announced long before I or any other candidate entered the race. The cold truth is that one of the two opponents I defeated in the July primary made an effort to change the rules after the game was over! This candidate wanted to play the whole game over by a set of rules of her own devising."

* * *

"The Fifth District congressional race has taken on peculiar characteristics. In Georgia, which is a traditional and unshakable stronghold of the Democratic Party—a virtual TRAITOR to the Democratic Party is found trying to run for Congress on the Democratic ticket. The ground upon which my already defeated opponent, this block vote candidate, claims to be a Democratic nominee is the freakish, preposterous contention that TWO Democratic nominees should run for Congress in the general election."

"There are two groups of people with whom the ranting demagoguery of Mrs. Mankin has not injured me, and will not injure me—namely, those people who know ME, and those people who know Mrs. Mankin."

* * *

"You have heard my defeated opponent, the block vote candidate, introduce new and foreign terms of scurrility into her radio broadcasts and her other propaganda. She has made us acquainted with such epithets as gangster, political trickster, court-house ring and dictator, imported from the ward-heelers of Chicago, New York and other centers of machine politics where such tactics prevail. She has even introduced Communist terms straight from Moscow—calling me OGPU Davis, a Communistic term known only to her Communistic supporters."

* * *

"My defeated opponent, the Communistically endorsed block-vote, party-bolting candidate, is desperately trying to hold herself in the party she twice repudiated. No official of the Democratic Party has ever sustained Mrs. Mankin's claim for a place on the Democratic ticket, except four members of the now-defunct former State Executive Committee, whose preposterous ruling has now been reversed."

POOR LOSERS — WHEN HONESTLY

Can Labor find out how

A CANDIDATE ELECTED BY A CON-

the past, who received a majority of the popular votes, but lost the county unit majority. Neither Congressman Tarver, in the Seventh District, nor Congressman Peterson, in the First District, will go back to Congress in January. They ran on the county unit system, and both were defeated, although both received larger popular votes than their opponents. They submitted gracefully to that defeat because they honor their party and obey its rules."

tual TRAITOR to the Democratic Party is found trying to run for Congress on the Democratic ticket. The ground upon which my already defeated opponent, this block vote candidate, claims to be a Democratic nominee is the freakish, preposterous contention that TWO Democratic nominees should run for Congress in the general election."

her Communistic supporters.

* * *

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POOR LOSERS — WHEN HONESTLY DEFEATED — MAY USUALLY BE IDENTIFIED BY THEIR CRIES OF "UNFAIRNESS, UNFAIRNESS"!

Can Labor find out how Mrs. Mankin stands? She voted both FOR and AGAINST the Case anti-strike bill.

A CANDIDATE ELECTED BY A CONTROLLED BLOCK VOTE HAS NO RIGHT TO GROW ELOQUENT ABOUT "FREEDOM OF THE FRANCHISE"

MANKIN ENDORSED BY COMMUNISTS

(Continued from Page 1)

Action Committee wants laws enacted to legalize the program under which they propose for their foreign-born racketeers to bore in and take over honest labor unions and honest American and Georgia workers by such terroristic methods as murder, dynamitings, fires, beatings, shootings and stabbings. They will put their program over, if they can elect and re-elect to Congress their stooges and rubber stamps, who are willing to accept their endorsement and their support, and the endorsement and support of communists, and who are willing to destroy party, surrender principle, and be the willing tool of subversive elements in order to get in office and stay in office.

The Political Action Committee's racketeering legislative program is dangerous and menacing. It is so recognized by every Georgian in the House and Senate EXCEPT the Congresswoman from the Fifth District. The Political Action Committee itself has tabulated the votes of Georgia Senators and Congressmen as they voted for and against its radical bills. The result was published in the Atlanta Constitution of August 19th. This report shows that this kind of action was taken by Georgians in Washington: Senator Russell voted ten times against PAC bills and not once in favor of any of them; Congressman Cox eight times against their bills, not once for them; Congressman Gibson six times against, not once for; Tarver, ten times against, not once for; Wood, eight times against, not once for; Vinson, seven times against, not once for. But when we look at Mankin's place on this list of those standing up to be counted, we find the situation completely and totally reversed. How did SHE vote? In the short period of her four-month service we find that she voted six times in favor of the Political Action Committee's bills and not once against. All the other

(Continued on Page 7)

Another Mankin Claim Shown Completely False

In her letter to DeKalb County voters dated July 6th, Mrs. Mankin claimed she had obtained funds "for the extension of electrical lines into the outlying Districts of DeKalb."

This claim was utterly false. Mr. Hugh Aiken had at that time been President of the Snapping Shoals Electric Membership Corporation for four years and in an affidavit* he says:

"Georgia, ROCKDALE COUNTY:

Personally before me appeared Hugh Aiken, who says on oath that he was president of the Snapping Shoals Electric Membership Corporation on July 6, 1946, and had been since August, 1944. He further says that a part of said R.E.A. Co-operative's lines cover rural sections of DeKalb County. He further says that at no time has Congresswoman Mankin aided or assisted said R.E.A. Co-operative in obtaining any funds for extension of electrical lines in DeKalb County, and has not assisted said R.E.A. Co-operative in any other manner whatsoever. He further says that said R.E.A. Co-operative has never needed congressional assistance in obtaining funds, because the Washington office has GENERALLY WANTED TO ALLOT MORE money to the local corporation than it could use."

Sgd./HUGH AIKEN.

Sworn to and Subscribed before me this October 22, 1946.
Sgd./L. M. McDowell
Clerk Superior Court
Rockdale County

*** Original on file.**

Mankin's Startling Record of Voting Against the Interests of Georgia and Our Fifth District

The Political Action Committee itself has tabulated the votes of Georgia senators and representatives as they voted for and against the radical bills of the PAC. The result was published in The Atlanta Constitution of August 19. This report shows that Senator Russell voted ten times AGAINST PAC bills and not once in favor of any of them; Congressman Cox eight times AGAINST their bills, not once for them; Congressman Gibson six times AGAINST, not once for; Tarver, ten times AGAINST, not once for; Wood, eight times AGAINST, not once for; Vinson, seven times AGAINST, not once for.

BUT . . . when we look at Mankin's place on this list of those standing up to be counted, we find the situation completely reversed. How did SHE vote?

In the short period of her four-months' service, we find that she voted SIX TIMES IN FAVOR of the PAC's bills—and NOT ONCE AGAINST!

	For PAC Bills	Against PAC Bills
Senator GEORGE	1	10 times
Senator RUSSELL	0	10 times

Controlled Ward Wins

"Controlled wards" have given the political "obts" a chance to tear their hair for many years in Chattanooga. Those who have raved over this condition can cast their eyes on Atlanta and observe how "controlled wards" work when they are "controlled" for the "liberal" side.

Helen Douglas Mankin was nominated for Congress in the Atlanta district yesterday to succeed Robert Ramspeck, Democrat. She was elected over 17 male opponents. Her plurality over Thomas L. Camp, her nearest competitor, once a candidate for the Senate nomination against George, was 770. She ran with CIO support. Negroes voted in the primary for the first time. In the Third Ward of Atlanta, predominantly Negro, the vote was 956 for the woman against seven for Camp. No comment is necessary; merely analyze the figures and realize who picked the winner.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times

Toledo, Ohio Blade

NEWSWEEK

Georgia's Black Ballots

It was all over but the shouting. Only one precinct was still uncounted in last week's special election in Georgia's Fifth Congressional District. Thomas L. Camp, for fifteen years secretary to Rep. Robert Ramspeck, apparently had won over seventeen opponents to succeed his former boss, who quit to join the Air Transport Association.

Then came the upset. The missing precinct, an overwhelmingly Negro area of Atlanta with only ten white voters, rolled up 956 votes, or 99 per cent of its total, for Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, 49-year-old Atlanta lawyer who drove an ambulance in France in 1917-18. That precinct's tally swung the election to Mrs. Mankin by a 792-vote plurality over Camp She thus became Georgia's first congresswoman, and the tenth in the House (five Democrats, five Republicans)

Promptly The Atlanta World, a Negro newspaper, boasted that "the Negro vote [6,800 out of 30,000 voters] had decided the race in a photo finish" White newspapers confined their comment to stiff editorials of congratulations to the Congresswoman.

Mrs Mankin, a veteran of ten years in the Georgia Assembly, had gone down the line for the New Dealish program of Gov Ellis Arnall. She had won the backing of the CIO Political Action Committee and had voted to remove the poll tax. But aware that she might have to run for renomination in a Democratic "white primary"* next September, she avoided the Solid South's hot potato. "I don't recall that I have ever taken an open stand on admitting Negroes to the Democratic primaries."

*Georgia's "white primary," from which Negroes are barred, has been declared unconstitutional, but an appeal will be argued in the Federal Court of Appeals in New Orleans this month.

Newsweek

Thomas L. Stokes

New Day For Negro Voters Seems Possible With Changes In South

ATLANTA, Feb 26—Negro participation in the recent special election in the Fifth Congressional District of this deep south state was much more significant than indicated by the bare facts.

Thomas L. Stokes

In a way, because of the size of the vote and its influence on the result, it was a break with tradition

As already reported, Negroes contributed the margin of victory for Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, who has taken her seat in the House of Representatives. This is important as a matter of politics.

But beyond that, exploration of the background of this particular election reveals a most encouraging recognition by the many intelligent Negroes here of the responsibility of citizenship. It explodes some old myths, removes some old phobias, and points out the path for gradual extension of the franchise to Negroes in the south which responsible white leaders now accept as certain. Practical politicians have become conscious of this inevitable trend

Obligation Taken Seriously

This election experience followed a thorough course of preparation by the intelligent Negro leadership which is taking its obligations seriously. They recognize their opportunity and want nothing to happen that will mar it or set back progress toward full citizenship.

Leaders in Atlanta's several Negro colleges and universities have emphasized the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, so that keen interest has been aroused among the students On a much broader basis, Negro ministers and churches have been active. Sunday evening forums on public affairs have become a regular part of church activity. Both the Negro YMCA and YWCA are holding regular public discussions

Emphasis is on careful study of issues and education in citizenship. Negroes are urged to think for themselves and to vote as individuals. The leaders, for example, were careful in the recent election here to stress such individual responsibility. Though Mrs. Mankin received a large proportion of the Negro vote, not one Negro organization indorsed her candidacy.

Example For Citizenship

White civic leaders have been impressed. They point to it as a fine example for white citizenship. The recent election offered a nice moral, for only 25,000 votes were cast out of a possible 125,000 in this district.

The big Negro vote was in B precinct of the Third Ward, a community which includes two Negro housing projects and some of the Negro university area. About 2,000 Negroes were registered there. About 1,000 voted. The polls were manned by Negro election officials.

Mrs. Mankin received 956 votes in that precinct with only a handful for her leading opponent, Thomas L. Camp. She won by 770 votes. Much has been made of this precinct voting last. But the facts are there was a heavy vote toward the end of the day when the Negroes got off from work and when the doors of the polling place were closed many waiting inside had to be taken care of, so the counting was delayed. Two long lines still waiting outside could not vote.

This was a general election, and Negroes are entitled to vote in general elections, though not many do so. The real test comes in the primary in September when Mrs. Mankin will be up for reelection, along with other members of Congress.

	For PAC Bills	Against PAC Bills
Senator GEORGE	1	10 times
Senator RUSSELL	0	10 times
Congressman COX	0	8 times
Congressman GIBSON	0	6 times
Congressman TARVER	0	10 times
Congressman WOOD	0	8 times
Congressman VINSON	0	7 times
Mrs. H. D. MANKIN	6	0 times

The above table proves beyond shadow of a doubt that the PAC-FEPC Candidate has voted consistently FOR the very things that our true Southerners representing the rest of the state have boldly stood AGAINST. Look at the box-score above and see how completely Mrs. Mankin's voting conflicts with that of other Georgians.

...out of 30,000 voters] had decided that "the Negro vote the race in a photo finish." White newspapers confined their comment to stiff editorials of congratulations to the Congresswoman.

Mrs Mankin, a veteran of ten years in the Georgia Assembly, had gone down the line for the New Dealish program of Gov Ellis Arnall. She had won the backing of the CIO Political Action Committee and had voted to remove the poll tax. But aware that she might have to run for renomination in a Democratic "white primary"* next September, she avoided the Solid South's hot potato. "I don't recall that I have ever taken an open stand on admitting Negroes to the Democratic primaries."

*Georgia's "white primary," from which Negroes are barred, has been declared unconstitutional, but an appeal will be argued in the Federal Court of Appeals in New Orleans this month.

Mrs. Mankin wins Atlanta's Negro vote — Acme

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Test Case In Court

A test case on Negro participation in Georgia primaries now is pending in a Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Georgia federal court upheld the right of Negroes to participate in primaries. The test case ultimately will go to the Supreme Court which already has decided for Negro participation in primaries in the Texas case.

Whether the final decision comes before September or not, it is believed that the ice is broken in Georgia. A new day for the Negroes as citizens seems in sight, though there will be efforts to restrict and limit the franchise in one way or another.

Missoula, Montana

Not Chivalry

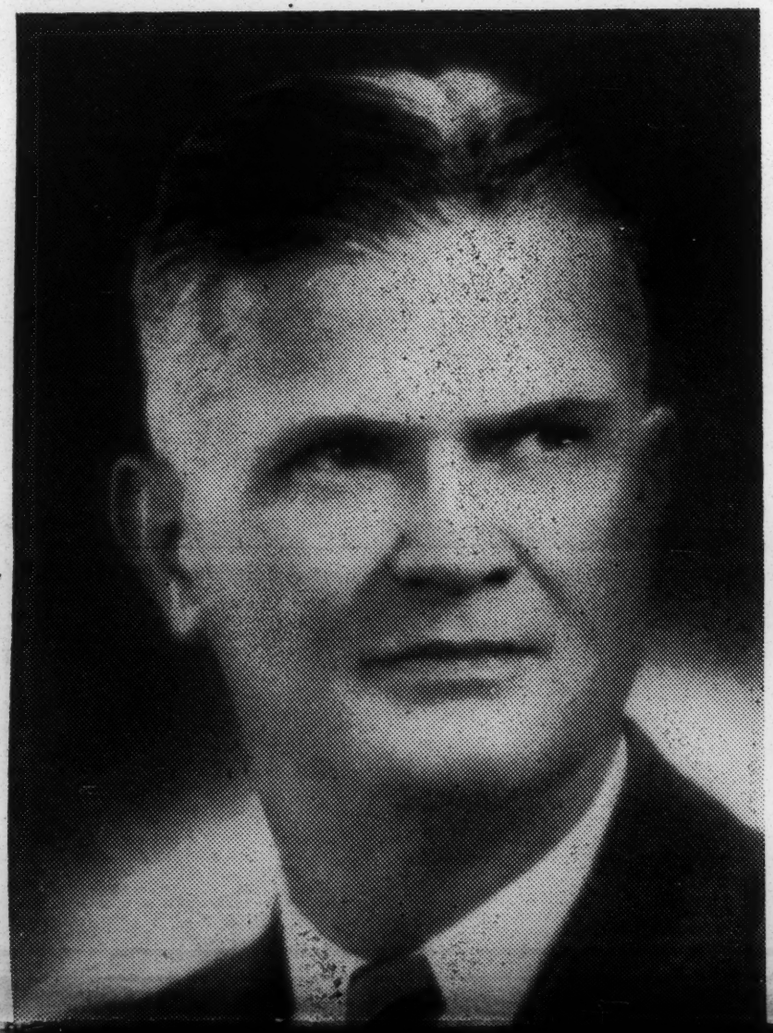
At long last, as the Duke of Windsor might say, Georgia has sent a woman to Congress. But, we judge, it wasn't Southern chivalry that did it. The Negroes of Atlanta claim their votes were responsible and the politicians are in no position to make convincing denial. The whole affair is a bewildering anomaly.

774 IPEC

ADVERTISING GEORGIA throughout the nation as a block-vote state is just one of Mrs. Mankin's sidelines in her political campaigning. These reproductions from the magazine News-Week and other publications are a few of many examples of her efficiency in this respect.

The Communist 'Daily Worker' is AGAINST Secretary of State Byrnes, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., and against Georgia, but is FOR Helen D. Mankin!

WE NEED A REAL MAN TO REPRESENT US IN CONGRESS



A native Georgian, Judge Davis is the grandson of two Confederate veterans,—a dyed-in-the-red-clay Southerner in principle and affections. He was a sergeant in the Marines in World War I, has been a member of the American Legion since 1921, chairman of its potent Americanism committee in Georgia for three consecutive years. He is now serving as a member of the Legion State Commission on Post-war activities.

An alumnus of old Emory College at Oxford, he studied law at night after he went to work in Atlanta, and was admitted to the bar in 1919. He was president of the Atlanta Lawyers Club in 1924-1925, Vice President of the Atlanta Bar Association in 1928 and president of the Stone Mountain Circuit Bar Association in 1934.

He has been judge of the Superior Court of the Stone Mountain Circuit for the past twelve years.

Prior to his popular election to the bench, he has served DeKalb County in the Georgia Legislature (1924-1928), was attorney for the Georgia Department of Industrial Relations (Workmen's Compensation) for three years, and County Attorney for DeKalb County (1921-1924)

Vice President of the Atlanta Bar Association in 1928 and president of the Stone Mountain Circuit Bar Association in 1934.

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Prior to his popular election to the bench, he has served DeKalb County in the Georgia Legislature (1924-1928), was attorney for the Georgia Department of Industrial Relations (Workmen's Compensation) for three years, and County Attorney for DeKalb County (1931-1934).

During his legal, legislative and judicial career, Judge Davis has been acclaimed for his integrity, his courage, his fairness, and his unremitting championship of justice and right for all. His unimpeachable character in private life has been further fortified by a steadfast loyalty to his state, his section and his nation, and he has given freely of his time and energies to civic and patriotic endeavor.

As an example of his unselfish efforts in war services, he was recently awarded a Certificate of Merit by President Truman.

Judge Davis lives on a 120-acre farm and is a notable breeder of Aberdeen-Angus cattle—just one example of how closely his mind is attuned to the agricultural interests of Georgia and the South.

He has never shirked a public duty, never dodged an issue. Judge James C. Davis — true Georgian, fervent Southerner, loyal American — is the fearless, red-blooded, able and energetic type of man we need to give us REAL REPRESENTATION in Washington's halls of Congress.

Vote For The Only Democratic Nominee

Judge James C. DAVIS

General Election Nov. 5th

MAILS FLOODED BY A TORRENT OF RED PROPAGANDA

Myriad Committees Emit Smears, Fund Pleas

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, D. C., Aug. 8—A flood of pro-soviet propaganda jams the mails daily under the letter heads of scores of organizations, most of them with interlocking directorates, indicating a unified management.

Congressional investigators assert some 150 such groups operate out of New York City alone. Some serve their purpose in a few months and disappear. Others become too closely identified with the communist movement and change their names, tho not their officers.

These "societies," "leagues," and "associations" have various methods of attack. Some are smear organizations which specialize in assailing "American fascists," a term applied to all who don't want communism in this country. Some are collection agencies for "Russian relief." Some seek to purge congress of all who have raised a voice against Russian Dictator Stalin. Some emphasize the "one world government" theme.

National Fund Drive On

Those seeking to raise funds to be sent direct to Russia are restrained in their literary output. Leader of these groups is Russian Relief, Inc., successor to Russian War Relief, Inc., which collected $35,735,397 in the 1942-1945 period for Russia. It now is staging a nation-wide drive for additional millions for Russian "rehabilitation."

This organization has a letter from State Secretary Byrnes which it sends along with its requests for contributions. Byrnes says the Russian people's needs are still great and hopes the organization can continue its activities.

A printed speech by W. Averill Harriman, former ambassador to Russia, made in New York March 19, is also used with telling effect. Harriman stated that American funds would serve to remove "ugly suspicions" aroused by "serious differences with the soviet government" and offer "visible proof that we desire in all sincerity to walk with them as comrades along the road to world peace."

Lauds Group's Head

Harriman in the same speech lauded Edward C. Carter, head of the organization. Carter has a long list of affiliations with communist front organizations, according to the records of congressional investigations. He was secretary general of the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which officers of the notorious American Peace Mobilization were leaders. He was a member of the board of directors of the American Russian institute. Of Russian war relief under his leadership, the house committee on un-American activities, reported:

"The organization is firmly in the hands of those who have a history of close coöperation with the soviet union, the Communist party, or its satellite front organizations."

Active propaganda organizations of the moment include the following:

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., which circulates a bi-weekly publication known as the Reporter. This publication approaches the hysterical in its defense of soviet policies. It asserted on June 15, for example, that it was "slanderous" to accuse Russia of "expansionist" desires. Corliss Lamont, described by a report of the house committee on un-American activities, as the "most persistent propagandist for the soviet union in the United States," and Richard Morford, chairman and director, respectively, have been cited by the house of representatives for contempt in refusing to disclose the records of this organization to congressional investigators.

Leader Cited for Contempt

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. George Marshall, chairman, has just been cited for contempt by the house for insisting that federation records should not be opened to congress or the public. The federation, born in 1940 under direct Communist party sponsorship, called President Roosevelt's foreign policy "fascist" during the Hitler-Stalin pact, but made an abrupt policy switch when Hitler invaded Russia in June, 1941.

Joint Anti-Facist Refugee Committee, which was created in 1942 by the merger of the Exiled Writers' committee, the American Committee to Save Refugees, and the United American Spanish Aid committee. Chairman Edward J. Barsky and Secretary Helen R. Bryan, both with many communist front affiliations, have been cited with 15 other officials for contempt of the house for refusing to disclose the nature of their operations.

Action Committee to Free Spain Now, formed by the American Committee for Spanish Freedom and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln brigade, which have lengthy communist front records in the list of the house un-American activities committee. The Daily Worker, official communist daily, frequently lauds this group's work.

Independent Citizens Committee of the arts, sciences and professions, headed by Jo Davidson, the sculptor, who sponsored the Congress of American-Soviet friendship, a communist front. James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President Roosevelt, last month resigned his directorship of this committee to assume duties as chairman of the California State Central Democratic committee. The committee was hailed as "a great political weapon" at the Communist party convention in June. 1945.

National Committee to Win the Peace, which organized a "win-the-peace" conference in Washington last April. In the opinion of congressional investigators, this group is a revival of the old American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House during the Stalin-Hitler pact. Its sponsors include Harry R. Bridges, president, CIO International Longshoremen's union; Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer, CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and Rep. Marcantonio [A. L., N. Y.], house spokesman for the Daily Worker.

National Citizens Political Action Committee, headed by Jack Kroll, successor to the late Sidney Hillman. This committee has an 83 per cent pro-communist membership, a congressional investigation disclosed, and "represents the Communist party's supreme bid for political power." It recently held a "school for political action techniques" in Washington, at which 500 organizers were taught how to purge congress.

One Sponsors Broadcasts

Forum for Democracy, which sponsors weekly radio broadcasts over a New York station.

Veterans Against Discrimination, backed by the Communist party, according to the Daily Worker.

American Veterans Committee, headed by Charles Bolte, a British army veteran. It denies communist connections, but receives almost daily praise in the communist Daily Worker.

American Youth for Democracy, successor to the Young Communist league which for many years was a major Communist party weapon.

The International Workers Order, cited by the justice department as a subversive organization.

Women Shoppers' Group

The League of Women Shoppers, which has an extensive history in congressional records of coöperation with the communist front movement.

The National Negro Congress, similarly long affiliated with Communist party operations.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the communist front organization of southern states, operations of which are lengthily reviewed in the un-American activities committee's history of communist fronts.

Congressional investigators study the Daily Worker, official communist organ, to keep in touch with the activities of communist front organizations. Among groups recently lauded by this newspaper, in addition to those listed above, are the following:

Federation of American Scientists, praised for its "vigorous fight for civilian control of atomic energy" and hailed as "principal factor behind defeat of the military lobby."

Trade Union Group Included

The National Association for Advancement of the Colored People.

World Federation of Trade Unions, support of which was urged by William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of the United States.

National Lawyers guild.

Emergency committee for civil rights.

Freedom Films, a motion picture corporation which has produced a film "depicting the Daily Worker's fight for civil liberties."

National Maritime union, CIO, headed by Joseph Curran, who has a long record for pro-communist activities in congressional records.

Others are the New York Committee to Win the Peace, American Youth for Democracy, Interracial fellowship, Union for Democratic Action, Civil Rights Congress, Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, National Council for African Affairs, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Farmers' union, Parents United Against Bigotry, and Contemporary Writers, described by the Worker as an organization of "Marxist and anti-fascist writers."

Tells Communist Operations

All these groups are active in the distribution of propaganda. In connection with their operations in various fields, Ruth McKenney, member of the Communist party, stated some time ago that "the Communist party of America operates in trade unions, farm organizations, ladies' clubs, in Harlem, in the deep south, among the intellectuals."

The justice department's brief in the Harry Bridges deportation case gave this explanation of communist fronts: "Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate form of justice, or reform objective, but actually used by the Communist party to carry on activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power thru revolution."

A typical example of the propaganda issued by communist fronts is that emanating from the "Reporter on American-Soviet Relations" in its June 15 issue, which was reprinted and distributed by the thousands by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. It assailed John Foster Dulles, an adviser at the foreign ministers conference; for two articles on Russia in June issues of Life magazine.

Charge "Slanders"

Dulles merely advanced the theory that Russia was embarked on an expansion program and cited as evidence the north of Finland, eastern Poland, the Baltic states, Port Arthur, the Kurile and Sakhalin Islands. He also mentioned eastern Germany and eastern Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary as being under soviet control or behind an iron curtain imposed by soviet policy.

The Reporter shrilly attacked this statement as "a catalogue of fancies, misstatements, and slanders."

"The truth is," the Reporter stated, "that the soviet union has based its foreign policy on consistently seeking to establish peaceful relations with all kinds of nonsoviet nations on a reciprocal basis of recognition. . . . As for the 'iron curtain' it is a rusty Churchillian fable. . . . The United States has virtually instituted an economic boycott of the soviet union."

Denies Wife's Charge

[Associated Press Wirehpoto]

William Lee Gantt Jr., former sailor at Atlanta, Ga., listening at his radio after he was freed on bond on a charge by his wife that he forced her into a lonely grave and threatened her life. Gantt denied that he would "try to force Janie to do anything."

News and Observer
8/27/46

Baptist Leader Reports On His Travels in Russia

Dr. Louie Newton, Southern Baptist Convention President, Gives Report

(Given below are excerpts from an address given by Dr. Louie D. Newton, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, in Atlanta on Sunday. Dr. Newton reported Sunday to a mass meeting on his recent tour of Russia.

(Two pickets carrying a large sign reading "Is Louie D. Newton Selling Communism to the U.S.A.?" were removed by police from in front of the auditorium where he spoke. Earlier reports by Dr. Newton on his trip were criticized by O. K. Armstrong, Missouri Baptist leader).

Let me say by way of explanation that I was in Russia for only 25 days. One cannot see as much of a country so vast as Russia in so short a visit as he would wish to see in order to make a satisfactory report. What I shall say in this address is based on what I did actually see and hear during that short period of 25 days. I may add this further word of explanation, that in the 25 days and nights spent in Russia, I travelled by plane approximately 11,000 miles and by automobile approximately 2,000 miles, and I estimate that I walked more miles in those 25 days and nights than I have in the past 25 years. I estimate that I slept an average of three hours per night, which turned around the other way means that I lost approximately 105 hours of sleep while I was in Russia. Some idea of the territory covered in our tour of Russia may be gained by looking at your map of the USSR and drawing a line from Leningrad northward to the Urals, then southward to the Caspian Sea, then along the southern border back to the Baltic Sea. We operated from Moscow as headquarters, flying in an official Soviet plane to the principal cities of European Russia, and using automobiles, sometimes necessarily jeeps, for the trips where the plane could not be brought down. Always, we walked where even a jeep could not go. In at least one instance, I rode horseback where the jeep could not negotiate the terrain.

The invitation to visit Russia came through the Russia War Relief Society, and read as follows: "To inspect the uses to which gifts of relief from America were put, to inspect medical, educational, cultural and religious institutions, and to confer with Soviet officials." As a matter of fact, the scope of our visit went well beyond these terms. Our extensive tour of the country was under the direction of VOKS, the public relations department of the USSR, and the Russian Red Cross and Crescent Society. Mrs. Mary Naimark, official UNRRA interpreter, was loaned to our delegation as our official interpreter, but in addition to Mrs. Naimark, we had three other expert interpreters.

Gives History.

Russia! How well do you know your history of Russia? Write down this date—862. It was about the middle of the Ninth Century that a Scandinavian adventurer, Rurik by name, settled at Novgorod with a war-like band of followers, and drove back the Scythian and Samatrian tribes. Later came the Slavs from the Baltic region, making a settlement as far inland as Kiev. Thus Kiev became the first capital of the vast area known as Russia. Early rulers were Oleg, Igor, Olga, Vladimir the Great. It was Vladimir who first embraced Christianity and brought the Greek Orthodox Church into Russia, in 988. Vladimir's sons ruled one after another until they became weak, and the Mongol tide from Asia swept across the plains, overwhelming Russia for 200 years. Then came the mighty Ivan, assume to take the record for granted for the purposes of this address. Only remember this: One must read Tolstoi, Marx, Gorki and the other popular Russian and German and French authors of the past several hundred years to understand properly how Socialism and Communism have been enthroned in the Russia of today. Aye, one must follow Lenin and Stalin through their revolutionary underground plans to be conversant with what is going on in the minds of millions of people in Russia and France and China and other parts of the world today.

I wish you might have stood with me in my suite in the National Hotel and looked out upon the long, long lines of people, waiting silently to view the recumbent statue of Lenin in the magnificent tomb of the Kremlin. I wish you might have been with me in the stadium in Moscow with 93,000 people jamming every available seat, when Stalin entered his box—to witness their frightening adulation of their leader. You then would have some conception of how tremendous is the present power of this one man in Russia and in the world today.

Democracy Answer.

What do I think of Communism? I came home from Russia more deeply committed to the doctrine of Democracy than ever before, and I went to Russia believing in Democracy with all my heart. I here and now call upon every person listening to me to examine carefully your understanding of and your belief in Democracy. I tell you that I do not believe Communism is the answer to the world's great need. I tell you that I believe Democracy is the answer—Christian Democracy, if you please. And by Democracy—Christian Democracy—I mean the inalienable right of every sentient soul to pursue liberty and happiness as free moral beings, competent to deal directly with Almighty God without hindrance from civil or ecclesiastical rulers, princes or prelates. But hear me well, unless we can out-think, out-work and out-pray those who have embraced the doctrines of Communism, they are going to make it hard for the democracies of this earth.

I turn now to a detailed report of what I saw in Russia. And, first, I take the subject of religion. What did I see in the field of religion in Russia? There are three major religious groups in Russia today—the Orthodox Greek Christians, the Jews and the Baptists. There are lesser groups—the Roman Catholic Christians the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Pentecostals, and then there are Mohammedans and other forms of ancient Asiatic and European religions; but the Greek Orthodox, Jews, and Baptists are the three major religious groups.

I did not attend a Jewish service, nor did I attend a Greek Orthodox service. Every possible hour of time for religious services was devoted to the Baptist churches in the cities we visited. Beginning in Moscow, and continuing in Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, and many other cities, I saw Baptist congregations assembled in meeting houses of varying sizes and in many instances in temporary meeting places, due to the destruction of the meeting houses by the Germans.

Great crowds attended the services where I preached, and a spirit of freedom seemed to characterize every preacher and every believer. The Soviet Government has at last recognized that religion is a vital thing—something that cannot be annihilated—and they are smart enough to grant what appears to be complete freedom of worship and religious ministries such as orphanage and hospital work.

The Baptist preachers with whom I talked told me that they are free to preach what they believe, and I paused to say that they believe the great d[illegible]

tion in Russia is a well known story. They claim the world's record for volume of flying and percentage of accidents. Certainly, the flying that we saw was of a superb character. American planes, of course, predominate.

Heavy industries in Russia were most impressive. What we saw of the heavy industry plants in Leningrad and in the Urals would indicate that within the present fourth Five-Year Plan, they will reach their goal in heavy industries and then begin to catch up on consumer goods. With no thought of labor problems, and with rapidly increasing supply of raw materials, plus an adequate transportation system, Russia will soon be pushing the United States in the field of heavy industries.

Communications.

Communications is an interesting story in Russia. The telephone system, in so far as we had opportunity to appraise it, is quite sufficient, but utterly inadequate. They are doing a grand job with what they have, but they are a long way from covering the country with telephone and telegraph service. Radio is another interesting story. They have the one big centralized system, heading up in Moscow, with all the other stations relaying what originates in Moscow. I was on the radio several times, but never was I asked to submit manuscript. Apparently, the coverage for the entire country is good, judging by the reports which came to me in various cities, where people told me they had heard my broadcasts from Moscow. They are far behind the United States in the number of receiving sets. Their newspapers are, like everything else, state owned and state controlled. There is no such thing as freedom of the press, and yet one must admit that they publish letters everyday in which people are permitted to criticize their government.

Conclusion: With Leland Stowe, I say: "I am not nearly so afraid of Russia as I am of ourselves." It will be a long time before Russia is ready to start a war with the United States, in my judgment. In the first place, the people don't want war, and one would guess that the leaders have too much sense to start another war until they are ready to sustain it—both in terms of atomic energy and essential materials for previous forms of modern warfare. Where for example, would Russia have found herself in the face of the German aggression had it not been for American lend-lease?

A further conclusion: Believing that

of the USSR, and the Russian Red Cross and Crescent Society. Mrs. Mary Naimark, official UNRRA interpreter, was loaned to our delegation as our official interpreter, but in addition to Mrs. Naimark, we had three other expert interpreters.

Gives History.

Russia! How well do you know your history of Russia? Write down this date—862. It was about the middle of the Ninth Century that a Scandinavian adventurer, Rurik by name, settled at Novgorod with a war-like band of followers, and drove back the Scythian and Samatrian tribes. Later came the Slavs from the Baltic region, making a settlement as far inland as Kiev. Thus Kiev became the first capital of the vast area known as Russia. Early rulers were Oleg, Igor, Olga, Vladimir the Great. It was Vladimir who first embraced Christianity and brought the Greek Orthodox Church into Russia, in 988. Vladimir's sons ruled one after another until they became weak, and the Mongol tide from Asia swept across the plains, overwhelming Russia for 200 years. Then came the mighty Ivan, who drove the Mongols out, delivered Russia from the Tartar yoke, and in 1547 Ivan the Terrible assumed the title of Czar, inaugurated commerce with England, and all but established Russia as a world power, only to see his hopes shattered in 1571 when the King of Poland formed an alliance with the Crim-Tartars, and burned Moscow, which Ivan the Terrible had built. Feodor was the last of Ivan's descendants to reign in Russia, and in 1613 Romanov was made Czar, ruling with a powerful hand until 1645. In 1689 came Peter the Great, who ruled Russia until his death in 1725, bringing Russia for the first time to a position of acknowled power in Europe. He transferred the capital from Moscow to St. Petersburg, and there laid the foundations for the most beautiful city in Russia. By the Peace of Nystead, 1721, Russia came into possession of Livonia, Estonia, Karelia, and Ingermanland. He almost secured the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, but the Sultan was too powerful for him. Then followed the reign of Catherine I, and then Peters' daughter, Elizabeth, who joined Austria against Prussia in the Seven Years' War, which resulted in Russian troops marching into Berlin—the greatest shock Frederick the Great ever suffered. Then came the reign of Catherine the Great. She divided Poland, gaining 180,000 square miles of territory for Russia, and 6,000,000 subjects. She took The Crimea in 1783. Then followed the reign of Alexander, with the conflict between Russia and Napoleon—the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 and the victory of Alexander over Napoleon as reflected in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Then came Nicholas the First, and finally the last of the Czars, Nicholas the Second, and that brings us to the bloody massacre on the steps of the Winter Palace in 1905 and finally the overthrow of the Czars in 1917. From there on you know well the story of Lenin and Stalin.

Larger than U. S.

Would you have me pursue the story a bit further and remind you that Russia today has an area of 9,619,791 square miles—nearly three times the size of the United States—and a population of 200,000,000 people, representing 16 republics. Would it help you to visualize the Russia of today if I remind you that she has as much timber land as the entire territory of the United States—that it represents one-sixth of the earth's land surface? Russia's potential hydraulic resources is estimated at 280,000,000 kilowatts, and after seeing the great dams in the Don Basin and in the Urals, and after listening to their engineers tell of their future plans of electromotive power. I stand amazed at the possibilities of the utilization of Russia's vast resources, remembering how well-nigh inexhaustible are her supplies of coal, peat, oil, iron, manganese, copper, zinc, lead and lumber.

If space and time permitted, I would like to review with you the long, long story of Russia's slow but steady climb to first rank position amongst the nations of Europe. I would like to take you back into the revealing observations of poets and philosophers and military strategists and political leaders.

Communism! There, there is the word you've been waiting for! Am I correct? And if time permitted, I would like to trace with you the steps that have led on to the enthroning of the Bolsheviks and the overthrow of the Czars, but that is fairly well known, and I

Jews, and Baptists are the three major religious groups.

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The Baptist preachers with whom I talked told me that they are free to preach what they believe, and I paused to say that they believe the great doctrins of our Baptist faith, just as we do here in Georgia. From Soviet officials I received the same assurance. Indeed, not only the Baptists, but apparently all the religious groups in Russia are now free to carry on their work. Will this continue? I cannot say, but we can be thankful for the present attitude of the Russian government and hope that our Baptist and other religious leaders in Russia will do such a good job that the government will realize that it can never again attempt to annihilate religion.

Education.

Education is a Very Vital theme in reporting on Russia. At the turn of the century, only a small percentage of the people of Russia could read and write. In 1940, 91 per cent could read and write, and they told me in Moscow that they believed the percentage was higher today—that they will not stop until every person in Russia can read and write. To that end the government is spending vast sums of money on education. Everywhere I went I was impressed with the fact that the people are reading — reading books and magazines and newspapers. And I would like to emphasize the fact that they are reading the Bible. On the point of reading let me report that they like American authors, particularly Mark Twain, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Walt Whitman. They do not care for our sexy novels.

Agriculture long has been a major factor in the life of Russia, and today the USSR rapidly is advancing its agricultural program, through the collective farm program. Their present great need is machinery. The Germans took away much of their farm machinery in European Russia, and destroyed what they could not remove to Germany. In Asiatic Russia they have better farm machinery, and today they are producing tremendous grain yields in the virgin Siberian soil. The Ukraine, long the "breadbasket" of Russia, was overrun by the Germans, but now it rapidly is coming back to normal production of grain and potatoes. The Republic of Georgia is one of their greatest agricultural areas, and the Germans did not get into the rich Kura Valley. There they grow corn, cotton, grains and other essential food crops.

Transportation in Russia still is in its formative period—railroads, highways and subways—but in each instance they are making long-range plans that mean ultimate mastery of another basic step in their program. I saw streamline trains, drawn by Diesel engines, although I also saw many very shabby trains, with wornout locomotives. Their highway system already is manifesting itself in four-lane arteries from Moscow to Leningrad, from Moscow to Kiev, from Moscow to Gorki, etc. The subway in Moscow is one of the most beautiful underground railways I have seen in the world. Avia-

judging by the reports which came to me in various cities, where people told me they had heard my broadcasts from Moscow. They are far behind the United States in the number of receiving sets. Their newspapers are, like everything else, state owned and state controlled. There is no such thing as freedom of the press, and yet one must admit that they publish letters everyday in which people are permitted to criticize their government.

Conclusion: With Leland Stowe, I say: "I am not nearly so afraid of Russia as I am of ourselves." It will be a long time before Russia is ready to start a war with the United States, in my judgment. In the first place, the people don't want war, and one would guess that the leaders have too much sense to start another war until they are ready to sustain it—both in terms of atomic energy and essential materials for previous forms of modern warfare. Where for example, would Russia have found herself in the face of the German aggression had it not been for American lend-lease?

A further conclusion: Believing that Communism is not the answer to the world's present predicament; and believing that Democracy, as we know it in America, can meet and supply that need, if once we get back to work and granted we have the needed leadership, I still believe that Democracy offers the only way up and out. I still say, however, that we must awake to the real situation, go to work, and quit wasting our energies in riotous living and divided loyalties.

A Minister in Moscow

By Ralph W. Sockman

THE LATE Judge Woolsey was wont to say that there is no pleasure greater than that of generalizing from a single instance unless it be the pleasure of generalizing from no instance at all. Discussions of Russia in these troubled times furnish fertile field for both these indulgences. A three weeks' stay in a land of 200,000,000 people does not qualify one to speak authoritatively of Russian attitudes. Hence, I have been trying to guard myself against those broad generalizations to which travelers are prone and from which the pulpit is by no means exempt. What I write, therefore, essays to be not an article on "religion in Russia," as requested by the editor, but merely the observations of one minister in Moscow.

I

Our sources of information were probably as ample as any visitor to Russia could now find available. We traveled some five thousand miles in the U.S.S.R., visiting such cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Stalingrad and Tbilisi — a journey which took us through the worst devastated regions as well as through the leading cultural centers from the Gulf of Finland to the Black sea. We were privileged to meet such ecclesiastical leaders as Patriarch Alexii, supreme head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Archbishop Sergei of Odessa, Dr. Zhidkov, leader of the All-Union of Evangelicals and Baptists, and Pastor Orlov of the leading Baptist church of Moscow, as well as the local clergy in various communities. And most informative of all were our conferences with the government officials who have charge of the relations between the Soviet and the church groups — Mr. Karpov of the Russian Orthodox Church and Mr. Polyansky of "the cults." The latter classification includes all religious bodies other than the Russian Orthodox, such as Jews, Lutherans, Baptists, Moslems, Buddhists, Seventh-day Adventists and Roman Catholics (one can well imagine the irritation of the Vatican at being classified as a "cult").

Membership statistics have little significance in Russia. In fact, there is no religious census. Such official registering of believers with the government would be unconstitutional, for the law forbids asking any person about his religious affiliations — a fact to which the government points as a proof of religious freedom. Mr. Karpov merely said that there were "many million" adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church, although "fewer than in 1917." There are about 22,000 Orthodox churches in the U.S.S.R. and some of them have from 5,000 to 10,000 parishioners. He admitted that the rural districts are somewhat more devoted to the traditional faith than are the city dwellers.

The Baptists claim about 300,000 baptized members, and estimate their "adherents" at approximately 1,400,000. The Pentecostal group has been incorporated into the Union of Evangelicals and Baptists. As to the other religious bodies listed as "cults," we were given no numerical estimates.

On our first Sunday in Moscow our delegation of seven divided its attendance between the Russian Orthodox Cathedral and a Baptist church. At the former we arrived a little after ten o'clock to find long queues at every entrance. The cathedral was so packed with standing worshipers that ushers were engaged in helping some people to make their way to the exits so that others could enter. When we alighted from our autos, word went through the crowd that we were Americans and a way was made for us to reach a railed-off section near the altar. This consideration was typical of the courtesies we received from the people on every hand. We remained for over an hour, during which the service consisted entirely of ritual with much choral accompaniment. The singing was magnificent. The 4,000 or more worshipers were devout. When we left, the queues, though shorter, were still at the doors. Those waiting outside and the standing worshipers remain in my memory as I return to America where we ministers try to entice listeners to sit in our cushioned pews by advertising our services as brief, breezy and brotherly.

Those of our delegation who attended the Baptist service with Dr. Louie D. Newton, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, reported a crowded church with eager throngs seeking admittance. Worshipers wept with emotion as Dr. Newton conveyed the greetings of their American brethren, and the clergy presented him with the gold communion cup. In Leningrad and other cities we found filled churches.

II

From these few observations, however, I do not feel justified in asserting that Russia is experiencing a religious revival. The churches are by no means as numerous as in America. Church towers do not dominate the skylines of Russian cities, except perhaps in Leningrad. Only a minority of the people attend public worship on Sundays. But it does seem apparent that the fathers and mothers of Russia, who have lost 10,000,000 loved ones in the war, are seeking for comfort deeper than can be offered by economic formulas and five-year plans.

Youth is absent in the congregations. When this fact was called to the attention of Mr. Karpov, the government administrator, he explained that the Orthodox Church was losing its young people even before 1917. The reason he gave is that the Russian Orthodox tradition favors elderly clergy. The people do not have much respect for a priest until he is old enough to present a rather patriarchal appearance. They have no relish for young, active ministers, whom they suspect of being too worldly. This policy has militated against church programs which would prove attractive to the young. Thus the church has loosened its hold on its youth, who are now finding secular sub-

stitutes such as the official "Komsomol" movement.

Whatever the true explanation, the church today does not seem to be capturing the imagination or challenging the interest of young Russians. Those whom we interviewed almost invariably said that their parents had been "religious," but that they were not. Several said they were "atheists," although their conversation did not reveal that they used the word in its strict sense. When asked the reason for their alienation from the church, they made it clear that their antipathy was to what they believed was the anti-social attitude of the church rather than to the unscientific nature of religious teaching. It would perhaps be more accurate to describe the attitude of the young people whom we met as indifference to the church rather than as antipathy toward it.

III

In fact, we did not detect hostility to the church in any quarter which we explored. The two government administrators of church affairs, while presumably not members of any religious body, were extremely cordial to Dr. Newton and to me, the two ministerial members of our delegation. At one reception, Mr. Karpov made a brief speech in which he expressed his deep respect for the followers of the Christian faith and revealed his awareness of the large place which the church holds in American life.

These officials would have us believe that the Soviet regime has aided the religious groups by giving them freedom. Prior to the revolution, they pointed out, there was discrimination against those who were not members of the Russian Orthodox Church, a discrimination which at times affected the ability to find work. Marriages not registered in the church were not recognized by the tsarist government and the children of such marriages were held to be illegitimate. The Soviet rule has broken up the ecclesiastical monopoly of the Orthodox Church. That the Baptist clergy believe the present regime better than the old tsarist order was expressed to us again and again. If America needs any warning against the evils of a church-dominated state, Russia furnishes a lurid example.

But in breaking the shackles of a despotic church, how far has Russia swung toward a state-controlled church? Both government administrators and clergy stressed repeatedly that Russia now enjoys complete separation of church and state. The question may well be asked, Why then government administrators of church affairs? The basic answer is that the state owns the land and buildings occupied by the churches. For use of these, each church pays a threefold tax: a land tax, a building tax and an insurance tax. The total tax is comparatively small. The amount may be judged from the following examples: Pastor Orlov stated that the Baptist church of which he is minister pays a tax of 2,000 rubles per year while his collections frequently amount to 4,000 rubles per Sunday; and the Orthodox Cathedral in Moscow pays an annual tax of 20,000 rubles whereas its expenditure for electric lights is almost half that amount.

Apart from the tax, the churches handle all their finances without governmental interference. Each local church has its elected treasurer. The priests would seem to be the chief directors of distribution. The Orthodox Church's revenues are derived from the sale of candles (largest amount), from voluntary subscriptions, from marriage and baptismal fees. The expenditures are for salaries of priests and choir, building repairs, theological seminaries and the episcopal fund — a list of items resembling those in our American church budgets.

Some idea of the people's devotion to the church may be gained from the incomes of the priests. The following figures were given us by Mr. Karpov, the official responsible for Orthodox Church affairs, and should therefore be authentic. The average income of a village priest is from 3,000 to 6,000 rubles a month, while his colleague in a city parish averages from 10,000 to 12,000 rubles a month, and bishops rate as high as 25,000 to 40,000 rubles per month. With the official exchange rate of 12 rubles to the dollar, such salaries look pretty tempting even to prosperous Americans. (It might be well to show this salary scale to some of the capitalists on our pulpit committees.) What these figures mean in Russia may be gauged by comparison with the average earnings of unskilled workers, which in one factory were given as 480 rubles per month; of skilled workers, 900 to 1,100 rubles per month; of engineers, 1,500 to 2,000 rubles per month. In view of such compensation, it can hardly be said that the ministerial profession has completely lost standing in Russia.

Freedom for the churches to handle their own finances does not, of course, in itself mean full ecclesiastical liberty. Again and again we were told that the pulpits are free from governmental interference. But with that statement must be coupled the Russian conception of preaching. The sermon traditionally occupies a minor place in the Orthodox Church, and preachers, both Orthodox and Evangelical, do not deal with political and social questions. Russians are complete strangers to such programs as our American churches conduct under the name of social service, social action and the like. Denominations are allowed to hold conventions, to arrange their own agenda, to send delegates to denominational congresses outside the U.S.S.R., to conduct certain philanthropies such as hospitals and orphanages. But, we were told, "our preachers do not preach politics." What the people—or the government—would consider political preaching and what would happen to flaming social prophets must be left to conjecture.

IV

What of the future? It is perhaps as futile to predict as to generalize. The churches are growing. The Baptist clergy told us that many were awaiting baptism. Mr. Karpov stated that during the past three years the Orthodox Church had built 47 new buildings in addition to reopening many old sanctuaries. Five new seminaries have been opened this past year. When these are added to the six already in existence, it would seem that the supply of priests is being enlarged. The church apparently is gaining prestige with the mature population. While the church was not allowed to provide chaplains for the

Soviet army, soldiers who asked for religious ministration were served by local civilian priests. And the churches contributed about 300,000,000 rubles to war purposes during the struggle — a fact which apparently did much to rehabilitate them in the public eye.

The crucial problem for the church in Russia, however, is the winning of the generation that has grown up since 1917. Born in a period of bitter reaction from a reactionary church, these young people, now coming into control of the arts, the sciences, the politics of Russia, have no knowledge of what vital Christianity is. It does not look as if they were going to get this knowledge from the patriarchal priests, good men as they no doubt are. The government leaves all religious education to the church and the home. What devout Russian parents may be doing in this regard we did not discover, and we saw no signs of Sunday schools or their equivalent.

No government in the world is giving more attention to the secular care of its youth than is Russia. Its officially sponsored programs of physical education are unsurpassed anywhere. During our stay we witnessed sports events which America has not equaled. Is Russia to rear a mighty crop of physically fit pagans? The danger of such a prospect cannot be ignored. The Russian churches must rouse themselves. Toward that end they need strengthened leadership from within and closer cooperation from without.

Ecclesiastical leaders revealed a certain interest in, and awareness of, church activities in America. Government officials expressed their willingness to have Russian religious leaders participate in assemblies outside the U.S.S.R. But Kremlin policy clearly is to prevent any extensive interchange of nationals until the Russian standard of living is raised to a level comparable with that of other countries. This goal is a part of the fourth five-year plan now starting. Perhaps the message and spirit of Christ can find a way of penetrating the iron curtain of pride, and perhaps the World Council of Churches will be able to cross thresholds which diplomacy is now finding so forbidding.

How Protestant Localism Grows

By T. T. Brumbaugh

PROTESTANT UNITY is slowly growing on the national level. Through mergers between denominations, through interchurch councils and federations and in other forms of cooperation the churches are gradually assuming the responsibility that rests upon them to shape the character of American life and institutions in accordance with their Christian mission. But this development is taking place in a sort of ecumenical cloudland. It is not manifest at the grass roots. Instead, competition is on the increase in many if not in most communities. This trend must be reversed if the whole ecumenical movement, which holds so much promise for the future, is not to be brought into disrepute.

Pressure from Above

The crucial factor is found in the pressure which denominational overhead organizations bring to bear on local churches and pastors. So vigorously are district, diocesan, presbyterial and synodical programs being pressed on ministers and congregations that competition is inevitable. These intermediate programs in turn reflect the force of decisions reached by the national bodies of the denominations. They are made in the tradition of a self-sufficiency which the churches deny in other actions. They often contradict in their practical effect the commitments which the denominations make to each other in other connections. Their net effect is to bring confusion and loss of power into the church's moral and spiritual impact on the local community.

Take, for example, the concern of the average denomination for church extension and relocation of churches in areas of shifting populations. To deal equitably with such problems is the province of the comity committee of local church councils and federations. Denominational representatives of course realize that, without some interdenominational agency to locate churches in such a manner as will avoid overlapping in some communities and underchurching in others, the modern Babel of Protestantism would be even worse confounded. Yet, though fully recognizing this menace to the common gospel, the comity committee of any church federation or council tends to become that body's war department, with real or threatened internal conflict engaging energies which should be employed against the common foe.

To be more explicit, let us look at the situation obtaining in Detroit. Throughout the war, during which the population of metropolitan Detroit increased by approximately a half-million souls, thus creating many new and unchurched residential communities, the denominations cooperated beautifully in discovering and allocating to each other desirable sites for new Sunday schools and churches. With the end of this phenomenal development, however, and with the approach of saturation in the location of churches on the basis of a common Protestant heritage, the denominations began to revert to prewar patterns of sectarianism.

Desire for Extension

With Methodist people moving into every residential district, the Methodists demand the right to follow them with a church of that order, though it is clear that to do so will put another evangelical church in a community where, the church federation's comity committee has declared on the basis of research, but one can make real progress. Again, Presbyterian and other churches in the older areas of the city are finding it necessary to move

New Orleans States -46

17 Commies Are Found Guilty

11-15-46

Recorder's Court Judge Harold Moore found 17 alleged Communists guilty of disturbing the peace at a Communist party meeting November 7 and sentenced them to pay fines of $20 each or serve 10 days in jail.

After a lengthy trial yesterday in which the defense summoned a score of witnesses to the stand, Judge Moore said they had given no evidence to show that the Communist meeting was a lawful assembly. He also pointed out that such meetings should be authorized in writing by the city.

An appeal of the case to criminal district court was announced by James McCain, counsel for the defense.

The disturbance was provoked by a remark made by James E. Jackson, Negro leader of the Communist party in Louisiana, and those members of the party who engaged in the melee are subsequently guilty of disturbing the peace, Moore declared.

The Negro was said to have remarked that Russia is a better country than the United States.

An attempt was made by the defense to prove that the 17 defendants were merely spectators and if any of them participated in the disturbance it was only to defend themselves. Several of the defendants were with their wives at the meeting and at the time of the fracas and left the meeting immediately, the defense pointed out.

Louis Flesicher, associate counsel for the Civil Rights Congress, New York, and Herman Midlo, representative of the Louisiana League for the Preservation of Constitutional Rights, together with McCain argued at length that the meeting was legal. The chief objection, McCain declared, was against Jackson, who admitted he was a Communist.

Police Lieutenant Charles E. Hartman, who supervised the raid, was kept on the stand for more than an hour as the defense sought to prove that he could not possibly have seen all the men fighting and that he simply conducted a mass arrest of everyone in the meeting hall. McCain attempted to point out that Jackson was only trying to protect himself with a chair and was not using it aggressively.

A notice of the meeting was given in a notice to the press, in pamphlets and through the mails, Emanuel Levin, Communist organizer for the South, testified. Levin was one of the defendants.

Ford Stilson, chairman and also a defendant, charged in testimony that "the newspapers distorted the facts about Jackson's remarks."

The others found guilty were Ike Jones, Gillis Doman, August Harris, Arthur Ester, Charles Jones, W. L. Jones, Robert M. Slayton, Walter Green, Lucius Taylor, Mehmit Modians, Alvin Jones, Morris Samuelson, T. R. Means and Cy Rotbart. Each defendant denied he had struck any blows during the disturbance.

Atl. Journal
11-26-46

House Un-American Probers Aim to Expose Red Influences

New Chairman Raps Columbians, Will Work With Truman 'Purge'

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26.—(AP)—An exposure of Communist influences in the government, in unions and in Hollywood was ticketed Tuesday as the chief business for the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the new Congress.

Representative J. Parnell Thomas (Republican, New Jersey), who will head the group, made clear in a statement of his plans that President Truman's move to "purge" the federal pay rolls of Communists and "subversive" persons will not deter the committee from pressing its own inquiry in that field.

Mr. Truman, by executive order, created an inter agency commission Monday to work out standards and procedures for locating and dismissing disloyal persons who have gained federal employment.

The commission also is to make recommendations on whether present regulations give the government adequate protection against employment of disloyal and subversive persons. It is to report to Mr. Truman by February 1.

Vanech Chairman

The commission is to be made up of one representative each from the Justice, State, Treasury, War and Navy departments and the Civil Service Commission. Atty. General Clark appointed A. Devitt Vanech as the Justice department representative, who is to be chairman.

Representative Rankin (Democrat, Mississippi), who will be top Democrat on the un-American activities committee, said the group would welcome co-operation from the President's commission. He called creation of the commission "a step in the right direction."

The Columbians, an organization whose critics say it is anti-Jewish and anti-Negro, came in for attack from Thomas along with the Communists.

"There is no place in America for the Columbians or the Communists," he said in his statement. "We must be just as alert for those forces which would seek to destroy us from the totalitarian right as those from the totalitarian left."

Aims Outlined

In listing committee aims, Thomas said it intends:

"To spotlight the sorry spectacle of having outright Communists controlling and dominating some of the most vital unions in American labor, unions (that) are now being used as Moscow pawns for ambitious and unscrupulous Communist leaders."

Institute "a counter-educational program against the subversive propaganda which has been hurled at the American people."

To give attention to groups and movements "trying to dissipate our atomic bomb 'know-how' for the benefit of a foreign power," and,

To move against "the Communist element in our educational system."

Thomas promised that the "rights of the individual" will be "fully respected."

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VACCINE FOUND EFFECTIVE IN MUMPS FIGHT

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26. (By Science Service)—The United States Public Health Service disclosed Tuesday the production of a vaccine against mumps. The immunizing agent has been used successfully in monkeys and now is being tested for the prevention of mumps in man. Physicians of the health service said such vaccine not only would be a useful weapon against the disease in children but in addition has military importance. They said mumps "stands at the top of the list of diseases that incapacitates soldiers."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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ATL CONST 4-2-53

FBI Here Asks for Copies Of Communist Newspaper

Tabloid Mailed to Atlantans Says Rich People Rule South

The FBI Wednesday asked for copies of a self-avowed Communist party tabloid which was being circulated around Atlanta Wednesday.

Reports from citizens scattered across the city revealed that an undetermined number of copies of a four-page newspaper called The Worker were received in the mails here Tuesday and Wednesday.

At least two copies were postmarked at College Park. The papers were enclosed in white business envelopes addressed and stamped by hand.

"COMMON PROGRAM"

Big black headlines across the front page advertise what the paper calls "the Southern people's common program for democracy, progress, peace."

On the third page is an order blank offering subscriptions to the tabloid and The Daily Worker, recognized organ for the Communist Party in the United States, at bargain prices.

One recipient said the paper is "a stewpot of the same old Communist baloney" with special appeals made to Negroes and sincere Southern liberals who favor such reforms as revision of Georgia's county unit system, reapportioning congressional districts and abolishing the fee system for paying judges and court officials.

The paper says the South must "take up the struggle for democracy against native reactionaries . . . and Wall Street monopolists."

"RULE BY RICH"

"During the Reconstruction Period of our history," the paper continues, "the people of our region ran our government. Since 1876 when the Reconstruction governments were overthrown, it is the rich people who rule the South."

A postal inspector here said the inspection service had so far received no complaints about the paper. He explained that the service has no legal power to take action against Communist propaganda unless it is slanderous or obscene.

An FBI spokesman said he could not say whether the FBI was investigating the paper, but asked that copies and envelopes be sent to the FBI office here.

Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins said he would put detectives to work on the case.

Sun-Reporter
4/11/53

Columbia U. Dismisses Dr. Weltfish Co-Author "Races of Mankind"

NEW YORK—Dr. Gene Weltfish, 51-year-old co-author of the "Races of Mankind," last week was ruled "ineligible for reappointment for the next academic year" by Columbia University here. The highly controversial volume was published in 1943 and was attacked from several quarters because it attempted to destroy the myth of "race."

She refused in September, 1952, to tell senate investigators whether she was or had been a communist, however, university officials denied that there was any political implications in her dismissal.

Dr. Weltfish refused to answer under provisions of the Fifth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution which provides protection against self-incrimination.

The noted lecturer in anthropology has been a favorite speaker at Negro educational meetings.

Soviet Police Came South To Murder?

Decided To Expel, Not Kill Squealer

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20—(AP)—Senate investigators disclosed testimony today that Russian secret police once went to the Alabama-Georgia area prepared to murder a purported Communist worker who had given party information in a newspaper article.

It was finally decided, however, only to expel the worker from the party, the Senate committee was told.

The testimony was given a three-man task force of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Paul Crouch of Washington, D C.., an acknowledged former Communist.

Crouch related in detail what he said were his activities with the Communist Party in the South.

SENT TO BIRMINGHAM

He said he was sent to Birmingham in eary 1938 as chairman of the Control and Security Commission of the party. This included the underground apparatus "operating directly under J. Peters, who was my immediate supervisor in that capacity," he stated.

In addition, Crouch said he was the full-time editor of the monthly magazine, New South, which he said was the official organ of the party for the south.

Crouch said one of his activities was that of keeping constant vigilance against undercover agents within the Communist Party and from the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other organization opposed to communism.

When such cases arose, he said, the work was done with the National Control Commission and in exceptional cases, with the Soviet secret police, "formerly the GPU, but now the MVD."

DETAILS OF INCIDENT

He said an important incident arose while he was in Birmingham, and explained:

"In the early summer of 1938, a series of articles appeared in the Atlanta Georgian written by a member of the Communist Party in the Alabama-Georgia-Mississippi district, telling the people what the party was like.

"They were unsigned articles saying that the author was at that time a member of the Communist Party opposed to communism who was in the Communist Party to find out what it was like and what it was doing. The article was unquestionably authentic and the author of the articles also appeared on a radio program from Atlanta.

"Immediately I reported this to the national control commission, then headed by Charles Dirba, a native of Latvia, formerly a part of Russia and re-

sion of the situation as to what to be done.

"The first question they raised was: Should he be liquidated? In other words, should the Soviet secret police do a murder job on him. I strongly protested and told them that this would bring the government down on the party, would result in adverse publicity, and under no conditions should be considered.

"They said then: Suppose that he be invited to the Soviet Union to go to school and that they take care of him over there? Well, I had no logical argument to that and made little comment.

MEMBER OF COLUMBIANS

"Further investigation at Columbus disclosed that this man, a moving-picture operator in one of the theaters, was in the Communist Party as a representative of a private organization known as the Columbians. When this information was made known, the representatives came down again and after a conference it was agreed that the best solution in this case was to expel him from the Communist Party and issue leaflets attacking him and

the GPU, but now the [illegible]

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"Immediately I reported this to the national control commission, then headed by Charles Dirba, a native of Latvia, formerly a part of Russia, and reported to be in Los Angeles at the present time.

"He directed me to make a thorough investigation. As a result of this investigation, the identity of the individual was learned. By a study of the articles, the area was broken down to the Columbus section. The articles had carried a photostat of his membership card in the Communist Party with his name covered over, but showing the rubber stamp signature of Rob F. Hall, district organizer, and the rubber stamp seal of the district.

CAME TO HIS HOME

"Then I was advised by Rob F. Hall, district organizer, that he had received word from Dirba that two representatives of the apparatus, as we called the GPU, the Soviet secret police, were coming down for a conference with me. They came out to my home at Birmingham after reporting to Rob F. Hall, who phoned me they were coming, and immediately began a discussion secret police do a murder job on him. I strongly protested and told them that this would bring the government down on the party, would result in adverse publicity, and under no conditions should be considered.

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Sen. Welker (R. Idaho), a subcommittee member, asked Crouch why Hall was not sent to the Lenin school in Russia.

Crouch replied: "The Communist Party felt that the Columbians was an organization very closely affiliated or very close to the Ku Klux Klan and that the Communist Party by leaflets could make political capital out of it, that they could use this as part of their propaganda against the Ku Klux Klan and against the Columbians and try to describe the opposition to the Communist Party as being of a Fascist character, linking the Ku Klux Klan with Fascism."

Grandmother at 32

IMOLA, Italy, Sept. 20—(AP)—Iolanda Giovannini today became a grandmother at 32. She married when she was 15. Her eldest daughter, Vincenza, 16, gave birth to a daughter.

3-26-54

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A SOCIOLOGIST LOOKS AT RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH*

GUY B. JOHNSON
University of North Carolina

I. PRELUDE TO CRISIS

IN THE barber shop the other day a countryman in the chair opposite me said, "Professor, I see where the Supreme Court is going to pass a new law sayin' that the white and the colored will have to go to school together. It makes me sort of uneasy."

There are indeed a lot of uneasy people in the South today, because the institution of compulsory racial segregation is under attack and may soon be dealt a knock-out blow. In 1952 five test cases, sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. on behalf of the parents of Negro children in public schools, went up to the United States Supreme Court on appeal. The cases, which came from South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, District of Columbia, and Kansas, were consolidated for the purpose of the hearing by the Court. The N.A.A.C.P. believed that the time was ripe to demand that the Court decide the cases on the issue of segregation itself. It argued that even if the Negro schools were equal to the white schools in all measurable respects they would still impose an inevitable social and psychological stigma upon the Negro child, and it asked the Court to declare compulsory segregation on grounds of race an act of discrimination and therefore contrary to the Constitution of the United States. The defense argued, of course, that there is nothing inherently discriminatory in segregation, that school facilities can be and are being equalized, and it asked the Court to reaffirm its traditional philosophy, namely, that segregation is lawful if facilities are equal.

In December 1952, the Supreme Court held hearings on these cases, and the South waited with much trepidation a decision during the spring of 1953. But there was no decision. Instead, last fall the Court announced a rehearing on a series of searching questions which it laid before the legal counsel on both sides. This hearing took place last December, and again we wait for a decision. If the South is on the spot, so is the Supreme Court! It must decide whether its previous decisions on segregation are all right, which it would probably be ashamed to do, or whether its previous decisions were all wrong, which it is probably afraid of doing. The former would be like setting off a harmless firecracker, the latter like dropping a legal atom bomb on the South. Of course, there are certain intermediate positions possible, but in a matter like segregation there is an all-or-none quality which makes any middle ground hard to find. For reasons which I cannot undertake to explain here, I continue to believe, as I did a year ago, that the Supreme Court will hold against compulsory segregation. At least we would do well here in the South to think in terms of that possibility and to be prepared to meet intelligently whatever crisis might be precipitated by the decision of the Court.

There is a very special relationship between the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the South, and the status of the Negro. This has been true especially since the emancipation of the slaves. After the Civil War three important constitutional amendments were submitted to the states. With the help of the southern states, most of which were then under the control of Republican "carpetbag" governments, these amendments were ratified. The Thirteenth Amendment simply forbade slavery. The Fourteenth, among other

* Presidential address delivered at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, March 26, 1954.

things, conferred citizenship upon the Negro and forbade the states to abridge the rights of citizens. The Fifteenth attempted specifically to prevent abridgement of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The Fourteenth Amendment has probably been the subject of more constitutional litigation than any other provision in the Constitution. Not all of it, by the way, has been concerned with the rights of the Negro, but this amendment is his main weapon in his struggle for complete equality of citizenship. The crucial part of the Amendment, Section 1, reads as follows:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The Amendment ends with a section which states: "The Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

The Congress wanted to do a thorough job of bestowing equality upon the Negro, to say nothing of winning his affection for the Republican Party. It passed a series of Force Acts and Civil Rights Acts which sought to guarantee to Negroes the equal enjoyment of all sorts of accommodations and facilities and provided severe punishments for *private* persons as well as officials who violated these laws. The Supreme Court held that these laws went beyond the powers bestowed upon Congress by the Constitution. They dealt with "privileges or immunities" which were matters of "state citizenship" rather than "Federal citizenship," and they attempted to penalize the acts of private persons along with the official discriminatory acts of states. The upshot of twenty years of litigation was that virtually every clause of the Federal Civil Rights laws was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. How the South loved the Court in those days!

The South was on the rise again, and the North was losing its interest in the fate of the new colored citizens. With southern white democrats back in control of their state governments, and with Negroes eliminated from politics through fraud and intimidation, the southern states proceeded to fortify the social norms of white supremacy with the legal sanctions of segregation. Into their revised constitutions and laws went provisions for the mandatory separation of the races in the public schools, in public carriers, and in places of public accommodation and amusement. It is this same legal structure which has now put the South on the spot before the Supreme Court, because it is these laws which the N.A.A.C.P. is asking the Court to declare discriminatory *per se*.

The Supreme Court, however, had actually encouraged the South in such legislation. In 1896 the Court put its blessing on segregation, so to speak, in the famous case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In that case the Court declared that a state law requiring a public carrier to provide separate accommodations for Negroes and whites was valid if the state law also directed the carrier to make the accommodations equal. This was the beginning of the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, and the Plessy case set a precedent which has governed nearly all of the subsequent decisions on segregation. For several decades, then, the Supreme Court was somewhat indifferent to the contentions of Negroes that segregation was discrimination. The Plessy doctrine was of some use, of course, and the N.A.A.C.P. employed it to gain equalization of teachers' salaries and school facilities to some extent, but it was slow and expensive because the litigation had to be repeated in district after district.

Lay it to the New Deal, Mr. Roosevelt's "stacked Court," the trends of the times, or what you will, but times have changed. In the 1930's the Supreme Court seemed to have found a new point of view on civil rights and discrimination. Its decisions began to show a new liberal trend, and World War II no doubt further stimulated the trend. The N.A.A.C.P. was quick to take advantage of the "new look" in the Federal judiciary. It planned a strategy which would eventually push for a show-down on the issue of segregation *per se*, and it won a series of notable decisions.

We see the results of these decisions all around us. For example, it is commonplace to see Negroes in railway coaches, Pullmans, and dining cars without segregation. The white primary is a thing of the past (on this one, incidentally, the Court in 1944 completely reversed an opinion which it had made nine years earlier upholding the white primary), and it is estimated that a million Negroes voted in the South in the 1952 elections.

We see modern school buildings for Negroes replacing the old shabby ones, and in many areas we hear of teachers' salaries, school terms, etc., being well on the way to equalization. But the most significant change is one which is perhaps not very well known, namely, that 25 publicly supported universities and colleges in the South have admitted Negro students on the graduate and professional levels. All of the state universities except five—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi—now have some Negro students on their campuses. Later I shall have more to say on this subject.

There have, of course, been other sources of social change in the South. The World War, urbanization, the expansion of industry, better incomes, better education, better health—all of these have brought changes in both races and in their interactions. Then, too, there has been considerable erosion of the bitterness and of the hysterical fears which grew out of the Reconstruction period. Both whites and Negroes are gradually maturing in mutual respect for one another as persons rather than as members of stereotyped groups. When the N.A.A.C.P. can hold its annual convention in Atlanta, when Ralph Bunche can address unsegregated audiences in public auditoriums in various southern cities, and when a Negro can get himself elected by popular vote to the Atlanta School Board, in spite of the ruthless efforts of certain politicians to smear his good name—well, surely things are changing in the South.

Still it is the Supreme Court which has forced the most drastic changes in the status of Negroes, and it is the Supreme Court which can in a few words drop a legal atom bomb. It is ironical that while our Constitution has changed but little since Reconstruction, and while Congress has not passed a single major substantive measure on civil rights since that time, the Supreme Court has wrought great changes. Its manifest function is to determine constitutional questions of law and equity, but through its power to say "No" to legislative acts and its power to change its own mind as to what is constitutional and what is not, it actually has something equivalent to a legislative function. If and when it reverses itself on the Plessy doctrine of "separate but equal" and decides that compulsory segregation is in itself an act of discrimination by the state, its decision will have precisely the same effect as if all the laws compelling segregation were repealed tomorrow morning. And so the man in the barber shop was not really wrong when he spoke of the Supreme Court as "passing a law."

Seventeen states—all of the southern states plus the border states of Missouri, West Virginia, and Delaware—have compulsory segregation in their public schools. This is a region which, while it may have great diversities in many respects, tends to be uniform in its basic structuring of Negro and white relations. It has a quasi-caste system, it has an ideology of white supremacy and white superiority, and it has legal sanctions for the public and institutional separation of the races.

Many Supreme Court decisions have applied to great corporations or to sizeable groups of persons, but a decision "repealing" the segregation laws of seventeen states containing 47,000,000 persons is a thing of real magnitude. Thus there is a very special relationship between the Supreme Court, the South, and the status of the Negro.

II. CRISIS AND ACCOMMODATION

I have indicated that the South has already experienced some measure of desegregation, and I have expressed the belief that the South may soon find that all of its segregation laws have been invalidated. The next question, then, is: What is the shape of things to come? Specifically, what is likely to happen during the period of transition? What new accommodations in the relations of white and Negro can we expect? What will the situation be like when it has settled down?

Well, what can a sociologist say that is sound and reasonable about these problems? If he is honest, he will readily admit that while sociology has made great strides in its methodology it is not yet equipped to speak with assurance on a problem as complex as this. However, he should not overdo the modest stance, because if he has profited from his training and from his study of human society, then he of all people is entitled to speak. I would like to think that what I have to say on this subject is shared by practically all other sociologists similarly situated, but *that* remains to be seen; so I must warn you that I am speaking for *one* sociologist, that my analysis is probably a compound of thirty years of impressions, a pinch of science, and a dash of common sense, garnished somewhat generously with value judgments. Let me add that for reasons of time I shall confine

my remarks almost entirely to the public school situation.

There are at least two important things the sociologist can do in order to make an intelligent projection of the course of social change in any given situation. First, he can try to identify the most significant factors in the situation which he is observing and assess their relative weights and their variations. Second, he can find out what has happened in previous instances which are parallel or similar in the hope of gaining better insight into the dynamics of the present situation. Let me discuss these in order. I shall have to be brief and no doubt I may appear to be quite dogmatic.

I submit that first and foremost among the determinants of the future situation in the South is the system of norms and values concerned with white social dominance, social exclusiveness, and the preservation of what is sometimes called the "integrity" of white society and white "racial" types. This value system is not merely southern. It approaches universality in American white society. Its strength varies, of course. It is strongest in the Deep South, it is weaker in areas where there are few Negroes and in the great cosmopolitan centers of the North and West; but it probably represents the overwhelming majority of white people in all sections of the country. The main difference between the South and the rest of the states is that the South has added legal sanctions to its social norms. Being bitter and insecure because of the Emancipation and the Reconstruction, the South wanted to "fix things good." It operated on the principle that 100 percent dominance is a lot better than 95 percent dominance, and that if you gave one little bit of equality to the Negro, the next thing you knew you would be face to face with the problem: Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?

The second great determinant, which is merely the structural aspect of the first, is the fact of dualism in white and Negro social institutions. Whether it be in the towns and cities where spatial separation accompanies social dualism, or in the rural areas where spatial or ecological separation is not usually definitely patterned, there are two communities, one white and one Negro. In the Negro communities are churches, businesses, private schools, and an amazing range of other voluntary associations and agencies, and throughout the South there are the legally segregated public schools for Negroes. This institutional machinery is the social world of the Negro. It furnishes jobs, status positions, prestige —in short, the satisfaction of most of the basic and derived needs of the Negro.

Now, the southern white people have a serious social, economic, and psychological stake in the structure of white dominance, and they would like to keep it intact. They dread any tampering with the system, and they fear that the removal of one wheel or bolt from the machinery might cause the whole thing to get out of control. Their attitude may be characterized as follows: "We would rather not concede any changes, but if the Supreme Court says we must, then we must. But we will make the changes mean as little as possible in our basic attitudes and values. If the outer wall is weakened, we will strengthen the inner wall around our intimate social relations. Segregation laws may be dead, but long live segregation!"

The Negro also has a stake in the present dual system, and while he resents the imputation of inferiority involved in the compulsory aspect of segregation, this does not mean that he wants, in the foreseeable future, a grand merger with the white community. His attitude may be characterized as follows: "By all means, take away the segregation laws, those accursed symbols of inferiority. I will feel a lot better, but I will know that the millennium has not arrived, so just let me feel my way cautiously in these new contacts with white people."

At the risk of oversimplification, I suggest that these two—the value system of white dominance and the dualistic nature of our social structure—are the basic determining factors in the new adjustments arising from desegregation. There are, however, a number of other factors which are certain to have some weight. Let me cite them briefly.

Class Status. Intra-race class differences are obviously less important than inter-race differences, but they will have some influence, and they may become of increasing importance. In urban areas the upper class whites will as a rule have fewer inter-race contacts in the public schools than will the middle and lower class whites, because of the typical ecological patterns in the cities. Insofar as the norms of white race dominance are weakened, race relations will tend to become

class relations, and the lower class whites will have a more intense concern with class status.

Population Ratios. By and large there is some association between ratio of Negroes to whites and the amount of threat felt by the whites in the removal of legal sanctions, but there are important local variations. In fact, the variations in attitudes, informal controls, and interaction patterns are so great that I would expect some of the "best" and some of the "worst" transition situations to develop in areas where the ratio of Negroes to whites is very high.

Rural-Urban Differences. Since the pattern of spatial segregation is relatively weak in rural areas, there would logically be more occasions for having mixed school units than in the cities. But resistance to such changes is likely to be very high in the rural areas, and thus we may expect a high incidence of conflicts, evasive actions, and pressures for compromise arrangements.

General Economic Outlook. The South is on the up industrially and agriculturally, and this is fortunate. It lessens the danger of tensions based on economic insecurity, and it provides a base for the greatly increased expenditures which will have to be made for the public schools. A depression in the next few years would no doubt aggravate the inter-racial situation generally and make the new adjustments all the more difficult.

In addition I want to mention two factors which I surmise will have considerable weight during the fluid initial stage of readjustment, if and when the Supreme Court invalidates legal segregation. The first is the general state of mind of the southern people. It appears to be surprisingly calm, on the whole, in the face of the impending decision of the Court. The very fact that the Court has delayed the process of decision has taken some of the edge off the feeling of crisis and has given the southern people time to become accustomed to the thought of desegregation. Governors, congressmen, editors, and others have counselled calmness and moderation, and the public officials who have threatened to abolish the public schools or to take other drastic measures are very much in the minority. The second factor is the attitudes of persons in positions of leadership and authority who will have to make decisions upon policies and their implementation. I think that there is a real likelihood that there will be a great deal of confusion and variation in the decisions. The public will be wondering what the authorities think, what they are going to do, how firm they will be, etc., while the authorities are likely to be more cautious and vacillating than they need be because they will be hypersensitive to all sorts of pressure groups which claim to represent the prevailing public opinion.

A few moments ago I stated that another thing which the sociologist can do is to try to find out what has happened in situations similar to the one which he is studying. Of course, there are no situations precisely comparable to ours, but we can cite several which might throw some light on what happens in the transition from segregation to desegregation.

Of interest here is the experience of certain northern and western communities which have decided in the past ten years to "integrate" their schools. Recent studies of several such communities show that when the city officials and the school board adopted a definite policy, put it into effect without delay, and then stood firm, there was very little disturbance during the transition. But when the official policy was uncertain and there was delay in its execution, the opposition had time to crystallize. Pressures were put on the school board, and white students, taking the cue from their parents, caused considerable disorder. In Gary, Indiana, for example, where the integration plan was poorly prepared and timidly proposed, there was a strike led by some of the white high school students as a protest against the admission of Negroes. The tension became so high that the school board was afraid to crack down on the strikers and proceed with its plan. Rioting seemed imminent on several occasions. The strike leader, a boy in his teens, gained much notoriety and became a power to be reckoned with. After two years of intermittent strikes and community turmoil, the school board mobilized enough support and courage to enable it to call the strikers truants and proceed with a firm policy. Relations between the white and Negro students have been considered "good" for the past several years. Negro students participate in most of the school activities, but in the area of social affairs the color line is very much in evidence. This latter statement, incidentally, applies almost universally to the mixed-school situations in the North and West.

At Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and several other military bases in the South there has been some experience with the new Federal policy of

nonsegregated schools for the children of military personnel. Observers report that the mixed schools have been accepted as a matter of course, that there are some play contacts between the white and Negro children, but that equal-status social contacts between adults across the color line are quite rare. Admittedly a military base is hardly a "free" situation—the personnel are in what might be called "involuntary servitude"—but the situation does illustrate the importance of authority and uniformity. When one's reference groups are all subject to the same authority and are all expected to observe the same norms, it seems not only futile but somewhat ridiculous to deviate overtly from the expected patterns.

More to the point perhaps is the experience of the southern public institutions of higher learning which have recently admitted Negro students for the first time. Last summer I made a survey of these institutions, and I should like to report on it briefly.

Maryland had admitted Negroes to its university law school about twenty years ago, but little further had happened on the higher education level until a series of test cases in the late 1940's and early 1950's brought decisions favorable to Negro plaintiffs in Oklahoma, Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia. The result was the admission of Negroes, on the graduate and professional levels only in most instances, to at least twenty institutions in a period of five years, 1948–1952. Accurate enrollment figures were hard to get, incidentally, because the registrars took pride in saying, "We do not keep our records by race." The following list, arranged in a rough geographic sequence, shows the approximate Negro enrollments for the academic year 1952–53 in the schools which we studied: University of Texas, 30; Louisiana State University, 15; University of Arkansas, 12; University of Oklahoma, 50; Oklahoma A. & M., 25; University of Missouri, 12; University of Kansas City, 25; University of Louisville, 175; University of Kentucky, 20; University of Tennessee, 10; University of North Carolina, 2; University of Virginia, 3; William and Mary, 1; Richmond Professional Institute, 36; Medical College of Virginia, 3; University of West Virginia, 5; University of Maryland, 3; University of Maryland Professional Schools, 6; University of Delaware, 15.

The enrollments totalled about 450. Summer school enrollment of Negro students was twice as high as in the regular session. We estimated that 1,000 to 2,000 Negro students had been in contact with white students in the regular sessions alone in the past five years. (Since our study was made last summer, several other schools have admitted one or more Negroes—e.g., North Carolina State College and Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Also more than thirty private and denominational colleges have voluntarily opened their doors to Negroes.)

Despite numerous predictions of violence, this transition to racial coeducation in southern universities has been accomplished without a single serious incident of friction. There were some rather wild rumors in a few schools at first, but they were soon dispelled. There was also an effort by the administration in several schools to define the privileges of the first Negro students in terms of the state laws and the old social norms; that is, the Negro students were segregated and restricted in various ways. However, this effort was soon abandoned—first, because white students themselves condemned it as unfair, and second, because the Supreme Court made a ruling against such treatment. Today there is very little official discrimination against the Negro students. In fact, one can say that there has already emerged a norm in which administration takes pride: namely, that there is equality of campus citizenship.

We found almost universal agreement that the Negro students were handicapped by their inferior educational background, and there was some evidence of a tendency on the part of teachers to "go easy" on grading them, but on the whole they were serious and industrious students who were standing up quite well in the academic race.

White students have expressed relatively little overt rudeness or antagonism toward these Negro students. Most of them are simply indifferent, but there is a minority who interact with Negro students in a cordial and friendly way. In fact there were several instances of white students taking the initiative in behalf of equal privileges for the Negro student. In the official social affairs of academic organizations—e.g., a law students' dinner or picnic—Negro students have taken part, but in the strictly "social" realm there is almost no Negro participation. All parties seem to understand that new and delicate adjustments are involved, and they have behaved with appropriate restraint. Perhaps the best way to sum-

marize what has happened so far is to say that white and Negro students have already learned new patterns of working, eating, and living in close proximity without serious disturbance to their sense of social privacy.

The differences between this university situation and the public school situation, in terms of numbers, age, sophistication, maturity, etc., are obvious. However, there are probably trends and patterns here which will help in our projections on the public school level.

III. REASONABLE PROJECTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Now that I have finally reached the point of stating some reasonable projections and expectations in the process of racial desegregation in the schools, I am aware that my previous discussion has anticipated much of what I shall say.

The fluid initial stage in the transition will be of special importance, and I want to state two propositions with regard to it.

1. *It will be a period of tension, of evasive actions and experiments.* At first there is the possibility that practically nothing happens. The Supreme Court's decision may apply directly only to the instant cases. A few additional communities may begin to fall in line of their own accord, but the normal expectation is that most school district officials will sit tight and wait for legal tests to be directed against them. Prolonged litigation, then, is a distinct possibility, and its total effect will be to make the transition to desegregation a gradual one.

Think of all the evasive measures you can, and you have an idea of the evasions and negations which will be proposed or actually tried out. Among the more obvious petty devices are the gerrymandering of school district lines, complicated transfer regulations, and delay in processing the applications of Negroes who wish to enter a "superior" school. No doubt there will be a heavy increase in enrollment of white students in private schools, because this is one way in which the well-to-do white people can "protect" their children from inter-race contacts. There will be talk of separating high school students along sex lines but I doubt whether such a scheme will win many backers.

But the most startling proposals are the South Carolina plan for turning the schools over completely to private agencies and the Georgia plan for handing out cash subsidies to parents who will then use the money to provide schooling for their children. The theory behind them is that if the state supports no public schools, it is not discriminating against anybody, therefore it is beyond the reach of the Federal Constitution. South Carolina has already had a popular vote on an amendment which, when ratified by the legislature, will erase completely the state's obligation to support a system of public schools. The proponents of this idea imagine that the schools would be taken over, financed, and operated by all sorts of private educational agencies. Some would be white agencies, some would be Negro; thus the state would hope to do by private action what it could no longer do by official action. How the legal act of giving the schools to such agencies can be accomplished I do not know, but assuming that it is done, then what? Simply that the wealthy have good schools, the poor have shabby schools, and a great cry arises for state subsidies. Then, if the state is honest about wanting to see its children get fair opportunities, it grants subsidies to the private agencies. And the minute it does this it is vulnerable under the Federal Constitution. Both the Georgia and the South Carolina plans are unrealistic, but we should not be too surprised if they are given a try. One is reminded of the attempts to evade the Supreme Court's white primary decision of 1944. South Carolina repealed all laws referring to primary elections and allowed the Democratic Party to run its primaries as it saw fit, but the Federal courts lost no time in invalidating this device.

What I am saying here is that the natural reaction of the majority of white people will be to try to define the new situation in terms of the existing norms. At the same time there will be efforts by the liberal or equalitarian minority in the white group to accept the new situation and to modify the social norms to fit, but these will remain *minority* efforts.

2. *The initial period is likely to see an increase in race rumors, an increase of aggression against Negroes, and occasional violence.* Every sensible person would like to believe that the transition can be made without violence. I believe that for the most part it will, but considering the reality of the extreme emotional involvement of certain white groups in the symbols of white dominance, and considering the thousand and one ways in which incidents and rumors, provocations and

fears might be combined, it would be a miracle indeed if there were no violence of any sort. In several of our cities there are areas where the Negro population is expanding into formerly white territory, and in some of these there is already a pattern of violence. These are precisely the areas where mixed schools will make sense ecologically, and a certain amount of violence is likely to occur. Minor personal clashes are, of course, likely to happen sporadically almost anywhere.

Perhaps most of us forget that there are still many people who embrace the racial dogmas which we associate with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also most of us are not aware that there is today a rather active sub-literature of hate—anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and of course all cleverly tied in with anti-communist—which circulates among large segments of the population. In this connection let me quote from something which came to my attention last week:

> . . . there has never been a democracy worthy of the name except among people of the Caucasian Race. . . . The Semitic peoples . . . have never produced a workable democracy, and never can. . . . The Hamitic peoples have never produced a democracy. . . . The Latins have never produced a democracy. . . . The yellow people, the brown people and the blacks are mentally unfit for directors in our form of government. . . . They do not reason in the same way. Their mental ideas are just as different as their different tongues. . . . The claim we constantly hear, that the framers of the Constitution intended to say that all men were created equal, is simply a desperate bid of inferior minds to bolster their own inferiority by perverting the original meaning of the Founding Fathers.

That deathless prose is almost "egghead" compared to the really vicious variety. The interesting thing about this example is that it is taken from an official state bulletin, the *Georgia Farmers' Market Bulletin*, paid for by the taxpayers and circulated free of charge to thousands of farmers in one of our southern states. Considering that so many people have fed on this fare and on others five times as bad, there is a real prospect that a series of reactionary social movements might crop out in various places in the South.

When the most foolish evasive devices are done with, when the initial shock has subsided and the South has settled down to the realization that it is bound to have a certain amount of racial coeducation, what will the situation look like? I suggest some further projections.

3. *There will be no mass mingling of the races in the urban public schools.* The mass mingling of the races in the schools is simply not in the cards. Bear in mind that nearly half of the South's ten million Negroes live in urban areas and that almost a fourth live in smaller towns and villages or rural-nonfarm homes. Probably more than three-fourths of these seven million live in Negro residence areas which are spatially separate. In short, they live in distinctly Negro communities. They have no consuming desire to go to school with white pupils just for the sake of associating with them. For the majority of them, the institutions in their community are convenient, accessible, and psychologically comfortable. Their interest will be not to abolish them but to improve them, and they will have little difficulty from here on in getting a share of the public funds which will make their schools as good as any. In the mixed or marginal areas in the cities there may be an occasional mixed school, and there will be a number of the more promising and ambitious Negro scholars who will request and obtain admission to certain "white" schools because certain special courses are available there but not in the Negro schools. But I venture the prediction that not more than ten percent of the total of Negro and white pupils will be attending school together in the cities of the South for a long time to come.

4. *In rural farming areas the proportion of mixed school units will be somewhat higher.* In rural areas there will be delay and resistance at first. Negro leadership will be cautious and willing, if not anxious, to preserve separate schools if they are well financed. As time goes on and the financial burden of trying to buy separation by equalizing every aspect of the school systems becomes quite apparent, the acceptance of mixed schools will become more general. I would estimate that within twenty to twenty-five years as many as half of the rural school units may be composed of student bodies of both races.

5. *The only areas to have complete racial integration in the schools will be those areas which have very low Negro population ratios.* In large parts of the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas, and in most of the upper piedmont and mountain counties of the South, the ratio of Negroes to whites is very low. Negro

education has suffered, because county officials have been loathe to support adequate schools for a few Negro families scattered here and there. Many officials have come to regard compulsory school segregation as a nuisance and a threatened financial drain, and they will not be displeased when the Supreme Court makes it possible for them to absorb their sparse Negro school population.

6. *Official norms of "equal treatment" of all students will soon develop.* The idea of democracy in the classroom is strong in American education, and I believe that white students will on the whole be willing to include their Negro fellow-students in their concept of the "official" equality of school citizenship as such. Thus Negro students will probably participate strongly in athletics, orchestras, bands, recitals, etc., where competence is important, but less so or not at all in those phases of school life which verge on the "social," such as dramatics, hobby clubs, and social clubs and cliques. Even athletics may present some difficulties at first, because it involves travelling together, but the desire to win, plus the availability of a splendid Negro fullback or pitcher, will soon take care of this situation.

7. *Equal-status social contacts will be very rare.* In those activities which the white group defines as private, intimate, social, the norms of white dominance and out-group exclusion will operate in full force. Violation will bring swift censure and ostracism from one's reference groups. In this realm of the social, there are the makings of many tensions and emotional disturbances.

However, there is a mitigating factor. The Southerner, white and Negro, retains a good deal of the traditional folk pattern of friendliness. He likes to feel that he knows the people with whom he associates. He likes to "personalize" even casual and formal contacts as much as possible. Therefore, we can expect the day-to-day student contacts of white and Negro to partake of this "friendly" and "personal" pattern. I surmise that the routine contacts in the southern schools will have on the whole a warmer quality than they have in non-southern schools.

8. *Negro teachers will probably suffer some loss of jobs, at least temporarily.* Insofar as desegregation permits the actual abandonment of certain schools, it is sure to affect Negro schools and Negro teachers more than white. However, this loss of jobs should not be very extensive, and it should be only temporary. The school population and the numbers in average daily attendance are steadily increasing, and there will be a steady demand for teachers. Negro teachers, who, by the way, have higher indexes of training and experience than white teachers in many southern areas, should gradually find positions in the mixed schools and regain whatever ground they had lost earlier.

9. *The financial cost of the public schools in the South will increase quite heavily.* Anyone who pretends that desegregation will save untold millions of tax dollars is guilty of loose thinking. If the dual school system were composed of two high-quality and absolutely equal parts, then the elimination of unnecessary duplications would effect substantial savings. But we are dealing with a situation in which the Negro school system has until recently been half-starved financially, and equalization of any sort—whether it be in a separate system or in an integrated system—will mean not lower expenditures but higher expenditures. The South is committed to better education, and it is gradually closing the gap between itself and the other regions. It has been spending around one and a half billion dollars a year on its public schools. In order to do a good job of removing the inequalities between white and Negro and between rural and urban schools, and in order to keep up with the expected increase of population, it will have to be spending more than two billion dollars a year by 1960. However, if the favorable income trend continues, it can do this easily enough; in fact it can do it on a smaller percentage of its total income than it is using now.

IV. CONCLUSION

You have noticed that in much of my discussion there has been the implication that the change which we face is going to have a gradualistic rather than a revolutionary quality. I realize that there are those who have tried to make "gradualism" a naughty word, but I shall continue to use it. To me it does not suggest a theory or a policy which one must be for or against, but merely a useful and accurate description of the way in which many social changes actually do occur.

I believe that whether the Supreme Court takes a flat stand against legal segregation or reaffirms the separate-but-equal doctrine, the net effect is going to be about the same. The former decision

would mean a greater immediate shock, the latter would take a little more time, but both involve consequences which will materialize in a gradual manner.

The net consequences of the abandonment of compulsory segregation may be short of what many people feared they would be, but they may also be short of what many people hoped they would be. I suggest that the greatest positive consequence may be that the South will be rid of the stigma of unfair legal compulsion against the Negro and that the Negro will be rid of a hated symbol of second-class citizenship. And maybe we should be thankful if the Supreme Court does this for us. This sort of thing is hard to abandon voluntarily, and the South might not do it of its own accord for another fifty years.

A. H.

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A SOCIOLOGIST LOOKS AT RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

By
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(Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, March 26, 1954.)

I. Prelude to Crisis

In the barber shop the other day a countryman in the chair opposite me said, "Professor, I see where the Supreme Court is going to pass a new law sayin' that the white and the colored will have to go to school together. It makes me sort of uneasy."

There are indeed a lot of uneasy people in the South today, because the institution of compulsory racial segregation is under attack and may soon be dealt a knock-out blow. In 1952 five test cases, sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. on behalf of the parents of Negro children in public schools, went up to the United States Supreme Court on appeal. The cases, which came from South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, District of Columbia, and Kansas, were consolidated for the purpose of the hearing by the Court. The N.A.A.C.P. believed that the time was ripe to demand that the Court decide the cases on the issue of segregation itself. It argued that even if the Negro schools were equal to the white schools in all measurable respects they would still impose an inevitable social and psychological stigma upon the Negro child, and it asked the Court to declare compulsory segregation on grounds of race an act of discrimination and therefore contrary to the Constitution of the United States. The defense argued, of course, that there is nothing inherently discriminatory in segregation, that school facilities can be and are being equalized, and it asked the Court to reaffirm its traditional

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SOCIAL CHANGE, SOCIAL STATUS AND THE LAW: A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

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If carried through to completion, the abolition of public school segregation will mark America's greatest change in social status since the emancipation of the slaves. This may seem a weighty sentence but as any sociologist can say, its most important word is If! The present article proposes to examine this trend toward equalization against doctrines of social status and social change now prevalent in sociological theory. It will be seen that some of these concepts are common to both sociology and law.

SOCIAL STATUS AND THE LAW

Basically as the sociologist sees it the Negro has a serious problem of social status -- the most drastic facing any group in American life. In a society which thinks of itself as predominantly middle class with avenues open to mobility for individuals able to achieve, the Negro seems caught in permanent lower class status. The remedy is sought in an appeal to the Negro's legal status -- an appeal calculated to force social change on the basis of the American ideology of equality and opportunity. The social mechanism by which the Negro is deprived of opportunity is seen as segregation -- a segregation in which the public sphere violates his rights as a citizen. Unaccounted for in this scheme are large areas falling within the private sphere of life. Here also is a crucial battleground of social change and social status. It is the purpose of this paper to examine these areas in relation to the role of law in social change.

Any attempt to determine the chance of obtaining these social goals by legal action enters the realm of prediction and must be regarded as estimation. Finally, in order to avoid the heat of argument in an area pervaded by emotion, the analysis will be written without apparent ethical commitment. The treatment, however, will take account of legal and sociological categories representing accepted norms and values. When known, these can be accepted as data. The fact that they vary from one part of the country to another is recognized as setting the problem within a Federal-State system of legality.

We may begin by saying that the problem and paradox of equality of individuals and groups in our democratic society can be quite simply stated. There is a history of change in legal status and a history of change in social status and they are not the same. In law the great transition has been from the law of many statuses to the one status state, where all members hold the legal status of citizen with equal rights before the law. In terms that carry understanding to both lawyers and sociologists, Sir Henry Sumner Maine has phrased this great change as an evolution from the law of status to the law of contract.

Rights, privileges and punishments were decreed in Greece, Rome, and the antebellum United States on the basis of the individual's status as either freeman, slave, or freedman. After slavery was abolished the Roman Empire finally created the one status state when it gave freedmen the status of citizens. After the French Revolution liquidated the survivals of Feudalism there remained one status before the French law -- that of citizen. In Brazil this transition was made with remarkable facility after the emancipation of the slaves in 1888. Negroes, it is true, remained in mass members of the lowest class, but they gained citizens' rights and exceptional ones rose to high social status.

Democracies have shown no comparable trend toward uniformity of position in the social hierarchy of wealth, power, and prestige. Differential ranking based on family background and achievement is a fundamental phenomena of our social system. Certainly great differences in influence and in style of life have continued and increased. It is presumed that these issues are to be settled within the context of class and social stratification since democracies promote an ideology of "open clases." Here the great goal of most people is not to be one of the few elite of society; rather it is to be "respectable" middle class instead of lower class. Every opinion poll brings out the fact that approximately 80 percent to 90 percent of our people think of themselves as "middle class."

Sociologists recognize that the pressure toward equality in our social system largely represents the drive toard mobility -- the desire to climb the economic and social ladder. The spirit behind the transition from Jeffersonian to Jacksonian democracy is epitomized in the frontier feeling: "I am just as good as the next man, if not a damn sight better." Equality is obviously equality of opportunity; the pyramidal structure of social prestige and influence is accepted, and no dead level of stratification is expected or demanded in the society.

The pressure to achieve and to hold middle class status is characterized by stress and strain so that ambition itself can be seen as a certain mild form of persistent "anxiety." Here of course is found the impact of the new education and of the improved economic outlook on major groups in the South. Equality of opportunity now means the chance to advance in the content and sumbols of a respectable lower middle class style of life. Avoidance of contact with less respectable lower class "style of life" is definitely a part of this "anxiety." To the South the Negro is definitely a lower class symbol.

In the beginning the Negro -- fixed on the bottom rung -- was a spectator rather than a participant in this development of the masses and the classes. In the United States the first American Revolution did nothing to alter his slave status. The Second American Revolution made him a freed man. It could not give him social status; no law can do that for any group or individual, but the 14th and 15th amendments were passed to give him the legal status of citizen. It is unnecessary to remark on the freed man's position at the base of social stratification -- unskilled, unpropertied, lacking in prestige -- a veritable proletariat.

Inevitably the hopes of the Negro elite and of the masses turned to education. The principle of universal education, as Reinhold Niebuhr says, was already present as "a product of the democratic movement cultivated by middle class idealists." Schools were accepted as social elevators in a stratified social order. The way to influence and prestige led through the schools and colleges and to be a college graduate marked one as middle class. In Warner and Havinghurst's realistic discussion of Who Shall Be Educated our educational system is seen as a sorting and selecting agency -- a conveyor belt where the child is inspected not only for brains and learning ability but for skin color, pronunciation, cut of clothes, table manners, and parental bank account.

For the Negro masses these hopes led to disappointment and frustration; for the elite, they led to achievement but fell short of prestige and status. The greatest gains from education undoubtedly came in assimilation in language, manners, and style of living -- the same process through which the immigrant began his introduction to American life.

The American Negro is now fully convinced that he is confined in lower class position; he feels this is due to the device of segregation and that enforcement of legal status will bring the desired changes in his social status. It was not the process of education that failed. It was segregated education that failed.

The reader may well feel that the foregoing discussion represents circular reasoning. The argument does represent a turning upon itself and the reader is correct in the sense that we have here a sociological vicious circle. It can be stated thus:

1. If the Negro held high social status in our system, his legal rights as a citizen would be enforceable without difficulty.

2. Conversely, the argument runs, if we enforce the legal rights due the Negro as a citizen, Negroes will attain the higher social status desired.

Both these statements may well be valid but they illustrate the difficulty of selecting an initial factor in the chain of circumstance which, once grasped, is assumed to unroll the sequence of cause and effect.

The danger is that we here overlook important factors hidden in this sequence. The above statements are highly rational and represent a logical approach to social change. Concealed here may be an irrational factor, highly emotional, and one whose operation may be unconscious. It can be stated thus:

3. The Negro's distinctive physical traits, his racial uniform, have symbolic value, imputing subordination and low social status. Our various immigrant stocks and their children facing a similar situation have climbed in the social strata pretty much in direct ratio to the length of time they have been in this country and their nearness of their culture to the predominant type, that of the American middle classes. They escape, it is

felt, the main handicap which in spite of his assimilation and long residence now places the Negro at the foot of the hierarchy. This as we have said is the symbolic impact of racial traits implying low status. The continuance of the Negro in the lower class re-enforces these stereotypes and thus completes the vicious circle. His origin placed him there; stereotypes help keep him there.

How are these things affected by law? Present laws sanction segregation in many areas. What can law do to change that status? What the lawyers for the NAACP ask of the Court is directed change in the Negro's status in conformity with his rights as a citizen. What are the chances that this will come about? This leads to a consideration of the doctrine of social change.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE LAW

The trend and sequence of change are imperfectly understood by even the best qualified students of society but there is general agreement that social change involves a whole context of relations and best occurs "all along the line." The classic study, Social Change by W. F. Ogburn made professional sociologists aware of the existence of cultural lag -- a phenomenon usually found when change, forced in one institutional sector, moves ahead leaving other sectors unchanged. In Ogburn's view change moves ahead more rapidly in the technical and economic spheres of life, leaving gaps between innovations here and our customary attitudes and behaviors. President Franklin Roosevelt gave popular currency to this view when he spoke of "horse and buggy morals in an automobile age."

In this analysis, law can be seen as the mechanism for closing up the gaps left by unequal rates of change. The passage of Workmen's Compensation laws can be seen as a case in point. Thus the introduction of heavy, high speed machinery to replace simple hand tools was a major social change. It left the burden of industrial accidents to be borne by the workers while society reaped the benefits of low cost production. This lag was closed when after the passage of workmen's compensation legislation the principle of insured risks replaced the employers' liability limited by the doctrines of assumed risk, contributory negligence and fellow servant. That this offers an example of social change which carried through all along the line is shown by (1) the declining rate of accidents and (2) the collapse of resistance in the various states against the legislation.

National prohibition offers an example of a change in law which did not carry through to change in the collective behavior and attitudes of society. In spite of our respect for the Constitution, resistance increased and law enforcement was insufficient to bring about social change. This resistance assumed the form of violations as well as evasions of the law. Under this situation it can be said the 18th Amendment was repealed in order to preserve respect for the law. This in spite of the fact that the change was supported by public opinion as represented in the (1) affirmative votes of state legislatures, and was implemented both by (2) Federal legislation as in the Volstead Act, and (3) supporting legislation in many states. For students of social change the contrast with a decision of the Supreme Court is impressive.

Thus while students of law realize that social change can be and has been implemented by legal enactment and judicial decision, it is also realized that resistance to social change is of many types. Here we can say that jurisprudence as a social science has shared in the responsibility of determining the extent to which any desired social change is enforceable by law. Laws may be violated, and they may be evaded. Evasion carries the implication of driving a course through gaps in the law, if not actually breaking it. Important to the courts, to public order, and to the profession is the whole field of conflict of laws.

Oftentimes the change ordered by legal enactment and judicial decision is so limited in scope that no actual evasion is drawn upon to block social change. Sometimes modes of adjustment may exist within the choice of individuals and groups — alternatives sanctioned in legal codes. It is in this borderline between public and private spheres of life that the doctrine of social change is of most importance to students of jurisprudence. It must be remembered that issues may be decided not on the basis of an assumed code of ethics but on the basis of what is enforceable within the system of legality.

EVASION AND SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES

No one can play fair on the issue of school segregation and minimize the role of resistance to change. Evasion has been present throughout this issue or else the accepted legal doctrine of "separate but equal facilities" would have been implemented in the public schools. The much publicized plans of Georgia and South Carolina to operate their public schools as private institutions also represent forms of evasion whose legality the courts may be forced to adjudicate.

The public schools as an institution are a weak vehicle on which to place the burden of the drive toward equality. There are several reasons for making this statement: (1) In the early grades and in the high school, the schools function for young children and for adolescents as a primary group, next in intimacy to the family and the playground. It is generally agreed that impersonal and more formal areas of social interaction will be won to racil equality before these more personal areas. (2) The schools are under criticism for their failure to achieve excellence -- a criticism that ranges from the schools' lack of influence on juvenile behavior to their failure to achieve excellence in intellectual training. (3) Schools and the school district are peculiarly local institutions in their control and administration, having strict jurisdictional lines. (4) Public school attendance is not strictly compulsory; individuals have free choice of attending private schools.

The abandonment of public schools by an official body is a direct evasion of law; the abandonment of public schools for private schools by individuals is lanctioned in all our legal codes. In terms of legal alternatives there is no reason to assume that the courts will allow the use of state funds to support segregated schools conducted under private auspices. On the other hand there is no conceivable way whereby states and school districts can be forced to support public schools at their present levels if enrollments decline. Nor can it be seen at the moment how local school districts can be enjoined from selling or renting school property in districts where pupils no longer attend.

In terms of this situation the transfer of students from public to private schools should come as no surprise. The pattern is already well fixed for certain classes and areas in the nation. In the immigrant areas of the Northwest we have the devotion of the rising middle classes to the private school as a means of holding or achieving higher social status for their children. In addition, association with children of different ethnic backgrounds on the part of the majority is further reduced by the system of parochial schools, leaving the public schools to a group in-between. The private school as preparation for high status once was a part of the South's tradition as it is of New England's today. The South's present devotion to universal education in the public schools represents many things. It is an adjustment to the poverty of many of its people; it also represents a real triumph of the democratic movement in the South.

A movement to parochial schools, now evident among Protestant groups such as the Lutherans and Presbyterians, is largely motivated by demand for a better quality of education as well as the desire for religious training. Religious leaders in the South, however, have shown no inclination to allow private schools to be used as public schools in this situation. A flight of students to bonafide private schools as an individual choice will depend more on economic dircumstances of the aspiring middle classes than on anything else. It would not represent a violation of the law even though it left an almost barren public school system to the Negroes and the lower classes.

A second alternative - a flight of teachers from the public schools -- is equally sanctioned in law and equally resistant to change. This is already a national problem. In terms of the low income, the low prestige, and the heavy responsibility attached to the occupation of teaching, this condition is to be expected. When young girls, callow youths, and tired functionaries find the nation's race and status problems with all their community reverberations dumped in their laps, the flight of teachers from the public schools will be limited only by the extent of alternative opportunities--including marriage. In proportion, the flight of teachers may well exceed that of their pupils. To military service and employment in a prosperous period may be added an increased demand for teachers among the developing private schools.

Unless the new public schools employ the existing corps of Negro teachers for their mixed classes, the loss of teachers will be even greater. Lawyers have the problem of determining whether any form of legal action can be used to enforce the employment of Negro teachers upon the boards of the local school districts. The fact that this can hardly be accomplished in the absence of supporting legislation simply underscores the difficulty of the change. A Supreme Court decision strikes down contrary statues; it does not guarantee the passage of supporting legislation by either Congress or the states. Would Negro teachers whose schools are absorbed have legal recourse in absence of state or federal FEPC laws?

What of those important officers of administration, the members of local school bpards? What alternatives have they? Obviously their alternatives are limited: they cannot resign when they are sued, enjoined or jailed for the community's non-compliance with the law. But as citizens they can

refuse service on school boards. Since there is political capital to be gained in these areas such refusal to serve may well be selective--exercising negative selection on the more moderate business men and administrators and bringing forward those types who realize the political rewards to be reaped from the revival of the "Negro baiting" tactics of the recent past.

What tactics will such school boards use? Here it may be said that these tactics are already fairly well developed in the political arena. Here resistance to change may involve either evasion or defiance of the law; this last could lead to litigation of an especially troublesome kind. A persistant evasion used in politics already exists--the well-known practice of gerrymandering electoral districts. This practice, along with the failure of state legislatures to reapportion in conformity with constitutional requirements, has rarely proved amenable to legal action. Once the redistricting of school jurisdictions is undertaken, the reorganization of segregated neighborhoods is likely to proceed very rapidly indeed. This also involves alternatives in the field of voluntary action and thus encounters no applicable legal sanctions. The easement of hardships in permitting whites and Negroes to attend segregated schools outside their districts would represent evasion. The handling of such cases could be most harassing. What legal actions can be taken? Who would sue? And on what grounds? Not those who have been permitted to cross jurisdictional lines, for they are the recipients of special privileges. Not those left behind, for they would thus be asking to violate regulations. The answer, of course, is obvious. In the absence of supporting legislation from the states, the Federal Judiciary, in the words of Counsel John W. Davis before the Court, will be acting as a glorified Board of Education for the State of South Carolina.

To those who wish to push quickly on to social change the above discussion may read like a horrifying recital of all the outrages of which the traditional South once proved capable. It should not. Actually it is written in a new context--that of a newly developing "middle-class South" rather than that of the "lower-class South" devoted to violence in race relations. It represents not violations of the law but alternatives to compliance that are sanctioned in law.

Actually the recourse to private schools represents the behavior of an aspiring middle class in the avoidance of neighbors who live across the tracks. Teachers who leave the public schools are simply exercising their right to a choice of occupations. School boards which refuse to hire Negro teachers are exercising their right to choice of employees. Gerrymandering and the reapportionment of school jurisdictions are not here seen as acts of lower class violence and reprisal. These things, it may be predicted, will be accepted not as white collar criminality, but as decent, respectable behavior--several cuts indeed, above the patronizing of bootleggers during the prohibition era. Only the control of these responses by legal action is likely to bring to the community any conviction of wrongdoing.

No doubt there are conditions under which racial violence might flare anew in the South. The abandonment of the public schools in rural areas or in urban slum areas to two groups--the lower classes and the Negro--could be dangerous. Under conditions of compulsory education, it is easy to see how

conflict and violence could dollow their enforced mingling. Such sequestration of the public schools could raise gerrymandering of school districts to a high level of public policy. This, in the writer's opinion, could well involve conflict with the Federal Courts.

CONCLUSION

To keep open the avenues to social status for those who have achieved and for those who are aspiring is an important component of the American Dream. To different groups this ideology means different things. To the Negro it means the chance of equalizing his social status with his legal status in the American system. To the striving lower middle classes it has meant a chance to increase their social distance from "lower class" groups who might hinder their children's chances to rise. Here enter the mingled public and private aspects of association in neighborhood, community, and the public schools. The equality which in the American ideology means the opportunity to rise in social scale is seen as relative to groups higher in the hierarchy of status. It thus means different things to different men. As the Negro seeks integration with the common institutions and facilities of American life, the groups with whom he would like to identify himself push on to identify themselves with groups still higher in status.

Decisions in law can not enforce the major change desired--a higher social status for the nations' "man lower down." Law can be used to enforce citizens' rights only in the use of public facilities. That this is not equivalent to "breaking down segregation" is due to the large area left to the private sphere of social life--areas in which the voluntary action of individuals is legally sanctioned. The problems of social status we have with us always. Change in the "blanket status" of the man lower down is social change all along the line. To say that this involves change in the mores is to utter a truism--true because the mores, rather than law, govern in the private sphere of social relations.

It seems to me there are several assumptions we must make in this connection:

1. We must not reduce the proportions being educated during this transition.

2. This requirement demands that we retain all our present Negro teaching staff.

3. We must not allow our schools to reduce the quality of education and permit a decline below its present low level. Otherwise the trend to low-rate schools will be irresistable.

4. This is to say education must continue to educate--here it can make its contribution to solution of the problem of social status--which is the essential problem.

5. To perform these tasks---tasks which the schools are in no wise competent, all legal requirement for refusing of races in schools should be repealed.

The unwelcome realism and cold-blooded idealism of this analysis has disturbed some people who are not prepared for the way sociologists sometimes look at things thru their "objective" glasses.

I have also been asked: Given this point of view, what action do you propose?

I shall be glad to answer this question with the understanding that the time at my disposal does not allow me to fill out details.

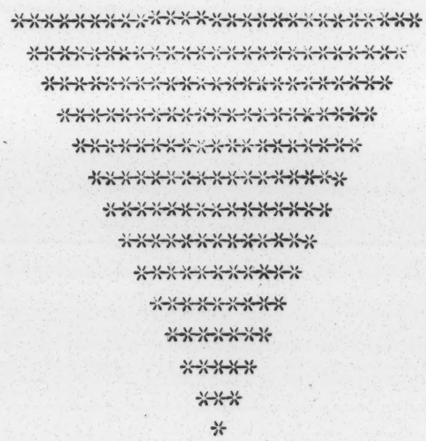
1. I propose first that all state laws decreasing separation of races in public schools be repealed.

2. I would like for the equalization of all school facilities and salaries as quickly as this can be done.

3. I would retain all Negro teachers and staff at their present schools.

4. This would be followed by announcement by school boards that all pupils were free to change their registration to the school of their choice, within the jurisdiction of the legal established school district.

5. This abolishes all legal discrimination. The rest in social change where the Negroes and the white people are far advanced it will come fast. Where they are backward, it will come slow. What else does anybody expect? Where groups are well advanced, they can take advantage of it. Where they are backward, presumably they would suffer from the change.



Materials - Desegregation

THE REAL TRAGEDIES OF DESEGREGATION

Text of an address delivered by Carl T. Rowan, newspaperman and author of "The Pitiful and the Proud," before the 83rd Annual Forum of The National Conference of Social Work, St. Louis, Missouri, May 23, 1956.

Mr. Chairman, first let me express to you and to these many who sit before me my deep-felt appreciation for the invitation to meet with you and to discuss with you some of the problems that prod deeply inside the hearts and minds of sensitive mankind everywhere.

I am especially pleased to speak on your general theme, "The Challenge of Change," because I do not have to guess what it means. In this audience are many of my friends and acquaintances, and some of them, I know, have walked through the slums of the North side of Minneapolis, or the South side of Chicago or Fourth street in Nashville, or those festering eyesores of other American communities. They have cringed at the filth, the crime, the disease, the abject human misery of these places and they have paused to ask themselves, "WHY MUST THIS BE?"

Others sit in this audience who, like myself, perhaps, grew up under the shadow of Jim Crow in little towns where they could not get a drink of water in a drugstore unless the fountain clerk could find a paper cup. Facing these lingering acid-stings of humiliation, they too have said so many times, "WHY MUST THIS BE?"

And oh so many more of you have known, first-hand or with the second-hand intimacy of a sweetheart, wife or mother, the terrible agony of war. So even as you suppress memories of those days when we read about the beaches of Tarawa and Heartbreak Ridge in Korea, however, much we try to forget these bestial manifestations of man's inhumanity to himself and his fellowman, we must stop to ask, "WHY MUST THIS BE?"

Still, so many of us--and I mean us in this very room--cringe timidly and close our eyes to the turmoil about us although we know deep in our hearts that mankind will be plagued by filth, crime, disease, hatred, wars and rumours of wars until you and I show the individual courage to meet this challenge of change.

Today, the status quo has pleasant meaning only to the fearful and to those frightful merchants of arrogance who live under illusions that the world will stand still at their bidding.

The forces of change beset us from every side, but nowhere is this challenge greater or more meaningful than in those areas where we seek to ensure for all Americans those basic rights and liberties supposedly bestowed upon us by our God and our Constitution.

The United States Supreme Court took a meaningful step in this direction on May 17, 1954, when it declared unanimously that racial segregation in the public schools of this nation is illegal under our Constitution. That was a monumental decision destined to have severe impact upon the future of Western democracy. No other single incident in the history of this nation was ever seized upon so voraciously by this nation's propaganda experts who used millions of words and pictures to tell Asians and Africans that Americans had found a cure for the nation's Achilles' heel.

HOW happy I should be were I able to stand here today and tell you that vast millions in the nation's Southland have responded nobly, if reluctantly, to this challenge to forge a new social order reflecting credit upon democratic institutions. As a reporter, I cannot do that. There are too many things that distress me. Now, I do not want to be accused of adopting that old newspaperman's slogan, GOOD NEWS IS NO NEWS, so let me say briefly that on the whole the Negro is a freer citizen who finds the pursuit of happiness something closer to an even race as a result of that May 17 decision.

Even with the heavy penalty it is paying for the discriminations of the past, Washington, D. C., is a vastly different city from the citadel of bigotry that I wrote about in SOUTH OF FREEDOM. This city we meet in is considerably different from the bastion of Jim Crow that I knew during several World War II visits. In West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Texas and several other states human beings have reached inside themselves to stifle the fears and frustrations of old, and they are giving us indications of the capacity of democracy for change.

But I should be doing you and my country a disservice were I to spend these precious minutes reading off a scorecard of the communities that have decided, for one reason or another, to obey the highest court in the land to one degree or another. I feel it a compelling duty to share with you my grave alarm that while we sit back rejoicing over the "good things", while we salve our guilty consciences by telling ourselves that we are making progress, those very cherished freedoms so vital to ALL Americans will be damaged or destroyed in an unrelenting, unscrupulous assault by peddlers of hatred.

I see so much danger that while you, the thinking Americans, the supposed sentinels of liberty, are being swallowed up in a cult whose creed is gutlessness in the name of moderation, the forces of bigotry and reaction, will strike some very damaging blows at the heart of this republic.

Now, I beg you to understand that I do not speak to you this morning as a Negro. Perhaps I could have done that in the years before I went to Asia and Africa and gazed into the agonized faces of mankind in upheaval. Today I speak not of my rights, but OUR rights and liberties.

Preying upon the fears and emotions of much of the white south, and far too substantial a portion of the white north, those elements in this country which always have opposed social and economic change now have set out to discredit and destroy the United States Supreme Court.

Almost a year ago today — May 26, 1955 — James Oliver Easterly, a Mississippi senator, stood in the senate and declared that the Supreme Court was "indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups." He charged that the justices are "attempting to graft into the organic law of the land the teaching, preachments, and social doctrines which can be traced to Karl Marx."

The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, which calls itself Mississippi's greatest newspaper, said in a front-page editorial that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "is dedicated to widening this wedge, which was handed them by a subversive Supreme Court."

U. S. News and World Report, whose editors are a trifle more clever if no more enlightened than those of the Jackson newspaper, published in its May 18 issue a long cover article by James F. Byrnes titled, "The Supreme Court Must Be CURBED."" This is a burdensomely long rehashing of Eastland's charges that the Court is Communist influenced, that it is forcing mongrelization upon the American people and that the trend in the court "brings joy to Communists and fellow travelers."

Let us assume for the moment that none of us here is severely disturbed about the status of the Negro, that we are indifferent at best when it comes to working for compliance with the court's decision. We then can look at these attacks on the court in the broader perspective of what they mean to all Americans. I say that you and I had better understand that if the segregationists succeed in this campaign to discredit the court, they will do far more than doom Negroes to more decades of second-class citizenship. They will make this a country in which life is scarcely worth living for either a white man or black man nurtured on long traditions of freedom of expression and belief.

When they discredit the Supreme Court they discredit the body which interprets our Constitution, the well-spring of all political freedoms. When they destroy the Court they destroy the body that decided what the Bill of Rights means to all of us. They seek to destroy the group of men who for the last few years have symbolized the bulwark of individual liberty, standing boldly between bewildered Americans and witch-hunters and scalawags who posed as saviours of the republic.

Do you think I overstate the case? Well, do you remember a senator named McCarthy? Joe's his name. Joe Doaks caught up to him, just as he does for all demagogues if time lasts, and discovered that he was just a clever hack preying upon the insecurity and ignorance of Americans. So Joe McCarthy faded into obscurity and, frankly, I thought he had died. But apparently Senator Eastland whispers to him about this Bridey Murphy business, and now Joe McCarthy is trying to reincarnate himself as Jim Crow. On May 11 Eastland held a session in Washington in which he constituted himself as a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and his star witness was none other than Joe McCarthy. Their objective was to rap Eastland's favorite target—the Supreme Court. The two issued a joint statement charging that the members of the court are "politicians instead of lawyers."

"It's not that they are knowingly helping the Communist cause. It's just that they don't understand what they are doing," said the two great patriots, referring to the nine justices.

I don't think anyone in this audience is so naive as to think that any nine justices would have escaped the wrath of the unyielding segregationists. Yet, more is necessary than the absence of naviete if we are to meet the challenge of change.

I checked my files just before leaving Minneapolis, and I counted twenty-six white ministers who have been forced from their pastorates, some with fanfare, some quietly; some by the mob-like clamor of churchgoers, others by the quiet, dignified pressure of people like the governor of the state—all because they dared suggest that the Supreme Court's edict be obeyed.

In Elloree, S. C., last week it was learned that 21 Negro teachers have refused to sign statements swearing that they are not members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

About the same time, in Jackson, Miss., the state's "Sovereignty Commission," or its "watchdog" over states' rights, voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation. This commission, headed by the governor, J. P. Coleman, also agreed to spend state tax monies to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp. This commission decided to act in secrecy because "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy on Negroes in Mississippi.

The most significant comments of the day, though, were these sentences the governor used to caution Mississippians against panic:

"I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility. We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative. After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

So it is up to "the opposition" to take the initiative. The opposition would be the Supreme Court, the Justice Department and all the Americans who honestly believe that our Constitution is color blind. But what are these Americans doing? For the most part, they are mouthing platitudes and cliches. Oh, you've heard them all: "These are Times for cool heads to prevail." "If only we could get rid of the extremists on both sides." "We must have patience." "We cannot solve this problem over night." "We've made a lot of progress in the last century--a little more time will help." "I believe in evolution, not revolution." "We mustn't go too fast or we'll set progress back 100 years."

Those are all nice, sweet little syllables, but what do they add up to? You know and I know: cowardice.

How much time and patience will it take to make Coleman voluntarily yield the the initiative, as he puts it? Whose head is cool enough to feed those Negro teachers who would rather not work if it means yielding their last vestiges of Constitutional freedom?

How many of you remember President Eisenhower's State of the Union address in which he asked Congress to set up a bipartisan commission to investigate charges that in parts of the country Negroes were being deprived of their basic rights through economic reprisals, and so forth? This provoked the Jackson Daily News to run another front-page editorial. This one said:

"Those who suspected we had that kind of President in the White House when he named the ignorant, fat-headed Fred (sic) Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to write the ignoble 'black Monday' decision on segregation have had their suspicions verified.

"Dwight Eisenhower, in his race for president in 1952, received a very large vote in Mississippi. Today he couldn't command the following of a corporal's guard in a race for constable in any county in the commonwealth.

"The President has earned, and justly deserves, the contempt of all good people throughout the South....

"Any commission named by him would be about as 'bi-partisan' as a hog gobbling rotten guts in a swill trough."

These words, from the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News are intemperate and ugly with the mark of man's fear, and I should prefer not to have to utter them from a lecture platform. But, ladies and gentlemen, these are not times to be squeamish. We must face the ugly truth, and we must ask ourselves if we have cliches that apply with equal merit to people striving as best they can to solve these tense social problems and people of unlimited arrogance and gall, such as the writer of that editorial. Tell me, what sense of justice permits an editorial writer to place the writer of that editorial in the same so-called "extremists" camp with an NAACP official whose strongest demand is that the people abide by the nation's highest court's demand that there be "a prompt and reasonable start" to end segregation.

Too many supposedly decent and enlightened people go about today in confusion, victimized by deliberate falsehood and, more often, the meaningless cliches of spineless men who seek safety as middle-of-the-readers. Well, even some of our politicians are going to learn that the worst accidents happen in the middle of the road.

If I sound angry or dogmatic, I ask your forgiveness. I feel these things intensely nowadays, for I have spent most of the last two years in the two worlds of revolution--Asia and Africa. There I saw first-hand that millions of human beings have risen up and that they cry out in voices of unmistakable clarity saying, "We intend to be free. We intend to be masters of our own fates. We intend to make the decisions affecting our own lives."

I need not impress upon you the fact that those decisions will affect far more than the lives of Asians and Africans, but yours and mine and our children's and our children's children's. I do want to impress upon you the fact that the most explosive ingredients in this Asian revolution are anti-colonialism and anti-racism. To the Asian and African, these two things are interrelated, for both are viewed as manifestations of the white man's organized arrogance.

In far shrewder ways than we possibly can imagine, the Communists know how to use these two ingredients to convince these millions, groping for a place under the sun, that you and your fellow Americans are phonies when you tell them that a position of equality awaits them under the banner of Western democracy.

Many will tell you that these millions cry out for rice, for houses, for education. Indeed, they do--but the deeper, more meaningful cries are for dignity. The Asian and the African are begging for boldness; they must have evidence that our system stands for more than the status quo, that ours is not the voice of "freedom for you sometime in the sweet by and by," if traditions of individual liberty are to be preserved in these two crucial continents.

So when the next cliche peddler tells you that you must "understand the south," agree with him to the extent that he acknowledges that we all must understand our Constitution, our concept of justice, our role in a world where the destiny of mankind is wrapped in doubt and strife.

How tragic it will be for us all if we cannot, or do not, take steps that enable the Negro to keep faith in the processes of democracy. If the Negro cannot achieve justice through the courts; if a band of politicians and Main Street Klansmen can reduce to an impotent shambles the constitutional machinery that the Negro has kept faith in for four decades, they who can look toward Asia and Africa and say with conviction, "Have faith. The capacity for change, for progress toward full justice are inherent in democracy."?

Let me close by saying that mine is not the voice of despair. I am not one of the wilting hearts who trembles at the roar of the demagogues who now muster their citizens councils in cotton patches and beneath weeping willows and cries, "Ooooh, I wouldn't have wanted that Supreme Court decision if I had known that it would start all this trouble."

Let no one tell you that we have moved backwards because of the Supreme Court decision. Missiouri will tell you better. So will Kansas. In the deep South the decision merely has brought to the surface the turmoil that always has rumbled quietly in the shadow of Jim Crow. It is absolutely that this turmoil arise and that it be met and dealt with before any really significant strides toward real democracy coulc be made. No really significant social change ever occurred anywhere at any time without accompanying upheaval.

So all the ugliness, the angry words, the frightening schemes, can be but strange and laughable history for those who attend your Forum not too many years from now--but only if we have the courage to meet the challenge. If we meet the challenge--yes, wisely always, but never compromising on principle; never assuming that time alone is a cure for anything. Only if those in this audience sense personal involvement and then take personal action can we have any hope that the liberties our forefathers secured for us are resecured for future years and generations.

If you sit there today with the honest knowledge that you have the courage to strip away the cliches and the little platitudes of gutlessness, and step forward boldly to meet our generation's greatest challenge of change, our fears are small, whether we think of home or those troubled areas abroad. Boldness and courage in the town you live in is fuel for the torches of freedom in the many dark corners of the world.

But is you sit there rationalizing your way into some imaginary middle-of-the-road security because you know that deep inside you, too, are a slave to the status quo, then you have many, many reasons to worry. Whether we speak of Minnesota, Georgia or Jakarta, liberty always has been the jeopardy for the timid--and for the arrogant.

Resay 12-56 MM

The Legal Profession and Segregation

A most formidable challenge to the intellectual vigor, moral courage and genuine patriotism of the legal profession

WILLIAM J. KENEALY, S.J.

The philosophy of American Democracy is expressed in two immortal documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The two are inseparable. For, although the Declaration of Independence is not part of the organic law of the land, it is in truth the vital spirit and thought of which the Constitution is the operative body and letter. Now the vital spirit and thought of our living philosophy of government and law is epitomized in the familiar words of the Declaration:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

According to this philosophy, government is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. And the end of government is not merely the establishment of order; for order itself is a means and its end is justice. But justice also is a means and its end is liberty. Finally, liberty is simply the condition of social life necessary to enable all members of society to cooperate in peace and prosperity, to attain their happiness, to achieve their perfection and thereby to fulfill their human destiny.

Thus, the real end of government is adequately defined as a just and ordered liberty. But the essence of liberty is the free exercise by every human being of the rights proper to human personality and destiny. Wherefore, the prime purpose of government is the protection of the individual in the exercise of his personal rights. Therefore, the crucial test of the value of a government is the measure of its success in protecting the personal rights of its citizens and subjects.

Now the characteristic feature of democratic government, as distinguished from other forms of government, is that it is rule by the majority.

Sermon preached in the cathedral of New Orleans to the members of the Louisiana bench and bar on the occasion of the Red Mass, traditionally offered for the sanctification of the new court year.

But contrary to a popular modern fallacy, true democracy is not a mere matter of form. It is much more than majority rule. Majority rule could be mob rule. Remember a distressed Italian people, flooding the piazzas of Rome, crying "Duce! Duce! Duce!" They cried for a leader and got a demagogue. Remember a bewildered German people, crowding the squares of Berlin, shouting "Heil Hitler!" and voting for Adolph Schicklgruber. They shouted for a fuehrer and elected a tyrant. Who ever received greater majorities than Joseph Stalin? No, there is no magic in mere forms. And mere majority rule is capable of establishing a tyranny as atrocious as that of any Oriental despot. Hence, democracy, as mere majority rule, would be a faceless and spineless philosophy of government and of law.

Minority Rights Essential

On the contrary, because the essence of liberty is the freedom to exercise individual and equal personal rights and because voting majorities are able and quick to vindicate their own rights, true and effective democracy must consist in minority rights under majority rule. But never in history has there been, and never in the future can there be, minority rights under majority rule unless the majority repudiates the blasphemy that numbers make truth and that might makes right; unless the majority has the intelligence and good-will to subordinate will to reason and to subjugate prejudice to judgment; unless the majority faces and accepts the fact that there is an objective moral order, within the range of human intelligence and within the capacity of human virtue, to which civil societies and voting majorities are bound in conscience to conform—and upon which the liberty, the peace and happiness of personal, national and international life depend.

The mandatory aspect of the objective moral order is called by philosophers the natural law. In virtue of the natural law, essentially equal human beings are endowed by their Creator with natural rights and obligations, which are inalienable precisely because they are God-given. They are antecedent, therefore, both in logic and in nature to the formation of civil societies and the casting of majority ballots. They are not bestowed by the beneficence of any state, democratic or otherwise; wherefore the tyranny of any state, democratic or otherwise, cannot destroy them. Rather it is the high moral obligation of all civil societies and all voting majorities to acknowledge their existence, to protect their exercise and to facilitate their enjoyment by the construction and maintenance of a civil code of laws which embraces, complements and applies the principles of the natural law to civic life.

In its essence, granted the existence of Almighty God, the natural law is a simple thing. It is man's participation in the eternal law of God. It implies that we know, independently of Lafayette Square, or Baton Rouge, or Washington, or London, or Moscow—or of the Vatican, for that matter—that all human beings, without exception, are the children of God, endowed with immortal souls, destined for eternal life, bound in conscience to pursue that destiny, and possessed of equal and inalienable rights to enable

us to do so. It implies that we know from our God-created nature that some things help in attaining our destiny and some make it more difficult; that some actions and some institutions are right and some wrong, regardless of material consequences. It implies that human governments and laws are instituted and administered by us to safeguard the personal rights of every single member of the brotherhood of men, so that each and all of us may attain in human dignity the divine destiny decreed by the One Good God Who is the loving Father of us all.

Basis for Rights

Thus, the philosophy of the natural law provides a rational and spiritual basis for our civil rights and liberties. It gives an adequate reason for the essential equality of all men. It supplies a sufficient measure for the essential dignity of human personality. It tells us why the Chinese coolie is the equal of the Roman cardinal; the Australian bushman, the equal of the European diplomat; the African tribesman, the equal of the American financier; because they and all of us, white and black and red and brown and yellow, have been created by the One God for intimate association with Him in perfect happiness for all eternity.

Such is the glorious destiny which measures the essential dignity of every man. Such is the common destiny which explains the essential equality of every man; an essential equality which makes rather ridiculous the pride and prejudice based on our accidental and temporary differences, be they physical, intellectual, economic, social or racial. Such is the awesome destiny which gives intelligibility to our constitutional principle of freedom and equality; and which demands, not merely decent human freedom and equality, but reverential respect and genuine brotherly love for every single person on the face of God's earth, regardless of race or creed or color or national origin.

This is the philosophy of the natural law. It is not sanctimonious sentimentality. It is not the insubstantial mist of wishful theory. It is the only solid soil of human freedom and equality. It is the philosophy upon which this nation was founded and to which this nation by its most solemn covenants and usages is dedicated. It is the philosophy upon which the people of the United States ordained and established a Federal Constitution. Despite the cynics and secularists in some academic halls, the glory of the American Constitution is that, for the first time in history, a great people formally and expressly made human rights the cornerstone of its political structure—and did so in a solemn profession of politico-religious faith. What a man is before God, that he is before the Constitution of this country.

But ideals must be put to work. General principles alone do not decide particular cases. Neither a philosophy nor a constitution is self-executing. A constitution needs legislative implementation, executive enforcement and judicial interpretation. Moreover, from time to time, it may need substantial change. To provide for substantial change, we did ordain and establish Article V of the Constitution, defining the only lawful process of constitutional amendment. To provide for judicial interpretation, we did ordain

and establish Article III of the Constitution, creating one Supreme Court, conferring upon it alone final judicial power to decide all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution and the Amendments. Wherefore, subject only to the lawful process of constitutional amendment, the prevailing decisions of the Supreme Court are the authoritative interpretations of the supreme law of the land. As such, they command our loyal obedience and bind all private citizens and public agencies. For American liberty is not lawless license but it is the responsible liberty of free men living under God and the law.

I have said the "prevailing" decisions of the Supreme Court because, with all proper deference to the principle of *stare decisis,* the very nature of the judicial process postulates the reversal of a prior judicial precedent whenever, in the best judgment of the Court, such a reversal is necessary to correct previous error, or to interpret more accurately the meaning and to apply more effectively the purpose of constitutional provisions. Reversal of a judicial precedent may be necessitated extrinsically by the impact of changing political, economic, technological or social conditions in a complex and dynamic society; or intrinsically, by the evolution of a clearer understanding and deeper appreciation of the moral and social values already implicit in the constitutional provisions themselves.

This will always be true, at least until such time as society ceases to grow, knowledge ceases to advance and the Supreme Court becomes infallible—*quod Deus avertat!*

The reversal of the 1896 "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* by the 1954 decisions in *Brown* v. *The Board of Education* and *Bolling* v. *Sharpe,* was principally owing, it seems, to the evolution of a clearer understanding and a deeper appreciation of the moral and social values which were always implicit in the equal protection clause of the 14th and the due process clause of the 5th Amendments. But whatever be the explanation, this much is certain: in the *Brown* and *Bolling* de-

cisions the Supreme Court we established, exercising the powers we conferred, interpreting the Constitution we ordained, enunciated its authoritative interpretation of constitutional freedom and equality and applied the same to the difficult problem of racial segregation. The segregation decisions are binding, therefore, on all private persons and public agencies; but, *a fortiori,* they command the loyal obedience of those who are honored and privileged as members of the bench and bar, to be the officers and the agents of the courts in administering justice and preserving liberty under the supreme law of the land. Ours is not merely the obligations of citizenship; ours is also a sacred responsibility of leadership. To defend the majesty of the law is our professional honor. To this exalted task lawyers are solemnly sworn and dedicated.

I do not wish to imply, of course, that our obligation of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court precludes adverse

criticism of its decisions. For freedom of speech is a constitutional liberty. The Supreme Court itself is its vigorous champion. Justices of the Court frequently have been the Court's severest critics. Many men of good will, however, are greatly perplexed by the merits of the segregation problem and profoundly disturbed by the violence of the controversy it has aroused. Without question, there is an alarming danger in the current controversy. That danger, however, does not arise from freedom of speech, but rather from a grave threat to its exercise. That threat, as it becomes daily more evident, consists in the ominous climate of fear produced by intemperate partisanship and unrestrained passions, penetrating into the home, the office, the shop, the school, the store, the club, the playground and even the church.

I mean the fear in the hearts of many citizens, and not a few of the legal profession, who have honest and reasoned opinions about segregation, but who are afraid or hesitant to express them, lest they or their families suffer unjust political, economic, professional or social reprisals. I sympathize sincerely with their fear; but I admire all the more those who have had the fortitude to speak and the courage to stand up and be counted. The success of the democratic process is predicated upon intelligent conviction courageously expressed.

The obligation of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court does not preclude, of course, honest and reasonable efforts to reverse its decisions by the lawful process of constitutional amendment defined in Article V of the Constitution. But it does preclude the employment of tactics of evasion and defiance, based on obsolete and unconstitutional theories of interposition and nullification.

Where, for instance, is the loyal obedience of the lawyer who would counsel, encourage, persuade or incite his fellow citizens to violate the supreme law of the land? Where is the loyal obedience of the lawyer who would lend the skill of his draftsmanship and advocacy to the enactment of a statute which he knows to be unconstitutional and which provides criminal penalties against citizens who desire to respect the supreme law of the land? Where is the loyal obedience, or even the elemental sense of self-respect, in the lawyer-legislator who would knowingly lobby and vote for such a statute, and then cynically explain to one of his minority constituents, "Oh, well, it's unconstitutional anyway!"? When such things happen, and they do happen, why should we be surprised at the evidently growing disrespect and distrust, not merely for the legal profession but for the law itself? The law is a majestic structure of principles. The legal profession is their sworn guardian. Neither the law nor the profession nor the public is well served by the lawyer who stands by, alerted to pressure, ready, able and willing to jettison principle for selfish and cowardly expediency.

Subject always to the obligations of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court, to the requirements of constitutional procedure and to the fairness and courtesy of civilized debate, let us exercise without fear or favor the constitutional right of free and open speech on this controversial issue of compulsory segregation. It would be a substantial public service if the legal profession in

appreciable numbers would assume its traditional role of leadership in public affairs by demonstrating the way of calm and dispassionate, and therefore fruitful, controversy.

Calm Discussion Needed

It would clear the air of public fear and create a healthy climate of discussion, if members of the bar could dissuade the misguided and discourage the malicious from the reckless use of insulting epithets and the irresponsible imputation of improper motives — which run the gamut, apparently, from trivia to treason. A really free, truly fair and calmly intellectual discussion on the merits of the issue is demanded by the grave importance of the fundamental principles involved and by the enormous impact of compulsory segregation on the daily lives of millions of our fellow American citizens. I believe that such a discussion would lead to agreement on the basis and meaning of the fundamental principles involved; and that such agreement on principles would eventually lead the majority of the legal profession, at least, to concur with the United States Supreme Court that compulsory segregation is completely incompatible with the fundamental constitutional principles which support our proud American way of life. Surely, the realization and perfection of that way of life is our common purpose.

The fundamental principles of the natural law as here outlined are obviously incompatible with compulsory segregation unless the Negro is not a man; or, if he is a man, then an essentially inferior man; or, if he is not an essentially inferior man, then an accidentally inferior man, whose accidental inferiorities unfit him, as a Negro, for free association with the allegedly superior white man.

Human knowledge has advanced to the point where the burden of proving the alleged inferiorities of the Negro is upon those who assert them. That the Negro is a man, essentially equal to the white man, is a clear and certain truth, objectively demonstrated by philosophical argumentation, experimentally verified by scientific investigation and universally accepted by the common consent of mature and civilized society. That the Negro is not an accidentally inferior man whose accidental inferiorities unfit him, as a Negro, for free association with the allegedly superior white man is also an objective certainty, established by philosophical considerations of his nature and destiny; corroborated by the overwhelming evidence of the anthropological, biological, psychological and sociological sciences; and conceded by the vast majority of thoughtful men the world over.

It has been argued to the contrary, however, that the Negro is inferior to the white man in his standards of health, intelligence, culture and morality; and, therefore, the compulsory segregation of the Negro is a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state.

The first answer to this argument, of course, is that compulsory segregation is not based on any standards of health, intelligence, culture or morality, but simply and solely on race. The Negro of robust health, refined intelligence, gentle culture and heroic virtue must still sit in the back of the bus, while the most diseased, stupid, uncouth and immoral white man must ride in front. The second answer to this argument is

that the statistics offered in its support do not prove what they purport to prove. They show, in point of fact, that many Negroes are in fact less healthy, less intelligent and less law-abiding than many white men. But the statistics do not prove that the Negro, as a Negro, has a lower potential for health, a lower aptitude for education or a smaller capacity for virtue than the white man who lives in a similar environment.

Cruel and Cynical Logic

The statistics do show that many Negroes are in fact handicapped severely in reducing their potential to actuality, their aptitude to achievement, their capacity to fulfillment by the substandard physical, economic, educational and social environment in which they are compelled to live. Compulsory segregation is the most extreme method employed by racial discrimination to force the Negro to live in the substandard environment which it has created. Ironically, the statistics offered in support of segregation constitute powerful evidence against it. Surely, it is a cruel and cynical logic which argues for segregation from the very evils it has produced.

By their fruits you shall know them. Compulsory segregation is the bitterest fruit of so-called "racial supremacy," an obsolete and exploded doctrine false in theory and vicious in practice. It is not without significance that two of the most prominent antagonists of the Supreme Court, both governors of sovereign states, in arguing recently for segregation, one in a national magazine and the other on a national television program, made use of the expression "mongrelization of the race." How could such an expression, with its degrading canine implication, escape the lips of anyone who sincerely believes that human beings, as human beings, are possessed of personal dignity, entitled to reverential respect and deserving of brotherly love?

There are some who disavow the racial supremacy nonsense but argue, nevertheless, that compulsory segregation is not "per se" unjust or uncharitable; and, therefore, the old "separate but equal" doctrine is still a reasonable exercise of the police powers of the state. The first answer to this argument, of course, is that the "separate but equal" facilities of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* never were, are not now and—in view of the tragic experience of the years—never in the future will be even remotely "equal." The "per se" argument is an abstraction contemplating itself in a vacuum. It prescinds from the facts of life. It ignores the real problem in its real moral and social context. The facts of life are that compulsory segregation is the product of the mentality of "racial supremacy," a mentality which is still deep and widespread and which, in a vicious psychological circle, draws strength and "respectability" from the legal blessing it received in the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. Separate facilities are "inherently unequal," because the matrix and context of separation is belief in the inequality of the separated.

The second answer to the "per se" argument is that, even supposing the contrary-to-fact hypothesis of equal facilities, compulsory segregation would still be objectively wrong; because it would still be contrary to the natural

unity which impels human beings to associate in organized society for their common good; because it would still violate the political and social unity of organized society which is demanded, in both justice and charity, by the essential equality and natural dignity of human personality.

Peripheral to the main issue but of serious civic importance is the question of the spiritual damage segregation has done and is still doing to those who force it upon their fellow citizens, both Negro and white. For injustice has a subtle way of reversing its impact, spiritually, from the oppressed to the oppressor. Peripheral also, but of momentous international importance, is the question of the diplomatic damage segregation has done and is still doing to our American aspirations to the moral leadership of the free world. We must practice what we preach. A busy and effective section of Soviet Russia's propaganda machine will collapse if and when we decide sincerely and efficaciously to obey the supreme law of the land as enunciated by the United States Supreme Court.

The segregation issue constitutes, in my opinion, a most formidable challenge to the intellectual vigor, the moral courage and the genuine patriotism of the legal profession.

The position of the Catholic Church has been clearly and courageously stated by His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans. The philosophy of the natural law has always been embraced and elevated by the theology of the Church Universal. Popes, archbishops, bishops, dogmatic and moral theologians, the unanimous judgment of the teaching Church is that compulsory segregation is objectively and morally wrong. It is a cancer in the body politic. It is a desecration of Christian civilization.

We like to think that God is on the side of our American way of life; but it is true only to the extent that our American way of life is on the side of Him Who said, "I am the way, the truth and the life." In the eyes of God there is neither white nor black nor red nor yellow nor brown; neither Jew nor Gentile nor barbarian nor Scythian; but all are brothers in Christ Jesus. "By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another."

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Materials - Desegregation

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THE WINNER NAMES THE AGE

(Commencement address given by Lillian Smith
at Atlanta University, June 3, 1957.)

Well: it is over now, isn't it? The easy part: the research, the thesis, the long hours in the library, the field work. In a sense, it was so safe and secure, hard but pleasant; this learning process; this easy, cloistered way of life where one makes a friend or two, grows a bit in mind and heart and imagination, and picks up so many useful and useless facts.

All this you have done in the front rooms of your mind.

But in the back room, somewhere inside you, in a secret corner, you have been painting a picture: A picture you began when you were a child, long before you knew words. You have not named that picture, as yet; perhaps you never will; we usually don't. Although most of us call it names -- and I'm sure you, too, in your nasty moods, have plastered it with

insults. But you have not decided, yet, what to name it.

For it is a picture of you; of your dreams and feelings, your sudden visions, your awareness, your hopes and despairs: a picture of all that this fabulous human experience has meant to you up to now -- or failed to mean.

When you came to the University, you did not leave that picture at home: you brought it with you and have continued to paint it.

What your style is, I don't know. That is your secret. All I know is, that style is patterned on <u>you</u>: on <u>your unique way</u> of looking at your world. It may be gay and bold and strong in its brushwork, compassionate in its feeling, or it may be as full of terror and angry protest as Picasso's <u>Guernica</u>. You may have painted an abstraction; or it may be non-objective; it may be blobs and dots, dribbles and improvisations, with, maybe, the bright colors, the startling accidents of a Pollock; or you may be slowly finding its form, and even now, it may be taking on a little of the strength and equilibrium of -- shall we agree on a Cezanne? Or if you dare not look beneath the surface of life, or above it, it is probably as literal as an amateur photograph.

But: whatever it is, it is your picture of the human experience and you have painted it: And when you leave the campus, that picture will go with you, along with the facts and the theories, the methods, and all the rest of it you have learned here.

And you will keep on painting it. You may lay aside one canvas and start another but you'll keep at it: Searching for a quality of truth that eludes you. Searching for the underside of meaning; searching for its poetry, its music, and its pain. Or maybe you won't. As the years go by, you may decide its colors are too harsh, its lines too broken, too jagged, and you may do that cruel thing: touch it up a little. You may finally say, I cannot bear the truth, even the small image of it I have made: I'll make it softer, prettier -- and less true. I'll paint life as a paperdoll, or a marshmallow. A lot of us do that, too, you know.

Whatever you do to it, that image of your universe, of you and your experience of life, is yours. I could not change it if I wanted to. And I shall not try.

What I want to show you is something else.

Not my picture of my experience of life: if you want to see a smidge of that, you can read my books. What I want us to look at together, now, is a kind of rough, crude blueprint of this age of ours: of the common ordeals -- full of danger and opportunities which we, regardless of private views or personal interests, must face together:

It is an age that has no name. Nor will it soon have one. It has often been called "the Age of Anxiety," but it will not, I think, be known in history as that. For the winners would not call it so: and the winners do the naming.

Sometimes we forget this. We forget that always an age is named for its triumphs: always for the big ideas that add stature to the human being. A brief glance at any great age, but let's make it the 18th century, will remind us how true this is: We call that century the Age of Reason, of Enlightenment, of the Rights of Man. And that is the way we think, today, of those troubled, terrible times: For the ideas of that century, the symbols that stirred the Western mind so deep, the daring acts, were the winners who named the baby.

And yet, actually, the Age of Enlightenment was an age when most Western men could not read or

write. The Age of the Rights of Man was a time when a new slavery was sending deep roots into American soil, and a new colonialism was beginning to lay its greedy paws on Asia and Africa.

Let me remind you of a few other things that were happening in this great Age of Reason: It was a time when educated Europeans were deeply concerned about ghosts. The Oxford University magazines were full of discussions of ghosts. Samuel Johnson took part, as you might know he would have, in this controversy — widespread in England. Witches, too, were still a hot topic. This Age of Reason was an age when the blind and crippled were persecuted and half starved; when the mentally ill were chained and some were whipped to death; when epileptics were hidden away; when men looked on tuberculosis and cancer as punishments from God.

This great intellectual era that gave us Rousseau's and Locke's writings, Voltaire's bold, sharp, ironic questions, Thomas Paine's books, and Jefferson's words on liberty and human freedom, gave us also a curious best-seller which swept Europe like wildfire. It was translated into English, French, German and was read by the intelligentsia. Parents were deeply impressed by it and shaped their methods

of child guidance on it; clergymen preached on the morality it implied; doctors based their therapies on it and continued to do so, some of them, until the 20th century. You may not, perhaps, have heard that book's name: It was called L'Onanisme and was written by a physician named Tissot. And it was concerned with the secret sins that children commit. According to this expert those sins caused most of the diseases known to man: from fits to diarrhea, from insanity to blindness, deafness, muteness, cerebral palsy, rheumatism, anaemia, liver upsets, etc.

This, all this, came out of the great Age of Reason.

Even so: even though the 18th century was chockfull of hysteria and superstition and irrationality we are right to call it the Age of Enlightenment. For the germinal ideas it brought to life, the vision of man's possibilities which it communicated to the future in impassioned words and symbolic acts will never die. They are, today, a part of the human heritage. And will remain so as long as men live on this earth.

There is always a dark underside to every age: a festering ill-smelling slum where man's enemies and errors breed. But an age is remembered not for its

enemies and errors but for those qualities it dramatized which enlarge horizons and give a fine ambience to man, himself. Malraux was so right when he said, "Always, however brutal an age may actually have been, its style transmits its music only."

You and I can paint our picture but we cannot name our age; the winner will do that. What we can do is pick the winner.

And because we can, I would like for us to take a look at the conditions, the ordeals out of which the winning ideas, the triumphant attitudes and technics will come:

We are faced with three which men have never had to deal with before. Each holds high potentials for good and evil, for life and death. Each affects the others. All three are concerned with new forms of power. And all will shape the earth's future.

You are as familiar with them as I am. But let us tie them a bit more tightly together; weigh their dangers in a lump and see what we can make of it:

A. The first can be described quite simply: It is the new power of world opinion. Walls are down.

Distance has been obliterated. Communication lines, economic and political lines are strung everywhere. Each crisscrossing the others.

With the result, that there is no longer a place for secrets. We cannot, as nations, gossip about each other without being heard. We cannot trick each other without being found out. We cannot hold, for ourselves, alone, either new things made or new knowledge gained. We can try but world opinion is powerful and will have its say about it.

This is a totally new thing: this publicity, this tied-togetherness, and this capacity for quick reaction. Suddenly the earth is stripped of its old insulated silence, its slow come-back, and is transformed into a sensitive instrument which responds with electronic speed to whatever is said and done: A few tactless words spoken by an official of one country can upset the government or economy of another. One stupid act, today, can bring on a world crisis, tomorrow. Even the blunders and crimes of individuals can make foreign offices tremble. A GI shoots a trespassing Japanese woman and half the earth shivers. Another GI shoots an alleged peeping tom in Formosa and a riot takes place in which the American Embassy is left a shambles. And suddenly, everybody every-

where is either glad or sorry. A Southern Congressman fights the civil rights bill and in doing so makes a remark insulting to the dignity of the human being. What happens? Not only are many Americans offended but millions of people across the world grow resentful.

It is obvious that we have not yet developed an earth-size courtesy and tact; nor have we yet found the new concern and new morality, and new objectivity, to match the new publicity and the new intimacy. Until we do, this new power of world opinion will oscillate between good and evil, life and death. It will be on somebody's side, yes; but not necessarily on the right side.

B. Our second ordeal is in everybody's mind: Atomic energy and how to control it. We know that nuclear power has fabulous possibilities for good; we know it can become a great creative force in the future, but what troubles people everywhere is its danger to us right now:

We are anxious and concerned: not only because the bombs can bring quick and total destruction in war, but because peacetime testing of bombs has already brought unknown damage to the human race. We are concerned that radioactive fall-out causes an increase in cancer in children. We are concerned

that the fall-out has already affected the genes of a percentage of our young people everywhere. What percentage? We are not sure. How many of their children will be defective and malformed? We do not yet know. But we want to know.

A few scientists have spoken clearly. We want more of them to speak, and in more detail. And we do not want the politicians to brush off their words. For the scientists are the only men on earth who know what they are talking about when they state the facts about radiation and its effect on the human race. We are afraid of politicians and atomic committees who try to keep secret the scientists' warnings. We are afraid of those stubborn men who continue the testing, in spite of the advice of the world's greatest authorities.

This is where world opinion can play its first great role in history. It, alone, can compel governments to use nuclear energy in the right way. If it wants to, it can measure its strength against the atom, and it can win. But will it? That is our decision.

C. Our third ordeal: is living in a world with two and a half billion free people. This is a new

thing: it can be a wonderful thing, a fabulous time of greatness can come out of it, but it is also dangerous: because free people have power -- more power than a half dozen H-bombs.

They are not likely to blow up the earth with their power but in their ignorance and inexperience, they may blow up civilization. They can destroy art and music and poetry and books and criticism; they can tear up laboratories and libraries; they can jail scientists and intellectuals and artists; they already decide what can be shown on TV and in the movies; they already dictate to the mass magazines; they can even dynamite churches (as we in the South well know). They can, when out of control do all these terrifying things because freedom gives them strength. A free man with the vote, and with wages that give him purchasing power, is armed with some hefty weapons.

This problem of free people and their new and amazing power does not disturb communist countries -- not as long as they have a strong secret police. Dictators keep the people under control: by taking away their freedom, by working them hard, starving them half to death, terrorizing them if they protest, and killing them when necessary.

No: it is the democracies who feel this power. Democracies -- and remember, we are trying to turn the whole world into democracies -- cannot have uncontrolled free people around. They cannot have this much power on the loose. Controls are necessary. But controls must be democratic, they must function without taking away the essential civil liberties of all men. What are the controls that are valid and will work?

A powerful control is Constitutional law. A democracy can't do without it. But it will work only if the people believe in law and respect its processes.

But the two strongest and best controls come from within a free man's own mind: his conscience and his reason. Both of which -- to stay healthy -- must be nourished on civilization's great and germinal ideas. May I name a few? Just to hear the music of them? For they sing to the civilized mind:

> the idea that every child has a right to grow;
> the idea that every one in the community has a right to be protected from violence;
> the idea that all people can speak out and say what they think;
> the idea that a man has a right to be different in looks, beliefs, interests and talents if he does not injure others;
> the idea that truth is a search that must never stop, that both reason and imagination are necessary to that search, that the scientific method is necessary, too, and cannot be interfered with except when human life is jeapodized or profound human values cheapened;

the idea that the way a thing is done, the means used, are as important as the end sought;
the basic idea: that God is the Ultimate Concern beyond all men, that He is the supreme symbol: not the white race, not the communist party, not capitalism, not any authoritarian group; and that his laws of love and brotherhood and mercy, and compassion must be obeyed.

When men stop believing in these great ideas, when they silence their conscience and trample their reason, when they make their own image their god -- or their economic or political beliefs their god -- then we are in for trouble. For then, they hold even Constitutional law cheap. They sneer at the high courts of their government; indeed, they say they obey only the laws they want to.

When this happens, the free people with their limitless potentials for growth and for good, will metamorphose into the mob.

Because it is happening in our country, especially down here in the deep South where we live, I want to talk about the mob in more detail:

There are three kinds of mobs: all alike in that they worship an idol, alike in that they have set aside both reason and conscience, alike in that they hold other men's civil rights cheap, alike in that they value security more than survival, alike

in that they disregard our laws, alike in that they want to hurt somebody. But they behave differently.

Let's begin with the least dangerous: Mob # 1. This is the mob on the street, usually dressed in ordinary clothes. It may be in pillowcase and sheet. This is the mob that dynamites a church or a home; that burns the Cross; that drives by in a car, fires a shot at someone, and drives on; that writes anonymous letters, makes anonymous phone calls, threatens and sometimes kills. This mob is made up of the delinquents and criminals of a community who are too cowardly to do this kind of thing until the community gives them a green light.

But mob # 2 is, in my opinion, far more dangerous. Because it holds more power and prestige. We might call it the mob in the gray flannel suit. Certainly many of its members are chairmen of boards of big business; others are trustees of school, church, hospital; some are directors of banks or presidents of insurance companies: others are professional men. In the South, members of mob # 2 often belong to the White Citizens Council.

Do these men go out on the street and blow up a church with dynamite? No. They have a better

way: they destroy the church from the inside with their cynicism, their hate, their panic and their pressures. Do they shoot a man down? No, they destroy his reputation, instead. This mob's strength lies in the fact that it hires people and sells goods. And its members use this strength to hurt those who deviate from their beliefs. They are the ones who fire the teacher who speaks up; who fire the young minister who bows to God instead of to White Supremacy; they are the ones who refuse the bank loan to the Negro who works for his civil rights and refuse the loan to the white man who tries to help the Negro secure his civil rights. They are the men who refuse to sell to those whose opinions they don't like; who refuse to insure some of those they don't like. They put the pressure on.

Mob # 2 also gives its protection to mob # 1. Without that protection mob # 1 would be in jail and would be kept there.

It is obvious that mob # 2 has enormous power. But this power is given it by mob # 3.

Let us look at mob # 3: It is difficult to do so because it is invisible. This mob lives inside men's minds. It behaves rather like the mob on the street but you may not hear a sound. Mob # 3

burns a cross before a man's conscience, dynamites his reason, threatens his sense of security, sends anonymous phone calls to old memories, old fears that are sleeping in peace. This kind of thing leaves a man anxious, and hating, and sometimes wanting to hurt something -- he doesn't know what or why. We can't, here, go into the deep reasons for mob thinking. But it comes to a region when an idol is worshipped instead of God -- and when men give up civilization's germinal beliefs.

It is this mob-thinking that pushes mob # 1 out on the streets. It is this mob-thinking that condones mob # 2's vicious boycott and pressures and leaves its members still thinking of themselves as good men. For every violent act committed, every threat and effort at boycott and intimidation, every hate word said, there are thousands of minds thinking mob thoughts. Enough to paralyze the police force, the courts, the judges, the juries, and all law-enforcement machinery. Enough, also, to completely paralyze public opinion -- and sometimes enough, even to paralyze the Christian church.

Here is the crux of the matter: In a democracy, enlightened, civilized public opinion must prevail;

not mob opinion, but the opinion of millions of individuals who have held on to their reason and conscience, and their belief in the free, growing human being.

The only way this public opinion can prevail is for people to stand up and speak out. Those who believe violence is wrong must say so. Those who believe a man has a right to be different must say so; those who believe a clergyman should preach according to his religious conscience should say so; those who believe school teachers must not be asked to take a loyalty oath defending segregation or the "southern way of life" or capitalism or any other form of idolatry, must say so; those who believe that our artists and writers must be left free to create their dreams and ideas into paintings and books must say so. Those who believe survival is more important than security must say this, too. For otherwise democracy cannot survive, nor, I think, can civilization survive. For the mob's power can destroy our freedom as completely as can any communist dictator.

What a price we have paid for silence! So many decent, warmhearted, intelligent people are silent, today -- not only in our South but all over

our country: Surrendering their opinion because they are torn between the teachings of their childhood and what they, today, know in their minds is right. Or silent because they are afraid to make the hard and necessary choice.

In their efforts to be moderate or neutral, they either do nothing or something totally irrelevant to the situation. And in a crisis that is a dangerous kind of behavior.

(Dr. Harold G. Wolff in the Saturday Review told an interesting story of a study made of sea gulls. Sometimes a sea gull is torn between fighting its enemy or taking flight. Not able to decide which to do, it becomes panicky, and ends up just plucking grass. Well, we have a lot of grass pluckers in our South today.)

The power of free people has to be controlled, channeled, disciplined by values and knowledge, and law -- or it can be more dangerous to us than hysterical world opinion (which it is close to) or than nuclear energy, out of control.

Because this is true, I consider the demagogue the greatest enemy a democracy has. Not the dictator: that is communism's problem. Our problem is the demagogue: the man who deliberately betrays the

people; the man who scares them, calling fire fire when there is no fire; who tells the people they are free to break the law, free to trample other people's rights, free to slough off their conscience and their reason and behave like mad men when they want to. This is the # 1 subversive man in our culture; this man is the people's real enemy. For he deliberately breaks down the controls of the Church, of conscience, of civilization, of the courts to get the people under his control.

What can we do about it? Ah, how everyone whispers this to himself, his family, his close friends!

The answer lies first in leadership; second, in the determined efforts of each individual to take his stand, to speak up, and try to create a climate of courage and hope and faith. Without the second, we cannot have the first. We need leaders, not martyrs. But we cannot have leaders unless the best people stand by these leaders, unless we give support when support is needed.

For fifty years, the South has had no great leader from the white race. Demagogues by the bushel but not one great leader. This, too, is part of the

price we have paid for our silence and for our walling ourselves away from the great ideas of our age.

We could have had great leaders: there were men in our South with the intelligence, the integrity, the vision to become great leaders but we, the people, did not give them our support. We gave that support, every time, to the cheap, foul-mouthed demagogue who appealed not to our reason and conscience but to our anxiety; who begged us to return with him to the past, a past that never actually existed, instead of going on with the rest of mankind into the future. We let down our leaders by not building them up. A leader cannot be built up unless the people, the best people of a region, build him.

But it is not too late. We can still do it. The Negro group is searching for and finding its good leaders and is beginning to give these leaders their support. What men some of them are! If the white group could only find a young leader to match the brains and heart, the integrity and vision, the courage, the energy and imagination of young Martin Luther King. For young Dr. King knows what every leader of stature must learn: that the way is as important as the goal we seek. And he has chosen the good way of nonviolence, of intelligence, and compassion,

and good will. A young white leader working shoulder to shoulder with Martin Luther King could do much to transform our South; to turn the mob spirit into the civilized Christian spirit that we should have, down here.

Now: back to you and me. We must go on painting our pictures, yes; for only by searching for the meaning life has for each one of us can we, ourselves, become human beings fit for a great age. Each of us must keep on searching for our personal view of this, our only experience of life. But we must also combine our efforts to see to it that the great ideas of our age have a chance to be acted out, to become strong enough to win over the irrational evil enemies and errors of our age. Remember we won't do the naming but we will pick the winner. Let's get to work and do it. Shall we? Let's find the new faith, the new compassion, the new understanding, and yes, the new existential doubt, too, that will send us on and give us the strength and the courage to do what needs to be done. Let's commit ourselves, deeply and completely, not to neurotic security but to the survival of man on this earth.

Pupils at a desegregated elementary school in Baltimore rehearse their May Day Dance. The school board here was unanimous and firm, and integration is now a fact.

Sat. Even. Post 7-13-57

V - Martin Series

THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS NEVER

CONCLUSION

The Border States Relent

Outside the inflexible areas, some Southern cities have integrated their schools. Here's what has been accomplished—sometimes quietly, sometimes over dying protests.

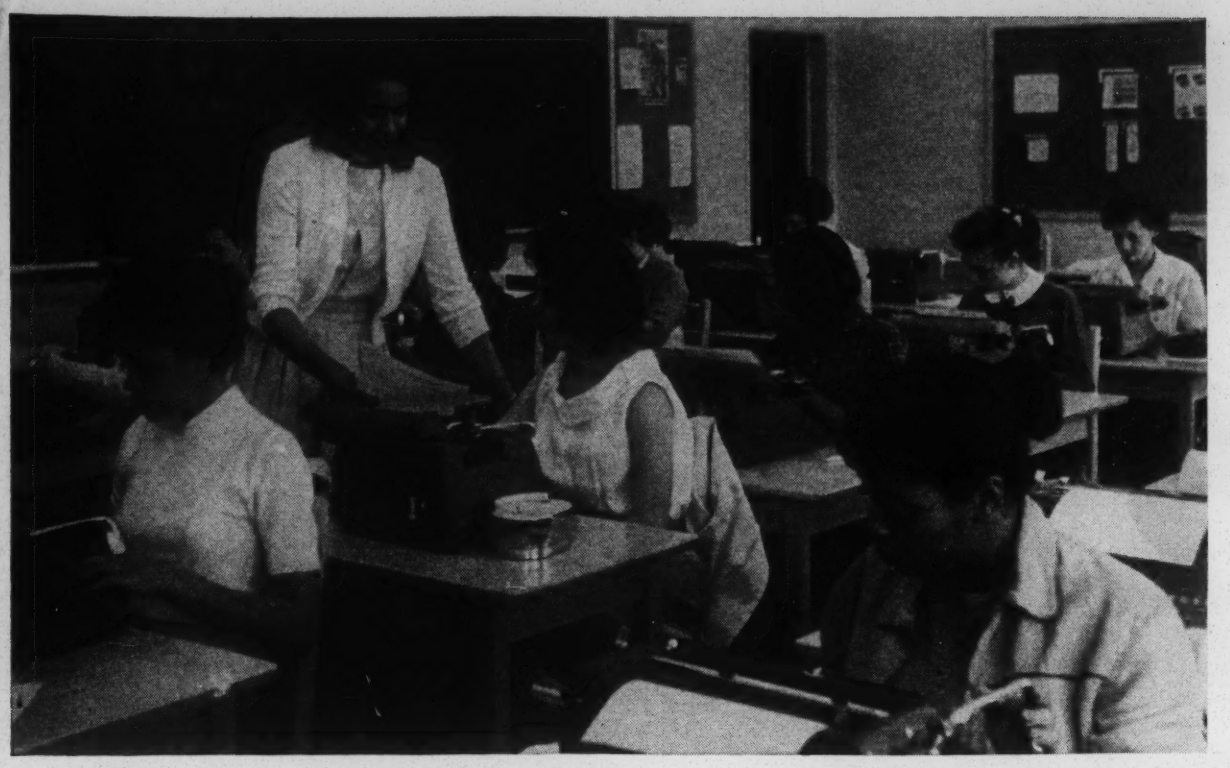
By John Bartlow Martin

Sturgis, Ky.: Guardsmen protect Negroes who tried to enter the town's white high school last fall.

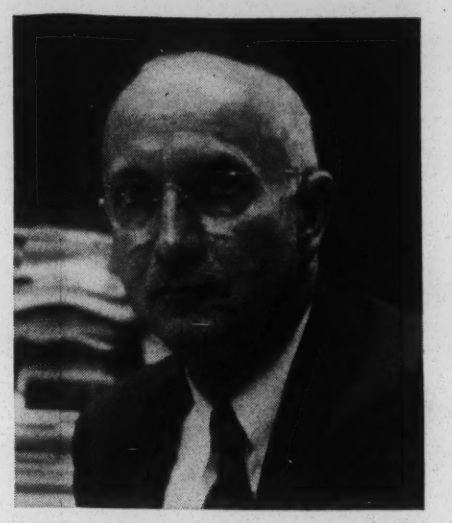
On May 25, 1954, only eight days after the United States Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, the District of Columbia announced it would comply when school opened that fall. Nine days later Baltimore said the same. Louisville said it would comply later. St. Louis scheduled high-school desegregation for January.

Twenty-five West Virginia counties desegregated—and when a group of mothers thereupon picketed a school, a judge said if they didn't desist "I'll fill the jail until their feet are sticking out of the windows."

For three years now, while the Deep South fought to frustrate the Supreme Court, the Border States have moved to comply with its momentous decision. How have they done it? How far have they actually gone? What have been the results? Thus far in these articles we have studied four Deep South states which have defied the Supreme Court—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. Let us now visit three Border States—Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri—which have obeyed it. And finally let us cast up the national account on school desegregation.



A Negro teacher at Baltimore's Southern High School instructs a mixed typing class. Today 28.7 per cent of the city's Negroes attend integrated schools.



School superintendent Omer Carmichael of Louisville: "I think I've always felt the Negro is a human being like the rest of us."

Western Junior High School in Louisville, Ky.: The races are mixed in classes, but after school the youngsters walk home almost entirely in segregated clusters. About 225 of the 1077 pupils are Negroes.

CHANGING PATTERNS

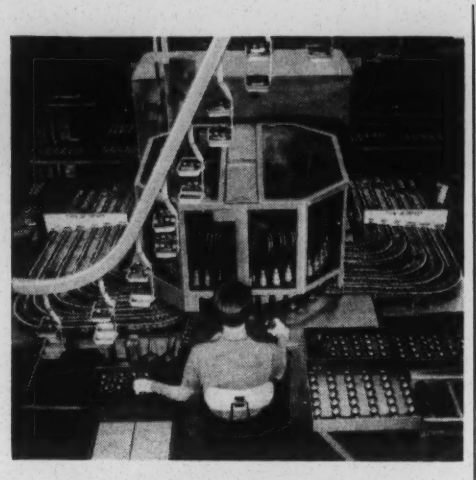
In the first four articles of this series, John Bartlow Martin reported on the Deep South's intransigent resistance to integration. In this, the fifth and last article, he reviews the integration picture in other states which formerly had segregated schools. Here's how Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri have altered their racial patterns since the historic Supreme Court decision of 1954.

THE EDITORS

About 30 per cent of Baltimore's people are Negroes. As they spread out from the center of town, block by block, white people move out. Segregation is still widespread in hotels, restaurants and theaters. Negroes hold few but menial jobs in private industry. Since the war, Negroes have gone to work as bus drivers, policemen, firemen; public swimming pools and public housing have been desegregated. But it is likely that if the question "Do you favor racial segregation?" were put to a referendum, Baltimoreans would answer, "Yes."

The Baltimore School Board appears to have long favored desegregation. After the Supreme Court decision, it moved swiftly. The school superintendent, John H. Fischer, recalls, "The board asked how long it would take to work it up and I said, 'Give us a week.'" The plan he submitted on June tenth was three paragraphs long. "I could have said it in a sentence, but I didn't want it to look too blunt." He simply proposed that any child attend any school in the city. Baltimore never has had rigid school districts.

Fischer, a well-dressed, pipe-smoking man with a firm manner and a precise mind, made no preparation, except to call all teachers together and explain that children would not be forced into integration, most pupils would continue to attend (Continued on Page 55)



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The Deep South Says "Never!"

(Continued from Page 33)

schools near their homes and no teachers would be fired. He said, "From our earliest days as a nation, we have set down from time to time in historic documents the high principles by which we mean to govern ourselves. . . . It is when we become aware that our daily conduct is inconsistent with these statements of purpose that we begin to rise above our past. It is on these occasions that the American dream comes more nearly true for more Americans. . . . All that we do is founded upon faith and hope and love. The love of truth, the love of learning, the love of children—these are great forces with which to work. There is no doubt that the world could be transformed if only their power could be fully unleashed. More than most men and women, we are in a position to use that power."

Fischer read a letter which a white principal had written to his teachers:

"For my part, I shall receive every teacher and every pupil on terms of perfect equality. . . .

"I shall remember that the same God made both of us. . . .

"My stepson found the Negro boys who fought in Korea beside him to be first-class fighting men who neither asked for nor received special favors. He learned that the colored skin received enemy bullets with the same bravery that the white skin received them.

"The tax collector accepts money from the colored hand as from the white.

"Segregation in the schools has ended. Let us make the transition in this school a smooth transition. Let us be proud of ourselves next June."

When Baltimore school doors opened that September, only about 1700 Negro pupils—3 per cent of all Negro pupils—entered formerly all-white schools. Most Negroes chose to stay in their own schools because residential segregation made it convenient or because they wanted to continue where they had begun. A few Negroes transferred to distant white schools just to be in white schools. Desegregation proceeded smoothly for a month. But after segregationists led by Bryant Bowles, of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, closed a desegregated school and forced the school board to resign in nearby Delaware, Baltimore got into trouble. On September thirtieth, in a neighborhood inhabited largely by semi-skilled workingmen who own their small homes, women picketed an elementary school containing about a dozen Negroes and 700 whites. Other parents, apprehensive, took their children out of school.

Next day the trouble spread to the nearest high school, Southern—students demonstrating, adults picketing—and that afternoon when the Negro pupils came out, "something uncomfortably close to a riot in the streets" took place, as Fischer has put it. Fist fights occurred. Picketing had begun at a half dozen other schools. The police prepared for the worst on Monday.

But over the weekend, civic leaders rallied to defend desegregation. Leaders of Jewish agencies, the P.T.A., the Urban League, labor unions, women's clubs and the Council of Churches called on Fischer to offer their help. They issued statements themselves. They asked all Protestant ministers to preach on brotherhood on Sunday. They visited the police commissioner, the state's attorney and the attorney general. The mayor pleaded for calm. The school board stood firm.

But on Monday carloads of teen-agers paraded from school to school, gathering recruits, then marched on city hall and went on to Southern High. There picketing was in progress, and 1200 out of 1700 students were absent. More fist fights; nine other schools were picketed. Rumors spread through the city that a white girl had been stabbed to death.

The schools and police adopted a tougher policy. School officials warned parents that it was against the law to keep their children out of school. The police commissioner on television declared that anybody who disturbed the schools or induced a student to be truant would be arrested. On Tuesday morning when schools opened police chased the pickets home. That afternoon Fischer issued a statement saying it was all over. It was. By Thursday attendance was back to normal.

Today 28.7 per cent of Baltimore's Negro pupils are attending mixed schools. That more are not is because of residential segregation. In Baltimore, as one man has said, "There aren't many people really cheering, but there aren't many trying to halt or delay it either." Fischer says desegregation succeeded because the school board was unanimous and unwavering, and because it was backed up by government and community leaders.

It is all over, too, in St. Louis. The St. Louis Board of Education, on June 22, 1954, a month after the Supreme Court decision, announced a three-step desegregation program—special schools in September, 1954; most high schools in January, 1955; elementary schools in September, 1955. Though the Missouri constitution required school segregation, St. Louis seems a busy Midwestern industrial city, not a Southern town, and legal school segregation a historical accident. Streetcars, buses, public libraries and parks have been traditionally non-segregated. And since World War II, swimming pools, some hotels, the baseball park, the legitimate theater, and Catholic schools have been desegregated.

The school-board decision was unanimous. Thus segregationists had no rallying point. The board immediately received strong community backing. Newspapers applauded. The League of Women Voters published a booklet on desegregation. Clergymen prayed and worked for its success. The National Conference of Christians and Jews began training teen-age leaders. The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations ran a workshop. P.T.A.'s co-operated. "Whatever success we've had," says school superintendent Philip J. Hickey, "is due to the fact that the community tackled the problem." Superintendent Hickey is a solidly built, forthright man. A school official has said, "He would call in teachers who wanted to change schools to avoid Negroes, and he would bang his fist down and say, 'No teacher is going to run away from this; you're all frozen. Desegregation is going to succeed—period.'"

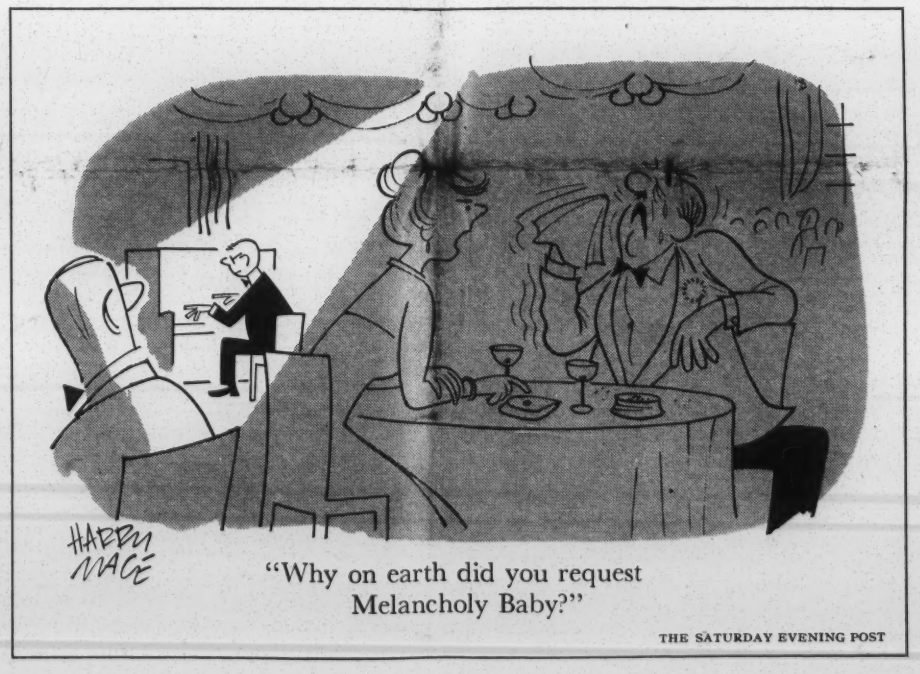
Unlike Baltimore, St. Louis always had had rigid school-district boundaries. Hickey ordered all boundaries redrawn and put a Negro in charge of the job. Using electronic machines, he assigned all pupils to schools in their districts. No districts were gerrymandered to segregate or mix pupils by race. Pupils were allowed to stay in their old schools until they graduated. They were not allowed to transfer to avoid desegregation.

The first step of the St. Louis plan went smoothly. When the second step began John Hamilton, a segregationist and editor of the anti-Semitic White Sentinel, distributed handbills calling on parents to picket, but nothing happened. A few weeks later when a white high-school boy squirted a Negro girl with a water pistol, her friends beat up the white boy, and the trouble threatened to spread, but Hickey dealt quickly and firmly with it, and since then St. Louis has had no trouble. Today about half the Negro pupils are still in all-Negro schools because of residential segregation. Hickey says, "We think we're through it. It's working even better than we expected."

Baltimore is Eastern, St. Louis Midwestern, but Louisville is Southern. When, on the very day of the Supreme Court decision in 1954, the governor of Kentucky and the Louisville superintendent of schools announced that they would comply, Deep South segregationists shuddered. If Kentucky, once a slave state, with its bluegrass and upcountry, its manor houses and bourbon, its cotton and tobacco and horse farms, should fall, where was segregation safe?

Kentucky went slower than Maryland and Missouri. She waited a year for the Supreme Court's implementation decree. Then in July, 1955, rural Wayne County became the first in Kentucky to desegregate. It admitted six Negro pupils to an elementary school. The big year was 1956: That September 109 school districts of 177 having Negro children commenced desegregation or announced plans.

Desegregation has been a patchwork in Kentucky. Many desegregated districts have only a handful of Negroes. Several "cotton counties" where Negro pupils outnumber whites have done nothing. High schools have moved faster than elementary schools. Some schools have moved slowly because of overcrowding;



"Why on earth did you request Melancholy Baby?"

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

some have used overcrowding as an excuse. Some superintendents would like to move faster, but fear to get ahead of community opinion and wish the N.A.A.C.P. would file suits to force them. It has filed seven suits. The Federal District Courts have set firm and soon deadlines. One judge rejected a school board's plan to spend twelve years desegregating a grade at a time.

Most districts have adopted a "voluntary" plan—they have not pushed desegregation, but have simply said that any Negroes who care to may attend previously white schools. In Lexington, a Southern town with 2750 Negro pupils, only 34 chose to do so. Indeed, although 29,017 of Kentucky's 38,358 Negro pupils are in officially desegregated school districts, only 8017 are actually in mixed schools, and 5600 of these are in Louisville. Some Negroes stay in all-Negro schools because of residential segregation. In some Negro schools teachers have discouraged their pupils from leaving—as long as a Negro teacher has a student body, she has a job, and she fears she will not be allowed to teach white students. So far, few have been allowed to, and probably 100 Negro emergency teachers have lost their jobs. Some districts have little more than token desegregation: the school board adopted an official policy of desegregation, but did not even announce it publicly. It is said that some white teachers have discouraged Negroes from coming to white schools, saying, "I'll teach anybody that comes here, but you'll be better off in your own school."

At least one superintendent felt that "it was touch and go," and in three places serious trouble broke out. On September 4, 1956, nine Negro students tried to enter the white high school in Sturgis, a coal-mining town in Western Kentucky, but a mob blocked the way. The governor sent the National Guard. White children boycotted the school. Townsfolk organized a Citizens' Council. The same thing happened in a nearby town, Clay, where the mayor, school board and community leaders opposed desegregation. Faced with such strong opposition, the state attorney general issued a ruling that resegregated the Negroes on a technicality. It was a clear-cut victory for segregation. But subsequently, a Federal Court has ordered the schools desegregated next September. And the local Citizens' Council has responded by announcing plans to open a private school for whites.

The trouble at Clay and Sturgis spilled over into Henderson, thirty-five miles away. Henderson is an old conservative tobacco town across the Ohio River from Evansville, Indiana. "When you cross the river you've come two hundred miles," says one Henderson man. The county school superintendent, C. B. West, told his principals that if any Negroes asked admission to white schools in September of 1956, they should be admitted; he made no public announcement. When school opened, only five Negro children entered Weaverton School along with 861 white children. "We got along very nicely there for three weeks," West recalls, "until this thing started in Clay and Sturgis and slopped over."

On September twentieth, the man who had led the segregationists in Clay and Sturgis, Jerry Waller, announced he was coming to Henderson to organize a Citizens' Council on Saturday night. A Presbyterian pastor, the Reverend C. Sumpter Logan, a good-looking, erect man of fifty-five who, though born in Alabama, believes in desegregation and has worked for it, determined to oppose. He called a meeting of the Henderson Ministerial Association. He discovered, he says, that only one other minister believed in desegregation on principle. Nevertheless they agreed to oppose the Citizens' Council move as a threat to law and order.

On Saturday night they gathered at the Reverend Mr. Logan's church for prayer; then walked across the park to the courthouse, where the Citizens' Council meeting was to be held, and sat down together. A crowd of 1400 overflowed to the grounds outside. From a raised dais, Waller, the segregationist, spoke for about an hour, attacking desegregation, urging the crowd to form a local Citizens' Council, and advocating a school boycott. The Reverend Mr. Logan arose and stepped to the microphone. He said that Waller had dealt with the crowd as rabble to be aroused, but that the ministers felt otherwise. "We consider you as children of God and we'd like to have a word with you."

> Too many people forget that the best place to work to beat hell is in church.
>
> DAN BENNETT

He began to read a statement, saying that while many disagreed with the Supreme Court decision, all should unite to preserve order, obey the law and "help strengthen democracy right here where we live." Before he had got halfway through, the crowd was booing and hissing and cursing and calling, "Throw the louse out!" He tried to continue, but the noise drowned his words. Finally he finished, and the meeting broke up noisily.

On Monday morning the boycott began. Only about half the pupils came to school. A crowd gathered. The Reverend Mr. Logan, on the radio, criticized the boycott and defended desegregation. He bought radio spots and newspaper space, emptying the Ministerial Association Treasury. It contained only $105. The Citizens' Council advertised too. Next day attendance dropped to 206. The Citizens' Council held another mass meeting; the ministers served coffee and cookies at a "fellowship hour" to parents who were keeping their kids in school. Superintendent West said, "As long as there's a student there'll be a teacher—that's the law."

Slowly, school attendance began to climb. Council leaders were wavering. On Friday they made an all-out effort to empty the school. It failed. The acting state commissioner of public safety told council leaders that he knew they intended to commit no violence, but that if any occurred he would hold them responsible. They called off the boycott.

Henderson has had no more trouble. But desegregation has not progressed. Most well-informed people think community sentiment favors segregation. The Citizens' Council probably lost because of the quality of its leadership and the firmness of authorities. The newspaper stayed neutral. So did elected officials, prominent businessmen and civic leaders; not one rallied to support the ministers openly. The Reverend Mr. Logan was almost alone. Prominent members of his church have since criticized him, and he thinks he may leave town before long.

Like Baltimore's, Louisville's citizens probably favor segregation; like Baltimore's and St. Louis', its leaders in recent years have eroded segregation. Superintendent Omer Carmichael, a tall, bald, spare Presbyterian elder of sixty-four, was born in Alabama and his grandfather had owned slaves, yet he said recently, "I think I've always felt that the Negro is a human being just as the rest of us. I'd like to see the Deep South unfrozen. I'm no crusader. I'm no professional do-gooder. If I were given the job of desegregating the schools in Birmingham, I'd plead very earnestly for three, four, five—I don't know how many years. I claim no credit for what's happened in Louisville, other than helping prepare to do what had to be done. This is a whole community problem, not just a school problem."

The Supreme Court, as we have seen, delayed a year before issuing its implementation decree. Carmichael made good use of the year. In the fall of 1954 he asked principals to hold faculty meetings and teachers to prepare their pupils. One first-grade teacher told her white pupils about Africa and about famous American Negroes, and taught them the "moral and spiritual values and the idea of brotherhood." In two ninth grades, a white teacher and a Negro teacher surveyed their pupils' attitudes with a questionnaire; then led classroom discussions. Some of the questions:

	White		Negro	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Do you want to go to school with Negro (white) students?	14	46	53	7
If your school had Negro (white) students and they attended a school dance, would you dance with them? .	5	55	52	8
Would you mind using the same bath and shower room with Negro (white) students? . .	43	17	30	30

With orientation of faculty and students begun, Carmichael turned to the community. He and other speakers addressed P.T.A.'s, civic clubs, churches, women's clubs, Rotary and Kiwanis. Various civic organizations rallied to help. At every step he tried to make the community feel that it was helping plan desegregation. His plan was to desegregate all grades, from kindergarten to twelfth grade, at a single stroke in September, 1956. He would redistrict the city without regard to race; he would assign each pupil to the school in the district where he lived. But any pupil who wished could apply for a transfer to a different school. Louisville had always permitted transfers liberally. In all, 4315 parents requested transfers—11 per cent of all parents. Nearly all were granted.

A Citizens' Council made plans to picket and boycott the schools. And only a few days before the schools opened, trouble broke out in Clay and Sturgis. But at Louisville nothing happened, except that a few people briefly picketed the Board of Education and City Hall and a few apprehensive parents went to school to see how things were going. And since then there has been no trouble.

But what has been happening since in the schools? What are the problems of desegregation? How have they been handled?

Carmichael has said, "We expected desegregation to work, but it's worked beyond our fondest hope. Of course"—smiling—"there are scores of teachers who could sneer and say, 'Little does he know what I've been through.' The people who bear the brunt of this are the classroom teachers."

On an ordinary morning out at Western Junior High, a huge old brick-and-stone school in a neighborhood of factories and busy streets and workingmen's houses, when the bell rings to change classes, the kids come banging out into the tiled corridors, and down the hall come a Negro boy and a white boy, both neat in striped blazers, talking animatedly. When the boys' gym class lines up for basketball practice, they mingle indiscriminately. But after school, as the kids walk homeward, they walk almost entirely in segregated clusters.

Western, formerly all white, contains 1077 pupils, about 225 of whom are Negroes. In general, the Negroes come from a relatively higher social level than the whites. Many of their fathers are professional men; most white parents are workingmen. "We've been very careful," Principal Foster J. Sanders says. "No problem that comes up is too small to go into fully." Shortly after the Supreme Court decision, many parents said, "I'm not going to send my children to school with niggers," but by now most parents accept it. Once a white mother telephoned to complain that a "big Negro" had hit her little girl: "I don't like niggers; I don't want them to touch my child." Sanders invited her and her husband to come to school. He called in both children. Soon it was clear that they simply had had a childish argument. The Negro boy was smaller than the white girl. The white father, who had taken the day off from work, said to his wife, "Is this all I'm here for? If it is, let's go on home." Sanders has said, "We haven't had an incident in this school this year that you wouldn't have between whites and whites. It's over now. I got my gray hairs in September."

California School, a formerly all-white elementary school, now contains more Negroes than whites, 178 to 125. Its neighborhood is filled with factories and small frame houses and beer joints. In an ordinary week the school loses perhaps five white students whose parents are fleeing to the suburbs, and gains three new Negro pupils whose parents have just moved in. At noon on the asphalt playground a teacher, Charles E. Aebersold, a young-looking man, blows a whistle and his pupils run to the tiny lunchroom and eat amid subdued uproar, two Negro boys shushing the others. They are sixth-grade children, seventeen Negro and seventeen white, and they mingle more freely than older children—and after school they walk together, homeward-bound, Negro and white. Eating with them, Aebersold says, "The problems this year are the old ones—discipline, tardiness, aggressiveness, kids wet their pants or get sick at their stomach. I get more resistance from three Negro boys than from all the rest of the class together. But, on the other hand, some of the very best co-operation is from Negroes. There are bright and slow Negro kids. Lack of achievement is due to environment here. That boy"—nodding toward a Negro at the end of the table—"is the youngest of nine kids who live in an alley in two rooms without a bath. With an environment like that, what can you expect?"

Negro achievement is one of the big problems of desegregation everywhere. Negroes were integrated grade for grade and many could not keep up. Most schools insist they have not held back quicker white kids in order to let slower Negroes catch up. They have sequestered the slow, average and quick students of both races and let each group progress at its own pace. It has usually fallen out that the slow groups contain a disproportionate (*Continued on Page 58*)

(*Continued from Page 56*) number of Negroes. Carmichael says that by the sixth grade, Negroes are about a year and a half behind white children in achievement. Fischer, of Baltimore, agrees. Why is it so? Social, economic and cultural background, say most educators, plus inferior teaching in the old all-Negro schools. And one adds, "I'm very sure some Negroes don't do well because they say, 'What's the sense of studying hard in high school when the only job you can get later on is as a bus boy anyway?'" Segregationists blame inherent Negro inferiority. Fischer, of Baltimore, says, "As to racial differences, we don't know and we will never know whether they exist until some Negro youngster somewhere can live under the same conditions as a white boy. If you can ever equalize conditions that bear in on a child, then you can match them on race alone."

Desegregation created other problems. Louisville junior high schools eliminated interschool athletic competition. Some St. Louis high schools curtailed their social programs. But everywhere that both Negroes and whites attend high-school dances, the races dance separately. There have been no complaints anywhere about mixed dating. Many teachers feel that tardiness is more prevalent among Negroes than among whites, "a clock just doesn't mean anything to them." Some say there has been more stealing in the schools since Negroes entered. Most teachers add quickly, "Of course, they're left alone at home so much of the time; their mother works; they don't even know who their father is; it's just a difference in the way they're raised." One teacher has said, "It's harder to teach this year—harder to get them to listen, to obey, to buy books, to start to work, to put their books away."

There is a widespread impression that white teachers are less strict than Negro and have leaned over backward to be nice to Negroes; maladjusted Negro children have abused their new freedom. Some teachers feel the Negro children are hostile to them. A Louisville teacher has said, "For the first six months it was a novelty. Everybody was on their best behavior. Lately that's been wearing off. I've noticed open defiance of the teachers. The Negro student now is getting the idea he's a guest in the white man's school. Integration of faculties could eliminate that." Carmichael has said he intends to desegregate faculties, as St. Louis and Baltimore have, but he won't say when. It is a sore point.

Desegregation has saved some school boards money—one school system is cheaper than two. In St. Louis it has relieved overcrowding in Negro schools. Talking with principals, teachers and children, one gets the impression that everybody has worked very hard to make desegregation work. Many teachers have noticed that Negro pupils seem more "polite" than white pupils. All agree that Negro parents have been extremely cooperative. A Louisville principal recalls a troublesome motherless Negro boy whose aunt and uncle came all the way from Chicago to see if they could help out. "I've known white parents that live four blocks from the school and I couldn't get them over here. The Negro parents want their children to get ahead."

The kids get along fine together. A guidance director says, "I haven't heard one child say one word against desegregation." White children do not seem to resent Negro crossing guards. At the start of the year, white children helped Negroes find their rooms and lockers. A Negro girl who is a good reader helps the slower white children. In one sixth-grade class a Negro girl asked why she couldn't get a job as an airline hostess when she grew up. A white girl said matter-of-factly, "If you were white you probably could." The Negro replied, "That's because people in Louisville are still prejudiced in some ways." Desegregation really is a community, not merely a school, problem. A Negro who had traveled to Europe described his trip to his classmates, less advantaged. Another brought a projector to school and showed films to the other children. "They are marvelous at sharing." A Negro girl's ability to play the piano enabled her class to sing accompanied. A Negro boy trained in his church choir distinguished himself at Christmastime. "He could have these children standing and singing on a signal from him as beautifully as any choir director I've ever seen," his teacher says. At a Louisville junior high the cast of the Christmas play included Negro angels and a Negro wise man. After desegregation in Frankfort, Kentucky, as one resident has said, "Whatever resentment there might have been at the white high school disappeared the night of the first football game when a Negro halfback scored two touchdowns." One day a first-grade teacher was reading to her pupils when she noticed that a small Negro girl seated beside her desk kept rubbing her hand up and down the teacher's arm. She persisted, and the teacher finally asked her what the trouble was. The child said, "I just wanted to see if your skin felt like mine. And it does."

> Research indicates that the Joneses are now having trouble keeping up with themselves.
>
> ELLIS C. GALT

Today across the nation there are 2,731,750 Negro school children in the seventeen states which before the Supreme Court decision required segregation. Of these, 256,475 are "in integrated situations"—enrolled in school districts where an official policy of desegregation has been declared or where one or more schools or grades are desegregated. But of these, no more than 115,000 Negroes are actually in mixed schools—4 per cent. (This estimate is liberal.) In the District of Columbia most of the 73,723 Negroes are in mixed schools—nearly as many as in all the Border States together—bringing the total to no more than 189,000 out of 2,805,473 enrolled in the seventeen states and the District—6.7 per cent.

In the Deep South—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—no Negroes have been desegregated.

In the Mid-South, two states, North Carolina and Virginia, have done nothing. Five Arkansas school districts containing 941 Negroes—out of 102,000 in the state—have desegregated, and so has one district in Tennessee containing 344 Negroes—out of 128,164—and including Clinton.

In the Western states 104 districts out of 1800 in Texas have desegregated, putting 3400 Negroes—out of 248,531—in mixed schools; 197 of 261 districts in Oklahoma have officially desegregated, putting 24,500 Negroes—of 37,367—into integrated situations.

The Border States have done the most. West Virginia desegregated quickly and completely. Delaware has put about 3000—of 11,411—Negroes into mixed schools; Northern Delaware is fully desegregated, though Southern Delaware remains a segregated island. Adjoining Southern Delaware is another island—the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In Maryland, desegregation began in Baltimore; the second year it spread through eight counties in Northern and Western Maryland; now it covers fourteen counties of twenty-four, so far as official policy is concerned. Of Maryland's 109,720 Negro pupils, 20,936 are actually in mixed schools, and of these nearly all—19,209—live in Baltimore. The situation is similar in Kentucky. About 45,000 of Missouri's 69,000 Negro pupils live in St. Louis and Kansas City, both desegregated; most other Negroes are concentrated in "Little Dixie" in Central Missouri, where desegregation has progressed gradually, and in "the Bootheel" along the Mississippi Delta, a cotton-growing region with a heavy Negro population where progress has been slow.

Everybody agrees that in the Border States the big changes have already come. Henceforward desegregation is likely to spread district by district or school by school. The great bulk of desegregation has taken place in the cities—Washington, Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, Kansas City. Even the cities are a patchwork. In Louisville, nine schools, including the Negro high school, are still all-Negro and eleven all-white—out of seventy-five schools; many contain only a handful of one race or the other. In Baltimore and St. Louis about half the schools are still all-white or all-Negro. Why? Residential segregation. As Negroes spread outward from the centers of the cities, they ultimately will enter all schools. At the same time whites are fleeing to the suburbs, so more and more schools may become all-Negro. It is possible that school desegregation has accelerated the white flight to the suburbs. The same thing is happening in Northern cities. In New York, 29½ per cent of Negro pupils are attending schools that are predominantly Negro. In Chicago, Negro leaders have estimated that 90 per cent of Negro elementary pupils are in all-Negro schools. Chicago does not keep statistics by race, but school authorities consider this estimate much too high. In New York the school board has adopted a policy of promoting desegregation by rezoning school districts in transition neighborhoods and selecting new school sites to serve a desegregated population. The Chicago board has declined to promote desegregation deliberately. It feels that Negro mobility is causing desegregation. Both New York and Chicago favor the concept of the "neighborhood school"; as the complexion of a neighborhood changes, so does the complexion of its school. Chicago has held district lines firm and refused to permit white children to attend schools outside their districts in order to flee a Negro influx. New York has not, as has been reported, transported Negro children long distances to white schools, or vice versa. Both New York and Chicago are making great efforts to improve the schools in Negro neighborhoods.

As Negroes flee the Deep South and come to the Border and Northern cities they place an increasing burden on education. Already the greatest problem in the St. Louis schools is caused by Mississippi immigrants. A week after Emmett Till was killed in Mississippi, 1000 Negro children from Mississippi knocked on the doors of the St. Louis schools. School desegregation is not just a Southern problem or a Border State problem; it is a truly national problem, perhaps the most pressing domestic problem the nation faces today.

A few general conclusions can be drawn about desegregation. It is easiest where there is something to build on—a previous association of the races in parks, swimming pools, Red Cross drives and other community activities. It is most difficult where the races are kept strictly apart, as in the Deep South. The farther south one goes the harder it gets. But this is not ironclad: witness Texas and Arkansas. Numbers do not necessarily control. St. Louis desegregated successfully with half its elementary pupils Negro, but putting five Negro children into a school at Henderson tore the town apart. Nor does tradition necessarily control. True, Henderson was in the section of Kentucky that went with the South in the Civil War, but Clinton, Tennessee, is in the loyalist section of Tennessee; today both are segregationist. Desegregation seems to work best in cities, perhaps because it has been tried most wholeheartedly there, perhaps because the numerous schools of a city permit flexibility—as the single school of a small town does not—perhaps because urban human relations are somewhat depersonalized.

In the cities there have been remarkably few "incidents." The kids get along fine. The parents object only a little more. Most complaints come from the teachers. Children in mixed schools, especially older children, show some tendency to resegregate themselves automatically outside the classroom. Low Negro achievement has probably caused some lowering of academic standards, but not so much as might be expected. Whether desegregation should be ironclad or lax depends upon the place. Citizens of Baltimore and Louisville, though probably secretly in favor of segregation, reluctantly did what their leaders convinced them they must. Citizens' Councils have made little headway in the Border States. Here members are few, and you almost never find the town banker, lawyer, doctor, merchant or sheriff leading the council, as in the Deep South. But the councils may make trouble in Louisville next fall. The fondest dream of Deep South segregationists is to resegregate Kentucky, and John Kasper has announced he will try. In areas that could go either way, everything depends on the quality and firmness of leadership on both sides. Finally, it is perfectly clear that in places where desegregation has been tried in full good faith, it has succeeded.

Awhile back, Dr. G. D. Wilson, a thin, elderly, white-haired Negro who heads the Department of Education at Kentucky State College, said, "People have learned a lot from this. I visited a school one day and saw a little Negro girl come out and struggle with her coat. I stopped on the steps to watch. She ran on; then I saw two white mothers standing there with their white children, and I realized the Negro girl was running toward them, and one of the women leaned down and helped her with her coat; then they all went on together." He smiled, a gentle, brown-skinned man with a soft smile. "This thing is full of little human stories. A principal told me about a little white girl who had been a polio victim, she had to use a wheel chair, and after desegregation—this superintendent had been against it, thought it wouldn't work, had said so—one day after desegregation he was coming down the hall and saw two boys, one white and one Negro, one in front of the wheel chair and one behind it, wheeling the little girl along, and when they came to the stairs, they carried her up the steps together. The girl didn't care whether it was a white boy or a Negro carrying her, she had to get up the steps. Neither boy cared who was in front; they wanted to help her. The principal said, 'That's democracy in action. It's working pretty good.'"

Editors' Note: This is the last of five articles by John Bartlow Martin.

Harold
As I mentioned
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RECEIVED AUG 5 1957

LENOIR CHAMBERS

THE SOUTH AND SEGREGATION: THE FIRST THREE YEARS*

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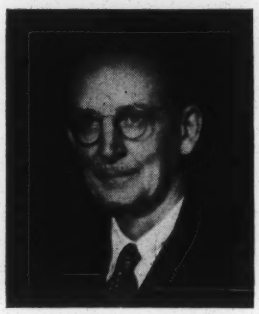

LENOIR CHAMBERS has been a Norfolk, Virginia, newspaperman since 1929—editor of the Virginian-Pilot since 1950. He is among the leaders of Southern thought—being a practical idealist, both liberal and objective.

It is fifteen days before the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." In twenty-nine days it will be the second anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision on May 31, 1955, that "the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling."

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which has jurisdiction in Maryland, the two Virginias, and the two Carolinas, looked at these two decisions and made certain interpretations. In the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case it said:

> . . . It is important that we point out exactly what the Supreme Court has decided and what it has not decided . . . The Constitution . . . does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action.

The depth and scope of the Supreme Court's decision three years ago made it instantly an issue of profound national importance. Not only that; it was of such a nature and of such gravity as to have world meaning, for it presented an outline of contemporary American constitutionality.

Yet it is within the District of Columbia and the seventeen states which required segregation in public schools before May 17, 1954, that the immediate impact was heaviest and the practical problems are most vividly on parade. These, in varying degrees, are the Negro states, and the issues are the relations of the white and Negro people who live side by side, long and inextricably intermingled in many respects and long held apart in other respects.

Negro population has drained out of the South since the first World War and in greater degree since the second World War, but the South is still the home of nearly ten million of the sixteen million American Negroes. In one of these states, Mississippi, the Negro population is 45 per cent of the whole and is much more than a majority in some counties, towns, and villages.

The South is the region where slavery was a practical fact for 246 years, leaving a mark on the relations of the races which would be expected to linger a long time wherever such conditions existed. The South is still the region where more Negroes have had less economic and educational opportunity than anywhere else in the nation. Some remarkable Negro men and women have broken out of these conditions, but a large degree of poverty and ignorance has been the inevitable consequence of the restrictions as well as the basic conditions. It is easy for many people in the South to think of the Negro race in terms of the poverty and ignorance they see around them rather than in terms of the competence and capacity, and the distinguished achievements of many Negroes,

*An address, somewhat condensed, given before the thirty-third convention of Torch International on May 2, 1957.

which are not often on view in their neighborhoods.

In this region what has happened in these three years? I turn first to the college and university record. As long ago as 1938 the Supreme Court declared in the Gaines case from Missouri that a Negro resident did not have to be sent out of the state to study law. Since Missouri had no law school for Negroes, he was entitled to attend the law school operated by the state for white students.

In 1950 the court declared in the Texas case of Sweatt v. Painter that a state law school set up for Negroes could not be "equal" to that provided for whites because of intangible factors, including the number of future judges whom students were likely to encounter among their classmates.

In the North Carolina law school case the court declared, in effect, that it was impossible to attain equality in legal education at a separate school, no matter how competent its faculty, how large its library, or how white its teachers. This was a clear forerunner of the 1954 decision about all public education.

These and many other Supreme Court decisions had cleared the way before May 17, 1954, for qualified Negro students to attend state graduate and professional schools. In undergraduate education, as in public primary and secondary schools, the "separate but equal" doctrine still controlled. But there was a tide in motion. Let us see how far it has carried.

Integration in Colleges

Today in these 18 jurisdictions some 2,000 Negroes attend colleges and universities which formerly barred them because of their color. About 110 out of 208 state colleges and universities admit Negroes in principle or in practice, and about 110 have Negro students enrolled now. These colleges and universities are in 13 of the 18 jurisdictions.

Five states of the Deep South—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi—do not admit Negro students to any kind of college or university work in state institutions traditionally reserved for white students. In all these five states there have been only six applications by Negroes to enter state colleges and universities reserved for white students—two in South Carolina, two in Alabama, one in Georgia, one in Florida, and in Mississippi none.

On the other hand, in seven states and the District of Columbia desegregation policies are in effect on all levels at all state-supported institutions. These seven are Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. All are border states or states which, with the exception of Arkansas, are more Northern than Southern in the old traditional connotation of the terms.

In a third group—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas—desegregation is part-way. Some institutions have accepted Negro students, but the states have not proclaimed any general desegregation policy. Many of their institutions have not received applications from students of colored races.

In Virginia four out of ten state institutions formerly reserved for white students have, by the latest figures I have been able to obtain, 38 Negro students: 18 at the University of Virginia, 11 at the Medical College of Virginia, 5 at the Richmond Professional Institute, and 4 at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

In North Carolina there are only 19: 7 in graduate or professional schools and 4 undergraduates at the University of North Carolina, 5 at the State College, and 2 at the Woman's College of the state university. In 7 state colleges the student bodies are exclusively white.

There are many Souths, not one. There is clearly a Deep South that is sternly resistant to change; a border area where, legally and technically, desegregation in colleges is a fact; and a middle region. The spread of acceptance of Negro students in institutions of higher learning is substantial—13 out of 18 jurisdictions and more than half of the state institutions in these 13. Many of the institutions in these

MATERIALS - DESEGREGATION

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Desegregation: One View from the Deep South

BY FLORENCE SYTZ

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BY FLORENCE SYTZ

Desegregation: One View from the Deep South

DESEGREGATION CAN BE viewed as a legal, social, economic, psychological, moral, political, historical issue,[1] or its subject matter can be conceived of as today's chapter in man's eternal striving toward that city to which each of us must travel on foot not losing sight of,

> the hard core, which is, do this, do that, love your friends and like your neighbors, be just, be extravagantly generous, be honest, be tolerant, have courage, have compassion, use your wits and your imagination, understand the world you live in and be on terms with it, don't dramatize and dream and escape.[2]

Each of us will need to find his own way toward that city in which individuals are accepted for what they are rather than for who they happen to be by reason of their skin color, sex, money, place of birth, parents, and similar irrelevancies. Desegregation is but one of the villages we will eventually pass through on our way.

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However, we who live and work in one of the eight states[3] in the South that as of May 1956 not only had not desegregated any of its public elementary or secondary schools but had passed legislation designed to retain segregation may find our view of

[1] For illustrations, *see* the publications of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, particularly *What the Supreme Court Said* and *Three Views of the Segregation Decisions;* Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954); Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954); Eli Ginzberg and associates, *The Negro Potential* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Committee on Social Issues, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation* (New York: Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957); Robert Penn Warren, *Segregation, the Inner Conflict in the South* (New York: Random House, 1956); Frederick B. Routh and Paul Anthony, "Southern Resistance Forces," *Phylon* (First Quarter 1957); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[2] Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), pp. 274–275. *See also,* Lillian Smith, *The Journey* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1954).

[3] Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and North and South Carolina.

the situation becoming skewed. Social work can be threatened from within as well as from without. The clue to wisdom in understanding the present is to be found not only in the past but in our determination not to use outer happenings to turn the mirror away from ourselves. It is so easy for all of us to blame the Supreme Court, the "meddling Yankees," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Citizens' Councils, the members of the legislature, for our own apathy and fear. It is easy to say that *if* the Supreme Court of the United States had but followed its own separate but equal doctrine which it enunciated in 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the progress in race relations noted in 1947 by Charles Johnson and his associates[4] would have continued smoothly and without disruption; or to repeat the *thinking of the last century* voiced by William Graham Sumner ("Stateways cannot change folkways") when we say "You cannot legislate against prejudice." However, when we say these things, we forget that the progress documented by Johnson was made through compromising our democratic and religious principles as well as through often violating in practice (by both whites and Negroes) the custom of segregation while at the same time helping to maintain the "ritual of public homage to segregation."

Prior to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, gains were made in the South within the framework of segregation largely through not disturbing the "ritual of public homage to segregation," since white southerners were not disturbed by violations of the principle if these were not given wide publicity and if the people requesting the violations were so-called "respectable citizens." For example, permission in the past to use the Municipal Auditorium in New Orleans for an unsegregated meeting might be obtained by one group of citizens, but similar permission might not be granted to another group of citizens in the community.

However, these special privileges and unnoticed violations of traditional southern custom did have the effect of eroding the pattern of segregation to the extent that it became common throughout the South to find patterns of segregation rather than one hard immovable over-all pattern. The gains resulting from this erosion were to be found then, as they still are today, in the extension of opportunities for *all* the people living in our region. Through the efforts of some of the people in southern communities, Negroes as well as whites gained, for example, better job and health opportunities as well as chances to be better fed, housed, and educated. Many of us were slowly, through hard trying, engaged in making our separate facilities at times less separate and always a bit more equal.

No doubt there were people in our communities and in our profession who contributed their share of hard trying to extend opportunities with little, if any, disturbance of conscience as long as the Supreme Court sanctioned the compulsory separation of the races. Others, such as I, worked within the segregation framework even though we did not agree with it. We were heartened by the gains we helped to bring about. For example, by 1950, of the professional associations in the South, Negro "lawyers were admitted in six states, doctors in one, nurses in eight, librarians in six and social workers in all."[5] Academic associations and social welfare organizations both admitted Negro members and made efforts to accommodate them at their meetings. On the other hand, we were often disheartened by the fact that, time and again, we saw how the gains made within the framework of segregation were only exceptions, not gains that established any principle or precedent in behalf of desegregation. That principle in the *legal*

[4] *Into the Main Stream, A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

[5] Woodward, *op. cit.,* pp. 143–144.

sense has now been stated by the United States Supreme Court. This, from my point of view, is real progress.

When the Supreme Court in 1896 upheld the Louisiana statute providing for separate accommodations for the white and colored races, Justice John Marshall Harlan, a Kentucky unionist, dissented. In his dissenting opinion, he stated "Our Constitution is color-blind" and fifty-eight years later, on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court may be said to have agreed with him and with Justice Holmes who, in 1905, in one of his dissenting opinions, stated, "The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics.*" The Supreme Court's willingness to reverse in 1954 its 1896 decision is, among other things, recognition of the extent of social change that has occurred during these years. Since it is easier for us to change our methods of transportation from the horse and buggy to the automobile and jet plane than to change our ideas and feelings, it should not surprise anyone today to find resistance in the deep South to the Supreme Court's decision.

It should also not be too surprising to hear the re-echo of the thinking of the last century to the effect that "You cannot legislate against prejudice." Those who say this have forgotten that it was the Jim Crow laws in the South that in large measure created southern folkways and that recent Fair Employment Practices legislation in certain states has created new folkways in factories and in department stores. Furthermore, as Allport points out, legislation does not aim at controlling prejudice but at controlling only its open expression. But when the open expression of prejudice is controlled, changes are more likely to occur in the thoughts and feelings of individuals.

Those southerners who were *not* surprised by the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court had noted in 1935 the decision in the case of *Donald Murray* as well as the decisions in the *Gaines* case in 1938, the *Sipuel* case in 1946, and the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Sweatt v. Painter* in 1950. They were aware of the regional program the southern states had set up for higher education by agreeing to co-operate in the establishment of centers of graduate and professional education that would enroll students of both races from the participating states. The plan makes sense in a poor section of the country because it seeks to avoid the establishment of costly graduate and professional programs in universities in each southern state. Opponents of the plan maintained that it was only a device to retain segregation at the university level until the Southern Regional Education Board intervened, in a case involving the University of Maryland, in order to say, "It is not the Board's purpose that the regional program shall serve any state as legal defense for avoiding responsibilities under the existing state and federal laws and court decisions." By 1953, only five state university doors remained closed to Negroes—those in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

In the postwar school cases brought before the courts it became increasingly evident that if the biracial school system were to survive, "equality" would have to be a fact rather than a token. The southern states appropriated additional funds for equalization purposes but these funds continued insufficient to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of children of school age. The activity was all too little and too late. By 1950, Louisiana, for example, was spending 112.8 million dollars on its schools or 4 percent of its income, while New York was spending 610.7 million on its educational program or 2.2 percent of its income. During 1940–1950, the average daily attendance in southern schools increased by 218,000 while there was virtually no net gain in the rest of the country.

DILEMMA OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

Today, the social worker in the South as well as the teacher of social work in any

southern university is sharply faced with the conflict between his personal-professional principles and the purposes of the communities which are often reflected in some social agency board members and university trustees. Many of these board members and trustees are also in conflict since they, as well as we, are law-abiding citizens respecting all duly established legislative, executive, and judicial authority whether at local, state, or federal levels of government. Obedience to this authority when it violates no moral, religious, or professional principle is commonplace enough and causes us no personal conflict. However, with respect to desegregation, many of us are in conflict because our state legislatures have enacted laws designed to retain the traditional custom of segregation and the Citizens' Councils are selecting as special targets for their social and economic pressure teachers, social workers, ministers, and "liberals" whom they often try to link with communism or so-called "front organizations." The present cloud over the "liberal" white citizen in the South is one produced by conflict and fear.

Finding himself in this situation, what is a person to do? In what way can he best fulfill his various obligations? These are the same questions Iredell Jenkins asks in his article, "Segregation and the Professor," [6] and the alternatives he presents are open to us, too, namely:

1. Any one of us can resign from any social work or teaching position we now have—"resign either with quiet dignity or with a ringing public declaration"—without much, if any, personal risk as there are many positions open and available in other parts of the United States.

2. Any one of us can make his views known: to state his ideas in public, to stand up and be counted on this issue. The inner demand that we do this is not so much a demand that we exercise an abstract right but a demand in behalf of our own self-respect and what is conceived to be our professional obligation.

3. Any one of us can ignore the problem through cultivating his own garden, overlooking those portions of it labeled "community organization" and "social action."

4. Any one of us can seek and find, as we often have done in the past, some middle course between resignation and acquiescence.

Those who suggest that we resign or who tell others not to seek positions in the South at this time are forgetting that

> The place to fight for a principle is where it is a living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact, and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious self-congratulation. An individual who resigns inevitably weakens both the cause and the institution to which he is committed.[7]

Our knowledge of the slow progress of desegregation in many parts of the North, despite a tradition and "public policy" as old although different from that of the South, gives us little reason to believe that the deep South, after it accepts the legal principle, will not search for and find ways of softening this acceptance. How long the present transition period will last can only be stated by those who possess a crystal ball. We do know, however, that both the length of the transition period as well as the time it will take to achieve *de facto* desegregation are dependent upon the human efforts of both whites and Negroes. And many of us want to be in the South in order to contribute our share of the human effort to bring about *de facto* desegregation.

Those who suggest that we stand up and be counted on this issue have their own interpretation of and ways of "standing up." Some would not bother to choose the time, the place, the group with which to stand or any concrete specific aspect of the

[6] *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* (Spring 1957), pp. 10–18.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

issue; others would be concerned about all these things plus such factors as preparation, planning, and strategy. The former often appear to be more concerned with having everyone know that they are on the side of right and justice rather than in helping toward constructive, less personally spectacular, achievements.

Those among us who would apparently ignore the issue by advocating the cultivation of our own limited social work or teaching garden maintain that the desegregation issue will be settled by the courts, and quote Georgia's Attorney General, Eugene Cook, who said, in reference to the segregation laws passed by the 1956 Georgia General Assembly, "We might as well be candid. Most of these laws will be stricken down by the courts in due course." [8] This is not the time, they say, for us to intrude and to risk martyrdom since, if we do, we will direct the attention of the Citizens' Councils not only to us but to our social work organizations or educational institutions. We know that whatever we say or do may bring the impact from those who are vehemently opposed upon our profession, our social agencies, our universities—not merely upon ourselves. This is the hard core of the present dilemma of the social worker or teacher of social work in the deep South.

THE MIDDLE COURSE

As I conceive of the middle course, it is a way of proceeding that lies between resignation, martyrdom, and acquiescence. Those taking the middle course will not fail to stand up and be counted but they will choose the time, the place, and the group with which to stand, and they will also be concerned about the preparation, planning, and strategy appropriate to any given concrete aspect of the desegregation issue. They will be aware that there are many different roads to any given goal and that they may choose the wrong one and suffer the consequences.

During a transition period in which social work values are threatened even more severely than they have been in the past, the maintenance of these values demands that we re-examine their significance for social work education, administration, and practice; that we re-examine also the means we can use, not only to achieve them in certain of our professional and educational activities but to retain or to recapture them. Only those who choose the middle course will be stimulated to do this.

Those of us who have lived and worked in the South prior to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision know that there exists in our region a column of decency of which our northern colleagues may not be fully aware because of the noise created by the Citizens' Councils. This column of decency is represented by those who are participating in the work of organizations and institutions such as the local chapters of the National Association of Social Workers, the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council and its state-affiliated organizations, the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant churches.[9] The position taken by the Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the ensuing controversy have been widely commented on in northern and southern newspapers. Less widely noted was the conference held recently in which representatives of the National Council of Churches and the profession of social work reached agreement upon a policy statement which calls on the Protestant churches to "encourage

[8] Florence B. Irving, "Segregation Legislation in the South," *New South* (February 1957), p. 8.

[9] For amplification, *see* John Hope II, "Trends in Patterns of Race Relations in the South Since May 17, 1954," *Phylon* (Second Quarter 1956), pp. 103–118.

their members to work for better schools and better housing; to help overcome racial discrimination and to take social and political action to influence community decisions." [10]

In the 1956 session of the Louisiana legislature, the proponents of segregation obtained the adoption (without a dissenting vote) of thirteen measures designed to maintain the compulsory separation of the races in a variety of contexts. Interestingly enough, Act 579 which prohibits mixed participation in "any dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games and sports" *exempts* religious gatherings, services, and functions. Social workers along with many other men and women of intelligence and good will can work together on some aspect of the desegregation issue if they choose to do so. Increasingly, organizations like those mentioned will need any expertness social workers and social scientists can provide for use in concrete situations.

CONCLUSION

Although it is evident that I prefer the middle course and would find it difficult to sympathize with those who would either seek martyrdom or would run away by resigning or ignoring the problem, I know that, given the conflict, it is inevitable that social workers and teachers of social work will resolve it in different ways. I can only hope that this brief and incomplete statement of the desegregation issue will stimulate others to explore it further and to share with the rest of us their ideas as to ways we can take to resolve our dilemma. I would, however, along with Iredell Jenkins remind them, "That while it is quite easy to say what is right under hypothetical conditions, it is extremely difficult to decide what is best in actual circumstances." [11]

[10] *The New York Times* (May 9, 1957), p. 23.

[11] Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Materials - Desegregation

INTEGRATION AND PUBLIC ETHICS

Address delivered November 18, 1957, before the Georgia Council on Human Relations at Macon, Georgia, by Marion A. Wright, of Linville, Falls, North Carolina

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It is probably well for me to state at the outset that no person here present or connected with the Georgia Council on Human Relations, or with the Southern Regional Council, or any other organization, confederated or conspired or connived with me in any way in the preparation of these remarks. I do so for the reason that, if anything I might say should be distasteful to any person in authority, such person in all fairness should absolve you from guilt. It is not unfamiliar practice in recent years in some areas to note who were present and what was said at meetings such as this and draw the inference that somehow the speaker was mouthpiece for the group. (I wish I could feel my words had such solid support.)

The practice, I must say, does not apply to all public meetings. Take churches, for example. I have not heard the claim made that one, by the mere act of listening, must be considered as endorsing all that was said in the sermon. Or that one's presence at a political meeting implied his assent to the doctrines there expounded.

But meetings dealing with the touchy issue of race seem in a class apart. Perhaps because some men feel so deeply and think so shallowly on that subject, they do not apply normal standards in judging such meetings. They seem to feel that it is somehow immoral or disloyal even to assume that there are two sides to the question; that both should be heard before judgment is rendered, and that it is somehow subversive or un-American to dissent from the prevailing orthodoxy. I could give you names and places, but I have

reason to believe that any member of the Georgia Council will know from experience that what I say is true.

We must live in a crazy, mixed-up world. Definitions must be completely twisted from their original meanings. For example, I had always thought that the country had waxed great upon dissent and non-conformity. The Puritans and the Pilgrims fled to these shores because they were non-conformists. The nation received its birth in Revolution, which is nothing but dissent carried to the ultimate. The fundamental law of the nation and of all the states encouraged expression of opinion by guaranteeing freedom of thought, speech and the press. So one would have assumed that he was engaged in the practice of purest Americanism when he thought and spoke and wrote his real convictions upon any issue of public moment; in fact, that he was thereby discharging a solemn civic duty.

Now, however, we are told by the highest state authority, that, on the issue of civil rights - guaranteed, incidentally, by those same constitutions - if he expresses his honest convictions and if those convictions do not agree with the views of that authority, then he is subversive.

Let's examine that for just a moment. I have done a little research upon the point. I find that good old Webster defines subversion as "the overthrow of the foundation, as the subversion of a government or state." The overthrow of the foundation.

Now, if our government may be said to have any foundation at all, that foundation is its Constitution. Is one who exercises rights of free speech guaranteed by that Constitution and who exerts himself to the end that other rights of other people guaranteed by the same Constitution shall be respected trying to overthrow that Constitution? Is he seeking the overthrow of the foundation of his government?

After all, who are the real subversives? Is it we who seek by constitutional means to uphold the constitutional rights? Or is it those who seek by unconstitutional means to deny those rights? Who is destroying the Constitution - we who recognize it as the supreme law of the land or they who openly flout that law?

I wish I knew much more about psychology than I do. But some things ought to be evident to the merest dabbler in that field. All of us are aware that one who carries a burden of guilt, or a guilt complex, is apt to seek release from that burden by accusation of others. He accomplishes two results:, first, his own guilt does not appear so obnoxious if he can make it appear that others share it with him; and, second, he diverts attention from himself by directing it to others. Louder than anyone else, then the fleeing pickpocket shouts "stop, thief!"

So we may perhaps understand, if we cannot condone, the unmitigated gall of men dressed in a little brief authority who thus malign their adversaries.

We may understand them also for reasons far less subtle. In fact, these gentlemen are quite transparent. When they engage in character assassination, they are playing their last card.

How bravely they talked a few short years ago! They used all of their cunning to devise legal ways and means of circumventing the school decisions and assured their people these stratagems could not fail. Well, you know that happened. One by one these devices have been branded by the courts for the frauds they are. One by one their authors have had their stupidity and duplicity exposed.

Not merely have they lost before the courts. There was a time when they claimed the endorsement and support of organized religion - surely the

very limit of audacity. Here again they have been repudiated - the last blow being the recent profound and scholarly statement by the ministers of Atlanta. They appealed to pseudo-science to support their claims of racial superiority - and have been overwhelmed by the conclusions of biologists, geneticists, anthropologists and students of human behaviour.

So it has been in every forum where prejudice was not a factor and there were established ground rules. Under such circumstances an honorable opponent would admit himself vanquished and congratulate the victor. But not so with the leaders of the nullificationists. They turn to the only fields of comfort left to them - the Gestapo-like tapping of telephones and raw slander. In those arenas there are no ground rules, no penalties for fouls, no disqualification for gouging or hitting below the belt.

Whom do they - of all people - accuse of being Communists or "left-wingers"? The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; most non-Southern magazines and newspapers; the radio and television networks; the organized trade union movement; the organized student movement; the Attorney General of the United States; the Supreme Court, and even the President of the United States! Rather distinguished company you and I keep. I don't know how you feel about it, but I would be a little ashamed not to be included.

I know of nothing more ironic than that such a change should emanate from such a source. If there is any group in this country which has given aid and comfort to the Communist cause, it is the segregationists. Their activities have been grist for the Communist mill. Pravda, the Tass news agency, and every other Communist periodical and radio have blazoned their words and deeds from the Siberian steppes to East Berlin and from the banks of the Ganges to the headwaters of the Nile. The words of segregationist leaders, whether

suave and oily, as some of them are, or harsh and raucous, as others are, are known and quoted in all that vast domain.

Why? Because those words belie everything America has always claimed for itself. Equality of all men before the law, equality of opportunity, freedom from burdens or penalties because of race, the seal of the law to protect rights of the humblest citizen, freedom of speech and all the other freedoms - these we have proclaimed from our pinnacles as being of the genius of America. And these are contradicted and negated by words and deeds of the leaders of resistance to law. And yet they - the greatest allies of the Communist cause - have the unspeakable effrontery to accuse those who dare disagree with them of being subversive!

The front page space given by the Communist press to the poisonous words of the leaders is shared by the space given to the deeds of their underlings and satellites - perhaps I should say their Sputniks. It would be an exercise in morbidity to chronicle those deeds. They are as well known to you as to me - the cross burnings, the bombings, the assaults, the murders, all the ghastly reprisals wrought upon those whose only offense is that they seek to exercise rights declared by Thomas Jefferson to be inalienable.

Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence such as this. They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condemn. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law - that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which

protects life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence. There may be more than a thread of connection between what governors and senators say and what men in Mississippi did to Emmit Till.

Certain governors, following the Supreme Court decisions, announce that a segregated school system must be preserved. How? They employ all of their cunning to develop methods - private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded for what they are - transparent frauds.

All legal tactics are exhausted. No trump cards are left. What then? When cunning and what passes for intelligence have failed, what is an untutored citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has bombs. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the governor who weeps at violence!

I am sure that these politicians could not have foreseen that their advocacy should have led to a state of public mind which would in certain parts of the South result in substantial curtailment of the right of free speech and opinion. Teachers' oaths, requirement that they list their organizations, the proscribing of the NAACP, boycott of advocates of law observance, withdrawal of advertising from certain newspapers - all flow directly from the germinal idea of evading the law of the land.

There is no more alarming phenomenon of this age than this mass effort to control what men shall publicly say or print. Opinion is the life blood of democracy. Upon its free expression democracy thrives and grows. You will not have sound opinion unless men may freely express and exchange views - test them in the market place. Thought itself is actually inhibited where it cannot be freely expressed. For, where all seem to be thinking alike no one is acutally thinking at all.

But to return for a moment to the Communist idea. It is, I submit, too generous to some of our political leaders to attempt a distinction between their words and the deeds of the rank and file. The very deeds of such leaders themselves, no less than their words, follow patterns devised in Moscow and used to bolster dictatorships everywhere.

What is rule No. 1 of Communism, or Naziism or Fascism? It is give your people something to fear and then rescue them from the peril you have created. In Russia it was first the Czarist element and then the large landowners, or Kulaks. In Germany it was a handful of Jews. In Italy it was the Capitalist class. In the South it is the Negro. Plant fear of the Negro in people's minds and they turn to you as their saviour.

Another rule is strangle or throttle the opposition so that it cannot be heard. Never give it the chance to present its views in fair and open debate. In your campaigns never discuss issues but smear the opposition. Hitler called them Jew-lovers. You know what our boys call them.

Another rule is harass and persecute the opposition. In Germany the Jews had to wear the Star of David; they had to register and carry passports. Their leaders were arrested and thrown into jail. Secret police spied upon them. Their phones were tapped. Their synagogues and homes were bombed while the authorities looked the other way. Does this sound to you a little like Georgia and the NAACP? Have I pushed the parallel

an inch further than the facts justify?

If I have not - and I leave it to you to say - then certainly some of the resistance leaders are following the Moscow line. The tactics of such leaders do not seem to be repudiated by others more unctuous who wear an aura of respectability. And these are the fellows who say the Supreme Court of the United States is Communist inspired!

They say they detest Communism. But they imitate it. And, of course, you know what is the sincerest flattery.

So, we observe the already achieved results of the official policy of evading the law - results which I am sure were not in contemplation of those who fashioned the policy. Legal chicanery and subterfuge have sired economic boycott, suppression of thought and raw violence.

I ask you, as reasonable men and women, if other results are not in prospect unless the policy is reversed. Thus far, the legal subterfuges relate only to integration in our schools; boycott, suppression of thought and violence are directed only against advocates of compliance with school law. Will they stop there? If the rights of one minority group may thus be assailed, what about the rights of others? The Jews, the Catholics, the labor unions - any group that doesn't have the power of government in its hands. The rights of none of us are safe unless the rights of all are safe. When we sow the wind we shall inevitably reap the whirlwind.

There are many tests of the good citizen. None is more acid that his insistence that the other man's rights shall be respected as fully as his own.

So, in this struggle none of us can be above the battle. Whether we like it or not, every one of us is intimately involved. The forces now directed against others, unless arrested, shall surely turn against us. The

Negro's right to education under precisely the same conditions as the white child may only be denied by a process of deception as stupefying intellectually and as stultifying morally to the whites as would be the entire lack of schools.

What some of our leaders advocate is, of course, sheer madness, which plays into the Communist hands. They would destroy our national unity, our mutual respect and our faith in the fairness and purity of our institutions. They would separate men into hostile groups.

Practically all of us have come to agree, I think, that the shabbiest and sorriest figure of our times is the man who would drive lines of cleavage among men. We need not walls to separate men from each other but bridges to connect, not sundering but unifying influences. The greatest public servant of our day is the one who breaks down artificial barriers with which men have sought to create the illusion of their superiority to other men. Ghandi, warring upon untouchability and the caste system in India, and Schweitzer, giving his great talents to the black men of Africa, in the minds of all of us, loom as the great figures of this age.

No one of us may be a Ghandi or a Schweitzer. We lack their mental and spiritual endowments. But every one of us, to the limits of such endowments as he has, may, on this continent, in Georgia, partake of the spirit of these men, spend his life to the same noble purposes.

The policy of division of men into groups, orders and sub-orders, could hardly commend itself to intelligent minds at any time. It seems particularly primitive in November, 1957. Man-made satellites hourly traverse the reaches of space above this continent. They send back their little beeps which men in laboratories record for the ~~passed~~ books. We may translate those beeps or we may not. It hardly seems important.

But these satellites say one thing in a language all may understand. Unite or perish. Not unite as Negro or white. But unite as human beings, bound together as equals by bonds of mutual respect. We must so unite or

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

Anthony Edwards

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Desegregation
clips 1958
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Arthur J. Levin and Harold Fleming

Oscar Cohen

August 21, 1958

"The Story Nobody Tells You" by William Peters, MCCALL'S, 8.28.58

Enclosed are tearsheets of an article to be included in a forthcoming issue of McCall's which will appear on the newstands next week. I would very much appreciate your reactions.

Immediately on getting these tearsheets, I had them photostated for you. I have not read them yet, but I wondered what you thought about reprinting and promotion.

OC:ms
enc.
AIRMAIL
SPECIAL

~~p. 122 [illegible]~~
note next-to-last
¶ – no SRC or
state councils!

By WILLIAM PETERS

The story nobody tells you...

ADVANCE COPY
FOR RELEASE AUG 28 1958

The world hears about prejudice and violence in the South, but another story has been kept a secret. Here is what McCall's reporter learned after traveling 9,000 miles and talking to hundreds of people who never before had a chance to make their feelings known

I [illegible] conveying a [illegible] progress of the [illegible] Building fund. Then from the back of the room came a single tapping on a fragile-looking, silver-haired woman called the meeting to order. There [illegible] of chairs, a matter of decorum, as attendance was [illegible] the chairman of the women's study group.

"As you know, ladies," the chairman began, "our national headquarters has selected a new book for us, Lillian Pope's *The Kingdom Beyond Caste*, as our current study project. I don't have to tell you that it's about Christianity and race relations. Because of that, as you heard at our last meeting, Reverend Martin has asked us to study the book together, so he could then address the church on controversy.

"You have asked your executive committee to resolve this problem," she continued after a deep breath, "and we have met twice. Out of deference to Reverend Martin's strong feelings in the matter, we have decided not to study the book." A murmur of voices [illegible]

"I was as anti-Negro as the next Texan before I got acquainted with integration a few years back. But I can truthfully say I'm sold on it now." Texas lieutenant colonel

"I feel sorry for the colored children being so outnumbered. They look so lonely when there are many of them." North Carolina [illegible]

"We know you can't be progressive and hate, and we're determined to find solutions to our problems without resort to violence." Georgia mayor

"Of course," she said, with good [illegible] not to study any book [illegible] discussion talk.

"Meanwhile," she continued, "an informal group of us, who happen to be composed of the same ladies who make up your executive committee, has decided to read and discuss Dr. Pope's book outside the regular study group. Any of you who care to join us are cordially invited to meet with us next Thursday afternoon in the home of Mrs. [illegible]. Within ten minutes all the women in the room had joined the group which planned to read the book together and hold a discussion."

At about the same time, in another city, Dean Sarah [illegible], the editor of a [illegible] women's magazine, [illegible] a woman reporter to cover an unusual meeting. The organization sponsoring the meeting had been latently [illegible] in the magazine's editorial columns, and at the meeting the main speaker was to be a Negro prominent in the fight for [illegible] and segregation. The editor assigned a male photographer to accompany the woman reporter. Photographs would not be permitted, he [illegible] the reporter, [illegible] "We have some problems."

(continued on page [illegible])

Integration presents no problems to second graders at the F. T. Salisbury Elementary School in Louisville, Kentucky

"I wondered what would happen when my daughter brought a little colored classmate home from school. You know, I didn't go along with this integration business. Well, she was the sweetest thing, and they got along beautifully." Nashville, Tennessee, mother

grades were desegregated last year, a white mother says, "I wondered what would happen when my daughter brought a little colored classmate home from school. You know, I didn't go along with this integration business. Well, she was the sweetest thing and they got along beautifully. When I drove her home, I met her mother, a fine, well-educated woman. Now my daughter goes over there to play some times." And there is the segregationist leader elected to the school board of a newly desegregated school district on his promise that he would fight to resegregate the schools. After several months of struggling with problems presented mostly by the people who had elected them, he suddenly became defending his desegregationist colleagues on the school board against the accusations of his former supporters.

There are also indications throughout the still-segregated parts of the South that many of those who continue to talk in favor of segregation—particularly women—are at the same time quietly preparing for the inevitable time when desegregation will be a fact. A white woman from the North who has lived nearly forty years in the Deep South tells of one of many such clues. "Everyone here knows how I felt about the race question from the moment I arrived," she said over tea and fruit cake with a visitor recently. "I took a job teaching at a Negro college. Still I was accepted, after a while, by my neighbors and the local women's clubs. For more than thirty years, though, most of the southern women I've known have carefully avoided raising the race question with me. It was obvious that they thought this was necessary to preserve our friendship.

"However, since the Supreme Court decision, and particularly since the President sent Federal troops to Little Rock, these same women have been coming to me, singly and in small groups, to ask carefully why I feel as I do. And you know, she said, leaning forward, you can see in the way they ask that they are looking for the answers which they themselves will use to defend the views they have held so long."

This is the battleground—the minds and hearts of white southerners; it is here, rather than in the angry surge of a "mob" in Little Rock, that the outcome finally will be decided. And it is precisely here that the activity of thousands upon thousands of white southern women, engaged in local churches or in national religious groups, is having its effect. In June, 1954, just a month after the Supreme Court's original decision, representatives of the Christian Social Relations Department of an organization known as United Church Women met in Atlanta, Georgia. These women, representing fifteen southern states, adopted a statement on segregation. "Because of our high calling of God in Jesus Christ," it began, "we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the redemptiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit. We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principles of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. . . ."

To anyone who knows the history of southern church women this statement is no surprise. It was a similar group in 1930 that played a major role in reducing the number of lynchings in the South to a fraction of what they had previously been. These women, also meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, were only a fraction of them, but they all were influential civic and church leaders. Their object was to learn the facts about lynching in the eight preceding years. Of the 211 persons in this country lynched in the years 1922 to 1929, they learned, all but seven had met death at the hands of southern whites. Fewer than twenty-nine per cent of the 211 were charged with crimes against white women, despite the traditional idea that lynching is mostly a means of protecting white women from Negro men.

The women were shocked and moved to a resolution that traditional excuses for lynching and racism of them because the nucleus around which a newly formed Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching grew to an estimated more than 40,000 members scattered over 1,043 counties of the South. Their methods—to study and expose the facts about lynching, to investigate and condemn publicly each new lynching, regardless of the crime alleged against the victim, to demand vigorous investigation by state and municipal officials, to bring pressure on the courts, to enlist the support of other groups, and to secure the support of civic leaders, women, officials, preachers, teachers and church men and women in each community. When a lynching was threatened, they called on sheriffs, deputies, mayors and other officials to demand action against the incipient mob. The statistics on lynching tell the story of their effectiveness: in eight years from 1930 to 1938, 29 lynchings were recorded, as against the 211 in the eight years before the association's birth.

Like these courageous women twenty-eight years ago, women today are playing a profound, if quiet, influence on the South in general and on ministers and churches in particular.

Until a year or so ago, for example, the Reverend Harrison McAdams, president of the Atlanta Christian Council, the church and the ministers in Atlanta were on the defensive on the question of segregation. The politicians had put us there. Today we are on the offensive, and it is literally true that many individual ministers have taken the offensive and made their first public statements on the subject primarily because of the [illegible] of their own congregations.

With [illegible] performance [illegible] impressive. It is [illegible] markably effective. [illegible] Bishop Randolph R. Talbot, Jr., of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta.

My first public performance in this situation, he says, was one I would gladly have avoided. It happened during 1955, when the state Board of Education made a statement of policy about terminating the employment of any teacher who even considered the action of the Supreme Court. I waited a day or so for some statement to be made opposing this preposterous position, but somebody who had been prominent in Atlanta and was better known in our city than I had been resident for only two years. But none appeared and I felt compelled to say something about it.

Bishop Claiborne said, among other things, that if newspaper reports of the proposed action are true, then the state Board of Education seems to be taking its place in line with those adversaries

(Continued on page 122)

Circa '60

New meanings of contemporary in a quietly elegant paraphrase of fabrics that wear beautifully in any mood, with most any dress. The pattern shown, with a glowing mineral or neutral shell finish.

Lord & Taylor, exclusively yours in the large cities. For collection of distinctive dresses by many famous sources, write Dept. 3, Henredon, Box 1, Morganton, North Carolina.

Henredon

QUALITY AT A PRACTICAL PRICE

(Continued from page 121)

organizations that seek to change our government by force." Within weeks the board had rescinded its action.

In South Carolina, five Protestant ministers persuaded twelve citizens of twelve different communities to contribute chapters to a paperbound book called *South Carolinians Speak: A Moderate Approach to Race Relations*. Ideas from the twelve citizens ranged from a Columbia lawyer's proposal to desegregate beaches and schools to the suggestion of the wife of a Greenwood physician that gradual school desegregation begin with the first grade.

With 15,000 copies of the book in print, the Reverend John B. Cobb, one of the ministers, reports that letters are running ten to one in favor of the book, with newspaper editorials in the state favorable by more than two to one. In November 1957, however, less than a month after the book's release, the home of Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders, the Gaffney doctor's wife, was blasted by a dynamite bomb—the only known retaliation against any of the authors. Condemnation of the act was swift and all but universal, and five Gaffney members of the Ku Klux Klan were soon arrested and charged with the bombing.

Not all the ministers who have supported the segregationists, however stoutly, have been able to remain at their posts. One church official reports knowing of at least a dozen who have been removed from their pastorates. The Reverend John S. Estes, one of the five ministers who sponsored *South Carolinians Speak*, was eased out of his Presbyterian church in Marion because of his connection with the book. Like virtually all the other "displaced parsons," he has found another church in the South.

The list of southern white ministers who have publicly identified themselves with the segregationists or have protested segregationist activities without losing their pulpits is far longer than that of the displaced ones. It includes the Reverend Robert S. Crosby, Jr., of Trinity Lutheran Church, Montgomery, Alabama, the white pastor of an all-Negro congregation whose home has twice been bombed because of his participation in the Montgomery Improvement Association, the group which directed the successful boycott of Montgomery's buses. And it includes the Reverend William H. Abbot of the Oakdale Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Virginia, who preaches that "Christ's Church is color-blind" and who is still at his post despite a recent storm following the public endorsement of a Negro candidate for Virginia's House of Delegates.

"I learned that some members were circulating a petition asking for my dismissal," Abbot recalls. "But at least two-thirds of the membership refused to sign it. There were some resignations of elders and deacons, some of which were accepted. Attendance and offerings have not changed, and not more than a dozen members have left the church. Some have lost not a penny of their support."

For himself, Abbot admits that every move he has made toward what he calls "the basic Christian doctrine as it applies to race relations" has been made with fear and trembling. "I grew up like most southerners," he said, "and I've arrived at my present convictions slowly. It isn't easy sometimes to live by your principles, though it gets easier with practice. In the long run, it's a lot harder to live with a guilty conscience than to face the opposition."

Just as Protestant ministers in the South have assumed leadership roles in the struggle against segregation, so have Roman Catholic priests. In some parishes, Catholic colleges, and some seminaries as well as parochial schools, they have moved steadily toward integration.

In Louisiana, where three Catholic colleges accept Negro students and where the only Negro Catholic college in the country takes white students, the Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, took the first step toward parochial-school desegregation with a pastoral letter on "The Morality of Racial Segregation" in February 1956. This letter, strongly emphasizing the fact that racial segregation is morally wrong, was followed in October with the announcement that New Orleans Catholic schools would be desegregated beginning with the first grade. The formation of the Association for a Catholic Laymen's Council by Emile A. Wagner, then an organizer of New Orleans' White Citizens' Council.

The association, composed of Roman Catholic men and women "of the Caucasian race" and with avowed purpose "to seek out, make known and denounce Communist infiltration of any sort to be in the integration movement," came under immediate attack by the archbishop as "unnecessary, ill-advised and capable of causing much scandal, confusion and dissension among our Catholic people." After a month's exchange of letters and meetings between association officials and the archbishop and other archdiocesan authorities, Archbishop Rummel decreed that the organization "should be entirely discontinued under pain of possible excommunication." Wagner promptly informed the archbishop of his intention to prosecute an appeal to the Holy See.

It was not until August 8, 1957, however, that Wagner acted on this intention. On that date he made public a letter asking Pope Pius XII to stop racial integration in the church, in request Archbishop Rummel "to take no further steps" toward integration of white and Negro Catholics, and to decree that segregation was not morally wrong and sinful.

Two days later *The New York Times* quoted a high Vatican source as saying that the Catholic laymen had committed a gross error. "They personally think it reprehensible," the source said, but the Holy See could declare itself against integration. The source added, however, it was pointed out, because the Church is concerned with souls and all souls are equally precious to her. "If for instance, in Africa [illegible] the Church [illegible] his approval to all forms of discrimination—in New Orleans as much as in the Union of South Africa."

Since this statement from the Vatican, active antagonism to the proposed desegregation of parochial schools in New Orleans has largely subsided.

Protestant ministers and white church women are unquestionably leading in the struggle for southern desegregation, but they are far from alone. In many more places than most southern readers realize, southern newspapers also are raising their voices for racial justice. In Georgia, there is Sylvan Meyer, the young Texas-born editor of the *Times*. I recently asked Mr. Meyer, who is an avowed editor who sets a set of standards for guidance on this issue, "You must be able to reduce your position in every case to some fundamental beliefs on which most people will agree."

Under his own set of standards Meyer has opposed all the race segregation legislation proposed in Georgia. When Dr. Guy Wells, President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women, was dismissed by his little girl successor with loss of his pension by Georgia's Board of Regents after he stated that white and Negro leaders, in closed meetings and common mutual problems, were a reading editorial [illegible] the press as a travesty on American freedom, Small and [illegible] wrote a self-seeking [illegible] him both honor and livelihood [illegible] he has spoken his mind as a [illegible] an Adult citizen. In this [illegible] our frenzy over the colored man [illegible] to destroy everything we hold dear [illegible] concern with nothing of value [illegible]

[illegible] other newspapers [illegible] other editors have taken a similar stand. In Greenville, Mississippi, where [illegible] conducted a running battle with the White Citizens Council, which [illegible] "uptown Klan," the [illegible] has been to preserve segregation at the college and university level, to describe the Supreme Court's decision as helpful to the country's relations with the colored people throughout the world, and in keeping with the democratic and Christian ethic.

In February 1957, Buford Boone, publisher of *The Tuscaloosa News*, in discussing a proposal to close the school of music of the University of Alabama rather than permit integration, underscored the fact that the Supreme Court decision was not "socially or morally right." Nothing in it is inconsistent with the conception of democracy, even though a background of southern living, southern customs and southern tradition tells me it will be strange to see colored students at the University of Alabama. But I believe we should prepare ourselves to accept this development, since it has been ordered as rightful and just by the courts.

Like Harry Ashmore, executive editor of Little Rock's [illegible] Boone has his editorial writing on desegregation.

Newspapers of anti-segregationist persuasion of the South can be complete, however, without a look at two small journals which have never received any national awards or recognition but which in their own odd ways have had a surprising impact. One, the *Carolina Leftwing*, is published in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, by Harry Golden, a short, stout, gray-haired man who strolls, sleeps, and talks with an unhurried New York accent. The *Carolina Leftwing*, a monthly, has a circulation since its 15,000, which includes Harry Truman, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Carl Sandburg, Thomas E. Dewey, Adlai Stevenson, Chief Justice Earl Warren and [illegible]. Golden puts it "just about everybody of any importance." Jammed with small advertisements from the Carolinas, the paper is devoted exclusively to what its editor happens to think. Segregation, Golden happens to think, is immoral and he says so regularly, though often in a very unusual way.

Born in New York, a graduate of City College, Golden worked for two New York newspapers before taking a promotion job with *The Charlotte News* in the late thirties. He began his own newspaper some three years ago, feeling, as he still does, that the South contained "the most exciting story of our generation." When North Carolina's Pearsall Plan which embodied bills to abolish public schools and aid students to attend segregated private schools was before the state legislature, two individuals spoke against it in the hearings. Harry Golden was one of them, and it was here that he outlined what he called the "Golden Vertical Negro Plan."

It's handy to make a

food angel cake

Aluminum pan for food angel cake has slide-on cover for transporting, carrying and storage. Legs facilitate cooling; cover doubles as a serving plate. This oblong shape is easy to cut, too and serve with toppings. By West Bend, about $4

INTER-OFFICE

TO Harold Fleming

FROM Oscar Cohen

REMARKS:

Sorry; I forgot this page of the McCall article.

mom prepared lunch...

WHAT FOOD!

In an Aladdin school lunch kit...

WHAT FUN!

(Continued from page 123)

and total anarchy." As for myself, "I have no scruples when I do anything to help add to the dignity of man. What does the expense in money," he says, adding thoughtfully, "—if I have the money."

Humor, an effective weapon with many people, is not successful unfortunately, with fanatics. For these are the people whose attitudes spring from conflicts so deep that they themselves are unaware of them. What the average southerner measures facility, the fanatic defends with a violence that often seems close to insanity. Many attempts have been made to understand the origins of violent racial feelings. One of the most eloquent explanations came from a southerner herself. In her book, *Killers of the Dream*, Lillian Smith leans heavily on the theory that sexual exploitation of the Negro woman by the white man explains much of the southern white man's fear of the Negro.

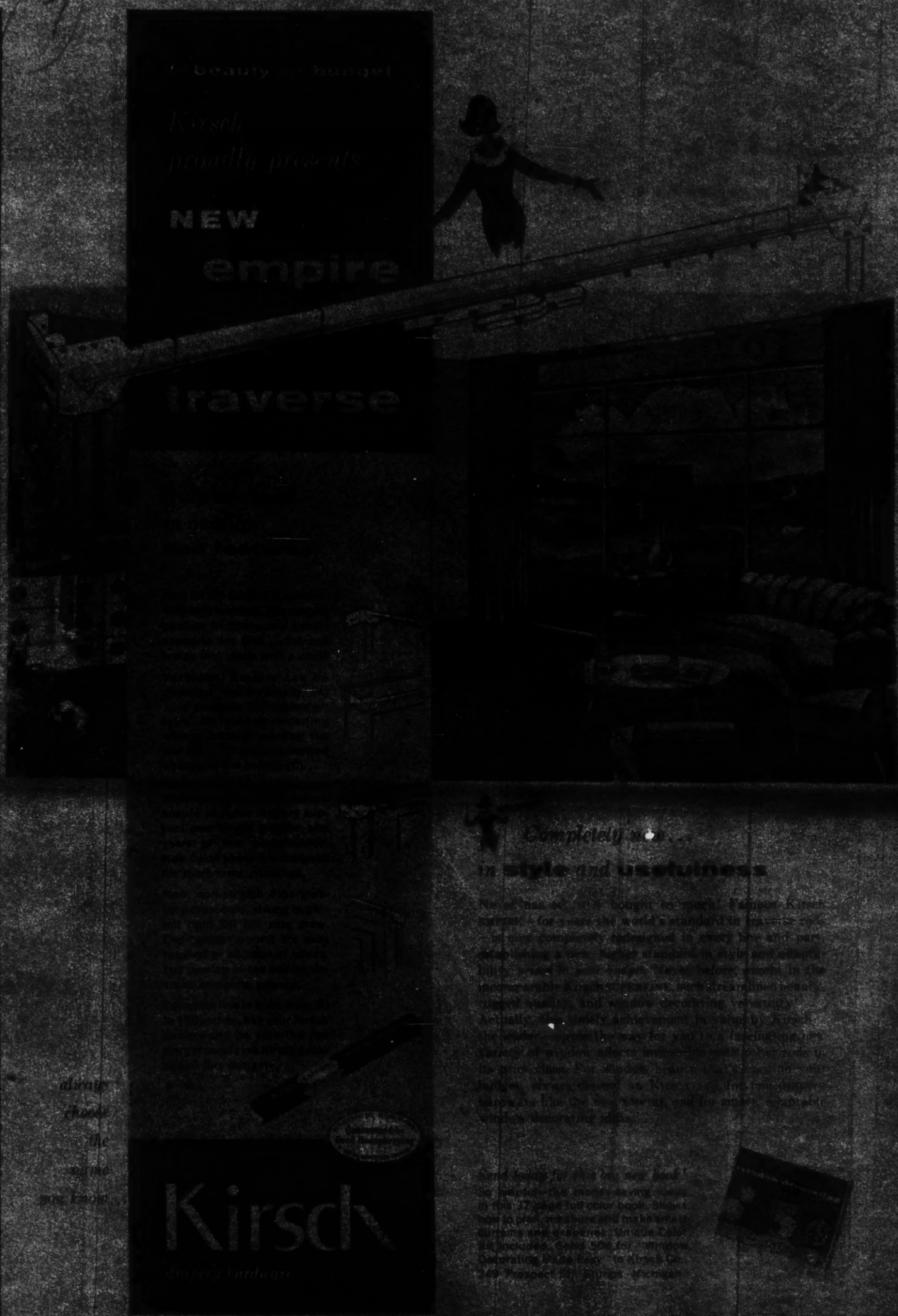
What is strange only from the white race made for itself! Because these slaveholders were Christian, they felt compelled to justify the holding of slaves by humans. These slaves, a real and dangerous threat to the big man family. Because they were good, they succeeded in [illegible] a reality in their white women that prevented the possibility of mutual understanding. Lonely and lacking [illegible] by the sight of strange men [illegible] and [illegible] could not resist the vigor and [illegible] and beauty of these slaves. And something happened when they met with these [illegible] women. [illegible] Antebellum [illegible] were without [illegible]

[illegible] Smith [illegible] "The man-woman relationship, [illegible] environment, created feelings of guilt. And to that was added the guilt of being [illegible] of having that the white man was [illegible] the Negro woman. And so [illegible] from slaves [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and

Telling about it has, unfortunately, not included the dramatization of Project Clear. Here, however, are some of the contents of that significant study. The conclusions reached by the social scientists who conducted Project Clear were based on thousands of interviews and questionnaires, covering a field of inquiry ranging from combat units in Korea to training units in all sections of the United States. Officers and enlisted men, white and Negro, from both segregated and integrated units, were questioned. In summary, the conclusions were that a large majority of both officers and enlisted men with experience in integrated units considered them just about equal to all-white units. Eleven to fifteen per cent of the officers and non-rated enlisted men superior in morale to white units.

The researchers found that soldiers in all-white units, however, strongly opposed to desegregation, indicated they would show no hostility toward Negro replacements. The attitude of these whites became more favorable toward serving with Negroes as a result of the actual experience. Further, integration of military units led to satisfactory off-duty relationships; many soldiers were found to spend time with soldiers of the other race.

In the United States, seventy-three per cent of 1,158 northern whites and sixty-six per cent of 378 southern whites in integrated units reported new friends among the Negro soldiers in their units. In Korea, a sizable majority of white soldiers favored sharing post exchanges with Negro troops and a smaller majority favored sharing rest areas. Of 1,730 white trainees in the United States in integrated units, nine-ty per cent reported spending off-duty time with Negro trainees *off as well as on the post*. Fifty-nine per cent of the [illegible]



Completely new...
in style and usefulness

[illegible] of southern officers [illegible] with a more [illegible] view of the breakdown of prejudices. A second lieutenant from North Carolina remarking that he wouldn't care to go to social functions with Negroes added that this did not apply to one [illegible] soldier. "I did dance with a Negro sergeant. Maybe if I got to know more Negroes I'd like them more," he said. A sergeant from Virginia said he was one of many who hadn't liked it when Negroes were integrated into his unit. "In about two weeks it was fine," he said. "See the fellow at that table?" he asked, pointing to a Negro. "I think as much of him as of any man in the outfit. . . . I slept with a Negro beside me in boot camp, resented it at first, but it's all in your mind. Some whites are worse than any colored."

A captain reported: "I had all the reason in the world to be against the program, and my being from Texas didn't help me. But now I'm listening to a man who had a complete change of mind." A first-lieutenant colonel said: "I'm a Texan and I suppose I was as anti-Negro as the next Texan before I got acquainted with integration a few years back. But I can truthfully say I'm sold on it now."

When a Negro and a white trainee were questioned together at one southern Army post, they were asked what happened when they went to town together. The white soldier answered, "We ride together in the bus until the gate. Then he moves back." The Negro added: "When we get to town, we're buddies again." Asked what happened on town, the white replied: "We do all the things together that they let us. We don't eat together or go to the USO, but we buy things, window shop, maybe get a bottle and drink in the park—you know." The Negro added: "They don't care if you walk together."

The white soldier, being from Georgia, was asked to explain the friendship. "I don't go for that Jim Crow stuff," he said. "Course I don't think they should marry one another, but that's all."

Summarizing part of their findings, the researchers reported a "consistent pattern" in their interviews with senior officers in integrated units in the United States. Those who believed integration would work reaffirmed their judgment on the basis of experience. Those who did not believe in the feasibility of integration before the introduction, now report a change of judgment on the basis of their experience. These judgments, they added, were as common among southern as northern officers.

Obviously, the southern attitude toward race relations [illegible] even if they were [illegible] out the brave [illegible] press, the educated [illegible] younger generation, there [illegible] fact which cannot [illegible] painful cost of maintaining segregation [illegible]

Already many southern business [illegible] are painfully aware of the economic importance of the Negro as a consumer. In Rock Hill, South Carolina, for example, last December the Star Furniture Company [illegible] month [illegible] segregated seating. In Fayetteville, [illegible] beginning in [illegible] protest has resulted in [illegible] reputation of the service and [illegible] quently heavy loss of income [illegible]

(Continued on page [illegible])

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PHILLIPS' TABLETS

Special Report of the Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations to the National Council Annual Meeting February 21-23, 1961, Seabury House, Greenwich, Connecticut

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Scarcely a year ago, the first sit-ins by southern young people began in Greensboro, N.C. Almost immediately many such occurrences swept through the South. Expected by many Southerners to disappear like the collegiate "panty raids" with the coming of examinations, summer vacations, and especially after a few jail sentences, just the opposite took place. During the school year 1960-61 they have increased in incredible proportions, not only sit-ins but kneel-ins, jail-ins, walk-ins, wade-ins, and almost every other conceivable form of non-violent demonstration has become almost pandemic in the South.

At the same time school desegration has entered a third phase. First there was rapid desegregation in the border states while the Deep South watched and said, "never." Second, there was the phase of massive resistance and the proliferation of many state laws aimed at evading and avoiding desegregation. There were Little Rock and Prince Edward County. There were private white schools held in churches and other available places, while the public schools were closed and Negroes stayed home.

The third phase of school desegregation sees the unconstitutionality of most of the hastily passed legislation already established.

Applications to enter white schools have been made in dozens of places, and in a great many, at least, token desegregation has already taken place. Large cities of the Deep South, like Houston, New Orleans, and Atlanta, are in the initial stages of school desegregation.

A fourth front in the civil rights struggle only occasionally erupts in overt incidents. But the Tent City in Southern Tennessee is one dramatic evidence that the Negro is moving determinedly toward the polls.

Perhaps the oldest of all the attacks on segregation, applications for admission to white colleges by Negroes has been going on quietly and successfully. The University of Texas has a comparatively large number of Negro students; the University of Virginia, Va. Polytechnic Institute, North Carolina State, Memphis State, and probably a good many others have a few Negro students. Now at this semester's beginning the University of Georgia, citadel of segregated white education, fell before the successful efforts of the two young Negroes. With it massive resistance died in Georgia. Word is out that five applicants are seeking admission to Georgia Tech, two to Clemson College, several to Winthrop. The Wake Forest faculty has made it public that it favors the admission of Negroes to that Baptist institution.

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Developments in Atlanta, Georgia, make it almost certain that the next big showdown will take place there. Sit-ins, jail-ins, kneel-ins, a nearly 100 per cent effective Negro boycott of Rich's department store, the successful school desegregation of the nearby University of Georgia, and the largely successful attempts of the city government to free itself from the domination of the rural counties, have all played significant parts in setting the stage for a really important and probably decisive step in the fall. As of late fall of last year, human relations observers in Atlanta felt that a better prepared citizenry, and a better organized, more decisive city government, would forestall much of the tragedy that was apparent in New Orleans. But it was not hard to find Atlantans who were of the opinion that what was coming in Atlanta would make New Orleans a tea-party by comparison. The most recent word from Harold Fleming, director of the Southern Regional Council, whose office is in Atlanta, appeared in the Sunday New York Times. He said, "As school desegregation nears in Atlanta, the forces of organized bigotry in the South are clearly concentrating their efforts here. The Apostles of anti-Negro, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholic prejudice are gathering for what they evidently see as a major test of their extremist doctrine."

As expressions of civil rights protest and demand become too numerous to be fully covered by the newspapers, they confront almost every southern community and challenge every individual. Instead of producing peace and quiet, accelerated desegregation inevitably produces new crises and new conflict.

In Lynchburg, Virginia, six students are serving jail sentences for violation of local trespass laws in a sit-in. Among them are the son of the Christian Social Relations head of the Disciples of Christ Church, and a young Randolph Macon student who is a national officer of the Methodist Student Association. At that trial, one of our own priests was forcibly ejected from the courthouse. The priest, a white man who serves a largely Negro congregation, had asked to be seated with his own parishioners. These occurrences have received national notice. Hundreds of letters are being received by these people. They have heard from as far away as Australia.

In Rock Hill, S.C. those arrested and jailed for sit-in demonstrations have been put in solitary confinement on bread and water, because they have protested that they had been singled out for especially heavy duty on the chain gang.

In a few months time the climate of the South has undergone a most significant change. Where once a taut silence surrounded the race issue on nearly every local level, it is now discussed everywhere. Especially among college students it is the main topic of conversation. And according to a very recent Gallup poll, 76 per cent of Southerners now feel that desegregation is inevitable. Barriers to desegregation are coming down everywhere one looks.

But in few cases does this seem to be accomplished without at least some crisis and conflict. It would not seem too extravagant to say that the whole South is aflame with both portent and action.

The Church faces a dilemma. At least as far as on the scene witness is concerned, only a few clergy and college students appear personally involved at the scenes of conflict. Only Lloyd Foreman, a Methodist parson, was found among those in New Orleans, who took his place on the firing line, seeking to do what he might in the interest of truth and justice.

On the other hand, the tide has rolled on and made almost irrelevant, efforts at education, discussion groups, reflective considerations, and all the usual paraphernalia of peaceful and prudential preparation. The time once available for such strategy has apparently been squandered in silence when to face issues, even verbally, was daring and unpopular. Now the cutting edge of the civil rights movement has moved way out in the direction of overt witness and decisive action - an area into which little of the Church appears ready or able to go.

Nevertheless, as this trend moves toward a vast regional climax, more and more of the Church's members, lay and clerical, can be expected to be drawn into its vortex. Some will emerge as heroes and others will become casualties of one kind or another.

Numbers of clergy have found themselves relieved of their charges. A good many have been and are in serious tension situations. There have been cases of financial hardship, mental suffering, and even breakdowns. There is no question that this number is going to increase sharply.

Among the college sit-in demonstrations Canterburians have already been jailed. There is little likelihood that the number of such casualties is going to decrease, and it would seem that the Church would want to offer support and assistance.

The Department of Christian Social Relations expects me to do my best to keep abreast of these developments and to do whatever present resources might permit. Informed in this manner, and from other sources, the Department expects to keep you informed. Specific measures such as emergency assistance for the various growing casualties, and other concentrated action are urgently needed.

Cornelius C. Tarplee

Associate Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship

Desseg.

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SOUTHWEST REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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July 5, 1961

LWD
CHP
JM
MB

Anyone else in research who should see this—

ML

Return to MM

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Gus Falk is out of the city on vacation and I am therefore replying to your letter of July 3 in his stead. He will be back in the office on August 7th and will be available at that time to discuss with you the prospects for orderly desegregation in Dallas and elsewhere.

In the meantime, the attached excerpts from his Quarterly Report will give you some confidential information on current developments. I have also included a copy of an article on desegregation of eating facilities which appeared in the Dallas Star Post, an important Negro newspaper.

If I can be of further help, please let me know.

Cordially,

Pillie Stern

Mrs. Edward C. Stern
Administrative Assistant

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a. Desegregation Developments

The absence of overt conflict during the period of this quarterly report lends credence to the hope that the Southwest is gradually though grudgingly accepting desegregation de facto though, in no way, has the issue been completely resolved. One incident or situation may spark the latent forces into aggressive demonstrations, reminiscent of Little Rock & New Orleans.

The degree of acceptance or depth of the trace will again be tested when Dallas and Galveston begin the desegregation process in September. Houston has experienced a peaceful year, and Little Rock is now facing up to an accelerated pace. Developments in Dallas, Houston and Little Rock will be covered more fully in their respective sections of this quarterly report.

The following is a "pro's and con's scoreboard" on desegregation and its related activities (sit-in's, stand-in's and step-in's) elsewhere in the region, for the past four months, with more results on the positive rather than on the negative side.

1. School Desegregation: Looking to Judson, both in Texas, voted to abolish segregation in September, while the Northeast Houston Independent School District voted to retain its dual system...The Galveston-Houston and Fort Worth Dioceses will desegregate their parochial schools this fall...Baptist and Presbyterian denominational conference meetings favored racial equality and pledged support of the desegregation policy...further integration of non-academic activities proceeded at the University of Texas which has desegregated on the graduate and non-graduate levels...the acceptance of Negroes for intercollegiate activities were advocated by the UT Student Assembly and challenged at the University of Houston when Negro athletes from northern colleges withdrew from "The Meet of Champions" because of segregation practices in Houston...a scheduled federal district court hearing on desegregation of Fort Worth Public Schools was postponed indefinitely because of the illness of the superintendent who suffered a heart attack...these are some of the highlights exclusive of the specific Chapters elaborated upon in subsequent sections of this report.

2. Sit-in's & Stand-in's - the general faculty of the University of Texas adopted a resolution calling for desegregation of all campus facilities and activities with all deliberate speed. There are two biracial men's dormitories, but none for women...Houston, Oklahoma City, Austin, etc., experienced sporadic picketing. These are treated in their respective sections...The Texas House

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of Representatives approved a bill aimed at penalizing sit-in and stand-in demonstrations, but the measure failed to receive final action before the legislature adjourned on May 29, 1961....75 government students from St. Mary's University in San Antonio were asked to leave a well known restaurant in Austin upon the complaint of lunching legislators... sporadic stand-in demonstrations were staged in Austin.

3. Boycott...Negroes continued their boycott of stores maintaining segregated facilities in Memphis, Dallas and Oklahoma...from authentic sources, the boycott was the determining factor in integrating the stores in Houston... Dallas accelarated its boycott movement. Refer to the Dallas section of this report for details.

4. Political Step-In's - the poll tax campaign continued in the Negro community with effective results. Refer to SW Tri-Monthly Report, December 1, 1960 to March 1, 1961, for details... The victory of John Tower over William A. Blakley to the senate seat vacated by Vice president Lyndon Johnson was due in no small measure to Negro support. Blakley's defeat was attributed by the Negro politicoes to his attack on the appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as federal housing administrator...the Fort Worth City Counsil broke traditional color barriers in municipal affairs by appointing the first Negro to the Park and Library Boards...Galveston voters elected a Negro as councilman by a margin of three votes.

The regional director and AJC Chapter and Southwest Counsil Board members continued their consultative role with the Negro and white leaders, as reported in previous reports, making available AJC resources and services in handling and resolving conflictive situations and problems. ~~Refer to the Dallas, Houston and Little Rock sections of this report for elaboration and specific references to this type of activity.~~

g. AJC Annual Meeting

Chapter leaders from Houston, Little Rock and Dallas participated actively in the proceedings of the AJC National Annual Meetings in New York on April 27-30, 1961. Considerable effort without substantial success was made to stimulate attendance and to involve Chapter members in submitting their views on the items on the agenda prior to the meeting. Specific participation will be covered in the respective communities listed above.

B. DALLAS CHAPTER

1. The Community

a. Desegregation Developments

1. School Desegregation

The validity of an extensive community preparatory program for desegregation will be tested once more when the Dallas Public School system initiates the Stair-step plan of integration in September. The decision of the Board to comply with the court order without further legal recourse terminated a 5-1/2 year legal battle to maintain or, at least, retain some control over those schools desegregated. Since the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its renowned Brown case that ruled school segregation unconstitutional, the Dallas School Board employed every legal means to circumvent the ruling, but when the court denied an appeal motion on January 6, 1961 and the School Board failed to seek a writ certiorari from the Supreme Court within its 90 day limitation, the die was cast and desegregation, its beginning at least was assured, making Dallas the last largest city in the Southwest and one of the largest segregated communities to make the change. (Refer to the Southwest Tri-Monthly Report, December 1, 1960 to March 1, 1961 for background information on the Stair-step Plan, etc.).

To the credit of the Dallas leadership, attention has now turned to assuring a peaceful transition period. The school administration, the law enforcement agencies, the press, radio, television and civic groups are now engaged in preparing a climate of opinion and acceptance which will avoid violence and demonstrations characteristic of the Little Rock and New Orleans episodes. At the influential Citizens Council meeting on June 9, the editors of the two leading newspapers spoke of the approach and attitude essential for all groups to meet the issue - calm toward and respect for white and Negro leadership in maintaining order, and a refusal to be victimized by extremist thinking and action. Mixed teacher meetings have taken place, ministerial and civic groups are discussing the problem - - all adding to the civic chant that Dallas will not have nor will tolerate disorder.

While the Dallas Chapter is taking no official or identifiable part in this issue, its involvement is unmistakably present and felt in the role of its workers and the regional director throughout the community effort.

The Chapter held several meetings on desegregation for the past several years and discussed the subject long before the current campaign. The regional director worked individually with the Negro leadership and together with Chapter officials served as a catalyst between the white and Negro community which helped to prevent precipitous action by the Negro community. The Chapter also cooperated in an effective advisory role with the Community Relations Committee of the Dallas Jewish Welfare Federation, developing a constructive discussion and action program for the Jewish community, the last one of which took place on June 22. ~~(Refer to my memorandum to Harry Fleischman, June 15, 1961. Subject: Desegregation Developments-Dallas).~~

2. Negro Community Developments

The Negro community continued to exercise patience and a spirit of cooperation, due perhaps to the fact that the Committee of 14 is still functioning and several breakthroughs in the discrimination practices are taking place. The regional director served a useful purpose in continuing his role as unofficial liaison between the Negro and white leadership. Another example of the effectiveness of this role was the offsetting of a recent attempt by a militant element in the Negro community to repudiate the moderate leadership and to organize sit-in demonstrations in the five largest downtown department stores which have refused to integrate their lunch counter facilities until school desegregation takes place in September. As reported in the previous resume, the moderates won and prevented this occurrence. The Interested Women of Dallas, a group of white and Negro women, initiated a boycott crusade against the downtown stores in the effort to open lunch counter facilities, restrooms, etc. A small committee of this group conferred with Sam Bloom, the representative of these establishments, and began a newspaper attack upon Mr. Bloom, denouncing him as the "paid coordinator." While the right of this group was never questioned, the tactics employed had many dangerous implications for the progress being made. The regional director was able to harmonize the situation and succeeded in establishing lines of communication between the white leadership and the militant element of the Negro group which also developed a closer working relationship within the Negro community, avoiding for the present an internecine struggle.

On June 9, a testimonial dinner was given to Henry Lemoir, Executive Secretary of the Negro Dallas Moorland YMCA Branch, who resigned to accept a similar position in St. Louis. 350 persons attended the affair, one third of whom were composed of white community leaders. The regional director served on the Planning and Arrangement Committee.

3. Texas State Fair Park

The Texas State Fair Park, located in Dallas, opened on a desegregated policy. The annual October Texas State Fair is held in the park and attracts about two million visitors from the southwest. The desegregation of this Fair should have a profound effect upon visitors participating from the small, rural communities which generally support desegregation.

4. Dallas Opera Association

The Metropolitan Opera advised the Dallas Grand Opera Association of its policy not to perform to segregated audiences. Replied the Dallas group: "Our performances have always been open to all races." Leaders of the local association are active in the AFO Chapter.

5. Southern Regional Council

Dr. James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council addressed a meeting of the Dallas Citizens Committee, a Negro organization coordinating Council, on March 8 on Desegregation in the South. The meeting was arranged by the regional director who briefed Mr. Dabbs on local conditions during his visit to Dallas.

6. Housing Discrimination

The Supreme Court of Texas refused to reverse a decision permitting the sale of a house in a previously all-white area to Negroes in the Cedar Crest Country Club Estates.

The area director has been in consultation with ministers in this interracially changing neighborhood.

b. Local Elections & Implications

Two elections took place during this quarter:

1. School Board Elections

Dallas voters turned out in unprecedented numbers for a school election on April 1, to defeat Dr. Dudley W. Powell, a Negro obstretician, in his bid for a place on the school board. Dr. Powell, however, polled 9,916 votes, the largest number ever received by a Negro in Dallas County, but lost overwhelmingly to the 21,095 votes cast for his opponent, Robert B. Gilmore, an engineer. Dr. Powell reflected his disappointment in an unwise election-night statement, charging that some of the winners were "bigots and hypocritos who carried on a campaign of hate." John Flathe Green, attorney, and Mrs. Vernon D. Ingram, housewife, also backed by the Committee for Good Schools, were the other two winners.

Dr. Powell was a poor choice by the Negro group and his defeat in no way could be attributed to specific racial factors. Jamaica born and educated at Syracuse University, Dr. Powell was qualified and a respected citizen. He was naturalized about five years ago and came to Dallas several years later. At a campaign planning committee meeting, the regional director aware of the political atmosphere in the community tried unsuccessfully to point out that the factors of Dr. Powell's being foreign born and educated in the north would be injected to his disadvantage in the campaign, with the hope that some strategy could be evolved to counteract these contentious forces. The campaign director turned a deaf ear to these possibilities and was unprepared to neutralize those unfair though politically potent charges made by the opposition. The regional director is now engaged in exploring strategies with other interested persons in laying plans for the next election - selection of an acceptable Negro candidate, assuring support and campaign strategies with the hope that it will result in the election of a Negro to the Dallas School Board.

2. Mayoralty Race

The Mayor's election (April 4) with its second primary runoff in May, elected Mayor, Earle Cabell, - the first time in 30 years that an independent candidate was this office. He defeated Jack Geary, the Citizens' Charter candidate. The only Negro candidate (Rev. C. B. Nelson), for Place 3 on the Council lost for much the same reasons as those of the school board Negro candidate - not particularly qualified and lack of campaign planning. The Negro leadership supported Geary with the exception of Rev. R. H. James, a leader in the militant Negro group, who endorsed Cabell. Both parties announced the need of a Municipal Committee on "race relations with the primary objective of finding ways and means of achieving racial peace with justice." The election outcome presages the demographical change in the city and the emergence of a new leadership type and alignment. The regional director has developed a friendly rapport with Rev. James which has already proved effective in solidifying the Negro moderate and aggressive leadership - designed to strengthen lines of communication between the two races. ~~Refer to the Southwest Tri-Monthly Report, December 1, 1960 to March 1, 1961, pages 10-11 for background continuity. Also refer to memorandum on Developments in Negro Community, April 17, 1961, and to Mary Fleischman, June 15, 1961: Desegregation Developments - Dallas.~~

[illegible] through membership recruitment, educational programs, community involvement and appointment of functional committees and specific and general projects.

C. HOUSTON CHAPTER

1. The Community

a. School Desegregation

In a series of five feature articles entitled Lessons - "Integration In Houston Peaceful" in the Dallas Times Herald, its staff writer, Al Hester examined the outcome of Houston in its first season of school desegregation which was without violence and demonstrations, with the hope that Dallas would profit from its sister city's experience since Houston and Dallas integration situations are similar. "Both districts exhausted all legal means in exploring desegregation. Both are using the stair-step, grade-a-year integration plan, beginning in the first grade; and both school systems have educators who determined that

integration will not interfere with the education of children - the duty of the schools." The writer then proceeded to report an interview with Negro and white parents whose children were attending the mixed schools, reported opinions of school administrators and board members and described the methods used to prevent violence and ways which made the transition without incident or law breakdown. Conclusions: limited and token integration with gradual acceleration of process; alert and positive police vigilance; sympathetic and calm press treatment; patience and forbearance practices by both races, and cooperation between teachers, children and parents involved. Refer to previous Area Reports for background information and continuity.

On June 2nd, the Houston Council on Human Relations invited the Negro mothers of twelve Negro pupils attending desegregated schools to report on their children's experiences in the first grade. Six attended and recounted favorable experiences. They expressed the hope that this excellent outcome would encourage school authorities to expand desegregation next year to speed up the process. The mothers were accepted in the PTA groups, participated actively in the program and several elected to the respective Boards. Teachers and school authorities and white parents "were more than helpful."

In a conference with the chairman and secretary of the Houston Council on Human Relations on general programming and cooperation with the Houston AJC Chapter, the regional director suggested that the Council should undertake the task of publicizing these facts to the community through the press, radio, television and meetings. Several AJC Chapter members are actively involved in the Council and hold official positions.

b. Renewed Contract of Superintendent

Superintendent of Schools, John McFarland, was given another three year contract and a $2500.00 raise, though McFarland refused to accept the wage boost until classroom teachers were also given one. With the new contract came a Board resolution of commendation to McFarland opposed by Bob Eckels and also by Mrs. Charles E. White, who is a lone liberal on the seven-member board and the only Negro, on the grounds that the superintendent failed to provide courageous and imaginative leadership and accused him of supporting the ultra conservative groups which had substituted indoctrination for education.

c. Non-Communism Oath

The school board adopted a procedure which would require the signing of a non-communist oath by anybody or any organization applying to rent Houston public school building facilities for a meeting or course. In addition to these requirements, any speaker who addresses the school or public meeting must swear that he is not a subversive. It was the same oath that Texas law requires all Texas public school teachers to sign. The Board members also take the same oath. This new policy was the outgrowth of a disputed action of the Board which denied use of a school to the Houston Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Al Abrams, president of the Houston Association for Better Schools, and Mrs. White, opposed the new policy. There is a possibility that the ACLU will test the School Board's denial in court. Community opinion was equally divided on the Board's action.

d. Sit-In Demonstrations

Sit-in and other demonstrations were kept during these four months to a minimum. Thirty-two Negroes staged a sit-in demonstration at the Union Railroad Station restaurant on June 3. The police arrested them, but only twenty-five were charged with unlawful assembly. A clash between 4 members of the Progressive Youth Association and four longshoremen took place in front of the International Longshoremen's Association on June 2 and were jailed and charged with disturbing the peace. The director of the Progressive Youth Association claimed that the meeting was called to thank union men for their support in the sit-in demonstrations. Refer to the HW-Tri-Monthly Report, December 1, 1960 to March 1, 1961, page 15, for background details.

e. Right Wing Extremist Groups & Anti-Communism

Characteristic in the Southwest, but even more so in Houston, right wing extremist groups with their emphasis on anti-communist activities were aggressively articulate during the period of this report. The John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Freedom in Action, Freedom Forum groups, etc., attracted large audiences at public and private meetings - all concentrating on the threat of communism and, in most instances, adopted the theme for U. S.

F. LITTLE ROCK & ARKANSAS

1. Desegregation Developments

Unlike previous experiences, Little Rock is moving ahead in its desegregation process without dramatic or sensational publicity. On May 25, twenty-five Negro students were assigned to five white Junior High Schools for next September.

The Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association requested the school board and other community leaders to prepare the community for further desegregation and promised unqualified support to the School Board in its implementation of the court orders. Displeased with this liberal expression, a group of conservative ministers formed a new alliance - the Metropolitan Little Rock Association of Free Ministers. Claiming that segregation was not the prime factor in this new group, the ministers contended that the association would give them a voice in community affairs for the first time.

A dispute in the School Board arose regarding the ruling of the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals which ordered the School Board to speed up desegregation, and that the use of the pupil placement law were being used illegally and were depriving Negro students of their constitutional rights. Ted Lamb, School Board secretary, opposed the School Board policy of gradualism.

Federal District Judge Smith Henley approved, tentatively, the new version of of the Dollarway desegregation plan, which admits Negro pupils to the first grade of the formerly all-white Dollarway School, provided they score at least average

on two specific tests and provided their assignments would not be clearly contrary to the criteria of the pupil assignment law.

2. Favorable Court Decisions for Negroes

The Negroes also gained new victories in other legal cases. Three laws enacted in 1958 to hamper the NAACP were ruled invalid by a state court, and an old suit against the NAACP designed to prohibit the practise of law by the NAACP organization was dismissed.

Municipal Judge Quinn Glover deferred judgment on April 3 in the case of six Negro college students who were arrested in a sit-in demonstration on November 30, 1960. He postponed their cases until September 1, 1961, because the Arkansas Supreme Court had not ruled on the validity of the law under which they were charged.

For the first time, the fact that a Negro had never been selected for jury duty was challenged in connection with a personal injury lawsuit filed last December by Mrs. Allie Mae Brunson.

3. Segregation Proposed Amendment

After opposition, the Arkansas legislature adopted Gov. Orval Faubus' new segregation proposal as one of the three constitutional amendments to be submitted to the voters in November 1962. The amendment would guarantee a segregated public school for any student who refused to attend a desegregated one. The governor dropped his other proposed amendment to amend the constitution in 33 days instead of the present twenty months.

G. OKLAHOMA

a. Desegregation Developments

1. Oklahoma Christian College opened its doors to Negro students for the first time, effective this fall. A check of institutions of higher education, state-supported and private, showed that at least 19 schools of the 33 were desegregated with 459 Negroes known to be enrolled. All state supported colleges and universities are desegregated in principle because of action taken by the Oklahoma Board of Regents for Higher Education in June 1955.

2. The NAACP plans to introduce bills to wipe remaining segregation features off the statute books. Among the targets of NAACP effort is the section of the constitution establishing the separate school system.

3. Langston University, a Negro institution struggling for existence, disclosed a white student had been enrolled all year.

4. Oklahoma City's superintendent of schools conceded faculty desegregation was proceeding slowly.

5. Fourteen persons, including a Catholic priest, were arrested by Oklahoma City police during a "squat-in" demonstration at a downtown cafeteria, following a series of "stand-ins" at the cafeteria on March 12, 1961.

6. On May 5, Charlton Heston, Academy award winning actor, joined two Oklahoma City psychiatrists (one a Negro) shouldered a sandwich board sign reading, "All Men Are Created Equal," and a mixed group of about 30 integrationists, in a two hour quiet march in protest to segregated lunch counters.

b. Jewish Community Council

Walter Bruno, Dallas Chapter Executive Board member, addressed the Oklahoma City Jewish Community Council Annual Meeting on June 15, 1961. Subject: Moral Implications of the Eichmann Trial." Attendance: 60. Refer to Section A-3-d of this report for further details.

c. Chapter Developments

In connection with his visit, Mr. Bruno conferred with several AJC National members on the reactivation of the AJC Chapter in this community with promising results. National AJC members received a special letter from the regional office, advising them of Mr. Bruno's visit and suggesting that plans be initiated to formalize the AJC in Oklahoma City.

The Courier-Journal

BARRY BINGHAM, Editor and Publisher

MARK ETHRIDGE, Chairman of the Board

LISLE BAKER, Executive Vice-President

Editorial Page Staff: RUSSELL BRINEY, Editorial Page Editor; ADELE BRANDEIS, MOLLY CLOWES, WELDON JAMES (on leave), JOHN ED PEARCE, WILLIAM PEEPLES, HUGH HAYNIE, Cartoonist

SUNDAY, JULY 16, 1961. FOUNDED 1868.

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EDITORIAL NOTEBOOK

Uncle Tom Is As Dead As The Minstrel Show

By William Peoples

FRANKFORT—The first statewide conference on human rights left me with mixed feelings. It demonstrated that there is a significant reservoir of good will in Kentucky that can be tapped in dealing with racial tensions. It also revealed how far we still have to go.

There was an encouraging response to the Governor's call for the conference. Lawyers, clergymen, housewives, businessmen, and public officials gathered here. They came from all corners of the state, and at least 22 cities and towns were represented.

Whites and Negroes met together and talked about developments in their respective communities. They tried to come to some conclusions about what the State Human Rights Commission can do under its present mandate. What it can do is precious little outside of acting as an informational clearing house and using gentle persuasion. It has no enforcement powers.

Impatient For More Progress

In the end, the delegates called for a state anti-discrimination law and legislation giving the commission the authority to enforce it. No doubt this will strike those sophisticated in the realities of Kentucky politics as so much shouting in the wind. It seems unlikely that the General Assembly will pass such legislation anytime soon. But the sense of the conference was symbolic of the impatience of the Negro leadership with our current rate of progress in desegregation, and the realization on the part of white integrationists that, to complete the job, legislation may be the ultimate answer. After all, 28 other states now have such a law on the books. None of them, however, is in the South; or so close to it in spirit as Kentucky (although at the session just ended Missouri's legislature created a Fair Employment Practices Commission with teeth).

The trouble with most conferences of this kind is that they consist of a lot of well-meaning people with a common outlook who merely sit around reinforcing each other's convictions. It is like a camp-meeting of the converted.

Yet much can depend on *who* is doing the talking. When the Governor speaks out forcefully against racial discrimination in any form it can make a difference.

Governor Combs left no doubt where he stands on the issue. "We support human rights because they are basic to our democracy, and not for political reasons," he declared. "We favor fair treatment because it is morally right, and not just because it is necessary in our country's contest with international Communism."

In other words, the weight of the State Government is on the side of desegregation and officially against segregation in any of its myriad forms. The 1960 General Assembly enunciated this policy when it passed legislation establishing the Commission on Human Rights.

The workshop sessions here were valuable, even though nothing of a concrete nature emerged from them. They brought Negro and white leaders together and specifically revealed the crazy-quilt pattern of segregation in Kentucky as it exists today.

Some communities have made steady, quiet progress towards desegregation; others have done nothing. Frankfort, for example, has faced up to the problem and acted. All of its public facilities are desegregated. One of its hotels is. Mayor Judd and his bi-racial committee are currently trying to persuade restaurants to desegregate. There have been significant but limited breakthroughs in Henderson and Lexington.

Danville, on the other hand, has simply not faced the problem, and has accomplished virtually nothing in the area of public accommodations outside the public school system, according to a Negro delegate from there. Resistance to further desegregation is notably strong in Richmond. A Negro delegate from Lynch felt that, without outside help, the situation in that community is hopeless.

Out of it all, an intangible struck me as more meaningful that all the reports and recommendations put together—the intangible of mood.

The Negro leadership may have its differences. The N.A.A.C.P. and C.O.R.E. do not always see eye to eye on timing or approaches.

The Tide Is Flowing

But make no mistake about it. The Negro leaders now coming to the fore, in Kentucky and the South, are tired of waiting for jubile. They are determined to quicken the tempo, and they have no patience with the gradualism of the past.

Uncle Tom is dead and his survivors are as vestigial as the minstrel show.

Again and again the Negroes at the conference emphasized that they want to pick their own representatives on bi-racial committees. They do not want them to be picked by the white community. Paternalism won't cut it anymore.

Their job, and that of their white allies, is to mobilize the apathetic, indifferent majority, and thus isolate the extreme segregationists. One way or another they mean to achieve total integration in our time.

In Kentucky, the wind is rising, and the tide is flowing, by fits and starts, but inexorably towards that goal.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
CAPITOL ANNEX BUILDING
FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

Desegregation

JM ✓
MW ✓
PPV ✓
PAV ✓

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, OCTOBER 17, 1961 X-Ref Org. Media

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, November 29, from 11:30 AM to 2 PM, at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Mr. Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, New York, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. It was reported that the Wall Street Journal is considering preparing an article dealing with the race-relations paradox of Birmingham (see item 4 in the September 22, 1961 MMCCD minutes).

2. The question was discussed whether or not the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation should deal in the future with housing and job desegregation as well as schools, voting and public accommodations. It was agreed that the Committee will deal with all problems of discrimination, in housing and on the job, while keeping its main focus on the South.

3. Desegregation in Atlanta, Dallas and Memphis presents an interesting example of contrasting community approaches to the problem, which warrants continued observation and study. Atlanta proceeded primarily on the basis of community-citizen cooperation, saturating the community with education for a considerable time in advance of desegregation. In Dallas, preparation for desegregation was made by the power structure after considerable negotiations between the white and Negro top leadership, followed by a short but intensive educational drive, based on respect for law and order. Memphis veered towards the Dallas approach, but relied on school and law enforcement authorities to execute its program without reference to citizenship education or involvement of civic groups. Yet all three methods brought about successful desegregation with virtually no kickback by extremist groups.

It is interesting to note the increasing importance of the Negro vote in respect to this situation. In Atlanta, for example, Ivan Allen, Jr., former president of the Chamber of Commerce, was elected mayor against a die-hard segregationist by a two to one majority. Actually Allen failed to get a majority of the white vote, but the Negro vote plumped about 100%, thus insuring Allen's victory. (Business Week, September 30, 1961, carries an article "Business man mayor sign of new South - Atlanta's incoming mayor defeated die-hard segregationist with backing of businessmen who decided their interest lay in maintaining order and prosperity through moderation.") A similar pattern of Negro voting is developing in Memphis and has led to the appointment of Negroes to the Transit Authority and the District Attorney's office.

4. Two court cases in Prince Edward County are now pending. One before the Virginia Supreme Court, asking the court to order the immediate opening

of public schools in Prince Edward County; and the other before the Federal District Count, which does not want to act until the Virginia Supreme Court has rendered its decision. An earlier Federal Court ruling forbade Virginia to subsidize the Prince Edward private schools, but a poll of whites in the county indicated that an overwhelming majority in this rural area are willing to keep the schools closed rather than permit desegregation.

5. The Southern Regional Council has put out a report on "The Hard Or the Easy Way?" pointing out that there are 129 counties in Virginia, North Carollina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas that have a Negro population of 5% or less. Schools have been desegregated in only 13 of these 129 counties. Seven desegregated voluntarily, five by court order, and one under a pupil placement plan. The report then deals with the tremendous expense to Yancey County in fighting desegregation of its facilities, and quotes a Winston-Salem Journal editorial that "in its fight to keep eight Negroes out of two high-schools, with a combined enrollment of more than 1,000, Yancey County spent almost $70,000" and still lost. Concludes the Journal: "the Yancey County story indicates that the price tag is high, and buys only a little time." It was suggested that it would be very valuable to have the article sent to school superintendents and school board members in the 116 counties still maintaining a dual school system, as well as to organizations which have constituencies in those areas.

6. It was suggested that it might be useful to approach national educational and school administrator organizations, national publications and TV on the problem of token desegregation and what happens to the Negro students who remain in segregated schools.

7. It was suggested that the Federal Office of Education and/or other sections of the government might be induced to publish pamphlets relating to successful efforts for peaceful school desegregation. It was also suggested that the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Reports might well be summarized in attractive, illustrated, dramatic pamphlets.

8. Governor S. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia has asked the Georgia legislature to review the law that would allow electrocution of Preston Cobb, 15 year old Negro youth. Cobb was charged with the slaying of a seventy-year old white farmer, and is being defended by the NAACP, which entered the case on the ground that Negroes are systematically excluded from jury duty in Jasper County; the court-appointed defense lawyer failed to raise pertinent constitutional issues; the strong probability that others were involved in the crime; and the boy's youth. Governor Vandiver has announced that he will grant a stay of execution, if necessary, to give the legislature time to consider the law which now permits execution of children as young as 14 years of age.

People in Holland have brought over nearly 2,000,000 signatures on a petition requesting reconsideration in this case.

9. The United Church Women's Assembly has launched a three-year crusade to enlist Protestants and orthodox churchwomen to fight racial discrimination. Project to be called "Assignment: Race, 1961-64." Series of annual workshops will be held in eight sections of the country to teach practical ways to eliminate racial bars in churches, housing, schools and employment.

10. Three railroads in the South have agreed to end racial desegregation in their station facilities. The railroads - the Illinois Central, the Southern, and the Louisville and Nashville - acted after investigation by the FBI disclosed that a number of stations operated by the three maintained policies of racial segregation. It was pointed out that the Interstate Commerce Commission has no machinery yet to process complaints. There is concern in civil rights circles as to how effective the ICC will be in preventing bus companies from ignoring the ICC's recent order for desegregation of bus terminals. Many terminals, segregationists insist, would be closed, leaving just stopovers over which the ICC has no jurisdiction.

It was reported that in some areas, segregation signs in bus terminals were just blacked out with no publicity and with no incidents. It was suggested that it might be much more effective in other areas to avoid publicity over the removal of signs rather than create opportunities for tensions.

11. In our last minutes, we reported that the Department of Commerce has sent out instructions through its Bureau of Public Roads for the removal of Ku Klux Klan signs from all highways constructed with the aid of Federal highway funds. If you find any such signs still up, will you please drop a line giving full details to Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22.

12. Enclosed is a little pamphlet, "Prejudice and the Child, a selected annotated bibliography of research evaluations and general readings," published by the American Jewish Committee. Additional copies are available at $10.00 per hundred.

13. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has just issued its general Brotherhood Week folder for February 18-25, 1962, containing suggested programs for schools, churches, synagogues and community groups. It has also published a Brotherhood Under God series with program suggestions for Catholic organizations, Protestant organizations and Jewish organizations. Sample copies are available from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/eak
MMCCD

Saturday Review
Nov 11 1961
Desegregation

Desegregation

WILL IT WORK?

YES:

By WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR., *chaplain of Yale University and a recent Freedom Rider.*

IN ANY discussion of racial discrimination it is well, I think, to distinguish between integration and desegregation. The former gets to the heart of the matter, the heart of every man, and thus refers to something personal and subjective. Desegregation, on the other hand, refers to something impersonal and objective, a state of affairs in which rights and opportunities are guaranteed to all citizens despite the objections of some.

From any religious or moral point of view integration is the only acceptable goal, for the brotherhood of man is a farce if it is not finally a matter of the heart. Moreover, in an explosive world, integration may well be an absolute necessity. But the fact that a thing is right and necessary still does not make it possible; ironically, the very insecurity of the world, increasing as it does individual insecurity, tends rather to enhance rather than diminish the possibilities for racial discrimination. For racial discrimination, or prejudice of any kind for that matter, is deeply rooted in a sense of individual insecurity —which is why it is at once so universal and so ineradicable.

A few weeks ago eleven of us were tried in a civil rights case in a Southern court. Here was a fine chance to observe again the emotional roots of prejudice, to realize anew that what is emotionally rooted is not intellectually soluble. The testimony of each state witness and the sentence of the judge clearly reflected opinions not acquired but innate, not dictated by logic but by passions, and by passions not aroused by the facts, but by passions that preceded and dis-

torted the facts. What the proceedings illustrated dramatically was that prejudice is actually far more an internal than an external affair. For what the segregationist fears is finally less the Negro than himself—his own insecurity inevitably felt most acutely when change and strife render horribly insecure the world about him. Not to be forgotten also is the role conscience plays, a role summed up beautifully by the philosopher Schweighausen, who said in reference to anti-Semitism: "The anti-Semite hates the Jew not because he is the Christ killer but because he is the Christ bearer."

Those who believe that prejudice can be eradicated simply by education do not properly assess these emotional and moral dimensions of the problem, do not realize how inadequate a solution education is for people whose lives are motivated not by love but by hate and fear of the truth. Thus, while all individuals surely have a clear religious or moral obligation to overcome their prejudices, it seems only realistic to anticipate that far from all will succeed. "Human nature," as a shrewd observer of the human scene remarked," is very prevalent." As far as whole societies go, integration appears an unattainable goal.

BUT does this mean that little or nothing can be done? Quite the contrary. If full integration is unattainable, then desegregation becomes that much more necessary, and, in contrast to integration, desegregation for a whole society is, I believe, a thoroughly attainable goal.

Desegregation and integration are of course interrelated, for while it is true that morality cannot be legislated it is

(*Continued on page* 76)

NO:

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., *editor of National Review, a weekly periodical.*

WHAT, I am asked, is the conservatives' solution to the race problem in the South? I answer: there is no present solution to it. Such an answer appals. It brings to mind, to move from tragedy to flippancy, the cartoon of the farmer leaning on his pitchfork and replying to the motorist: "Come to think of it, Mister, I don't think you can *get* to Glens Falls from here." There are those who approach all problems as though they involved merely getting an automobile from here to there: there is always a road. There are others who know that some problems are insoluble. These last are for the most part conservatives; and I am here to defend them.

Let us begin by stressing that no matter how convinced a people may be of the wrongness of an existing situation, it does not follow that the people should be prepared to resort to whatever means may be necessary to attempt to make that situation right. That may sound obvious—the end does not justify any means; but when we examine some of the drastic proposals that are being put forward with the end of securing the rights of the Negro (e.g., a constitutional amendment depriving the individual states of their right to set up voting qualifications), the time has come to reiterate the obvious. We acknowledge, for instance, that it is wrong to drive at excessive speeds; but no state in the union seems prepared to impose a heavier penalty on the speeder than the automatic suspension of his license for thirty days. There would be less speeding, and hence less violent slaughter—the two figures, the experts inform us, are inextricably related—if speeders were packed off to jail for a week. Even so, notwithstanding the established correlation between fast driving and aborted lives, we shrink from so drastic a penalty; and the speeding, and the deaths, go on.

Let us take the word of the predominating school of social scientists and stipulate that segregation is the cause of personality disturbances. And—mark this—not only against the Negro, but also against the white. The argument is not new; it has often been used against corporal punishment. It is not only the victim who is damaged, psychiatrists report, but also the executioner, in whom sadistic impulses are dangerously encouraged. No one who has contemplated a man brandishing a fiery cross and preaching hatred needs help from social science to know that the race problem has debasing effects on black and white alike.

ASSUME all this to be true. Assume, also, that the legal and political power is wholly at the disposal of the society to effect its point of view in the South. Assume, in other words, that *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the supporting decisions of the Supreme Court deconstitutionalized segregated public schooling beyond the point of argument. Then assume that the raw power necessary to enforce that decision is available to the present Administration, and that the will of the nation is such as to insure that Congress will supply power where power is lacking. Should the Federal Government then proceed?

The list of sanctions available to the government is endless. The economic power of the Federal Government has in our time reached the point where it

cannot be denied; cannot, in fact, be defied. If Congress can seriously entertain the question whether to spend money to aid public schooling in any state whose public schools are segregated, why can't Congress debate the question whether it is prepared to spend money for road-building in a segregated state? Or for unemployment? Or for farmers' subsidies? Already the Attorney General has hinted he is considering (for purely punitive reasons) recommending to his old friend the Commander-in-Chief the removal of our large military installations from segregated areas.

In a word, the Federal Government is in a position to visit intolerable economic sanctions against the defiant state. Not to mention the government's arsenal of legal weapons. Why cannot the Congress (assuming always a purposive mood on the subject of segregation) pass laws increasing the penalties for those held guilty of contempt of court in a certain category of cases? And why can't the courts rule—as Professor Auerbach of the University of Wisconsin has recommended—that any state which, having fought to the end of the legal road, sets out to close down its public schools rather than integrate them, be forbidden to do so on the grounds that such action, under such circumstances, becomes not the free exercise of the state's power, but an act of defiance of a federal court? By such reasoning the Federal Government could take over the operation of the schools.

THE crucial question arises: Will the government of the United States move in such a fashion? The answer is: probably not; for the reason that, along the way, the ideological stamina would very likely give out, as the public contemplated the consequences of an assault of such magnitude on a whole region. Another question is: *should* the government of the United States take that kind of action to end segregation? The answer to that is, in my judgment: no, most definitely not.

"You know, the world is hard enough and people is evil enough without all the time looking for it and stirring it up and making it worse," says Leona, in a novel by the eloquent, tormented Negro writer James Baldwin, who celebrates his bitterness against the white community mostly in journals of the far political left. What would be accomplished by turning the legislative, judicial, and executive resources of this country over to a crash program of integration? Let us suppose the program were so successful as to make South Carolina like New York City. This spring a distinguished New York Negro told the audience of the television program "Open End" that he did not know three white people in all of New York with whom he felt genuinely comfortable, such is the prevalence of prejudice even in this cosmopolitan center. Louis Lomax may be more sensitive, and hence more bitter, than the average New York Negro, and so unrepresentative of the state of Negro serenity in the North; but then, too, Dr. Martin Luther King is more sensitive, and so more bitter, than the average Southern Negro, and hence unqualified as a litmus of the Southern Negro's discontent. But only one of the other Negro guests on the program challenged as extreme that remarkable testament to race relations in the city under which the fires of the melting pot burn hottest.

THE deep disturbances isolated by the social scientists are not, I think, of the kind that are removed by integrating the waiting rooms and the schools. It has even been revealed (*Villanova Law Review*, Fall, 1960) that the very tests cited by the Supreme Court in *Brown* as evidence that Southern Negro children were suffering personality damage, when administered in the North yielded not merely similar results, but results that seemed to indicate a greater psychic disturbance in integrated Northern Negroes than in segregated Southern Negroes! I believe that the forms of segregation, which so much engross us at the moment and which alone are within the reach of the law to alter, are of tertiary importance, and of transitory nature; and under the circumstances the question arises even more urgently: *Should* we resort to convulsive measures that do violence to the traditions of our system in order to remove the forms of segregation in the South? If the results were predictably and unambiguously successful, the case might be made persuasively. If a clean stroke through the tissue of American mores could reach through to the cancer, forever to extirpate it, then one might say, in due gravity: let us operate. But when the results are thus ambiguous? Use the federal power to slash through the warp and woof of society in pursuit of a social ideal which was never realized even under the clement circumstances of a Chicago or a New York or a Philadelphia?

I say no. A conservative is seldom disposed to use the Federal Government as the sword of social justice, for the sword is generally two-edged ("The Government can only do something for the people in proportion as it can do something to the people," Jefferson said). If it is doubtful just what enduring benefits the Southern Negro would receive from the intervention of government on the scale needed to, say, integrate the schools in South Carolina, it is less doubtful what the consequences of interposition would be to the ideal of local government and the sense of community, ideals which I am not ready to abandon, not even to kill Jim Crow.

WHAT, meanwhile, are the Negroes actually losing that they would not lose if the government took over in the South? One thing alone, I think, and that is the institutional face of segregation. That is important; but it is in the last analysis only a form. What matters is the substance of segregation. The kind of familiarity that might lessen racial consciousness is outside the power of the government to effect. I would even argue that it is outside the power of the government to accelerate. J. Kenneth Galbraith tells us that the ultimate enemy of myth is circumstance, and I think he is correct. If it is true that the separation of the races on account of color is nonrational, then circumstance will in due course break down segregation. When it becomes self-evident that biological, intellectual, cultural, and psychic similarities among the races render social separation capricious and atavistic, then the myths will begin to fade, as they have done in respect of the Irish, the Italian, the Jew; then integration will come—the right kind of integration. But meanwhile there *are* differences between the races which surely will not be denied by an organization explicitly devoted to the advancement of colored people. The Negro community must advance, and is advancing. The Reverend William Sloane Coffin of Yale University, returning from his whirl with the Freedom Riders, rejected the request of Mr. Robert Kennedy that the Riders withdraw to let the situation cool off with the words: "The Negroes have been waiting for ninety years." Mr. Coffin spoke nonsense, and showed scant respect for the productive labors, material and spiritual, of three generations of Negroes. A sociologist at Brooklyn College only a few weeks before had observed that never in the history of nations has a racial minority advanced so fast as the Negroes have done in America. How far will they go on to advance? To the point where social separation will vanish?

I do not know, but I hope that circumstance will usher in that day, and that when the Negroes have finally realized their long dream of attaining to the status of the white man, the white man will still be free; and that depends, in part, on the moderation of those whose inclination it is to build a superstate that will give them Instant Integration.

the Negro incentive to study they quickly rise again. That the Negro is not inherently less intelligent than the white but only lacking his opportunities was proved rather conclusively by Army I.Q. scores in World War II in which Northern Negroes averaged higher than Southern whites.

Interracial marriage should be no problem to the religious person, for from the point of view of church or synagogue no such thing exists, all marriage being strictly interpersonal. Fears in this direction are unwarranted anyhow. As Dr. King himself has said, "We ask only to be the white man's brother, not his brother-in-law," and as the history of the North indicates, there will be little interracial marriage until such time as there are fewer objections to it. Both sides are too prejudiced today to fall in love very often. As to fears of what will happen outside of marriage, these are clearly projections of the white based on his own memory of what he has done to the Negro. But it can be easily demonstrated that far less of this sort of thing takes place where races live on a more equal footing.

WHILE in the South priority in the struggle for desegregation must be given the vote (the area in which the Negro has his greatest leverage with local authorities), in the North the greatest problems are in employment and housing. Whites can hardly appreciate the frustration and bitterness which racial barriers in these areas have produced in the minds and hearts of the Negroes, particularly the educated among them. Currently, for instance, there is at the Yale Law School a group of exceptionally gifted Negro students almost any of whom would be a credit to any law firm. Yet in the entire country no more than a handful of white firms would hire one with the idea of his ever becoming a junior partner. And if law firms are bad they are no worse than banks and business establishments, hospitals, and even many universities.

Equally shocking is the housing situation, bad for American Negroes all over, and so bad in New York for colored delegates to the U.N. that the Soviets in New York are actually seeking a new building in which to house them. In a world two-thirds colored, to practice segregation is really so treasonous that one wonders if the House Un-American Activities Committee should not investigate some of the self-styled patriots who practice it.

On the other hand, there is considerable ferment in the area of housing, resulting in promising legislation in several states. But while this legislation seems good, it is well to remember that

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Desegregation Will Work

(*Continued from page* 21)

also true that one can legislate conditions more conducive to morality. This point is nicely illustrated in the story of the recent game between the Texas and Oklahoma football teams, just desegregated. After a particularly rough play the quarterback of the Oklahoma team jumped up: "Say, Ref, did you see what their nigger did to our colored fellow?"

BUT the goal of desegregation, the guarantee of equal rights to all citizens, is going to be attained only after certain myths are dispelled in the minds of many Americans. Some of these pertain to the South, others to both South and North. One of the most popular is that time will take care of everything. Time will actually take care of nothing, for time is neutral. What men do with time is what counts, and in the deep South at least the extremists since 1954 have done far more with time than have the moderates.

Another popular myth is that there is a compromise position between the NAACP and the White Citizens Council. But if the former are for and the latter against federal law, where is the middle ground?

A third myth held by people lacking somewhat in understanding and compassion is reflected in their own words, "Let the Southerners solve their own problems." To be an active antisegregationist white in Alabama is tantamount to committing political, economic, and social suicide. (Not to be active is of course to commit moral suicide, which is precisely the hell of living in Alabama today.) Non-Southerners do not seem to realize how desperately antisegregationists, Negroes and whites alike, need federal intervention, need the pressure of world-wide opinion, need all types of outside support. "The position of white antisegregationists here," wrote a lady in Montgomery explaining their silence, "is comparable to that of anti-Communists in the Soviet Union." And a distinguished federal judge, a Southerner too, said to one of our group last spring, "Thank you for realizing we needed outside help."

But is this help really from the "outside"? One hundred years after the Civil War and after distinguishing herself in two world wars, is not the deep South very much part of the USA? If so, then Governors Patterson and Barnett and their segregationist crowd are clearly guilty of violating a *basic* tenet of our or any democracy, namely that consent of the governed means consent *to be governed*. Furthermore, it is ridiculous to assert that the North is interfering with the South when in actuality it is the South that is interfering with the nation. Given the world political situation in which we Americans find ourselves, it is no longer up to the Negro—if it ever was—to adapt himself to the pace of the white, but up to the white to adapt himself to the world as it is in 1961.

"Negroes don't want civil rights" is less of a myth, although those who say this generally exaggerate the number who don't and minimize the role of white intimidation. It is true, however, that Negroes in large number are apathetic. But again, what conclusion do we draw from this? To me no greater charge could be brought against segregation as a system than this very desire that it produces in men to remain second-class citizens. Will anyone argue that it is a good thing that human beings do not want to be fully human? Was it a good thing, for instance, that countless Russian serfs in the 1860s rejected the freedom offered them by Alexander II, or is it a good thing today that other Russians are prepared to settle for the semihuman conditions that are imposed on them by Premier Khrushchev?

HERE I think we are getting to the core of the problem, the recognition of how much must be done to counter the dehumanizing effects of segregation. From a strategic point of view—moral aspects for the moment aside—sit-ins, kneel-ins, wade-ins, and Freedom Rides must primarily be viewed as encouragement to the apathetic to think of themselves as being just as human as other human beings. To be sure, these demonstrations serve also to relieve the pressure of intimidation by drawing upon the community adverse publicity and by making the point in as yet unaffected communities that it could happen there. But it is the encouragement to the Negro that is of primary importance, an encouragement that of course includes present Northern leadership. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of supporting this leadership, dedicated as it is to affirming civil rights through nonviolent means. For if this leadership cannot "produce the goods" then it is only a matter of time before the violent men in the Negro fringe groups move to the center and take over. Anyone with eyes to see should realize that if there are Southern moderates today their names are Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy.

Two further misunderstandings need to be cleared up. Standards as a rule do drop when schools are desegregated, but wherever desegregation provides

is shown by a most celebrated case, for the literary world in any event. It involved a *New Yorker* story about the child prodigy William Sidis, who had achieved fame in mathematics at the age of ten. An unexplained something happened to him as he reached late adolescence and he threw it all up, going to work as a streetcar ticket taker. The *New Yorker* sought him out and wrote the story. Sidis, who died not long after, sued, but the court, in a still disputed opinion, found there was nothing objectionable in revealing these facts; Sidis, it concluded, was not harmed by the revelation.

Not only must the victim be harmed by the exposure, but the facts exposed must be private and not public facts. Thus a newspaper is free to state that John Jones had six wives, since this is a matter of record. But were a jealous reporter to bribe a bank clerk and find out the contents of a businessman's bank box, revelation of this fact would be grounds for a lawsuit.

If the revelation of details of one's private life is protected by the law of privacy, how, then, do such magazines as *Confidential* or anv standard movie or fan sheet stay in business?

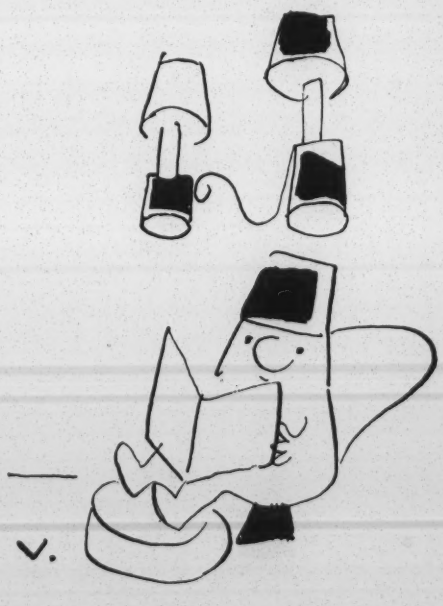
Perhaps because they enjoy the "inside story" as well as anyone else, judges have concluded that public figures, or "celebrities," are a group apart. Since they, after all, sought publicity in the first place, it seems hard to condemn those who facilitate them by means of the press and other media. Once a figure becomes, in the eyes of the law, a "celebrity," he is fair game for a wide area of publicity, although even here there are some limits. A movie star, for example, can justly sue for the reporting of purely private conversation, or descriptions of what he does at private places, such as a party at a friend's home, or the contents of private letters that an eager reporter may get hold of. The line between what is private and what is public is, of course, a vague one, and is often overstepped by many publications. The individual concerned frequently chooses not to enforce his rights to avoid even further distasteful publicity incident to the law suit.

Similarly, items that are news are broad exceptions to the law of privacy, even when details to the last degree are given about a rape, murder, or divorce. This news exception has been justly criticized, for it permits publicity about those who never sought it in the first place and who do indeed wish "to be let alone." Details of her life, loves, and unhappiness do not normally please a woman whose baby has just died in a bizarre accident, but such comments, extraneous to the event of the death itself, may well be permitted. The press is free to concern itself and its readers with nearly every aspect of an individual who, fortunately or unfortunately, is involved in what may justly be called a news event. And it is probably permissible for a newspaper or magazine, twenty years later when our woman may be involved in another news event, to recapitulate her earlier entry into the limelight. Some states, however, have recently passed laws to limit this news exception to the law of privacy by prohibiting any indication of the name or identity of a victim of a sex attack.

Because of the very broad scope given to the definitions of both "celebrity" and "news," few reporters or personal publicists are truly impeded by the law of privacy as it relates to the disclosure of private facts. Although the writer J. D. Salinger has insisted many times that he wishes "to be let alone," this did not prevent *Time* magazine from recently publishing a long and detailed story about his private life, for Salinger is a "celebrity" or public figure. It is my understanding, however, that the *New Yorker*, as a matter of good practice, will ordinarily not write a profile of anyone who does not wish to be publicized, no matter how celebrated a figure.

The law of privacy has its strongest application as it relates to the unauthorized use of a name, photo, or other identification, as well as any false attribution, for business purposes. Product publicists and advertising men are probably most active in this area, for their prime function is to get product notoriety and one chief technique long used is the endorsement. The courts have been uniformly strict in striking down any such unauthorized use for commercial purposes.

A wise maxim for anyone in the communications media would be: Never act without a signed waiver of all rights.



South Is 'Moderating'

Wash Post Peseg 12/10/61

First of a Series

By Robert E. Baker

Staff Reporter

THE SOUTH is changing faster than it thinks. Occasional violence and dramatic defiance obscure the fact that the extension of school desegregation and civil rights is progressing with surprising speed.

Even in those strongholds of defiance, Birmingham, Ala., and Jackson, Miss., there are signs that moderation and common sense will prevail.

I covered the race issue in the South for several years before leaving for an overseas assignment two years ago. I returned to take up the race issue assignment recently and have traveled twice in the South in recent weeks.

I have been amazed at the change in two years. The school desegregation issue is beginning to lose its emotional aspects in many areas. Community leaders are accepting it as inevitable and are willing to resign themselves to reality.

That is the first step leading to discussion of the issue. People find they can talk about school desegregation on the basis of saving the public schools and maintaining law and order.

Two Holdouts in 15

WHEN THE Supreme Court ruled against school segregation in 1954, the Southern and border states included 15 metropolitan areas of half a million or more population with segregated schools. Eight desegregated to some extent in the five Septembers following the Court's implementation decision in 1955. Five more have followed suit in the last two Septembers and now only two of the 15 school systems are still completely segregated—Forth Worth and Birmingham.

Until two years ago, it was the usual posture of Southern communities to fight school desegregation until they were forced into an inescapable corner by the Federal courts. Now there seems to be an increasing amount of casual school desegregation without a final court order. Memphis, Fort Lauderdale and Tampa-St. Petersburg are examples.

Last September marked the first time since the Supreme Court's decision that the opening of schools did not produce major violence somewhere in the South.

The collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia in 1959 made a chink in the South's armor of defiance and started talk of inevitability, but the big symbols today are Atlanta and Memphis.

No one could question that Georgia is the South. Georgia had enacted as tough anti-integration laws as any state and Gov. Ernest Vandiver had flailed his arms against desegregation as much as anybody. But wisdom prevailed.

The State freed school districts to deal with the issue locally. Obeying a Federal court order, Atlanta made thorough public preparations for desegregation in September and the day passed quietly and with grace.

Perhaps Memphis was an even bigger symbol, desegregating without a final court order and in relative secret. Many people in the delta country of Mississippi and Arkansas who look upon Memphis as their city were surrised and thoughtful.

Emotion Spread Thin

PERHAPS THE emotional aspects of desegregation have lessened in the field of schools because the emotions of the defiant ones must now be spread over the entire field of civil rights, with Federal activity nearly everywhere.

Editor J. Oliver Emmerich of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times was slugged by a white man in McComb, Miss., after he wrote an editorial advocating a positive racial program for Mississippi, but reader reaction to his proposal was generally good.

The Federal Government has filed a dozen or so voting suits to open registration rolls to Negroes on an equal basis with whites. It has gone into court to thwart intimidation, boycotting or other reprisals against Negroes who have sought their rights.

Negroes have found that if they seek their rights and are turned back, the Federal Government is there to help. This has encouraged many Negroes to make an effort, and a more militant Negro is emerging in the South.

One member of Virginia's legislative racial investigation committee, formed to curtail the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recently lamented the passing of the "old conservative" NAACP leadership in the State into more militant hands.

Round-the-Clock Vigilance

TO MANY a Southern official engaged in efforts to maintain the segregated tradition, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has been a tiger on the hunt. These officials recount how "Bobby" Kennedy telephoned them, sometimes in the wee hours, and talked and cajoled and sometimes threatened.

Never has Federal activity in the field of civil rights been so vigilant or potent, and the feeling of inevitability already widespread in the school field is beginning to be expressed in other areas of racial equality.

In Mississippi, no one can maintain with honesty that the racial climate today is healthy. The frame of mind of many whites is illustrated by the announcement of a television news reporter recently that the Jackson White Citizens Council had called an emergency meeting to reveal "proof" of the Negro's real goal and that only adults would be admitted because of the sensitive nature of the information.

Editorial Wisdom

YET THERE is wisdom in Mississippi. Most of it now is privately expressed. A public expression, however, came recently from J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the State Times in Jackson.

He wrote an editorial stating that "negation has plunged our state into misunderstanding and frustration." He advocated a positive program to help solve Mississippi's racial dilemma, including voter registration of Negro teachers, a program to improve job opportunities for both whites and Ne-

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Dallas was another big Southern city, besides Atlanta and Memphis, where desegregation began quietly last September. Six-year-old Bruce Alvin Roberts, one of 18 Negro first-graders who entered formerly all-white Dallas schools, is shown amid older students at Amelia Earhart School with his mother and little sister.

groes, improvement of the state courts to give justice to Negroes and appointment of unofficial biracial committees to work on racial problems at the local level.

Emmerich was slugged last week by a white man in McComb, Miss., where he owns the Enterprise-Journal. But he has received a generally good response from readers and many Mississippians privately express their support of his stand.

In Birmingham, a Federal judge recently ordered the city's parks and Municipal Auditorium desegregated. The initial reaction of many whites was to suggest that the facilities be closed and sold.

But 189 prominent businessmen, clergymen, professional men, industrialists and labor leaders signed a statement which was given prominent display and support in the Birmingham News. It spoke of the difficult problems created by desegregation decisions and counseled that the solution "requires intense study, understanding, tolerance and good will on the part of every element of the population."

It called for full support against lawlessness.

"We must do some hard thinking now on just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance," it said.

It was the first public sign that businessmen and others in Birmingham were accepting the inevitable. More important, it showed that they now appeared willing to try to influence the course of events and prevent further damage to their city's reputation by violence and uproar.

"Hard Thinking Needed" was the title of the declaration.

Birmingham these days is beautifully decorated for Christmas, and chimes ring out carols. Christmas is indeed a season for hard thinking.

MONDAY: The Race Issue in Politics

Research

Desegregation
1961

FACT SHEET FOR OASIS DISCUSSION LEADERS

1. Must Atlanta desegregate its schools?

There is no legal way to maintain a segregated public school system in Atlanta. The reason is pointedly stated by the Sibley Committee's Majority Report: in 1954 the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate schools are inherently unequal, and therefore, unconstitutional. The decision exists; it is binding on the lower federal courts; it will be enforced. The U. S. District Court has enjoined racial discrimination in the Atlanta public schools. There are no delaying tactics which have not been attempted and overruled; there is no alternative.

2. What are the provisions of the Atlanta plan?

In 1961-62,pupil assignment in the 11th & 12th grades will be made without regard to race or color. In each successive year the plan will be expanded to the immediate lower grade, until all grades are included.

Current assignments will continue unless transfers are directed or approved by the City Superintendent of Schools or his representatives.

Certain criteria, known as the "Pupil Placement" program will determine transfers:

available room & teaching capacity
transportation facilities
effect of new pupils on academic programs
effect of new pupils on academic standards
effect of new pupils on academic progress of other students
scholastic aptitude & relative intelligence of pupil
adequacy of academic preparation of pupil
psychological qualification of pupil
psychological effect upon pupil
ability of pupil to conform to new educational environment
morals, conduct, health and personal standards of pupil
suitability of curricula for pupil
choice & interests of pupil
home environment of pupil
request or consent to transfer of parents, & reasons therefor
maintenance or severance of established relationships of pupil with other pupils & teachers
possibility or threat of friction or disorder
possibility of breaches of peace or ill will

3. How is the Atlanta plan being applied?

Applications for transfer to be obtained from Superintendent's office by applicant, his parent or guardian; when completed, forms to be notarized and returned to student's principal, during period May 1 - 15.

Data to be submitted to Area Superintendent, who then schedules an interview with student and parents (this year, interviews were held with selected number of students after tests administered) and arranges for series of tests (standardized achievement tests, aptitude tests, and personality adjustment test). This information, along with a report of the characteristics of the school to which transfer is requested shall then be transmitted to the Deputy Superintendent.

A Student Transfer Reviewing Committee, including the Deputy Superintendent, one or more Area Superintendents, the AssistantSupt for Pupil Personnel Services (or Director of Psychological Services the Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Services (or Director of Instruction), and any other personnel that may be considered desirable, shall meet to study the completed folder of each student. Interviews with the student may be scheduled at the discretion of the Deputy Superintendent.

Recommendations of this Reviewing Committee will be submitted to the Superintendent.

Notice of action taken on transfers will be mailed to parents or guardians within thirty days or not later than June 15th, and will be final, unless the action is appealed.

4. What are the provisions for appeal of a denied transfer?

Appeals are to be made in writing within ten days of the mailing of the notice of action. The Board may conduct hearings if it desires. Every appeal shall be concluded by the Board before September 1st. Any person dissatisfied with the final decision of the Board may appeal to the State Board of Education.

5. What have been the developments in other cities that have adopted grade-a-year plans?

Nashville - In 1957, Nashville began desegregation with the first grade under a court-approved plan. Grades one through four are now desegregated, with 159 Negro children presently enrolled in 10 predominantly white schools. This number is only about one-third of the Negro children eligible by residence to attend white schools; the others requested and were granted transfers to all-Negro schools. Last year only 44 Negro pupils were registered in predominantly white schools; in 1958-59, there were 34, and in 1957-58, there were 19. Surrounding Davidson County desegregated its first four grades in 1960-61, and 41 Negro students are now in interracial classes there.

Knoxville & Houston - In 1960-61, non-discriminatory school assignment was begun in Knoxville and Houston. In Knoxville, 28 Negro students attend white schools; in Houston, there are 12 Negro students attending white schools.

6. How many Negro pupils are attending previously all-white schools?

Although it has been seven years since the Supreme Court decision, there are now only 4,313 Negro children in the previously all-white schools of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee,

Texas and Virginia. This figure represents 169 school districts, desegregated between 1956-60. In North Carolina, for example, four years after desegregation, there are only 2 Negro children in school with white children in Charlotte, 9 in Winston-Salem, and 5 in Greensboro. Although efforts to limit the desegregation to a "token" number of Negroes may be responsible for this minimal total in some districts, "token" desegregation is not the procedure of the majority of these school boards. The following figures show that the total has increased by less than 1,000 in five years.

NEGROES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

State	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Arkansas	34	91	73	94	113
Florida	0	0	0	512 c	27
North Carolina	0	11	14	34	82
Tennessee	6 a	19 a	82	169	383
Texas	3,400	3,600	3,250	3,300	3,500
Virginia	0	0	30	103	208
Total	3,440 a	3,721 a	3,449	4,212	4,313

a - plus Oak Ridge
c - only a handful of whites stayed with 490 Negroes in the racially changing neighborhood of Orchard Villa school near Miami.

7. Will desegregation result in lowering of academic standards?

In March 1959, administrators of 17 desegregated school systems participated in a conference held at Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Not one of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question reported that desegregation had harmed the academic progress of white students, or had lowered academic standards. Following are excerpts from some of their testimony:

Dr. Ward I. Miller, Supt. of Schools, Wilmington, Del.

.... (We have) over the last 4 years developed our grouping program to a point where we classify our youngsters according to performance and scholastic achievement, and those standards are set for each particular track on which the youngsters run. The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advance placement and honor classes is truly remarkable...

Question: In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration.

Dr. Miller: We feel it is better.

Mr. William Henry Oliver, Supt. of Schools, Nashville, Tenn.

...Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies...

... I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together.

Dr. John H. Fischer, then Supt. of Schools, Baltimore, Md.

... There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.

The Late Dr. Omer Carmichael, Supt. of Schools, Louisville, Ky.

... Now, you asked, if I got your question, in the desegregation, what, if any, changes, we have observed. It happens that one of our principals on sabbatical leave last year wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to scholarship or to achievement of pupils in a school system in the process of desegregating. His findings can be summarized in about this statement, that there was definite improvement in the 2-year period in the achievement of both races. The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children....there was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro at all levels, and the white did not suffer. The white slightly improved, but not as much as the Negro.

None of these communities employed pupil assignment criteria which might have selected for desegregation the Negro students with the highest academic standings. That is, desegregation affected all Negro students, both those of highest and lowest achievement, with transfers made solely on the basis of school districts.

In Washington, D. C. where city-wide pupil testing immediately after desegregation revealed that many Negro pupils lagged far behind white children in school achievement, findings on five years of public school desegregation (published as "Addendum: A Five Year Report" by District School Supt. Carl F. Hansen) reveal:

Integration has not retarded the advancement of high-quality students, Negro or white, and educational standards in the District public schools, when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high.

City-wide averages on standardized tests have climbed steadily since desegregation to approach -- and in some instances match or surpass -- national norms, Mr. Hansen reports.

8. Does desegregation create new disciplinary problems?

The Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. school district reports ("Addendum"), "serious incidents that seem to be primarily racial in origin are relatively infrequent. The records of the central school office reveal reports of few such cases."

Statistics show that "juvenile delinquency as reported in cases per thousand between 1954 and 1958 has decreased, although data for 1958-59, not yet available in cases per thousand, shows an increase over the year before....The District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report... reveals the following delinquency

rates for children 5 to 17:

For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958.
For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954 to 15.2 cases in 1958."

Dr. Hansen concludes from these data: "The schools do not claim credit for this development. But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."

How behavioral problems have been affected by desegregation in some localities is shown in the following excerpts from the report of the Commission on Civil Rights:

Dr. Omer Carmichael, the Louisville Superintendent, stated that in his desegregated schools there had been somewhat greater difficulty in matters of discipline, due more to the emotional reaction to desegregation than anything else, but that it had been substantially less than he had feared.

In the Baltimore schools, Dr. John H. Fischer...has found no problems attributable to race as such...: "...No Negro child has ever brought into any of our schools a problem that had not already been presented somewhere by a white child. Nor has any white child been able to claim much originality for his race in inventing new forms of misbehavior. We find that these are a function of the child's total life-situation and are always due to a number of factors. It is never possible to explain a child's behavior simply in terms of his race, or to classify children's problems on a racial basis."

9. Will desegregation result in increased health problems in the schools?

In a study conducted by Phi Delta Kappa, an honorary international education fraternity, teachers of mixed schools reported that:

Negroes coming from a low socio-economic group have health problems, but not in any greater proportion than whites of the same background. According to teachers, most Negro parents send their children to school so scrubbed they shine. Negro parents are evidently conscious of white people's stereotypes and try thus to change them.

St. Louis and Baltimore school superintendents reported that desegregation did not create any new or difficult health problems.

10. Will school desegregation lead to intermarriage?

Dr. Hansen's report on five years of desegregation in Washington states that "...considering the extent of desegregation here,

and the limited number of intermarriages following school attendance together -- one confirmed, two rumored -- it is unlikely that proximity in school has contributed significantly to interracial marriages. This fear that proximity in school will induce intermarriage seems not to have been realized." The Washington experience supports the findings of psychiatrists and social scientists; after investigation it has been concluded that no evidence exists to prove that desegregation of the schools and the mixing of white and Negro children in and of themselves lead to intermarriage.

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP) has stated:

> The many factors that determine fluctuations in the rate of racial intermarriage are far from clear. In Boston, where legal school desegregation has been in effect for decades, there was a relatively high rate in the years immediately after 1900 and a marked decrease in the next decades despite a constant ratio of Negroes to the total population. In urban New York State, other than New York City, the ratio climbed between 1916 to 1924 and then dropped steadily for the next ten years. No satisfactory explanation for this shift has been established. The facts conclude that legal school desegregation per se does not influence the rate of intermarriage in ways that are yet predictable.

GAP, drawing on available evidence, observes that "The expectation voiced by many people that school desegregation will result in a great rise in the rate of intermarriage seems to be an expression of their bias and fear, rather than a reliable prediction."

The Committee on School Desegregation of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues arrives at the same conclusion:

> One ungrounded fear is that intermarriage will result from desegregation. Statistics show that in parts of the United States where there has been no segregation, intermarriage is a rare thing indeed... Fear of something new and different makes many otherwise reasonable people believe such myths and discount contradicting facts....

11. Will there be disturbances in Atlanta this fall?

No one can predict with certainty what will happen; however, incidents of violence in connection with school desegregation have, in fact, been few indeed, both within schools and in the community. In only seven instances has the situation become so explosive that a real crisis threatened or major violence occurred; these incidents are spread over the seven years in which 778 school districts have desegregated -- proof that violence is not an inevitable effect of school desegregation. There is no example of sustained disturbances where public officials and law enforcement personnel have taken a firm and

early position in support of law and order. In Atlanta, both the Mayor and the Chief of Police have promised the people of the city that no disturbance of the peace of the community will be tolerated.

12. Do white people move away from desegregated school districts?

This question is usually raised by citation of the majority report of the House sub-committee (the Davis Committee) which in 1956 investigated the Washington, D. C. schools. The majority report deplored the preponderance of Negro pupils in Washington schools, asserting that "just a few years ago" 59,582 white students and 33,498 Negroes were enrolled. It was later discovered from enrollment records that "just a few years ago" was November 1, 1935, and that the date marked an all-time high in white enrollment in the District schools. In fact, the change in racial composition in Washington began some 20 years before the Supreme Court's decision, a product of a national trend -- a movement to "suburbia" by whites, and an influx of rural non-whites into the downtown central city areas. There have been conspicuous growths, for example, in the Negro populations of Atlanta, Charleston and Nashville during the last two decades. Yet only one of these three cities has a desegregated school system. Richmond had a 42% Negro enrollment in 1953-54, but in 1959-60, Negroes comprised 54% of the total school enrollment; Richmond schools were not desegregated until September 1960.

13. Did not the Davis Report show that desegregation led to serious problems in Washington, D. C.?

The majority report of the Davis Committee presented so questionable a picture of the effects of desegregation in Washington that a recap of some of the facts is in order. The subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, created by a vote of only 11 of the 25 members of the larger committee, was chaired by Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia; the majority report of its "findings" and "recommendations" was signed by only four of its six members, all Southerners. Two of its members submitted a minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Editorially, all three of Washington's daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation. The Washington Evening Star, for example, stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

When asked, during the course of the hearings, if integration had been carried out "smoothly and without incident," the then Asst. Supt. of District Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen, testified: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment." Various subsequent investigations have confirmed Dr. Hansen's observation. The Richmond Times Dispatch, for example, sent staff reporter Larry Weekley to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years," Weekley wrote on Feb. 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife."

14. What is the cost of violence and tension to a community?

Intangible costs aside, this question can be answered by a look at cold cash losses in communities tolerating violence and tension. Because of its school crisis, Little Rock lost, at lowest estimates, five new industrial plants worth a million dollars and employing a total of 300 persons. Not one single commitment for location of a new factory in the city was signed from the day Gov. Faubus ordered National Guard troops to block the entry of Negroes to Central High until after stability was restored two years later. The Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, and other responsible sources attribute the halt in Little Rock's booming industrial growth to racial tensions and uncertainty in connection with public schools.

Department store sales in New Orleans, already running low, declined sharply as segregationist demonstrations and racial clashes hit the city in November 1960. New Orleans' largest department store, for example, reported a 20% to 30% drop in sales during the first week of near-riots -- a drop which necessitated a 50% slash in advertising outlays, and a halt in buying merchandise. Even loan companies were hurt: "Business has stopped cold," one reported, citing a 50-60% decrease in money loaned. Racial tension sparks a chain reaction of economic losses. Interruptions and stoppages of vital production are also probable -- as in the rubber manufacturing plants in and around Tuscaloosa, Ala. during riots protesting a desegregation attempt at the state university. When mobs gathered as Negro students marched to the state Capitol in 1960, Georgia taxpayers paid for "$75,000 in lost man and woman hours of state employes who left their jobs to watch the demonstration or to see that it did not come off," State Auditor Thrasher reported -- the latter reference to state troopers, who were stationed around Capitol grounds.

Business losses as a result of retaliatory boycotts and counter boycotts, losses from destruction of property, public monies spent to maintain national guard forces: when violence has been permitted, these have been items on the bill.

Materials - Desegregation

EDUCATIONAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH

John H. Fenton and Forrest E. LaViolette

When old-time Calvinism disintegrated, Holmes described the event in terms of the sudden collapse of the wonderful one-hoss shay. Perhaps a poet of the future will be able to draw a similar analogy with reference to the falling to pieces of our segregated social system. As in the case of the wonderful one-hoss shay, the sudden and dramatic changes in our segregated institutional structure have been the product of long-term weathering agents.

In 1896, the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision giving judicial sanction to the "separate but equal" formula. The decision was based on sociological ~~in nature~~ data.[1] It represented a means of maintaining a way of

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[1]The majority opinion declared, "A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races -- a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist . . . has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or re-establish a state of involuntary servitude." Continuing, the majority opinion observed, "We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."

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life, a way of life which was fixed by the serf-tenant status of the Negro. The underlying ecological facts of 1896 are well known. A system of class-caste control had been reestablished; the electrical phase of the industrial revolution was just emerging; Clerk Maxwell had only recently published his famous four equations; J. J. Thomson suspected that electrons might be particles; physical chemistry had just been born; the inventor of the Fordson tractor, which was to replace the Negro and the mule so extensively, was a young man. More than half (57%) of all (1890) Negroes, 10 years of

age and over, were illiterate, more than 90 per cent resided in the South, and in excess of 80 per cent lived in rural areas.[2]

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[2]Thus the Negro was separated or isolated from the greater community by his ignorance, by his geographical location, and by his typically serf-tenant socio-economic status. The 1896 Supreme Court decision quite simply represented legal recognition of the essential compatibility of segregation with the Negro's geographic, political and socio-economic place in the greater community.

In 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court rendered a second decision on racial segregation, a decision which, like that of 1896, was based upon certain sociological considerations. The Court, in an unanimous opinion, said:

> "We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does."

The 1954 decision represented judicial recognition of the fact that Roy Ottley's New World A'Comin' had arrived. And, in truth, the world of 1954 was radically different from that of 1896. The 1896 system of class-caste control had been undermined by the great migration of the Negroes to the cities and to the north, and this great migration was the product of post-1896 social and economic development. By 1950, 32 per cent of all Negroes lived outside the South, 65 per cent lived in urban areas of the South and North, and illiteracy among Negroes was fast disappearing.[3] Many

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[3]Thus the Negro in 1950 was becoming more fully integrated into the larger community by his literacy, by his geographical diffusion, and by his typically free labor socio-economic status. The 1954 decision quite simply recognized the essential incompatibility of institutionalizing education on a principle of segregation with the changed political and socio-economic status of the Negro.

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students of constitutional law have commented on the contradictory nature of the 1896 and 1954 opinions. What is often overlooked is that the two

decisions have reference to two different social and economic worlds. The two decisions are, in fact, worlds apart.[4]

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[4]Attention is called to the fact that also characteristic of the two different Worlds is the manner in which data were gathered by the Court for the 1954 decision. In 1896 the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago was only three years old. For the later decision Professor Redfield, with both a J.D. and a Ph.D., served in an advisory capacity to Thurgood Marshall as well as did 32 other social scientists, psychologists and psychiatrists. For a statement of the contents of their statement which was submitted with the briefs, see "The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement," Minnesota Law Review, 1953, Vol. 37, No. 6, pp. 427-439. For a statement of how the consulting was done and the names of the signers of the statement, see Kenneth B. Clark (issue author), "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," Journal of Social Issues, IX, No. 4, 1953.

The changes in the ecological reality of the worlds of 1896 and 1954, produced changes in the conditions of interaction between whites and Negroes. And it is these changes in the conditions of interaction which have caused changes in attitudes of whites toward Negroes. More precisely, the evidence available since 1942 indicates that there has been an increasing tendency for whites to accept the idea of school integration. Students, such as Hyman and Sheatsley, claim that the most important change in attitude which has occurred is that toward educability of the Negro.[5] Most Americans now

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[5]Scientific American, "Attitudes Towards Desegregation," December, 1956, the lead article of the issue.

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seem to believe, according to Hyman and Sheatsley, that Negroes are as educable as whites. Where this attitude exists, public school integration is much easier to realize.

Since changes in attitudes seem, in large part, to be a function of changes in the conditions of interaction between the races, our first concern is to understand the process by which these changes occurred.

There are four major trends responsible for changed conditions of interaction: 1) the rural-urban and South-North shift of the Negro

population, 2) the Great Depression, 3) the requirements of national defense for economic and organizational efficiency in an era of great wars, and 4) the political process.

1) The rural-urban shift

The rural-urban shift by which the Negro has changed from a rural serf tenant to a free wage worker in urban industries is undoubtedly the most general, the most pervasive, and the most important factor in making possible the changing of attitudes towards educability.[6] Without the Great

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[6] Many books and articles have been written about this shift. Because of the emphasis upon emerging organizations we wish to call attention to Carleton Lafayette Lee, "Patterns of Leadership in Race Relations: A Study of Leadership Among Negro Americans," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951.

For one of the most recent statements on population trends, a statement superior to the one in the Ashmore Report, see John M. Maclachlan, "Recent Population Trends in the Southeast," Social Forces, Vol. 35, No. 2, December, 1956, pp. 147-154. Several of the broad conclusions are: 1) "a slowing down of regional rates of growth," 2) "extension of net losses by migration from the region, especially the nonwhite population," and among others, 3) "rapid continuation of the urbanization of the region."

Some of the trends and problems based upon population changes and continued urbanization are discussed in: Peter F. Drucker, America's Next Twenty Years, New York: Harper & Bros., 1956.

Migration it is doubtful if such dramatic attitudinal changes could have taken place as to permit a program of racial integration in the public schools. The forces responsible for this dramatic population shift in the United States have been the freeing of the slaves, the mechanization of the farms, two world wars, the mushrooming growth of industry, and the national origins quota system restricting the immigration of cheap labor. It is a paradox that the Anglo-Saxon purists and trade unionists who advocated the quota system helped ring the death-knell of racial segregation in the South.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION BY REGION
AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, 1890-1950*

	1890	1900	1920	1940	1950
South	90	90	85	77	68
Rural	76	74	64	49	35
Urban	14	16	21	28	33
Other	10	10	15	23	32
Rural	4	3	2	2	2
Urban	6	7	13	21	30
U.S. Total	100	100	100	100	100
Rural	80	77	66	51	37
Urban	20	23	34	49	63

* Source: Eli Ginzberg et al, The Negro Potential, New York: Columbia University Press, 1956, p. 15

2) The Great Depression

Both the unemployed Negro urban worker and the impoverished Negro tenant farmer suffered acutely from the Great Depression. And it was out of this shared period of misery and despair that there emerged a new Negro self-awareness and a consequent change in the conditions of interaction between the white and Negro communities. In the relatively comfortable 1950's it is difficult for us to appreciate the magnitude of the crisis the Negro underwent in the Great Depression.[7] The unemployed free Negro

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[7]The extent of the decline of economic activity is stated briefly in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957, p. 248.

" . . . National income which had been $87.4 billion in 1929, fell with the value of the dollar to $41.7 billion in 1932. Unemployment rose: 4 million in 1930, 8 million in 1931, 12 million in 1932 -- nearly one out of every four workers in the nation seeking a job."

For some details as to how this decline effected Negroes and how Negro organization was transformed by the experiences of the Great Depression, see Charles R.Lawerence, "Negro Organization in Crisis: Depression, New Deal, World War II," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1952; Robert A. Anglin, "A Sociological Analysis of a Pressure Group," unpublished dissertation, University of Indiana, 1949. The pressure group is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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wage worker felt the oncoming depression by at least six months before the stock market crash in the Fall of 1929. By March, 1931, the Urban League had prepared a report on How Unemployment Affects Negroes. Lawrence has adapted a small table from that report showing clearly what now seems like an unbelievably high percentage of Negroes in the relief cases of certain cities.

In addition to the usual job marginality, Negroes faced intensified efforts on the part of the whites to displace them from customary Negro jobs. Campaigns for legislative discrimination, intimidation with violence, and appeals to white-race loyalty were techniques used in the displacement

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE
OF NEGROES ON RELIEF IN SELECTED CITIES
March, 1931*

City	Per Cent Negroes in population	Per Cent Negroes In Total Relief Cases
Akron, Ohio	5.4	25.0
Baltimore, Maryland	17.0	34.0
Chicago, Illinois	4.0	25.0
Columbus, Ohio	10.0	43.0
Dayton, Ohio	10.0	50.0
Little Rock, Arkansas	20.0	65.0
New York, N. Y.	3.5	10.5
Philadelphia, Pa.	7.0	35-40
Pittsburgh, Pa.	8.0	44.0
St. Louis, Mo.	9.0	60.0

*Lawrence, op. cit., Table I, p. 129

activities.[8] The Hoover Phase of the Great Depression was apparently the

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[8]Lawerence, op. cit., p. 123, supports his description and analysis of displacement activities with specific cases. There is no study of the extent of the campaign for displacement. But for the purposes of Negro leadership and organizations, the high percentage of Negroes on relief rolls and the low amounts available for relief were sufficient indicators of the vulnerable position of Negro workers in the economy.

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worst part of the period. As a result Negroes deserted the Republican Party in great numbers and started looking toward themselves for their own protest leaders and organizations in an effort to cope with the economic forces at work. Although attention was given to it earlier, it is in this period that an "all-out" campaign for improvement in educational opportunities was initiated.[9]

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[9]In addition to the campaign for improvement in educational opportunities, Lawerence, op. cit., p. 153, includes " . . . efforts to expand the economic opportunities for Negroes (a) in public works and (b) in retail outlets in Negro communities. An important fourth front was that involving the continuing assaults on the institution of segregation."

Thus it was not until the Great Depression that the rural-urban and South-North migration became socially significant. It was out of this miasma of despair and with it a developing sense of injustice that there emerged demands for unity among Negroes. As a consequence, such organizations as the NAACP became much more effective. As Lee states it, ". . . Slowly the Negro American community became a social psychological reality as well as an ecological fact."[10]

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[10]This transformation is by no means described completely in any of the articles which we have consulted. In rural Mississippi one finds in Negro homes copies of the Louisiana Weekly, The Pittsburgh Courier, and of course radios and TVs. Various TV stations broadcast news programs which include interviews with Negro clergymen who have been arrested for purposely testing segregation laws. It has been these new means of communication, with increased access to them, which have made it possible for northern Negro leadership to become effective in the South.

For studies of community changes, see Hylan Lewis, Blackways of Kent, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Also, Hyland Lewis and Mozeill Hill, "Desegregation, Integration, and the Negro Community," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 304 (March, 1956).

Changes are underway in the white communities of the South too. We may suspect that the story of "What Happened to the Emmett Till Killers?", Look, January 22, 1957, indicates a change regarding the sanctioning of violence.

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3) The requirements of National Defense

The third change in conditions of interaction has arisen out of national defense needs. The trends in military technology and the increasing complexities facing civil and military officials have necessitated a search for increased efficiency in military organization. New ideas, new tests, and new studies of problems of morale in World War II pointed at the desirability of eliminating segregated units in terms of efficiency. But it was not until the Korean police action that complete integration in the armed forces was tried as policy and vindicated in action. The rationale for integration in the armed forces was based upon the demands for efficiency and the fact that modern expectations and complex operations will not support the several kinds of costs directly attributable to segregation. Finally, in this connection, it is to be noted that social science research was important in providing the evidence to support the policy of integration in the Armed Forces.[11]

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[11]There is a considerable bibliography on this subject. Much of it will be found in David G. Mandelbaum, Soldier Groups and Negro Soldiers, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952. This author claims that the military authorities started working on the question of segregation and efficiency as early as 1940. Furthermore, he states that segregated units were designed to decrease friction but they were no longer effective in that regard. A fuller statement on the Negro Soldier in World War II is in preparation by the Office of Military History, according to our colleague, Professor Charles Roland, Department of History, who assisted in the editing of a manuscript which is in preparation by Major Lee.

4) The political process

From minority group studies we have learned that it is within the conditions of profound crises and conflicts that the group defines for its members the consequences of educational achievement; the relation of educational achievement to economic opportunity, its symbolic value in community life, and its causal significance to group survival and identity. The Negro soon learned, however, that education is a part of public policy,[12]

[12] One of the best statements available as to public policy is that of James M. Nabrit, Jr., "Race Relations Research in Public Policy," Inventory of Research and Cultural Relations, Vol. 5, Nos. 2-3, 1953, pp. 171-90.

and that participation in the political process is an essential prerequisite to the realization of educational equality.

One of the chief virtues of the election of governmental officials by popular vote is that it provides otherwise defenseless minority groups with a lever and a weapon. Sheriffs who must seek Negro votes on election day are rarely guilty of wanton brutality against them. Instead, they are likely to employ Negroes as Deputy Sheriffs. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century and until recently the Southern Negro has been without the ballot, and, therefore, the Southern politician, at best, has tended to ignore him.

However, the changes wrought in the geographic location and the socio-economic position of the Negro in American life have produced a revolutionary change in his political status. When the Negro moved into the Northern cities he found himself in a culture in which his vote was solicited. At first, that vote was purchased for a dollar or a drink. But with the concentration of Negroes in the cities and with the parallel development of an increasingly articulate and experienced independent leadership which

could freely communicate with the Negro community, a consciousness of a community of interest developed.

The year 1936 marks the point in time at which this developing self-consciousness of the American Negro was first given electoral expression. In this election the ghost of Abraham Lincoln and the dollar bill lost its compelling influence over the Negro vote. In 1936, the Negro vote was secured by substantive policy promises. The Democratic vote cast by Negroes in 1936 was not a machine vote. The significant fact about the election is that the Negroes had sufficiently defined and organized a community of interests relative to political matters, that they were capable of voting in terms of their self-interests as a race as those self-interests were defined by their own leadership. The shift in the Negro vote made it a factor to be reckoned with by politicians. And the Negro community reaped immediate tangible benefits from the political interest now centered on them. More and better government jobs were offered them. Officials became increasingly concerned with such matters as equal employment and education rights for them.

Negro leadership, observing the fruit that flowed from the exercise of the franchise concentrated with renewed vigor on the problem of releasing the pent-up flood of Negro votes in the South.[13] The white primary blocked

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[13] Articles regarding Negro leadership do indicate the trend towards increasing militancy. But the transformation is only recently being subject to study. Regarding the earlier characteristics of leadership, see T. G. Standing, "Nationalism in Negro Leadership," American Journal of Sociology, XL, No. 2, pp. 180-192; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," ibid., XLIII, No. 1, 57-71.

We note in passing that the conclusions of Ralph Bunche, as stated in "Tentative Analysis of Negro Leadership," the manuscript being a part of the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library, dated 1941 are no longer as valid as at the time Dr. Bunche made his study. This is what we mean by transformation. The gap, based upon class differences between leaders and followers which existed at the time of Bunche's study is closing.

For a short study of community organization and Negro leadership see T. Ktsanes, F. E. LaViolette, and John Rohrer, "A Report of Research on Community Structure, Organizational Structure, and Citizen Participation in Community-Wide Activities: A Study of Civil Defense in Mobile, Alabama," New Orleans, Urban Life Research Institute, Tulane University. Chapter III deals with The Mobile Civil Defense Council for Negro Affairs and problems of leadership.

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these efforts.[14] Thus the NAACP resorted once again to legal action which

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[14]Attention is called to the fact that Negroes tried in 1927, in 1932, in 1935, and again in 1944 to break the white primary monopoly. Anglin reports that between 1910 and 1945, the NAACP was directly or indirectly involved in 42 court actions regarding suffrage rights of Negroes.

Professor Nabrit, op. cit., p. 172, states that "of major significance in improving race relations i[illegible] is the use of the ballot. The white primary in the South, registration difficulties, the poll tax, and the one party system rendered political action impotent for many years. U.S. v. Classic, decided in 1941, . . . paved the way for Smith v. Allwright, in 1944, which sounded the death knell of the white primary. The outlawing of the Boswell Amendment in Alabama, 1949, and the decision in Rice v. Elmore, 1948, in South Carolina ended effective denial of the Negroes participation in the electoral process in the South to all intents and purposes . . ."

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resulted in the outlawing of the white primary by the Supreme Court in the case of Smith v. Allwright (1944).

As Table III indicates, the 1944 Supreme Court decision blew a rather sizeable hole in the dam of Southern resistance to Negro participation in political affairs. In 1940, the Negro was effectively disenfranchised in the South, but by 1956 over 1,200,000 Southern Negroes were registered to vote. Of course, the Supreme Court's decision, in and of itself, could not and did not provide the Negro with equal political rights. Where the Negro remains predominantly in a serf-tenant relationship to the white community his right to vote remains illusory (save where cultural factors are more important than the economic, such as in the Catholic-plantation parishes of Louisiana). However, where no plantation economy exists, as Table IV shows, the Negro tends to be permitted to register and vote in large numbers.

TABLE III

PROGRESS OF NEGRO REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH*

	No. Registered				% of Potential Registered Negroes 21 years of age and over**			
	1940	1947	1952	1956	1940	1947	1952	1956
Total South	151,000	595,000	1,050,000	1,230,000	3	12	21	25
Ala.	2,000	6,000	50,000	50,000	-0-	1	10	10
Ark.	4,000	47,000	65,000	70,000	1	17	28	30
Fla.	18,000	49,000	125,000	150,000	6	15	34	41
Ga.	20,000	125,000	145,000	165,000	3	19	23***	26***
La.	2,000	10,000	100,000	160,000	0	3	21	33
Miss.	2,000	5,000	20,000	not known	0	1	4	-
N. C.	35,000	75,000	100,000	135,000	7	15	18	25
S. Car.	3,000	50,000	115,000	100,000	1	13	29	26
Tenn.	20,000	80,000	85,000	90,000	6	26	27	28
Texas	30,000	100,000	175,000	214,000	6	18	30	37
Virginia	15,000	48,000	70,000	85,000	4	13	16	20

*Complied from various publications and news releases issued by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

**Potential Vote is the 1950 Negro Potential Vote

***18 and over for Georgia in 1952 and 1956

TABLE IV

RELATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE TENANCY, PERCENTAGE NEGRO OF TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE NEGRO REGISTRATION IN NORTHERN (NON-FRENCH-CATHOLIC) PARISHES OF LOUISIANA, 1956*

%Tenancy	No. of Parishes	Mean % Negro Pop.	Mean % Registration of Potential Negro Vote
50 and over	11	52	12
40-49	4	43	19
30-39	6	39	25
20-29	6	36	36
10-19	9	25	53
0-9	3	19	59

*From John H. Fenton and Kenneth Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana", American Political Science Review, June, 1957

With a change in geographic location, which placed many Negroes in cultural areas permissive of Negro registration, and with the change in the socio-economic status of the Negro vis a vis the white community has come a revolutionary change in his political status. The Negro today represents as a group, a particular point of view on policy issues.[15] With increased

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[15] Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 116-17 states that

"The NAACP has taken the leadership in calling together Negro organizations of various types in connection with mapping out a broad non-partisan political strategy in election years. It would appear that this association might well take the lead in more ambitious effort. It might in consultation with other organizations concerned, find a staff person who, like President Roosevelt's assistants, has a 'passion for anonymity' and launch him on a continuing job of clearance and consultation among the various organizations. One thinks of the NAACP in this connection for at least three reasons. It is the largest and best known of the Negro organizations. It has had experience in this type of effort as noted above and in the initial financing of the Joint Committee on National Recovery [1933]. Most of all, it seems to the writer to have the best potentialities for development as a truly democratic organization.

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organization and political sophistication has come political power. And with political power has come increased concern on the part of politicians of both North and South for the rights of the Negro.

Public School Integration in the South

Public school integration in the American South is national policy. It has become national policy because of the changed socio-economic status of the Negro, the changed political power position of the Negro, and changed attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the white population. The national problem is how best to impose this decision on a region. The process by which it is being imposed is most interesting and revealing.

In 1954, segregated school facilities were required in 17 states and the District of Columbia, and permitted in four states (Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming). Table V shows that by the opening of the 1956-57 school term only eight states remained aloof from integration at the grade and high

TABLE V

PROGRESS OF INTEGRATION IN 17 SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, 1956*

Deep South	School Districts Desegregated, 1956	Colleges and Universities Desegregated	
		State	All (state and private)
Alabama	0	0	1
Arkansas	2 small schools	6	6
Florida	0	0	1
Georgia	0	0	0
Louisiana	0	4	8
Mississippi	0	0	0
North Carolina	0	1	2
South Carolina	0	0	0
Tennessee	Clinton High School Oak Ridge Schools	3	6
Virginia	0	4	5
Border States			
Delaware	14 of 63 school districts	1	1
Kentucky	105 of 120 counties	2	8
Maryland	85% of Negro pupils	1	6
Missouri	80% of Negro pupils	4	10
Oklahoma	161 school districts	(not available)	
Texas	100 plus school districts	2	10
West Virginia	20 counties fully desegregated 21 counties partly desegregated 3 still segregated	7	10
Washington, D.C.	All	-	7

*Taken from Southern School News and "The Shattered Magnolia Barrier", by Milton Vigo, in Research in Action, September, 1956 (New Orleans: Louisiana Council on Human Relations.)

school levels, and only three of these escaped integration at the college level. In all, approximately 300,000 of 2,700,000 Negro pupils (or 11 per cent) in the 17 states and the District of Columbia were in integrated districts by September, 1956. Segregation has virtually been ended in the four states in which it was permitted, is fast breaking down in the seven Border States, and has been eliminated in the District of Columbia. As a generally accepted principle it still survives in only the 10 states of the Deep South, and remains absolutely inviolate in the public schools of only five of these states.

It is significant in terms of predicting the future course of integration to note the nature of the Border State communities where desegregation has occurred. There seem to be three categories of such communities: 1) urban areas, 2) areas with few Negroes and no history of a plantation economy, 3) areas with a culture which is permissive toward Negro participation in the political, social, and economic life of the community.

The great urban centers of the Border States integrated their schools with a minimum of difficulty. In Baltimore City (24 per cent Negro in 1950), Louisville (16 per cent), St Louis (18 per cent), Kansas City (12 per cent), and Washington D. C (35 per cent) integration is an accomplished fact. Seemingly, the socio-economic power structure and the cultural environment of these cities made them readily susceptible to integration. This is important because most Southern Negroes now live in the cities, and the socio-economic structure of cities tends to be similar in the United States.

In the rural areas of the Border States where there are few Negroes and no history of a plantation economy educational desegregation has often been successful. In West Virginia, for example, the only areas where there has been a great deal of protest against integration has been in the Greenbrier plateau section and the eastern part of the state where a plantation

economy existed at the time of the Civil War. Interestingly enough few Negroes now live in these sections (most having moved to the coal centers or cities), but the old cultural attitudes remain long after their raison-d'etre has disappeared. In the Deep South, also, there are many sections with few Negroes. For example, less than 20 percent of the population is colored in 11 Louisiana parishes, and most of these parishes have never had a plantation economy. Attitudes in these parishes tend to be permissive toward such Negro activities as voting. In parishes of this category in Louisiana, approximately 70 percent of the eleigible Negroes are registered to vote, compared to 30 percent in the state.

Cultural attitudes are of crucial importance in determining the success or failure of integration efforts.[16] As has been noted, the sections of the

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16 See John Gillin, "National and Regional Cultural Values in the United States", Social Forces, vol. 34 No. 2, December, 1955. It is useful to quote Gillin's statements describing a generalized southern culture. He finds "Protestant morality is especially strong. . . Family relations are strong and include extended kin group. Status and power tend to be based on kinship connections more than in any other region with the exception of Back Bay Boston. Hard work is necessary for most, but little valued as a good in itself. . . Mobility of the person is a necessary evil rather than a positive good. Change and optimism for their own sakes rate low. Freedom for the individual from the outside (non-Southern) interference is highest of the individualistic values. . ."

As "special values" he finds the "doctrine of white supremacy and resulting race castes. . .Violence as a solution of interpersonal and intergroup problems. Regional cultural chauvinism resulting in the attitude that the Southeast can solve its problems if outsiders will not interfere, that it is a special region with a culture uniquely fitted to it, and that the 'rest of the country is against us'".

Border States with a plantation history continue to resist integration, even though the Negro may have taken his leave. However, in areas where there has been a sizeable influx of a northern population or of German immigrants, such as the St. Louis area, integration has met with little resistance. There are areas in the Deep South, too, where the culture tends to be permissive of Negro integration. The French-Catholic section of Louisiana is

such an area. In the 25 parishes of French-Catholic Louisiana, over half of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote, even though the proportion of Negroes to total population is approximately that of the State. In addition, no fewer than three state colleges and four private institutions of higher learning located in French-Catholic Louisiana have admitted Negroes. The only Louisiana state school outside the French-Catholic section to admit Negroes is Louisiana State University.

Our final concern is why the Deep South maintains an almost solid front of resistance to educational desegregation in spite of the apparent revolutionary changes which have occurred in its economic and social structure.[17]

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[17] There is of course a voluminous literature about industrial development in the South. We cite just one item. E. William Noland, "Industry Comes of Age in the South," Social Forces, vol. 32, No. 1, Oct., 1953. Professor Noland shows that attitudes are changing toward Negro employment. One industrial relations manager ". . .insisted that he found no significant differences in on-the-job segregation policies in the three regions (Northeast, Middle West, South): in all three, supervisors were displaying increasing aggressiveness in fitting Negroes into work groups. "

The antique excuse of a large Negro population is no longer valid in much of the South. Many cities of the North have Negro populations which rival, and in some cases surpass, even proportionately, many Southern cities. For example, the 1950 Negro population of New York's Manhattan borough was 21 percent of the total; Chicago's 14 percent; Atlantic City 27 percent; Chester, Pennsylvania 21 percent; Cleveland, Ohio 16 percent; Gary, Indiana 29 percent. The 1950 Negro population in certain southern cities is not a preciably greater and sometimes smaller; e.g., compare Miami, Florida's 16 percent; Little Rock, Arkansas, 23 percent; Rome, Georgia 20 percent; Hattiesburg, Mississippi 34 percent; Roanoke, Virginia 16 percent. Admittedly, the choice of cities is selective and arbitrary. But, nevertheless,

it successfully makes the point that the proportion of Negroes is not the sole determining factor, nor even the major factor, in determining attitudes toward integration in the public schools.

There are probably two primary factors responsible for the differential response of Northern and Southern peoples to integration. In the first place, the history of slavery and a plantation economy with its class control have had a profound conditioning effect on Southern attitudes. The associated cultural attitudes, described tentatively by Gillen, have been transmitted from generation to generation by fable and song. Idyllic stories of "The Tales of Uncle Remus" are the Southern counterpart of "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm." Children who cut their eyeteeth on happy stories of the old plantation have different attitudes from their Yankee cousins who are fed the much stronger medicine of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

In the second place, and most important, the South has had little experience in the business of integrating minority ethnic groups -- transient or continuing --into its population. The South is not a melting pot -- it is a pressure cooker.[18] In the North, on the other hand, the history of

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[18]In a seminar at Tulane University, March 28, 1957, Dr. E. Munger, of the American Universities Field Staff, compared the racial problem of South Africa to a pressure cooker, with the fire burning, and the safety valve blocked.

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integrating various ethnic groups into the life of the community has produced basic attitudes and a political structure which expedites the process of integration. Through long practice the political system realizes more fully the ideals of the national image of a democratic system.

In the South, on the contrary, the political structure since the Civil War has been designed to achieve a directly contrary objective. The Southern political scene has been dominated by the "need" to maintain white

supremacy and to exclude the Negroes from political power.[19] Nonetheless,

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[19]The legislative actions and operations of anti-integration groups are reported well in Southern School News, issued monthly. See in addition: "Segregation Legislation in the South," by Florence B. Irving, New South, Feb., 1957; also, Paul Anthony, "Pro-Segregation Groups; History and Trends," New South, Jan., 1957; and Harold C. Fleming, "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 304 (March, 1956), wherein Mr. Fleming identifies 20 different resistance groups.

For different types of reports, see Warren Breed: "Beaumont: College Desegregation without Popular Support," mimeographed by Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Nov., 1956; The Reporter, March 8, 1956, "Alabama's Bus Strike," by Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher; pamphlet reprinted from Liberation, April, 1956, by Congress of Racial Equality, "Our Struggle," also a statement about the Alabama bus strike. For a foreigner's statement about Montgomery, see "French View of Montgomery," New York Times, March 17, 1957, in "Letters."

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with progressing reenfranchisement of the Negro, the democratic political process is inexorably moving toward integration of the Negro into the body politic. The impact of Negro enfranchisement on the Louisiana political scene provides a case in point. In Louisiana the political process serves Negro ends in roughly the following manner:[20]

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[20]This statement was formulated by John Fenton and Kenneth Vines after having spent the summer of 1956 in doing field and statistical work for the Southern Regional Council. It appears in John H. Fenton, "Negro Voting in Louisiana," Research in Action, Vol. 1, No. 6, Oct., 1956; also in John H. Fenton and Kenneth N. Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana," American Political Science Review, June, 1957.

Fenton shows that in 1940 there were 803 Negroes registered in the state, 22,576 in 1948, 97,101 in 1952, and 161,410 in 1956. Interviews with leading Negro clergymen in New Orleans, March, 1957, indicate that the Negroes intend to press for civil rights legislation through increased political action.

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1. For the political process to be operable as a force for integration, community attitudes must, first of all, be permissive with respect to Negro registration. If the white community is strongly and unalterably opposed to Negro registration and voting, the politicians will rarely seek the Negro

vote. This is true, first, because the politician fears the reaction of his townspeople to such action on his part; and second, because he, too, will generally share the dominant attitudes. In Louisiana, resistance to registration is greatest in the plantation sections. In these areas the dominant anti-Negro attitudes are constantly reinforced by word of mouth (for example, a typical gathering of white folk will devote much time to a discussion of the less desirable qualities of their Negro brethren), by the objective fact of Negro ignorance and poverty, and by selective migration. In other sections of the state, the politician generally feels free to seek Negro votes.

2. Negro leaders must initiate a drive for registration and thus demonstrate the potential numerical strength of the Negro vote. Since the turn of the century the Negro in the South has not been in the habit of voting, and it has taken prodigious efforts on the part of Negro leaders to promote interest in voting among Negroes.

3. The sheriff is one of the most important elective officials in Louisiana parishes. The sheriff, by the very nature of his office, is subject to many temptations. One temptation to which many succumb is the classic "payoff" to permit gambling. When a sheriff permits gambling, he is invariably charged with "corruption of public office" by the solid, middle class people of his community. Therefore, he is compelled to turn to lower socio-economic groups for support.

4. The largest single potential source of votes of this variety available to the sheriff is the Negro vote. Therefore, he will tend to permit or surreptitiously encourage Negro registration, and will actively seek Negro support in election campaigns. He is seldom disappointed.

5. The reward of the Negro for his vote is a cessation of police brutality and promises made and sometimes kept with respect to such matters

as employment of Negroes as Deputy Sheriffs, street improvements, and better school facilities. One can foresee the day when a promise made by serious candidates for political office will be an integrated public school system.

Thus we find that shifts in the geographic location and socio-economic place of the Negro in the social system placed him in an environment within which he could work toward a resolution of his grievances. In the North he could vote and elect representatives who were sympathetic to Negro views. These representatives, in turn, were able to raise the treatment of Negroes in the South from a narrow regional concern to a national issue. However, it was not until the Great Depression and the consequent differential suffering experienced by Negroes that a sufficient feeling of self-awareness developed to enable them to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by their changed geographic and socio-economic place in the greater community. In addition, the need to use the total population in total war and the demands of socio-economic efficiency helped expedite the fuller integration of the Negro into the life of the nation. The first major step toward fuller integration was the 1944 white primary decision, the second was the decision to integrate the armed forces,[21] and the third was the 1954 Public

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[21] When the armed forces decided upon complete integration, Time Magazine, May 11, 1953, claimed that "the biggest single blow against segregation in the United States has been struck by the armed forces."

The New York Times, Feb. 14, 1954, refers to it as "one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century."

School Segregation decision; each reenforces the other.

The Faulkner point of view, shared by such spokesmen for the New South as Virginius Dabney, is well known -- the Negroes should pause; they should not go too fast. What Faulkner and Dabney cannot appraise is the momentum of the movement toward integration among Negroes. It is correct to say

that they have a "desegregation psychosis," a set frame of mind in the Kenneth Burke and John Dewey sense. It is clear that the frustrations in occupation, in housing, in public transportation, and in educational restrictions provide the motivation for the "assault on segregation." Economic advancement and educational opportunity are the new symbols of emancipation. It is a major social movement, and one can not turn such movements on or off. It is a part of the process by which we achieve concensus, and history in this case is the chronology of the conflict in attempting to achieve it.

In the old 1896 world social peace was achieved through laws and class control compelling segregation. In the new post-1954 world social peace cannot be achieved until the structure of compulsory segregation by force of law is demolished. Educational desegregation is one way by which individual rights, new conceptions of social efficiency, and our institutional practices are being made more consistent with one another.

Tulane University

Clips - Ed. Ga.

SPECIMEN ONLY - NOT FOR USE. SPECIMEN ONLY - NOT FOR USE.

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS:

ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION

Application for Admission
Assignment or Transfer of Pupil

A separate application must be filled in completely and legibly in ink or typewriter and must be signed by both parents (if living), the parent to whom the child has been awarded by court proceedings, or the legal guardian of each pupil for whom assignment or transfer is requested. The application must be notarized at the time it is filed. It must be delivered to the school principal for transmittal to the Superintendent of Schools.

Application for enrollment at _____ School.

Date _____

Name of Child _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Date of Birth _____ Race _____

Present Grade _____

Home Address _____ Phone _____

Mother's Name _____
First Middle Last

Father's Name _____
First Middle Last

Name of Legal Guardian _____
First Middle Last

Child lives with: Mother _____ Father _____

Other _____
Explain

Occupation of Mother _____

Name of Employer _____ Address of Employer _____

Occupation of Father _____

Name of Employer _____ Address of Employer _____

Occupation of Legal Guardian _____

Name of Employer _____ Address of Employer _____

All Schools Attended (in order of attendance, give dates of attendance) _____

_____

_____

SPECIMEN ONLY - NOT FOR USE.

SPECIMEN ONLY - NOT FOR USE.

Date and Place Child First Entered School _____

Last School Attended _____ Last Grade Attended _____ Date _____

Names of Brothers and Sisters:

Name	Birthdate	School

Reason for Requesting Enrollment at _____ School:

_____

_____

_____

(If more space is needed, attach sheet or sheets)

Executed in its present form
and attested to by

_____

this _____ day of _____, 19.....

_____
(Seal) Notary

_____
(Parent)

_____
(Parent)

_____
(Guardian)

Application will be determined by the Superintendent of Schools pursuant to the Resolution of the Atlanta Board of Education November 30, 1959, as amended, and upon consideration of the factors, and the effects or results thereof, as set forth by the Resolution. Further information, as well as personal interviews with the pupil and parents or guardian, may be necessary. Notice of the action taken on application shall be mailed to the parents or guardian within 30 days from the delivery of the application to the school principal, in no event later than June 15. Applicants dissatisfied with the Superintendent's decision may request in writing a hearing before the Board within 10 days of the Superintendent's decision.

Application accepted _____ Application rejected _____ Date _____

ASSIGNMENT AND TRANSFER OF PUPILS

Administrative Regulations

The Superintendent and his staff shall administer policies relating to the admission and school assignment of pupils, subject to review by and appeal to the Board.

1. Except as transfers are specifically authorized, pupils shall continue in schools to which previously assigned.

2. Parents who object to original assignment or transfer decisions may present a formal or informal appeal. A formal appeal shall be addressed to the Superintendent on the form prescribed by the Board and shall be in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Board on November 30, 1959, and amended January 4 and January 18, 1960. An informal appeal may be presented by telephone, letter or by otherwise communicating with Area Superintendents or other school administrators. The Board will hear and judge appeals only when presented on forms and under conditions prescribed by the Board.

3. Forms for application for transfer from a school or original assignment shall be made available at the Superintendent's office for issuance to the applicant or his parent or legal guardian.

4. Upon completion of the form, including notarization, the applicant, or the applicant's parents or guardian or both, shall deliver the application to the principal of the school of original assignment.

5. The principal shall transmit the application to the Area Superintendent in whose Area the applicant requests assignment. A completed data sheet of background information about the applicant shall be attached to the completed application form.

6. Upon receipt of the completed application form and a completed data sheet, the Area Superintendent shall schedule an interview with the student and his parents.

7. The Area Superintendent shall cause to be completed a report of the characteristics of the school to which transfer is requested.

8. After consultation with the Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services, the Area Superintendent shall arrange the time and places of a series of tests to be administered by the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services. The applicant for transfer is to be informed by telephone or letter or both of the scheduled tests.

9. The series of tests administered by the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services shall include standardized achievement tests, standardized scholastic aptitude tests, and a personality adjustment test.

10. The Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services shall record the results of the tests on an appropriate background sheet, along with a professional interpretation of the scores, and transmit to the Area Superintendent concerned.

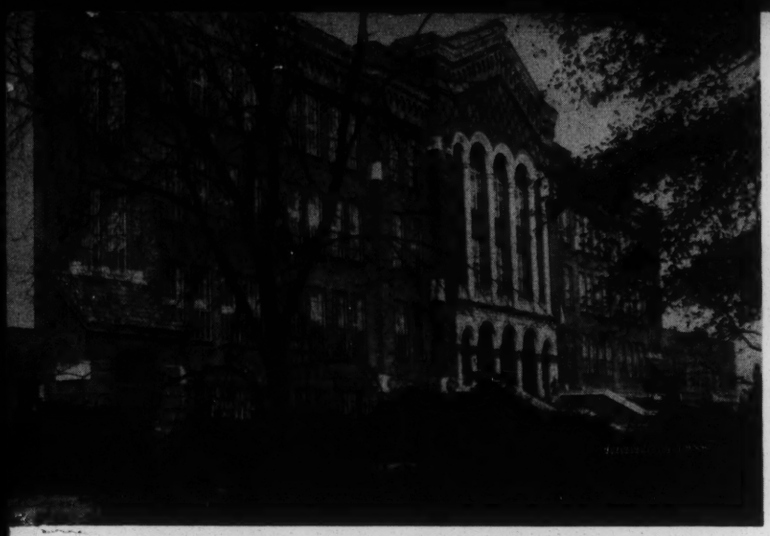
11. The Area Superintendent shall assemble a file for each student requesting transfer and transmit to the Deputy Superintendent. The file shall contain (a) the original application for transfer, (b) the principal's report, (c) the report about the characteristics of the requested school, and (d) the report of the Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services or a member of his division showing results of the tests.

13. A Student Transfer Reviewing Committee shall be convened by the Deputy Superintendent to study the completed folder of each student requesting transfer. The Reviewing Committee shall include the Deputy Superintendent, one or more Area Superintendents, the Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services (or Director of Psychological Services), the Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Services (or Director of Instruction), and such other personnel as may be considered desirable. Interviews with the student may be scheduled at the discretion of the Deputy Superintendent.

14. Recommendations of the Student Transfer Reviewing Committee shall be submitted to the Superintendent upon completion of the reviewing session.

THE NEGRO SCHOOL CHILD IN ATLANTA

A REPORT IN PICTURES



A few Negro schools—Washington High, for example—look good from the outside, even though they lack such elementary facilities as adequate libraries, assembly rooms, cafeterias, and gymnasiums.

Behind the beautiful front there are classrooms like this. Is it shocking to find schools like this within the city limits of Atlanta?

There is not room enough in Negro schools, so it is necessary for children to "double up" and for teachers to teach two "shifts" of students. This is known as the "double session".

Negro elementary and junior high school pupils get only 3½ hours of schooling per day instead of the six hours given in white schools.

"Outdoor Assembly" because there is no indoor assembly room. Negro schools have no auditoriums, no gymnasiums, only a few ill-equipped shops.

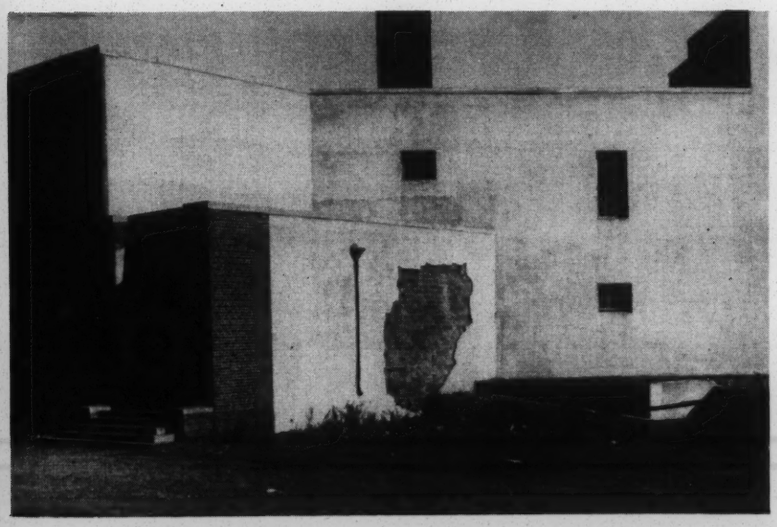
Although there is a kindergarten in each elementary school for white children, there are only two kindergartens for approximately 1,600 Negro children of kindergarten age—both very recent additions.

Bush Mountain, one of our city's public schools, does not provide even the minimum sanitary necessities of running water and flush toilets.

An educational program which countenances this is, at best, mediocre. At worst, it breeds personal maladjustments, social disorganization and crime.

In spite of the "double session" Negro schools are overcrowded. Teachers in Negro elementary and junior high schools have an average of 52 pupils in each class, compared with 29 in white classes.

These boys are bringing in the school's drinking water from a nearby well. Decent school conditions and a full day in school should be provided for them in the interest of our entire city's welfare.

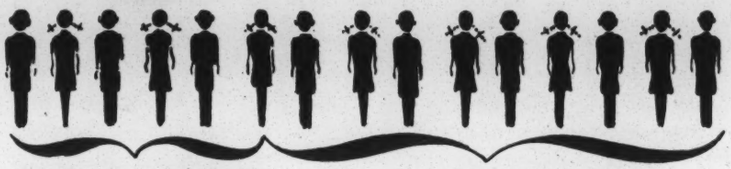


Many schools for Negro children, like this one, were begun twenty years ago, and have never been completed.

These young people need more and better school buildings; more and better school equipment; more and better instruction. Not until these needs are fully met can Atlanta Negro youth receive the basic chance to develop good and useful citizenship.

HOW OUR SCHOOLS ARE SHARED

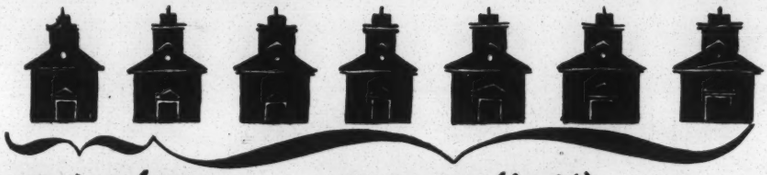
OF THE **70,894** ATLANTA CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE



26,528 (37.4%) ARE NEGROES

44,456 (62.6%) ARE WHITES

YET... OF THE **65** PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN ATLANTA...

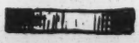


ONLY 13 (20%) ARE FOR NEGROES

WHILE 52 (80%) ARE FOR WHITES

OR IN TERMS OF INVESTMENT IN SCHOOL LAND AND BUILDINGS, AS OF DECEMBER, 1941, WE HAVE INVESTED...

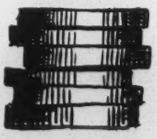
$1.00



for Negro Children

for every

$6.00



for White Children

More than one-third of Atlanta's school age children are Negroes, but Atlanta's present investment in land and buildings for Negro schools is only one-sixth of the total investment.

Our city's expenditure per Negro pupil is but little more than one-third of the amount spent for each white child. The correction of these conditions means adding to the strength and well being of the whole community. It means correction of conditions where social consequences have been too evident, too long.

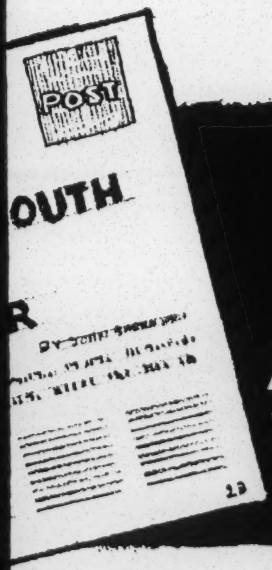
CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 400

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Fellowship

Does the Deep South Really Say Never?



THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH

COMMENTS BY EIGHT LEADING SOUTHERNERS ON THE SATURDAY EVENING POST ARTICLES

LILLIAN SMITH • HARRY GOLDEN
DAN WHITSETT • ROBERT GRAETZ
CARL LANDES • HAROLD WHITE
WILL CAMPBELL • L. H. PITTS

A FELLOWSHIP REPRINT

Love Will Find A Way

We live in a world of conflict, in which it is widely believed that disputes between nations, classes and races can be settled by force. The Fellowship of Reconciliation does not share this view. Violent solutions to conflict can, at best, only rechannel old animosities and substitute new problems for old. Because the FOR is founded on faith in the fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, it seeks to answer injustice with love and nonviolence. Over the more than forty years of its existence, the FOR and its members have contributed in many ways to the solution of besetting social problems in this spirit.

The most recent example is the committee to Aid the Bombed Christians of the South, an FOR-administered group sponsored by ten leading Protestant clergymen. Perhaps you have already read about this Committee's work in helping to rebuild parsonages and homes wrecked by racist nightriders in Alabama, Georgia and Florida.

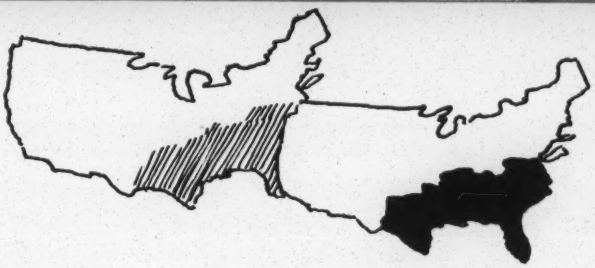
And you are no doubt aware of the FOR contribution to the founding of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Workers Defense League, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Religion and Labor Foundation. Many of these groups now far exceed the FOR in membership, and the bulk of their members are not pacifists, but they fulfil important tasks in a way that the FOR itself could not.

Yet it is this role of mother and midwife to such organizations that illustrates our most precious trust and underscores the wide-ranging implications of Christian pacifism. If you are an FOR member, you can take pride in this trust. It is not a matter of laurels to rest on, but of a core of faith in which to find the answers to whatever challenge tomorrow may bring—of joining with all men of good will to reap the harvest of that faith.

If you are not yet a member, but feel that you share this faith, you are warmly invited to write for further information and a copy of *That Men May Live,* the FOR's Statement of Purpose.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION FOR Nyack · New York

THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH



SOME COMMENTS ON THE SATURDAY EVENING POST'S SERIES, "THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS 'NEVER'"

BY

LILLIAN SMITH

HAROLD WHITE

WILL CAMPBELL

HARRY GOLDEN

ROBERT GRAETZ

DAN WHITSETT

CARL LANDES

L. H. PITTS

The POST Says—

In mid-June the **Saturday Evening Post** began publication of a series of five articles on the progress of racial integration under the title "The Deep South Says 'Never'."

Author of the articles was John Bartlow Martin, an Illinoisan previously noted for some excellent reportage on the subject of penology. His instructions, said the **Post,** "were simply, to report the truth—with special emphasis on the Deep South, where, we believe, the ultimate battle over integration may well be fought." Not uncharacteristically, the **Post** described the series as the "most exhaustive and penetrating look at the problems of integration yet published in an American periodical."

Author Martin left three major conclusions with his readers: (1) that there is virtually no white sentiment favorable to integration in the Deep South, (2) that the Klan and the White Citizens Councils are so strong as to control the situation, and (3) that in consequence of these and other facts there is no indication that integration will occur in the foreseeable future.

Fellowship asked a number of people who live and work in the South to comment on the Martin articles, and particularly on these points. We think it significant that these observations are not drawn from a relatively brief visit, but from the observations of those who live in the thick of the struggle.

THE PRICE OF SILENCE

BY LILLIAN SMITH

ONE of America's best-known writers, especially on matters of race, born in Georgia and a lifelong resident of that state, Lillian Smith has been studiously ignored by editors and reporters seeking news of the progress of integration in the South. Perhaps they do not want to hear a white Southerner say, as Miss Smith said in her letter agreeing to write for this issue: "The big fact is: segregation is loosening up and breaking up and disappearing every day. Tension is high; anxiety is widespread; but segregation is changing and people's minds are changing."

Lillian Smith, formerly the editor of South Today, has written Strange Fruit, Killers of the Dream, Now Is the Time, *and other works.*

WE ARE PAYING a high price indeed for the silence of the Southern people, for there *is* fear and there is too much silence. But we are paying a high price also for the silence in the North which is smothering the good things done and said every day by white southerners who oppose segregation.

What the reporter from the *Saturday Evening Post* did—and it reveals a shocking lapse of integrity and reportorial technique—was simply to omit the names of every white person in the Deep South who is working or speaking out or writing against segregation. (The two he mentioned as backsliders—Ralph McGill and William Faulkner—have never been opposed to segregation in the first place, so their backsliding was only a matter of inches.)

Now to omit the Southerners who are actively working, he had to shut his eyes tight and stuff his ears, for this omission covered hundreds of prominent ministers of almost every denomination; thousands of hardworking white church women, prominent in their communities; hundreds of college students; hundreds of college professors; thousands of social workers, health workers, and thousands working for Federal agencies; hundreds of prominent women active in the League of Women Voters; hundreds who are working quite openly against segregation in

the YWCA; hundreds of librarians; many among the Junior Chamber of Commerce; quite a few prominent lawyers; quite a few politicians (cautious but ready to move in the right direction); a few mayors; a few leaders on boards of education; a large number, perhaps a million, of G.I.s who accepted integration in the armed forces and will accept it quietly when it comes to their home town; and thousands of school teachers who want integration or are willing to accept it when it comes.

Perhaps the reporter does not know my name, for he did not interview me. And yet, would it not seem reasonable to expect a first-class reporter to know the name of the Georgia author whose books on human relations have been translated into more languages and have sold more in this country and throughout the world than those of any other writer—here or elsewhere—on this subject? He should, somehow, know that I speak frequently in the South to university groups, church groups, YWCA groups, interracial groups; and that my recent little book, *Now is the Time,* has been and is being used by many groups in the South working on this critical problem.

He should know Mrs. Dorothy Tilly's name, too. She is a well-known Methodist leader who has worked indefatigably on this problem of segregation.

It was his business to find not only two of us, but the many intelligent, experienced white Southerners who are making creative efforts to build public opinion and work out harmonious ways of meeting our ordeal.

Some of our people have been forced to work under cover. Governors, legislatures, White Citizens Councils have made this necessary. But no one should underestimate their influence, their usefulness or their numbers. If he had really been an alert reporter he would have written about the underground movement of democratic, Christian leaders who have been forced to do their work this way. But he found what he wanted to.

I am worried about the Southern silence; but I am worried more about the silence of our mass magazines and TV networks (their news coverage is good; their forums have not yet been opened to a white Southerner opposed to segregation). Since the Supreme Court decision, the South has been full of reporters from Northern papers, only one of whom has interviewed me. Other Southern leaders have told me they have not been interviewed. It is a dangerous thing for this distorted picture of the South to be built up: discouraging to Negroes and to the whites who need to know that there are hundreds of thousands working as hard as they are. This knowledge would give hope and stiffen resolution.

A Loss to Every American

I've been trying to decide which was costing all Americans the most, the monetary or psychological loss as a result of discrimination. But then, how can anyone measure what happens to a person when so treated? But I believe someone is suffering an untold loss . . . and I think it's every last one of us who call ourselves Americans.

—P. D. East in **The Petal Paper,** Petal, Mississippi, April 4, 1957

NEVER IS A LONG, LONG TIME

BY HAROLD WHITE

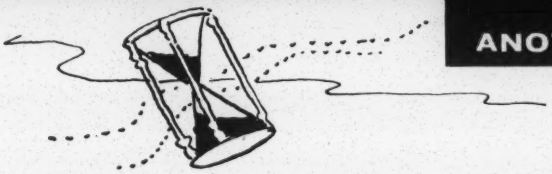
PRESBYTERIAN minister Harold White, formerly of Americus, Georgia, and now of Belvidere, N. C., writes: "I never had occasion to cross the line of social segregation until I ate a meal with white and Negro Boy Scout officials in Americus, Georgia, in 1946. Because we had a common aim, it seemed natural for us to eat together. It seems ironic now that Koinonia Farm should be boycotted by Americus people for integration in a common aim to promote Christian fellowship."

FOR ANYONE who has lived in the Deep South, as I have, the first reaction to the *Post* series is not, "Has the Deep South been correctly quoted?" We know how emphatically correct that "Never" is in summing up the dominant attitude to integration. The real question raised by the article is this: "Will the South's bite *always* be as bad as its bark?" Mr. Martin leaves the impression that the answer to this is "Yes."

He may be right; I have no crystal ball saying he is wrong. But "never" is a long, long time, and it is quite possible that the loud bark of Southern politicians merely seeks to hide that toothless feeling resulting from the extraction of teeth in the segregation laws.

The South is often dubbed by her critics as "the Bible Belt" as well as an area of benighted prejudice, but the fact is that the traditional loyalty of the South to the Bible may be its only hope for facing and solving its greatest social crisis of this century. Since its loyalty to the Bible is often mixed up with unbiblical superstitions, the South can reach a solution only if it recovers the Biblical wheat from the un-biblical chaff.

White people who fancy that the Bible supports racial segregation are deceived, but they are *not* guilty of racial prejudice merely because they insist that their children must not become close playmates with unsanitary or vulgar children, either white or Negro. If there are more of such children among Negroes than among whites, one reason is the fact that Negro schools have long been unequal in equipment and training to white schools. To that the South must say, "Never again."



THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS "PRETTY SOON"

BY WILL D. CAMPBELL

FEW men have a better opportunity to assess the South than "Southern preacher" Will Campbell, whose more mouth-filling title is Associate Executive Secretary of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. His office is in Nashville, Tennessee, but his parish is the whole South, "upper" and "Deep" alike. In this article, Mr. Campbell speaks, of course, for himself—not officially for the NCC.

IT IS INTERESTING and a bit amusing to hear people talk about the South. The Deep South says "Never!" according to John Bartlow Martin and the *Saturday Evening Post.* It is assumed that by South they mean the sweet Magnolia, mint-julep-sippin', veranda-sittin' dream South that still exists in the minds of some of us but is about as stable and predictable as a dream of any other variety.

This same element talks about the churches in the South. Dead! No witness here—silent. One can hear rumblings from the East of, "Shame, shame, the churches ought to do something!"

One thing needs to be understood. The never-saying South and the don't-rock-the-boat churches are not so relevant at this juncture as they are generally assumed to be. In any revolution there are those revolting and those being revolted against. Nobody ever blamed the Archbishop of Canterbury for not being chaplain to George Washington's troops. But the difference didn't lie with the Archbishop. Washington had his own chaplain and the Archbishop was as relevant to the situation as a cat in calculus.

The same thing might be said of the White Citizens Councils and the Klans. While certainly not totally irrelevant, these institutions now have as their role not action so much as reaction or at best interaction. They have not chosen this role, but it has been assigned. They have been assigned it by another South and other churches.

The other South? Forty-five thousand people walking down the streets in Montgomery, Alabama. A mass meeting in New Orleans. A boycott in Orangeburg, South Carolina. A college walk-out at Alcorn, Mississippi. Voting clinics springing up all over. The Southern Leaders Conference. "A statement to the South and Nation." Messages (not manifestoes) to nationally elected officials—all these are the South, too. And this South *doesn't*

say never. It says *now*—or at least pretty soon!

And the "dead" churches in this South? They sing hymns, gather in church meeting-houses, pray for those who exploit them and deny them their rights, turn the other cheek, don't strike back. Is this familiar? If it isn't, the Bible Belt had better buckle on the New Testament. The churches, far from being dead in the South, are alive as never before. For God doesn't live in a plantation house, and Jesus Christ didn't say "On this white rock I'll build my church." Part of the body may be sick but another part is strong and healthy.

It has been assumed for many generations that rights would be granted to the Negro minority of the South when the mind of the white man was educated to it and when his heart was conditioned properly by preaching and exhortation. But if the back-seat bus riders had waited for this process they would have died of old age at the bus stop.

This South didn't wait, and those who say "Never" had nothing to do with it. Although they are trying hard now to have something to do with the outcome, the success they are having isn't too impressive, and more of their South than is generally known is saying, "Who cares? Let them ride."

In another city the churches of the never-saying South, worshipping at the shrine of harmony, preferred for the most part not to discuss "that ole race thing." It was messy and people got upset and it would surely split churches and preachers would get fired and some of the best members would quit giving and just all sorts of things unbecoming to a church with a Standard of Excellence banner hanging on the wall for the most daily Bible readers.

But on a given week the word got around town that there would be Negroes attempting to worship in white church houses next Sunday. As a result dozens of churches discussed the issue frankly and honestly. Without this most of them would not have done so for another generation. Some decided to seat them as anyone else. Others voted to direct them to the nearest Negro church. But the point is that while they didn't act on their own they had no choice but to react to a situation which would not have occurred under the assumption that hearts and minds have to be changed before a beginning can be made.

The South says "never"? Well, yes. But the South also says "pretty soon." And this South has some rather important factors on its side. Among other things it has a method for this revolution which the South being revolted against can't understand very well. Because to most people it is an unfamiliar weapon, nonviolent resistance is usually ruled out. (Besides it's so confusing after all the accumulated stories about "you can't buy a gun or a switchblade knife any more—they're all stacked up in the quarters.")

As figures of speech there might have been a time when the South could be divided into the veranda-sitters and the cotton-pickers. If so, whoever said, "The cottonpickin' South will rise again," was right. The veranda is rotten and the mint is wilting along the garden walk. The cottonpickin' South has risen indeed.

THE BIGOTS ARE MAKING THE NOISE

BY HARRY L. GOLDEN

AMERICAN newspapers, by and large, are distinguished in these days neither for their independence nor for their literateness. Their front pages represent a search for the sensational; their editorial pages could be—and sometimes are—poured from the molds of the NAM. One of the rare oases in this desert of mediocrity is Harry Golden's paper, THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE, published in Charlotte, North Carolina. Equally at home in reflections on the classics, recollections of a childhood home, or strictures on the racist antics of his neighbors, Golden's essays are collector's items.

THERE IS TRUTH in all of Mr. Martin's observations, but I am sure he would be the first to agree that you cannot "wrap up" this desegregation story in five weeks and in five articles. In a previous decade a similar story of "the South" was told (by Southern boys, by the way) in terms of a *Tobacco Road* in Georgia, and a bit of incest in Mississippi. But just as there was no particularly unique *southern way of life* then, there is no *southern viewpoint* today, not even in the matter of racial segregation.

The South is many things: a cotton patch and a hydrogen-bomb plant, which tells part of our story. The South is Senator Sam Ervin (N. C.), who fights against "civil rights" legislation, and Tom Lassiter, editor of the Smithfield, (N. C.) *Herald,* who writes weekly editorials urging compliance with the Supreme Court decisions. The South is Governor Hodges (N. C.), who urges the Negroes to accept "voluntary" segregation, and playwright Paul Green (*The Lost Colony*), who publicly broke with the Governor for "lacking the imagination to go forward and end racial segregation." The South is Senator Eastland, the champion of the "White Citizens Councils," and the city of Charlotte, North Carolina (160,000), where the directors of the "white supremacy" group spent two days vainly trying to get a civic leader or public official to introduce Senator Eastland at their scheduled meeting.

The South is many voices, some strident, some calm. At present the bigots are making the most noise. But there are thousands of South-

erners who know that racial segregation can no longer be tolerated on any religious, moral, and legal basis. And on an economic basis, segregation is impossible to maintain. I know a fellow in South Carolina who is head of his local White Citizens Council, and who has also performed an outstanding job in bringing new industry to his state in recent years. He does not yet realize that at lunchtime, when he negotiates for this new industry, he is doing more to end racial segregation than all the NAACPs put together. His efforts at night to maintain segregation are part of the South's last shudder to hang on to a dream of the old plantation in a world full of cogwheels, a day-to-day industrialization without parallel in the history of our country. The dream is of a pleasant time when the house stood up on the hill and the smoke came out of the chimney at twilight. But today the diesel truck goes up that hill and it doesn't care who drives it.

As to Mr. Martin's prediction that desegregation is unthinkable in any foreseeable future, I prefer to get out on my own limb: (a) that the three largest cities of North Carolina will desegregate the schools this year*; (b) that all other Southern cities of 40,000 and over will desegregate the schools within five years; and (c) that the rest of the South will follow during this generation, after it will have seen that *nothing happened*—nothing happened except greater pride, greater wealth, and greater human dignity. And I base my opinion on a conviction that thousands of Southerners in every walk of life agree with Burke that, "All that is required for evil to triumph is that good men do nothing."

* Since Mr. Golden wrote this, Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro announced the beginning of desegregation of their schools.

The Voice of God and the Verdict of History

. . . The Christian is obligated to accept and follow the teachings of Christ with respect to the dignity and worth of every individual, irrespective of his race or position in human society. Any movement, system or law that denies this truth by statement, implication or social practice is not in accord with the teachings of Jesus nor the principles of our Christian faith.

In accordance with these teachings, this Commission protests the violence in all its forms that is used against Negro people in the current segregation issue or at any other time. In recognition of the Negro's rights as a citizen, the law enforcement agencies of local, state and national governments should protect him, irrespective of his position or culture, from lawless attacks on his person or property.

We are witnessing today the betrayal of [our] freedoms by vocal minorities in some communities and churches who are able to arouse sufficient opposition to force the resignation of pastors and to incite retaliation against peaceful citizens who speak or act according to their convictions on racial justice and interracial goodwill. The people of our nation should be reminded that both the voice of God and the verdict of history warn us that those who deny these freedoms to others do not long retain them for themselves.

—from the report of the Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention

THE SOUTH'S OTHER ARMY

BY ROBERT GRAETZ

PASTOR of Trinity Lutheran Church (Negro) in Montgomery, Alabama, the Rev. Robert Graetz (white) played a vital role in the widely publicized nonviolent struggle against segregated buses in that city. Twice bombed, Mr. Graetz planted a tree in the bomb crater on his front lawn and reminded those who came to its dedication that "while in the midst of life there is death, so in the midst of death there is life."

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN'S analysis of resistance in the Deep South is startling, and appears to be correct—as far as he has gone. For after all, the very title of his articles, "The Deep South Says 'Never,'" indicates that this is essentially a description of the Segregation Army.

Neglected were both the Integration Army and that group of unknown size that fights on neither side, whose battle-cry is "Silence is golden." An analysis of either of these latter groups would be a Herculean task. The segregation forces have impressed on the Deep South a rigid system of fascist thought-control, so much so that men have lost their jobs because of chance remarks made to personal "friends."

As we look beyond the massive bulwarks erected by the Citizens Councils and the Klans, however, we can see several factors operating from within which will bring about the eventual defeat of segregation. Martin could scarcely have learned about these from his conversations with segregationist leaders; these factors are mostly beyond their understanding. I can see six forces at work. There may be many more.

(1) *The high cost of maintaining segregation.* Talk is cheap, but when the bus company in Montgomery, Alabama, was losing thousands of dollars during the boycott, the trickle of cash gifts from sympathizers was unimpressive. My home state of West Virginia was quick to announce to its taxpayers that they had saved a substantial sum of money by integrating the public schools. Many Citizens Council members in Alabama have set out to save themselves some money too, simply by not renewing their memberships.

(2) *Defeatism on the part of many segregation leaders.* Naturally no Council leader in his right mind would tell a reporter all his troubles. But a man with troubles has to tell someone. Once in a while these men will confide, un-

knowingly, in some of our leaders in the integration movement. Many such conversations have been reported, indicating that local Council leaders are losing much of the grass-roots support which they had during the times of great crisis. They admit that they are fighting a losing battle, that the so-called "Solid South" is fast shrinking. In our state they are even more frightened by the ominous clouds gathering on the horizon, of Negroes preparing to register and vote. Politicians who have been riding the back of the race issue know there is stormy weather ahead.

(3) *The disturbed conscience of the Southern white liberal.* A man has to live with himself and his God, even if he can't get along with his neighbors. Scarcely a day goes by that I do not meet or hear of another white liberal. And every one of them tells me the same thing: "You don't realize how many people there are who feel just like I do."

Why have we not heard from them? Because they have been intimidated; their jobs have been threatened, or their lives. But they cannot maintain both their principles and their silence forever. Christian ministers are beginning to realize this. You can expect to hear more and more men of the cloth raising their voices in defense of freedom and justice. Some of them may lose their jobs, but that is a cheap enough price to pay for an unshackled conscience.

(4) *Unadvertised integrationist groups.* The Councils on Human Relations, FOR groups, and others like them are generally small and weak, but they are growing in size and influence. This is the leaven that is working quietly but effectively throughout the South. These are the construction battalions building bridges, establishing lines of communication, preparing the way for those who are to follow.

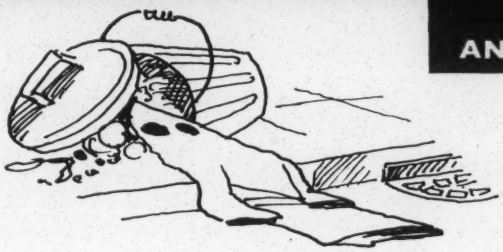
(5) *The power of Christian love and nonviolence.* The buses of Montgomery, Alabama, are integrated now. The Negroes of that city carried on their campaign with dignity and in the spirit of Christ. They learned to love those who hated them, to pray for those who cursed them. They learned that it is the weak man who uses hatred and violence; it is the strong man who remains at peace and relies on spiritual force alone. It is this philosophy which characterizes the movement for freedom among Negroes throughout the South. There is no defense against Christian love. It cannot be defeated.

(6) *The will of the Almighty God.* The Lord said to the Pharaoh of Egypt, "Let my people go," and He led them forth to the promised land. It is my conviction that God speaks the same to our modern Pharaohs, and that He is about to lead the Negroes out of their bondage. If this is indeed God's will, no man can stand in His way.

Brotherhood or Bigotry

It is commonly understood . . . that all men are created in the image of God and intended to be brothers. If you consider this an impracticable doctrine, then you may very well have to surrender your Christian faith. The Church has little else to offer.

—The Rev. Hugh McKee, Rector
St. Martin's Episcopal Church
New Orleans, Louisiana



THE KLAN HAS SPENT ITSELF

BY DAN WHITSETT

FOR member and minister of the First Methodist Church of Sylacauga, Alabama, the Rev. Dan Whitsett writes of the Klan from first-hand contact. Shortly before Easter the night-riders burned a cross on the Whitsett lawn, and anonymous callers threatened the lives of his associate minister's family. That Sunday Dan Whitsett talked to his congregation, and as a result lighted crosses blazed all during Holy Week, on almost thirty Sylacauga lawns, placed there to remind passers-by that the Cross speaks not for hatred and violence, but for love and forgiveness.

THE KU KLUX KLAN has spent itself in Alabama. There is nothing worse it can do without being driven from the state. Alabamans generally do not believe in integration, but they will no longer tolerate violence, intimidation, and usurpation of the law by this hooded mob.

In our state the Klan gained some respectability by having a so-called minister head the organization. "Preachers" would tell how God's Holy Word forbade the mixing of races; "women's auxiliaries" took baskets to the sick; the Klan "assisted" an aged Negro; Klansmen marched down the aisle of a few rural churches and left a few dollars offering. The silence of the public was interpreted as sanction of its motives and methods.

But then members of the Klan burned crosses and organized telephone committees to harass anyone who spoke against them. From their meetings, individuals went out to bomb Negro homes or churches and to commit other acts of violence which the group meetings would inspire but disclaim as an organization.

Mobile was the first city to take action against the lawlessness of the Klan with an ordinance forbidding the burning of crosses and rewards for the apprehension of anyone violating the ordinance or dynamiting houses. The violence ceased immediately.

The Reverend Alvin Horn, grand dragon of the U.S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., who ran off with a fifteen-year old girl, appeared on June 8 at a State Rally held in Sylacauga. Members paraded il-

legally and burned crosses at the First Methodist and First Baptist churches. An anonymous death threat was made that night to the wife of my associate minister.

Public reaction was immediate. The interdenominational Ministerial Association, the City Council, and most of the newspapers in the state called for the apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrators of these vicious acts. Alvin Horn resigned as State head of the Klan.

The local Klan offered public apologies to both churches and the City Council. It disavowed any authorization of either the cross-burnings or the threatening calls. It urged enforcement of the city's new ordinance against burning of crosses.

The Klan should be assured the right of peaceable assembly and free speech, but not license to violate the rights of other citizens and the laws of our State. When it sees that clergymen will not be intimidated or cowed, that right-thinking people will not tolerate violence, join in mob action or be guided by ignorant and prejudiced leaders—then the Klan will cease to exist except as an ineffectual organization for a few fanatics to meet and rant and rave. A few scattered incidents of the night-riders still will take place, but I do not believe the Klan as an organization will ever again be accepted in our State.

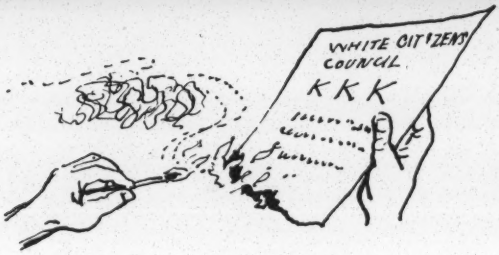
Problems in human relations remain to be solved. A small but ever-increasing number of respected citizens realize that we are going to live under our Constitution and eventually by the high Christian and ethical standards of our Christian churches. Slowly but resolutely groups are meeting biracially to pray and plan, not only for coexistence but also for unanimity of purpose, equal opportunities, and joint responsibilities in a Christian society.

An Experience in Worship

Within the bounds of our own Assembly there exists a flagrant violation of the right to worship. Members of the Koinonia community near Americus, Georgia, state that their communal life is not primarily a social or agricultural experiment but an experience in worship. They have professed their allegiance to this nation, they have denied affiliation in any subversive party, they have violated no laws, they have been model citizens, and have made a significant contribution to farming techniques in this area. Yet because their experiment knows no barrier of color they are treated as enemies of society. Their property has been strafed, dynamited, and burned; their children maligned, their lives jeopardized. Even worse, many respectable citizens of the community have joined in an economic boycott designed to destroy their financial stability and drive them to ruin.

The General Assembly would call the attention of Protestants in America to the danger of trying to destroy those who dare to live by their convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions. If these persecutors persist, then let them now appoint their children who shall some day build the sepulchers to the prophets they have stoned.

—from **Freedom—the Christian Concept,**
Christian Relations Report
of the 97th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern)
April 1957, Birmingham, Alabama



CHANGE IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY

BY CARL LANDES

CARL LANDES, Southern born and bred, was once an FOR staff member, doing rural work. Today he teaches in an Alabama College.

WHEN "CHANGE" is the order of the day, and "revolution" is met by "counter-revolution," one is apt to wonder frequently with Benjamin Franklin whether the sun is "rising" or "setting." Current magazine and newspaper stories seem to indicate that the sun of brotherhood is setting, at least in the "Deep South," and that positive forces working for justice and brotherhood of the races have been driven to cover.

There is enough truth in such statements to make many of us who were born and raised in the South feel humble and penitent. Yet there ought not be a monopoly on penitence in Dixie. A New York Negro leader speaking in Nashville recently said, "This is not a Southern problem, this is a national and world problem. The North may be a bit more subtle, but—," and he gave a long list of evidence to substantiate his case.

As I see it, most whites in the "Deep South" fall into four main groups:

(1) There are the "one hundred percenters": segregationists to the last ditch, White Citizens Council members, KKK, etc. The Constitution and the Bible are their "foundation stones." There are many educated (?) in this group, but as one attends their rallies, one gets the impression that the bulk of the membership is drawn from low-income, uneducated groups.

At the moment, this group has the limelight because it does things that make two- and three-inch headline news stories. It will use any type of violence it deems necessary to gain its ends, including dynamite and murder. I could be mistaken, but I believe it is riding its crest, since the vast majority of the population is opposed to its violence, especially business forces who are trying to lure industry south, but also many of the rank-and-file citizens.

(2) There is a larger group who would like to see segregation continued, but (in the recent words of a banker) "don't want anything to do with the White Citizens Councils." They have had the pattern of segregation drilled into them from birth, as have many Negroes.

This group has never before seriously thought about the ethics

of segregation or its relationship to the Christian faith. But when you are put in the position where you must defend an injustice inherited from your parents and the past, you have to think. When you think, God has a chance to get in a few thoughts you hadn't intended: "Suppose the tables were turned, and whites were the objects of discrimination?" Like Saul of Tarsus, many suddenly discover that they can no longer "kick against the pricks." Saul didn't plan it that way either, but it happened. Some are actually beginning to realize that we live in a "colored" world, and that the "colored" people are rapidly rising to power, and so they flounder on the threshold of the back door to brotherhood: self-preservation of the white race.

(3) A third group—growing, I think—is well characterized by a minister: "I know integration is coming. It probably should have come a long time ago, but this is a new idea to many of us. Give us time." (I know he has had a century, but no one has seriously tried to give him any idea besides segregation before.)

Or, like the woman whose daughter I tried to get to our college: "Does your college believe in integration?" And, on being told that it was the policy of the trustees, the denomination and the administration, "Then my daughter will go elsewhere. I know integration is coming, but I feel too deeply about this to help it along."

The violence of the White Citizens Councils, and the marvelous spirit of love and nonviolence of the vast majority of our Negro brethren, will move this group closer to the position of justice, integration and brotherhood. It won't happen overnight, but as one moves around down here, one senses it rather frequently.

(4) There is a sizable minority who know that integration and equality are right, ought to come, must come—and they are working at it. This group is probably overloaded with ministers, educators, and students, but there are increasing numbers of lay people, inside the church and out, who are coming to this position.

It is impossible to know the number, because they work under considerable pressure. Many of their activities must be without publicity, or they would lose their jobs, or find a bomb "in the right place."

Is the sun "rising" or "setting" on Dixie? I believe it is rising, but we may not yet have passed that "darkest moment before dawn," Things may get worse before they get better, but right now I'd rather be in the heart of Dixie than anywhere in the world. We are moving; and the Great Engineer can always switch a moving engine.

Sign of the Times. On one of the main routes through the South, this unexpected invitation by a Virginia motel startles hundreds of drivers daily. Owner Ralph Grimes, a former Philadelphian, explains breezily: **"Somebody** has to set these Virginians straight." Trouble? None. Business? Fine—two new buildings are under construction. Photo by Alfred Hassler.

DEEP IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

BY L. H. PITTS

THE Rev. L. H. Pitts is executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (Negro), with offices in Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. MARTIN'S APPRAISALS of the strength of the Citizens Council and the Klan are both fairly accurate. Who could have believed that intelligent men would find themselves taking pride in sounding like men from the Dark Ages? The men who lead the Citizens Councils and the Klan are no longer the unintelligent, rabble-rousing, traditional Southerners, but are almost statesmanlike in appearance and expression. This alone has got them a wider forum and is gaining sympathy for the cause they espouse.

Nevertheless, I think Mr. Martin is wrong when he suggests that they seem likely to control the situation indefinitely, with or without violence. From extensive travel and many contacts in Georgia and throughout the South, I am convinced that there is a growing resistance to the kind of intolerance and injustice represented by the utterances of these groups. Statements by Southern church groups and educators suggest that the spirit of fair play and good will is having a rebirth in the South. To say that "There is virtually no white opposition to segregation and if any exists it has been silenced," is a gross overstatement. There are white people in Georgia who are working day and night in opposition to what segregation intends, people who believe in the right of all men to human dignity. Without fanfare of publicity they have strung up a veritable network of lines of communication between people and groups breaking over denominational, racial and cultural lines.

There are many groups in the South meeting regularly and working openly for desegregation. They do not get the publicity that the Councils and the Klan do, partly because they recognize that the

process is an educational one. But if the Councils and the Klan knew of the spiritual and social revolution going on right in their own communities, and in some cases in their own homes, they would be shaken to the core.

Within ten minutes of my home is an institution with a desegregated student body. My own alma mater, Paine College, in Augusta, Georgia, recently passed a resolution to desegregate its student body. White Georgia teachers and administrators voted for a resolution supporting desegregation, at the recent meeting of the National Education Association.

The South must have some spiritual and social engineers who will come up with new and daring techniques, compelling enough, sincere enough, calm enough, and with love enough that it cannot be lightly passed over. When such leadership is developed the sensitive conscience of the South will be so alerted that the response will be astounding, and "deep in the heart of Dixie" will blossom the kind of community in which a man can walk erect and look his brother man in the eye.

THE STRUGGLE FOR

RACIAL EQUALITY

BY MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
AND
LILLIAN SMITH

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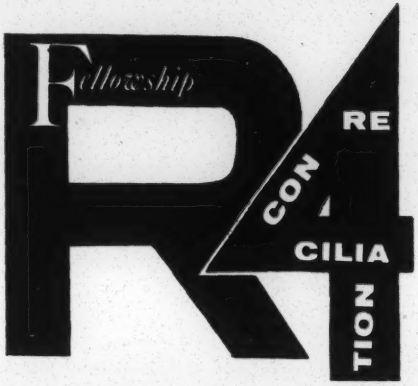

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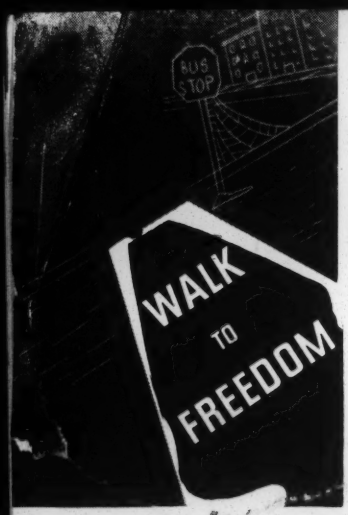

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MODEL BILL ON TENURE

5/12/40

PREPARED BY THE MODEL BILL BUREAU

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

The following "model" bill is intended to serve as a guide to A.F.T. locals (and other teacher organizations) throughout the country in the drafting of tenure bills for their respective states. It is not presumed that the bill in its present form is ready to be introduced in any state legislature. It will first need to be amended in accordance with the distinctive conditions existing in the state concerned.

In the preparation of this bill the entire field of tenure legislation has been re-examined. It is believed that the present bill embodies virtually all the desirable features of each of the existing tenure laws, together with a large number of other desirable features which are more or less distinctive.

Attached to the bill are some brief "explanatory" notes.

February 10, 1939

(Reprinted without change May 10, 1940)

COMMITTEE ON TENURE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

28 E. Jackson Blvd.,
Chicago, Illinois

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS'

Model Bill on Tenure

Section 1. Definitions:

(a) As used in this act,

(1) "educational employee" means person who on or after the effective date of this act, holds, or is qualified to hold, a valid certificate to serve as a regular employee in a public school of this state;

(2) "educational board" means board of education, board of directors, or other instrumentality which, on or after the effective date of this act, has the authority to engage an educational employee to serve in a public school of this state;

(3) "gross inefficiency" means the unintentional or intentional performance of one's legitimate duties in a manner which establishes one's incompetence with respect to (a) one's present position and (b) any vacant position at the disposal of the board concerned which one is properly qualified, and willing to accept;

(4) "inefficiency" means the unintentional or intentional performance of one's legitimate duties in a manner which establishes one's incompetence with respect to (a) one's present position and (b) any vacant position at the disposal of the board concerned, of as high a rank and carrying as high a salary, which one is properly qualified, and willing to accept;

(5) "legitimate duties" means reasonable duties imposed without discrimination because of race, creed, religion, marital status, organizational affiliation or activity, or the exercise of any civil or other right which may be exercized lawfully by citizens generally;

(6) "properly qualified" means qualified by reason of certification;

(7) "immorality" means the commission of any act which involves moral turpitude and which, if committed by any citizen generally, would be punishable by law;

(8) "demote" means transfer to a position carrying a lower salary or compensation, or/and lower the rank of, whether by transfer or otherwise;

(9) "reduce the salary of" means reduce the compensation of except where such reduction is incident (a) to a leave of absence (b) to demotion, or (c) to a fine or other pecuniary penalty imposed because of the alleged character of the employee's service;

(10) "penalize" means affect injuriously, either absolutely or in a relation to some other employee of the same board who has the same status.

(b) Words and phrases occurring in this act which are derived from words and phrases defined in this Section have derivative meanings in accordance with grammatical usage.

Section 2. Contracts:

(a) Every educational board shall enter into contract with the educational employees who, on the effective date of this act, are serving in its employ in the public schools of this state, at or before the beginning of the first school year beginning after such date and shall enter into contract with all other educational employees who may serve in its employ in the public schools of this state, at or before the beginning of such service. Contracts made under the provisions of this paragraph shall become effective on or before the final dates by which they must be executed.

(b) The said contracts shall be in writing, in triplicate, on uniform blanks furnished by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and shall be executed on behalf of the educational board by its chairman and secretary and signed by the educational employee. The secretary shall furnish one copy of the contract to the educational employee and a second copy to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall file the said copy among the records of his office; and the said secretary shall file the third copy among the records of the educational board.

(c) The said contracts shall contain the following statements and forms of statement, and no others:

"It is hereby agreed by and between. . . . . ., the employee, and. . . . . ., the employer, that the said employee, beginning . . . . . .19. . . ., shall serve in the employ of the said employer and its successors for a term of . . . . . .school months, the number of school months in the school year, for an annual compensation of $. . . . . .payable in equal monthly or semi-monthly installments during the said school months, less the contributions required by law to be paid to the Teachers' Retirement Fund and less other deductions required by law and not made for reasons of economy.

"It is further agreed by the parties hereto that this contract shall continue in force from year to year, until terminated in accordance with the provisions of the Teachers' T enure Act of 1939, and any amendments thereto prior to the date of this agreement, and that until such termination each of the said parties shall enjoy the rights and shall assume the obligations therein provided, none of which rights or obligations may be waived, either orally or otherwise.

"Nothing in this contract shall prevent the raising of the compensation of the said employee above, or the reduction of the term of service of the said employee below, the compensation and term of service specified herein.

"This contract is executed this ..... day of ..... 19..... ."

(d) No contract made under the provisions of this Section shall be terminated except by the dismissal of the educational employee in accordance with the provisions of this act, or by the resignation, retirement, or death of the educational employee.

Section 3. Dismissal and Demotion:

(a) Except as provided in paragraph (b) of this Section, no educational employee serving in a public school of this state shall be dismissed for any cause other than physical disability, mental disability, immorality, or/and gross inefficiency and no such employee shall be demoted for any cause other than inefficiency. The specific nature of any such demotion shall be based solely upon the specific nature of the inefficiency.

(b) Any educational employee serving in a public school of this state may be dismissed or demoted if such action is necessitated by the elimination of a position and if such elimination is required, or rendered advisable, by a substantial decrease in school enrollment or/and by a change in school curriculum or school organization which is demonstrably desirable for reasons other than reasons of economy. Such dismissal or demotion shall be governed by the following provisions.

(1) The educational employee last engaged by the board concerned, and performing the type of service being discontinued by the elimination of the position, shall be the particular employee to be ordered dismissed or demoted, but before such employee is so ordered, he shall have been offered the opportunity to accept any vacant position at the disposal of the board, for which he is properly qualified.

(2) Educational employees who have been ordered dismissed or demoted under the provisions of this paragraph shall be offered the opportunity, during the period of such dismissal or demotion, or impending dismissal or demotion, to accept any vacant position at the disposal of the board concerned, and for which they are properly qualified, in the inverse order in which their dismissals and demotions, taken together, were ordered, provided that, the opportunity to accept such position shall be accorded first as stated in provision (1) of this paragraph.

(3) No educational board shall engage any person who is not already serving in its employ in a public school of this state to fill any vacant position at its disposal if there are any educational employees who have been, or who are about to be, ordered dismissed or demoted by the board under the provisions of this paragraph, and who have not been restored to their original status, who are properly qualified for, and willing to accept, such position.

(4) Every educational employee whose dismissal or demotion is ordered under the provisions of this paragraph shall be given by the board concerned, prior to the effective date of such dismissal or demotion, a letter of honorable dismissal or honorable demotion, as the case may be.

(5) No educational employee whose dismissal under the provisions of this paragraph has become effective shall be prevented from engaging in other occupation during the period of such dismissal.

Section 4. Reduction of Salary and Other Penalties:

(a) No educational employee serving in a public school of this state shall have his salary in any year reduced below his salary in the immediately preceding year for any cause and no such employee shall be suspended without pay, fined, or penalized in any manner whatever not hereinbefore considered except for a just cause, provided that, penalizing an employee under provision (7) of Section 5 of this act shall be deemed to be for a just cause, and provided further that, penalizing an employee because of the failure to perform duties which are not legitimate duties, or because of race, creed, religion, marital status, organizational affiliation or activity, or the exercise of any civil or other right which may be exercised lawfully by citizens generally, shall not be deemed to be for a just cause. The specific nature of any penalty imposed under the provisions of this paragraph because of the alleged character of the employee's service shall be based solely upon the specific nature of the deficiency.

(b) If any educational employee serving in a public school of this state shall be required to serve in any year a greater total number of work-hours than he served in the immediately preceding year, his salary or compensation shall be raised at least proportionately to such increase. For the purposes of this paragraph, the computation of the time served by an employee shall not be affected by suspensions and/or absences.

Section 5. Institution of Proceedings:

Before any educational employee serving in a public school of this state shall be dismissed, demoted, or penalized in any other manner whatever, proceedings against such employee shall be instituted in accordance with the following provisions.

(1) Any member or members of the board concerned shall file with the secretary of the said board a written, signed, duly detailed, and duly verified statement, in duplicate, setting forth the alleged facts in the case. The said secretary shall bring the statement to the attention of the board within seven days after its receipt.

(2) The said board, after making such inquiry and investigation as it may deem necessary, shall either dismiss the matter or order such penalty as it may consider justified under the terms of this act.

(3) When serving its order upon the employee, the board shall enclose therewith (a) a copy of this act, (b) a copy of the statement filed with the secretary of the board, (c) a written, signed, and duly detailed report by the board of its findings in the matter, and (d) a notice informing the employee exactly when, with whom, and in what manner, under the terms of this act, the employee must file a request for a hearing if the order is to be set aside or amended.

(4) Except where an employee is charged by a board with intentionally performing his duties unsatisfactorily, no educational board shall serve its order for the dismissal of an employee because of gross inefficiency, or for the demotion of an employee because of inefficiency, unless at least ninety school days prior thereto the said employee shall have received from the board a written warning specifying the nature of such faults to date with such particularity as to furnish him an opportunity to correct them, and unless at the request of the employee, and if such transfer is practicable, he shall have been granted the opportunity to serve at least ninety school days of the intervening period under another superior officer, provided that, for employees holding, or qualified to hold, provisional certificates only, each period of ninety school days specified in this provision shall be reduced to a period of thirty school days.

(5) No order of any board shall be served upon any employee except during a school year.

(6) No order of any board shall become effective while the employee concerned has the right under the terms of this act to have the order set aside or amended, and no order of dismissal or demotion under paragraph (b) of Section 3 of this act shall become effective except at the close of a school year and after not less than sixty days' written notice to the said employee.

(7) Any employee against whom charges have been filed with the secretary of an educational board which, if wholly or partly correct, warrant the dismissal of the employee because of immorality, mental disability, or gross inefficiency due to intentionally unsatisfactory service, or the demotion of the employee because of inefficiency due to intentionally unsatisfactory service, may be suspended, if the board deems such action advisable, immediately after such charges have been brought to its attention, provided that, pending the board's order in the matter, the pay of the employee shall not be affected. Should the board, on the basis of such charges, decide to order the dismissal or demotion of the employee, it may suspend the said employee without pay immediately upon serving such order, provided that, if the said employee is exonerated of the charges by the final determination of the matter, he shall be entitled to all salary or compensation accruing during the period of such suspension.

(8) No notice of suspension issued under provision (7) of this Section shall be deemed an "order" as the term is used in this act.

Section 6. Right to, and Arrangement of, Hearing:

(a) After receiving an order of an educational board, the employee concerned shall have the right to request a hearing, at the option of the employee before the educational arbitration commission for the county in which the place of employment of the employee is located, hereinafter termed the county commission, or before the said educational board, but not before both, for the purpose of having the said order set aside or amended, but such right shall expire ten days after the receipt of the order and the order shall thereupon become final, provided that, no such right shall expire within sixty days after this act takes effect. If the employee requests a hearing before the county commission, he shall, when making such request, send a copy thereof to the educational board.

(b) The county commission (or educational board), immediately after receiving such request, shall set the exact time and place for the hearing and thereupon shall give notice thereof to the employee and the complainant (or to the employee), enclosing therewith a copy of its rules and regulations governing the conduct of its hearings. The complainant shall be deemed to be the members of the educational board concerned. The time fixed for the hearing shall be not less than ten days nor more than fifteen days after such notification may be expected to be received and the place fixed shall be a point within the county reasonably convenient for the parties concerned. The hearing shall be held at the time and place so fixed unless otherwise agreed to by both the employee and the complainant. If the cases of two or more employees are deemed by the county commission (or educational board) to be essentially similar, they may be tried at the same hearing.

Section 7. Conduct of Hearing:

The hearing before the county commission (or educational board) shall be conducted in accordance with the following provisions.

(1) The hearing shall be public unless otherwise requested by the employee.

(2) The employee and the complainant shall each have the right to be heard in person, to be represented by freely selected counsel, to call witnesses, to examine and cross-examine such witnesses, to inspect all documentary evidence produced, and to present such other evidence as may be relevant to the matter under inquiry, provided that, the burden of proof shall be upon the complainant.

(3) The county commission (or educational board) shall have the power to subpoena witnesses and documentary evidence and shall exercise such power at the request of either side. If any person shall refuse to appear and testify in answer to such subpoena, either side may petition the appropriate court setting forth the facts, which court shall thereupon issue its subpoena commanding such person to appear and testify before the said county commission (or educational board). Any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by the said court as contempt thereof.

(4) All testimony shall be taken under oath or affirmation, to be administered by any member of the county commission (or educational board) under the authority hereby granted. Any person making a false oath or affirmation shall be guilty of perjury and punished accordingly.

(5) All action taken by the county commission (or educational board) shall be by a majority vote of all the members thereof, to be recorded by roll-call.

(6) The county commission (or education board), at its expense, shall employ a competent and disinterested stenographer to make a literal record of the full proceedings at the hearing, which record shall include all evidence both oral and documentary and the decision and order of the county commission (or educational board). Such stenographer, within five days after the decision and order have been issued, shall send the employee and the complainant one copy each of a transcript of such record, which shall be certified by the stenographer and by the chairman of the county commission (or educational board) to be complete and correct.

(7) Unless otherwise agreed to by both the employee and the complainant, the hearing shall be concluded within twenty days after its commencement.

(8) After each side has presented its case, as hereinbefore provided, and after a full and impartial consideration of the evidence adduced, the county commission (or education board), on the basis of such evidence and within ten days after the conclusion of the hearing, shall render a decision in writing, setting aside, amending in a specific manner, or sustaining the order in dispute. The county commission (or education board) thereupon shall serve its order upon the employee and the complainant (or upon the employee).

Section 8. Right to, and Arrangement of, Appeal:

(a) After receiving the order of the county commission (or educational board), the employee and/or the complainant (or the employee) shall have the right to request a hearing before the court of common pleas of the county in which the place of employment of the employee is located, for the purpose of having the said order set aside or amended, but their respective rights (or the rights of the employee) shall expire ten days after the receipt of the order, and if, prior to such date, neither side has requested the hearing, the order shall thereupon become final. The side requesting such hearing shall, when making such request, send copies thereof to the opposing side and to the county commission concerned (or to the opposing side).

(b) The said court, after receiving such request, shall set the exact time for the hearing, which hearing shall be held, upon due notice to the parties concerned, at the earliest time possible and shall take precedence over all other cases, except older matters of the same character and except matters to which special preference may be given by law, provided that, such hearing shall not be held within ten days after the court receives the said request. If the cases of two or more educational employees are deemed by the court to be essentially similar, they may be tried at the same hearing.

Section 9. Conduct of Appeal:

The matter before the court shall proceed as other civil actions therein and, upon the conclusion of the hearing, the court shall render whatever decision it considers just, setting aside, amending in a specific manner, or sustaining the order in dispute. If it has been so specified in a request for the said hearing, such hearing shall be de novo.

The employee and the complainant shall each have the right to appeal from the decision of the court to the superior court of the county in which the place of employment of the employee is located, which appeal shall be taken and conducted under the laws and rules of court governing appeals in civil cases.

Section 11. Educational Arbitration Commissions:

(a) There is hereby created for each of the counties of this state an educational arbitration commission of three members, to be appointed by the Governor. Members shall be residents of the county concerned and at least one member of each commission shall be a practicing attorney.

(b) The terms of the members of the first county commission for each county shall begin thirty days after the effective date of this act, one member to be appointed for a term of three years, one member for a term of two years, and one member for a term of one year, the said members to be appointed prior to the beginning of their terms. Successors shall be appointed to serve for each successive three year period following the expiration of an initial term, such members to be appointed between thirty and sixty days prior to the beginning of their respective terms. In the event that any member of a county commission vacates his position before the expiration of his term, a successor shall be appointed to serve for the unexpired term as soon as possible, and not later than thirty days, after the vacancy occurs.

(c) Immediately after its members have been appointed, each of the commissions created under the terms of this act shall meet for the purpose of organization, at which time it shall elect one of its members as chairman and another as secretary and shall adopt rules and regulations, consistent with the provisions of this act, to govern its procedure.

(d) The members of the said commissions shall serve without compensation, but the actual and necessary expenses incident to the performance of their duties shall be paid by the state treasurer out of the general funds, in the manner already provided by law for the payment of accounts of boards and commissions.

(e) The sum of five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated for each of the fiscal years ending June thirty, nineteen hundred forty and June thirty, nineteen hundred forty-one to defray the expenses of the county commissions incurred in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Section 12. Resignation:

No educational employee serving in a public school of this state shall resign, except by mutual consent, without giving a written notice to the board concerned at least sixty days prior to the effective date of such resignation, but resignation in any other manner shall none the less terminate any contract between the said employee and the said board which may have been executed under the terms of this act.

Section 13. Educational Employees on Leave of Absence:

All the provisions of this act applying to educational employees serving in the public schools of this state shall be construed to apply both to educational employees on leave of absence from such service and to educational employees in active service.

Section 14. Sending of Written Communications:

All orders, reports, and other written communications provided for under the terms of this act shall be sent to the parties concerned at their last known addresses and by registered mail, with postage prepaid. Except where the contrary is stated in this act, such communications, if intended for boards and commissions, shall be addressed to the respective secretaries thereof, and if intended for courts, shall be addressed to the respective clerks thereof. The receipt of such communications by such individuals shall constitute receipt by the board, commission, or court concerned.

Section 15. Changes in the Personnel of Educational Boards:

None of the rights or privileges granted to educational employees under the terms of this act shall be impaired in any way by the consolidation of educational boards or by any other changes in their respective personnel.

Section 16. Inconsistent Laws:

All laws and parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Section 17. Independence of Provisions:

If any provision of this act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, shall be adjudged invalid or unconstitutional, such adjudication shall not invalidate, impair, or affect the remainder of this act, or the application of such provision to any other person or circumstance.

Section 18. Short Title:

This act shall be known and may be cited as "The Teachers' Tenure Act of 1939."

Section 19. Effective Date:

This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its final enactment.

NOTES

Section 1:

Definition 1 is intended to indicate merely in a general way the class of persons to whom the act should apply and will undoubtedly need to be amended in conformity with the statutory provisions and educational conditions of the state in question. In numerous states, for example, the definition should be amended so as to cover certain non-certified employes as well, such as clerks, nurses, etc. (As used here, "regular employe" is intended to include both permanent and probationary employees, but not substitute employees. For reasons which are obvious, where there is no statutory provision which adequately limits the employment of non-regular employees, such a provision should be included in the present bill.)

At first glance it may appear that some of the definitions in this Section are unnecessary. But so far as they succeed in preventing interpretations of the bill which would reduce its force, their inclusion is strongly recommended. Indeed, in many states it will be desirable for this reason to include other definitions as well.

Section 2:

As in the Pennsylvania tenure law, the form of the contract has been included in the bill itself. Although this procedure is recommended, it may be mentioned that a detailed and exhaustive description of the contract could serve the same purpose -- that of establishing a clearly defined and fixed contractual relationship. (On this point, see Indiana ex rel. Anderson v. Brand S. Ct. No. 256. October Term, 1937.)

Though the wording of the present contract is similar to that of the Pennsylvania contract, it will be noted that some of the changes -- concerning "future" statutory amendments, the enjoyment of rights, etc. -- are of the utmost importance.

Section 3:

Every effort should be made to limit the grounds for dismissal to those here enumerated. The inclusion of indefinite, or unduly restrictive, grounds -- such as "conduct unbecoming a teacher" or "insubordination" -- should of course be especially resisted. Similar remarks apply to the grounds for demotion. (In existing tenure legislation the grounds for demotion are either not stated at all or stated so generally as to afford the employee little or no real protection. The present bill seeks to remedy this. It is hoped that the more explicit statement of appointment procedure -- in provisions 1, 2, and 3 of paragraph b -- constitutes a further improvement.)

Section 4:

It will be noted that the present bill (unlike any existing tenure law) makes provision, not only for dismissal and demotion, but for all other penalties as well. The importance of this fact becomes apparent when it is realized that at least some of these penalties -- e.g., prolonged suspension without pay -- conceivably could be just as serious in their consequences as dismissal or demotion.

It is highly probable that paragraph b will require local adjustment.

Section 5:

The exception at the beginning of provision 4 is made so that should an employee wilfully and deliberately refuse to perform his legitimate duties, the hands of the board will not be tied (see provision 7). On the other hand, it should be noted that provision 7, by providing that prior to the issuance of the board's order the pay of the employee shall not be affected, protects the employee against the possibility of a prolonged suspension without pay. The other safeguards provided in this Section are no less important.

The reference to provisional certificates in the proviso in provision 4 is to be understood in terms of the Model Certification Bill, Section 4. It should be said, however, that the desirability of including this proviso is open to question.

Section 6:

To require that employees shall be tried by their prosecutors (as is the case in most tenure laws) is palpably absurd. Fair hearings under such circumstances notwithstanding statutory precautions, are more likely to be the exception than the rule. "A decent respect for justice" demands, therefore, that, as in the present bill, an employee shall have the opportunity -- or shall be required -- to have the hearing before an <u>independent</u> body. Moreover, it may be pointed out that such a procedure, by greatly reducing the number of appeals, will to that extent eliminate the delays, the inconveniences, and the expenses which second hearings necessarily entail. (See, however, the note immediately below.)

Section 8:

If concessions with respect to the initial hearing (see the note immediately above) should prove to be necessary in order to secure employees the right to appeal to an independent authority -- preferably the courts -- such concessions should be made. This right, however, should be fought for uncompromisingly.

Section 11:

In certain states it will be desirable to substitute for the county a somewhat larger district -- though the advantage of the smaller district should not be forgotten. Again, in those states in which such procedure is constitutional, it may be desirable to have the courts, rather than the Governor, appoint the commissioners. The adequacy of the appropriation here provided will of course vary from state to state.

(The selection of particular parts of the bill for comment in these notes has of necessity to a large extent been arbitrary. No inferences should be drawn, therefore, on the basis of that selection.)

National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
2 WEST 45TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
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August 10, 1949

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NATIONAL SCHOOL COMMISSION PICKS

DU PONT EXECUTIVE AS STAFF DIRECTOR

New York, N.Y. --- Henry Toy Jr., 35, du Pont Company executive and founder of the Council for Delaware Education, has been appointed Executive Director of the new National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, Roy E. Larsen, president of Time Inc. and chairman of the Commission, announced today.

"As a businessman who realizes the vital importance of the public schools to each community as well as to the nation, Mr. Toy has been largely responsible for the dramatic success of the Council for Delaware Education in helping citizens to improve the public schools in communities throughout Delaware," Mr. Larsen said.

"In his capacity as Executive Director of our Commission he will be able to give all his time and the full benefit of his experience to implementing the program outlined by our members. According to part of this program the Commission will act as a clearing house of information to enable one group of citizens endeavoring to improve their local public schools to profit from the experience of others. Mr. Toy will also assist us in carrying out many other projects which we are planning to help encourage the broad public interest in the public schools which we believe is necessary to solve the many extremely serious problems which confront the schools today."

The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools is composed exclusively of laymen, many of them outstanding in business, labor, law and publishing. It was formed last May to work for concerted action by citizens in their own communities. The group has received initial financial support from the Carnegie

Corporation and the General Education Board. Its officers are, besides Mr. Larsen: James F. Brownlee, former deputy director of the OPA, vice chairman; John A. Stevenson, president of Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., treasurer; and Leo Perlis, director of the National CIO Community Services Committee, secretary.

The Council for Delaware Education, which Mr. Toy headed for two and a half years after founding it in November of 1946, is a dramatic illustration of what a group of determined citizens can do for their schools. It has been instrumental in achieving many far-reaching school improvements in Delaware. These include increases in teachers' salaries, appropriations for the construction of new school buildings, wide-spread legislative changes for the benefit of the schools, and an upsurge in public interest in the schools which has been reflected in a greatly increased number of voters turning out for elections affecting the schools. Last fall the gubernatorial election in Delaware was fought out largely on public school issues.

As Executive Director of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, Mr. Toy will be heading the staff of an organization which Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, this spring called "potentially the most important move for the advancement of public education taken in the last fifty years."

The National Citizens Commission will soon be expanded to include sixty members not professionally identified with education, religion or politics, from many sections of the nation, and of varying points of view and experience. It now has twenty-eight members, many of them well-known. Besides the Commission's officers, these are: Mrs. Barry Bingham, Vice President, Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal and Times; Stuart Bradley, Member of the Executive Board, Louisiana Education Foundation, New Orleans; John Cowles, President, The Minneapolis Star and Tribune; Edward R. Eastman, President and Editor, American Agriculturist, Ithaca, N. Y.; George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion; Mrs. Bruce Gould, Editor, Ladies' Home Journal; Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League; Ralph A. Hayward, President, Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment Co.,

Parchment, Michigan; Robert Heller, Robert Heller & Associates, Inc., Cleveland; Palmer Hoyt, Editor and Publisher, The Denver Post.

Also, Mrs. Samuel A. Lewisohn, Chairman, Board of Trustees, New York Public Education Association; Walter Lippmann, columnist, Washington, D. C.; Robert Littell, Senior Editor, The Reader's Digest; Stanley Marcus, Executive Vice President, Neiman-Marcus Company, Dallas; James G. K. McClure, President, Farmers' Federation, Inc., Asheville, N. C.; George Houk Mead, Honorary Chairman of the Board, The Mead Corporation, Dayton, Ohio; Mrs. Eugene Meyer, The Washington (D.C.) Post; Raymond Rubicam, co-founder of Young and Rubicam, Inc. (N.Y.), Scottsdale, Arizona; Beardsley Ruml, New York; Harry Scherman, President, Book-of-the-Month Club; Louis B. Seltzer, Editor, Cleveland Press; Richard Joyce Smith, partner in law firm of Whitman, Ransom, Coulson & Goetz, New York; Charles Allen Thomas, Executive Vice President, Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis; and Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., U.S. District Judge for Massachusetts, Boston.

The Commission's headquarters are at 2 West 45th Street, New York City.

10- Education, Gen.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON HENRY TOY JR. WHO HAS BEEN APPOINTED EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMISSION FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Born in Easton, Pa., in 1914, Henry Toy Jr. is a graduate of the Woodbury, N. J. public school system, and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. He has been associated with the du Pont Company for eight and a half years, and for the past four years he has been manager of the Priority Section and has been responsible for the purchase of non-ferrous metals. He is married and has two children of school age.

Last February Mr. Toy was named Young Man of the Year by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Delaware. In June he was winner of a membership competition of the National Association of Purchasing Agents. He served as secretary of the Wilmington Purchasing Agents Association and on two committees of the Philadelphia Purchasing Agents Association. Besides his work with the Council for Delaware Education, he has been president of the Oak Grove, Delaware Parent-Teachers Association and chairman of the legislative committee of the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Mr. Toy's activity on behalf of the public schools began in 1946 when his wife decided to attend a bowling party, and he took her place at a Parent-Teacher Association meeting in Oak Grove, the small Wilmington suburb where he lived. He grew interested in the discussions there, and before leaving found himself appointed chairman of a committee to study teachers' salaries.

His work on this committee led him to a broad study of all local public school problems. In cooperation with the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers, he formed the Council for Delaware Education, which immediately began a dramatic campaign to improve the state's schools.

The Council includes approximately one hundred and fifty representatives of such organizations as the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, church clubs, and Parent-Teacher Associations from all parts of the state.

To arouse interest in the public schools, the Council under Mr. Toy's leadership summarized in laymen's language the state's school laws, wrote and published, with the cooperation of the American Association of University Women, a description of each of Delaware's 174 school buildings, and arranged for the dramatic presentation of all school issues in radio, press and public meetings.

One of the most tangible results of this activity has been the passage of legislation calling for $19,000,000 worth of new school construction in Delaware, but Mr. Toy says, "The major achievement of the Council has been the reawakening of public interest in the schools here, and the realization by the people of what the schools can do for them, and what they can do for the schools."

Dr. William S. Carlson, President of the University of Delaware, has written of the Council for Delaware Education, "Education is sorely in need of the support of the entire community which it serves. This is particularly important on the local level. The success of any school system is dependent to a large measure upon the interest and support of the citizenry. The Council for Delaware Education, Inc. has been eminently successful in calling to the attention of the public the shortcomings of our schools, but more than that, they have done much to point the way to future improvement."

Materials — Ed. Div.

[Reprinted from EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, Vol. VIII, No. 3, December 1950]

Schools versus Prejudice

GEORGE W. DENEMARK

Better intercultural attitudes can be built through democratic experimental education in our American schools. Professor George W. Denemark, School of Education, Boston University, outlines five major approaches to the reduction of prejudice.

TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS committed to the task of promoting in their students intercultural attitudes consistent with the American Creed can find much of interest and of use in recent research reports on prejudice.[1] Emerging out of the welter of suggestions from numerous well-intentioned sources to which many educators have been exposed in recent years, is a clearer conception of the nature of prejudice and of the most effective means for combating it. Worthy intentions are increasingly capable of being coupled with a real understanding of the dynamics of attitude change.

A survey of contemporary research studies discloses an emphasis upon two elements as major sources of prejudiced attitudes in young people. One is the repeated frustration of the individual and the resultant tensions thus aroused which demand an outlet. The second source is the existence of such attitudes in parents and other groups with which the child associates—attitudes which are quickly learned and frequently adopted by him.

Prejudice has been found in numerous cases to be coincident with recurrent and marked frustrations of young people as they sought to cope with the developmental tasks of their own maturity level. Society, while rigorously defining these tasks, has frequently done little to facilitate their satisfactory achievement. Contradictions have existed in the expectations of home and school, of church and peer group, and a host of other social groups. These contradictions have resulted in unresolved tensions which all too frequently spill over in the form of hostility and aggression toward minority group members.

The character of contemporary society, imposing particularly burdensome tensions and insecurities upon parents, leaves its stamp at the same time upon their children. As a consequence, these children are often denied the warmth of affection, continuous encouragement in their explorations of the world in which they live, and the security that comes with membership in a family group that is close-knit and stable—conditions which are all so important in building healthy personalities.

Schools Affect Prejudices

Data on changing family functions and the extent to which today's families

[1] The remarks which follow are based upon a research project conducted by William Van Til and the author at the University of Illinois, with the financial assistance of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The project was reported in the October 1950 issue of the *Review of Educational Research.*

are being broken by discord and divorce are familiar to most teachers. The impact of such factors upon the intergroup attitudes of the children of these families is perhaps not so familiar. A recent study of prejudiced persons revealed that in the backgrounds of the forty subjects selected for the study there was not a single example of a permanently well-adjusted marital relationship between their parents.[2]

Too frequently such evidence is interpreted by teachers as indicating the futility of efforts by the school to change pupil attitudes in the face of adverse home conditions. Instead they should recognize that to many children school can be a haven from, rather than a continuation of, the tensions and insecurities generated elsewhere.

Potential school sources of frustration for many students exist in the imposition of subject matter only remotely, if at all, related to their immediate problems, and in the conception of the classroom as a place primarily intended to inculcate passivity and conformity rather than imagination, responsiveness and creativity.

Another source of tension may be found in employment of grading systems which maximize the worst aspects of competition and ignore the necessity for success experiences for all but a small minority of the group. Tacit approval of classroom conduct and extracurricular activities which perpetuate and promote cliques and social class distinctions is still another. Tensions built up in these school situations, when coupled with those originating in the family and elsewhere, necessitate an outlet. The channel for their release often becomes the expression of hostility toward minority group members.

Prejudices Are Learned

Significant as are these sources of frustration in development of prejudice in many children, it is important to recognize that not all bigoted attitudes are traceable to such an origin. Prejudices expressed by some children seem to be nothing more than learned behavior. The child's conceptions of himself and of others are so heavily influenced by the social environment that the well-adjusted child too may express strong intergroup prejudices simply as a result of indoctrination in, and habituation to, adult anti-democratic values. Here too, as in the case of frustration as a source of prejudice, it is true that the influence of home and family is of key importance, and yet the potentialities of the school for introducing alternative ideas and broadening perspectives should not be overlooked.

Insensitivity to the role they play in this respect may result not only in little help by teachers in building accurate conceptions of out-group members, but also in actual perpetuation of existing unfavorable stereotypes. A recent study of the treatment given minority groups in over three hundred textbooks revealed that many such books perpetuated negative stereotypes of minority groups, usually not because of any malicious intent but rather because of insensitivity, limited treatment and important omissions.[3]

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[2] Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

[3] Howard E. Wilson and Others, *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1949).

Attitudes of teachers and administrators and of other pupils are important factors in the determination of the attitudes of those with whom they come in contact. Failure to recognize this responsibility may mean that many children have an opportunity to learn about other racial, religious and ethnic groups only in terms of stereotypes and rejection.

Schools Can Build Better Intercultural Attitudes

Given such an understanding of the nature of prejudice, what then? What can schools do toward building better intercultural attitudes? Recent research has suggested five major approaches to the problem.

Create Democratic Atmosphere

The first approach, and one which we have already to some degree discussed, is *the creation of a democratic atmosphere designed to reduce the personal insecurities and tensions of children.* A permissive atmosphere in which pupils and teacher plan together the experiences they will have is important, both as it is oriented around the real problems and concerns of the children, and as it employs a methodology or approach to those problems which provides an opportunity for wide participation, self-expression, and cooperation with others. The intimate relationship between content and method is nowhere better illustrated than here. The personality of the teacher and the warmth and genuine respect for the personalities of others which he can demonstrate daily in countless ways can also do much to create and maintain such an atmosphere.

Deliberate provision for opportunities for each child to experience success frequently in a wide range of activities is still another important factor. The school program that is rich and varied in order to develop and reward talent and achievement in mechanical, aesthetic, physical and social activities as well as strictly intellectual ones can do much to promote a healthy school climate in which democratic attitudes can grow. This is applicable to both regular classroom activities and to the extracurricular program of the school. But there is little need to go on. Each teacher can doubtless call to mind a dozen ways in which he can bring democracy to his classroom.

Encourage Intergroup Contacts

A second approach to intercultural attitude change which has received consideration and support in recent research is *the encouragement of broadening intergroup contacts in situations involving cooperation.* Experiences in the military services during the past war with mixed combat units and the utilization of joint facilities lead to the generalization that members of different cultural groups placed together in situations necessitating cooperation will grow to respect one another and approve of such contacts.[4] Such an approach seems to be most effective when the attention of the group is focused upon concrete tasks and objectives rather than upon more abstract considerations of justice.

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4 Samuel A. Stouffer, Edward A. Suchman, Leland C. DeVinney, Shirley A. Star and Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

There seems little evidence to indicate that such an approach could not be similarly effective with children in school situations. Admittedly, however, one important factor in the changes reported among troops was that most of the experiences occurred overseas, where pressures to conform to the standards of their home membership groups were at a minimum. One implication of this latter factor may be that teachers seeking to employ the contact approach need to be particularly sensitive to the conditions accompanying such contacts. They should seek to orient contact situations around problems which are real and specific, but which are yet sufficiently novel to avoid the possibility of having associated with them a large body of previously formed negative reactions.

There is evidence to support the approach of the teacher or administrator who acts on the assumption that members of various racial, religious and ethnic groups can and will work together harmoniously. It has been found that those who take the American Creed literally and assume that others will abide by it, encounter much less opposition than if they approach the situation more cautiously and obliquely by asking for reactions to such contacts. Doubt apparently breeds doubt in such matters. The *fait accompli* here, as in matters of politics, has demonstrated its effectiveness. It is important to recognize that this approach to intercultural attitude change should be accompanied by other approaches, so that the prejudiced child will not come to regard such contacts merely as unique exceptions to his previously formulated generalizations.

Provide Emotional Sensitization

A third approach involves *the provision of opportunities for enhanced emotional sensitization to other culcural groups.* Research has pointed to the importance of the emotional as well as the cognitive and action phases of intergroup attitudes, and yet most of our attempts at attitude change have been couched largely in terms of providing facts. While the necessity for providing valid data is indisputable, many children lack the experience from which they can interpret such data. Consequently they respond, if at all, only in the grossest and least sensitive manner.

The capacity for empathy or the ability to place oneself in the role of others needs much development in many children. One important way in which the classroom teacher can broaden the base from which his pupils view and react to other group members is through use of literature which emphasizes human relations themes.[5] Similarly movies, radio scripts and recordings which portray the contributions and problems of various cultural groups in an honest and sympathetic way may have an initial impact upon children who have heretofore had no awareness of any problems in this area.

As one of the reports from the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project pointed out, the principal value of literature lies in the extent to which it can re-enforce, interpret and extend the ex-

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[5] See publications of the Staff of Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, *Reading Ladders for Human Relations* and *Literature for Human Understanding* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education).

perience of children.[6] We should be aware that approaches which emphasize feeling must be accompanied by some rational translation of the emotional reactions generated into a set of values, if the changes effected are to be of more than temporary duration. Move students emotionally, yes, but accompany this by the clarification of the scientific base upon which such healthy attitudes rest.

Expose Inconsistency of Attitudes

This suggests a fourth approach to attitude change in the schools; namely, *the promotion of situations in which individuals may be exposed to the inconsistency or invalidity of some of their existing attitudes.* Increasing recognition has been accorded the technique of action research in providing data which will substantiate or modify student attitudes toward other persons and groups.

Evidence which a pupil has gathered on his own in conjunction with a school group investigating community conditions has on many occasions been found to be more likely to involve attitude changes in the student than has the "ready made" data, no matter how complete, which the teacher may be able to provide.

The teacher who plans for and encourages class projects which involve analyses of community conditions and discussions of the implications of these conditions for all members of the community can do much to build better intergroup attitudes. Similarly, the administrator who encourages his staff to embark upon such projects and consciously promotes closer relationships between school and community can help to make possible learning situations in which children may become deeply involved because of their active participation in all stages of the problem.

Strengthen Support of Democratic Behavior

A fifth approach which research has indicated as important, is that of *strengthening the social supports of democratic behavior.* There is little likelihood that modifications of attitudes effected in the classroom will be permanent if the institutional structure and group pressures in the school and larger community are all unfavorable to the desired attitudes, and all remain unchanged. Class activities need to be accompanied by vigorous and courageous interpretation of democracy as applied to intergroup relations.

Policies of the school with respect to equality of opportunity for student office-holding and honors attainment, to equal access to all of the facilities of the school, and to the non-discriminatory character of clubs and athletic teams, as well as the impartiality of teachers to students of all cultural groups in matters of personal attention, grades and so on, need to be exemplary. Uncompromising policies on such matters are important because of the clarification and support they lend to democratic behavior. Healthy intergroup attitudes have a much better opportunity of being expressed if the group environment guarantees them backing.

Nor can the role of the teacher in community affairs be overlooked. Ac-

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[6] Helen G. Trager and Roberta M. Everitt, "Tools for Human Relations Education," *Educational Leadership* 7:530-539 (May 1950).

tive support of fair employment and education practices legislation and vigorous enforcement of these, support of policies of non-discrimination in housing, eating places and recreational facilities, and similar activities having for their purpose the democratization of the community, all serve to establish a social environment for children which encourages healthy intergroup attitudes.

Employment of posters and literature seeking to promote better human relations on a mass basis appears to be relatively ineffective in itself. This is the case because of the ease with which those to whom it is most applicable may ignore or distort its meaning. However, such techniques are valuable in that they encourage the overt expression of democratic attitudes in a community or school environment where the dominant attitude differs.

The activities suggested in the preceding paragraphs are by no means new to forward-looking teachers and administrators. Many of these activities have long been part of the programs of our better elementary and secondary schools. However, until recently many such practices were not seen in their relationship to attitude changes in children. It is indeed gratifying to find that the indications from contemporary research concerned with intercultural attitude change lend further support to the case for democratic experimental education in our American schools.

For your information

NEA
RESEARCH DIVISION

National Education Association of the United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

A

June 1953

EXTENT OF STATE AND LOCAL TENURE AND CONTINUING-CONTRACT LAWS AS OF 1953

Type of provisions	States and territories: Number	States and territories: Names
1	2	3
A. Tenure and protective continuing-contract provisions: (indefinite contracts from year to year until terminated by notice, statement of reasons, and opportunity for self-defense)		
Statewide	18	Ala., Ariz., Dist. of Col., Fla., Hawaii, Iowa, Ky., La., Md., Mass., Minn., Mont., N. J., N. Mex., Pa., R. I., Tenn., W. Va.
In part of state:		
Excluding certain rural areas only	2	Ind., N. Y.
Optional in smaller districts	3	Calif., Colo., Ohio
Optional thruout state	2	Mich., Va.
In certain cities or counties only	10	Conn., Ga., Ill., Kans., Mo., Nebr., N. C., Oreg., S. C., Wis.
B. Continuing-contract provisions of the spring-notification type: (contracts for one or more school years, automatically renewable unless timely notice is given)		
Statewide	7	Ark., Del., Maine, Nev., N. Dak., S. Dak., Wash.

(OVER)

EXTENT OF STATE AND LOCAL TENURE AND CONTINUING-CONTRACT LAWS AS OF 1953 (Cont.)

Type of provisions	States and territories	
	Number	Names
1	2	3
In part of state:		
All districts except tenure areas.....	10	Conn., Ill., Ind., Kans., Mo., Nebr., N. C., Oreg., S. C., Wis.
C. No tenure or spring-notification continuing-contract provisions applicable:		
In any part of the state.....	9	Alaska, Idaho, Miss., N. H., Okla., Texas, Utah, Vt., Wyo.
In part of state.....	2	Ga., N. Y.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

December 23, 1953

AH
could you
to
Tom
puzzle
this out,
+ let me
know what
to do?

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have your letter of December 16. We are of the opinion that there is no such thing as a model tenure law in the sense that it is a single law that could be applied to all states. For that reason we have never attempted to write a model law, but rather we have worked with individual states in the development of laws that seem to fit their needs and the unique conditions that existed in each state.

This has been pretty much the point of view of state education associations as shown by the variety of practice that continues to exist in the tenure field. The general status of tenure is shown in the enclosed memorandum marked A.

In our study, Teacher Tenure: Analysis and Appraisal, we tried to show some of the problems and difficulties that can be encountered (marked B). We have also given abstracts of a number of the tenure laws. The Teacher Tenure Manual (item C) is an attempt to approach the problem from the angle of the teacher and, therefore, it emphasizes some of the steps that would be taken by teachers. At the back of the report, however, there is an analysis of local and state tenure regulations.

We have not made a compilation of teacher tenure laws since July 1946. We are sending a copy of the 1946 compilation, under separate cover, because it includes the wording of the laws as of that time.

Cordially yours,

Frank W. Hubbard
Director, Research Division

FWH:Bgp
Enclosures

Phil: If you have no use for this — return it to me, huh? (esh)

January 26, 1954

Memo to: GSM

From: AH

Re: The teacher-tenure law puzzle Teacher Tenure ?

I have scanned the NEA material and can see the complications involved in recommending specific legislation without bringing the background of law in each state into consideration.

I think, however, we could draw enough from the NEA pamphlets and other sources to do a general article on tenure legislation emphasizing:

1. The particularly pressing need for tenure laws in the South in the coming transition from segregated to non-segregated schools.

2. The general goals to work for in securing tenure legislation (provisions considered necessary for best protection)--annual contracts, assurance of fair hearings, specific cause for dismissal, etc.

3. The status quo of tenure legislation in the South--what states have tenure laws? is coverage state-wide? Which ones seem strong enough? too weak?

4. Some pointers on working for tenure laws.

The fine points of tenure legislation strike me as being too complicated for the lay person and not important to getting the need for adequate legal protection for the public school teachers circulate

Attached NEA publication "Tenure Legislation--How to Get It and Keep It" approaches tenure from a more general standpoint than the ones they sent--and looks more like what we would want to do.

It occurs to me that one of the by-products of an article on tenure laws as they would affect de-segregation would be clearer understanding that teachers and administrators--as well as pupils--will be involved in de-segregation. There has been so little general discussion of the de-segregation from the teacher-administrator angle so far.

If you want me to work on this I will be glad to.

Educ.

News from CIO

EXECUTIVE 3-5581 Congress of Industrial Organizations 718 Jackson Pl. N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

CIO CHARGES ADMINISTRATION ENGAGES IN 'DOUBLE TALK' INSTEAD OF PROMPT ACTION TO MEET PROBLEM OF NEGLECTED SCHOOLS

FOR RELEASE, SUNDAY, A.M. PAPERS, MAY 2, 1954

The CIO today charged the Eisenhower Administration with engaging in "double talk" when prompt federal action is needed to meet the problem of the nation's neglected schools.

The charge was contained in the current edition of the Economic Outlook, monthly publication of the CIO Department of Research and Education.

Noting that "even President Eisenhower himself admitted that 'our school system needs some prompt, effective help'", the Economic Outlook added that "the Eisenhower Administration has spoken no word of approval" for bills proposing Federal aid for school construction.

The Administration, the Outlook continued, "has proposed instead that we hold conferences to discover the needs of our schools and what should be done about them."

This proposal, the CIO publication continued, "ignored" the vast volume of reliable data already collected. The Outlook said:

"Conferences to talk about it (the need for school assistance) are neither prompt nor effective, particularly when several years will be spent gathering material which is already available. This is not only double work but double talk."

Recalling the CIO's long fight for adequate public school education, the Economic Outlook noted that every America pays the cost of neglected public schools.

"We pay it in the cost of crime, especially juvenile crime; we pay it in wasted and unproductive lives of men and women whose talents might have been brought out by propr schooling; we pay it in Selective Service rejections for inability to read and write," the Outlook said.

The Economic Outlook said the school problem is "critical," and it detailed it this way: "Classrooms are crowded beyond capacity; teachers are hard to get

and even harder to keep; building and teacher shortages that have plagued the elementary schools are now moving slowly in on the high schools."

Recalling the huge crop of World War II babies, the Outlook said present public school enrollment is estimated at 29.6 million and added, by "by 1959, this will have jumped to 36.3 million, an increase of approximately one million children a year."

To meet this increase, the Outlook continued the nation needs "at least 40,000 new teachers a year." But with current pay scales, averaging $3605 a year, the CIO publication continued, "it is small wonder that we can't attrack young people to teaching or keep them in the classroom for more than a few years."

Recalling the recent tragic school fire in upper New York State, which took 14 lives of children housed in a frame "temporary" building, the Economic Outlook reported that one out of every five school children is "housed in a building that doesn't meet minimum fire safety standards."

The Outlook recalled that in 1949, CIO and many other groups, supported the bill offered by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) for a federal school construction bill allocating $3 billion over a five-year period. As of September, 1952, the Outlook said, the U.S. Office of Education reported the need, in 43 states, for 245,317 classrooms to relieve overcrowding, house the enrollment increase through that period and to replace obsolete buildings.

Yet, the Outlook observed, the average per family spending for schools is $200 per year, while the cost of crime is $495 per family.

Pointing out that this was a national problem, which could have been corrected in great part by the Hill-Anderson bill to use off-shore oil royalties for school purposes, the Economic Outlook said:

"Now, when not just a few areas here and there but whole regions are unable to provide a decent minimum standard of education, is the time for the federal government to give the states and localities some help." It suggested that bills allocating federal funds for school construction, such as those introduced by Sen. Humphrey and John S. Cooper (R. Ky.), would materially help.

The Economic Outlook concluded: "The public schools are closer to each American family than any other tax supported institution. They are free, first because entrance to them does not depend on economic status; in a much deeper sense they are free because they are answerable to no special interest but to us, the free citizens in a free democracy. All citizens have the responsibility to use this freedom to improve our public school system."

-30-

COPY OF THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK IS ATTACHED

5-13-54

SCARBORO SCHOOL COST PER PUPIL IN A.D.

SCHOOL YEAR 1952-53 AS COMPARED WITH SCHOOL

Average Daily Attendance	School Year	Administration	Instruction	Plant Operation	Maintenance
172.64	1952-53	$ 10.74	$ 268.66	$ 72.78	$ 30.93
151	1951-52	$ 11.55	$ 294.93	$ 87.17	$ 49.75
Area Cost Per Pupil	1952-53	$ 10.80	$ 222.33	$ 36.16	$ 15.44
1/National Median Cost Per Pupil	1951-52	$ 7.00	$ 179.51	$ 26.29	$ 15.17
Percentage of Area Budget	1952-53	3.78%	77.91%	12.67%	5.41%
1/National Median Percentage	1951-52	2.8 %	71.5 %	10.5 %	6.0 %
*Average Secondary Cost Per Pupil	1952-53	$ 330.78			
	1951-52	$ 351.02			
*Average Elementary Cost Per Pupil	1952-53	$ 258.42			
	1951-52	$ 256.33			

1/Circular No. 371, Federal Security Agency - Group II Cities - 25,000 to 99,999 Popul

*Scarboro excluded from Average Cost

**Includes all Coordinate Activities and Auxiliary Services

5/13/54

R PUPIL IN A.D.A.

RED WITH SCHOOL YEAR 1951-52

n Maintenance	Fixed Charges	Cafeteria	Health Supplies	Total Applicable Costs	Cost Per Pupil
$ 30.93	$ .80	$ 3.54	$ .15	$ 66,916.00	$ 387.60
$ 49.75	$ .75	$(1.29)	$ .18	$ 66,908.00	$ 443.10
$ 15.44	$ .80	$ (.29)	$ .15	$ 1,885,909.00	$ 285.40
$ 15.17	$9.71	$13.40**			$ 251.08
5.41%	.28%	(.10)%	.05%		
6.0 %	3.9 %	5.3 %**			

to 99,999 Population

6-9-54

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

COMMUNITY SERVICE DEPARTMENT
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Director

Education, Gen.

SEGREGATION - TWO EDGED-SWORD

By Milton M. Gordon and John P. Roche

The enclosed article reprinted from the April 25th issue of the New York Times Magazine deals with the harm that segregation does to white citizens in the United States in addition to its well-known effects on Negroes. The authors point out that the four major areas of substantial loss to white citizens are economic, psychological, moral and international and they discuss each of these areas in some detail.

Additional copies of this article may be had at $2. per 100.

* * * * *

ARE LOS ANGELES' SCHOOL TEACHERS AFRAID TO TEACH?

There have been numerous conjectures as to whether or not attacks on the public schools have made teachers fearful of dealing with controversial issues in the class room. A series of four articles that appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror have been brought together in the enclosed reprint, showing that the existence of such fear on the part of school teachers is indeed a fact.

Up to 10 additional copies of this reprint, reproducing the results of The Mirror poll, are available on request.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
Community Service Department

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June 9, 1954
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
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Edu. Gov.

November 1954 STATISTICAL CIRCULAR Circular No. 417

FALL 1954 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

By
Samuel Schloss, Specialist in Educational Statistics

and
Carol Joy Hobson, Research Assistant*

THIS CIRCULAR presents fall 1954 statistics for the public school system on the number of pupils enrolled, the number of teachers, the number of teachers teaching under substandard credentials, and the adequacy of schoolhousing, including the number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during the current fiscal year. The data were collected through a brief questionnaire identified as "Form RSS-052," which was mailed to each State and territorial department of education.

This is the first of a series of annual surveys, to be taken by the Office of Education in the fall of the year, the purpose of which is to obtain certain essential data about the public school system for the year in progress. It represents an effort of the Office of Education to meet a growing demand for current information. Detailed public school statistics for the entire school year will continue to be available in the regular periodic surveys.

The current survey represents one phase of a comprehensive data-collection program for the public school system which has been developed during the past several years and incorporated in Handbook I, "The Common Core of State Educational Information" (Office of Education Bulletin 1953, No. 8). Recognizing the importance of comparability of educational statistics and a common understanding of basic items, the National Council of Chief State School Officers requested the Office of Education to conduct a cooperative project with State and territorial departments of education to achieve these objectives. Handbook I is now being adapted by the various States to their own data-collection systems. Chapter 11 of Handbook I laid the groundwork for the present survey by expressly providing for the collection by State departments of education of a "minimum list" of items of information in the fall of each year. Not all of the States were able to set up the machinery for obtaining the information for this first fall report. Because the usefulness of the information is dependent upon the promptness with which it is published, an early closing date had to be set for the filing of the individual State reports. Consequently, some States and Territories were unable to submit the required current information by the time this publication went to press. Reports were received from 41 States, the District of Columbia, and six outlying parts of the United States. Several of these States either did not fill in data for one or two of the items requested or indicated that they had used estimates where actual figures were not available.

*Under the general direction of Emery M. Foster, Head, Reports and Analysis.

State, by region	Number of pupils on current rolls			Number of teachers, full-time and part-time (excluding supervisors, principals, librarians, etc.)		
	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Total	Elementary	Seconda
Continental United States						
NORTHEAST						
Connecticut	359,000	231,000	128,000	13,900	9,400	4,50
Massachusetts	669,617	462,233	207,384	27,446	17,201	10,24
New Hampshire	83,733	59,290	24,443	2/3,343	2/2,149	2/1,19
New Jersey	839,000	670,000	169,000	32,000	23,400	8,60
New York	2,261,161	1,401,920	859,241	88,800	50,050	38,75
Pennsylvania	1,808,868	1,171,868	637,000	64,821	36,292	28,52
Rhode Island	*	*	*	*	*	
Vermont	66,573	48,637	17,936	2,630	1,874	75
NORTH CENTRAL						
Illinois 3/	969,489	726,729	242,760	40,801	27,792	13,00
Iowa	541,000	411,000	130,000	22,551	15,068	7,48
Kansas	386,915	292,244	94,671	19,573	13,143	6,41
Minnesota	579,302	368,945	210,357	23,843	13,597	10,24
Missouri	732,565	571,400	161,165	24,800	18,000	6,8
Nebraska	240,148	178,241	61,907	12,514	8,746	3,7
North Dakota	120,733	91,779	28,954	3/6,046	4,559	1,4
Ohio	1,505,441	1,015,619	489,822	3/44,945	23,667	21,2
South Dakota	132,470	100,841	31,629	7,810	5,642	2,1
Wisconsin	*	*	*	*	*	
SOUTH						
Alabama	703,647	448,970	254,677	23,022	14,052	8,9
Arkansas	430,000	275,000	155,000	13,423	7,898	5,5
Delaware	57,921	35,372	22,549	2,542	1,415	1,1
Florida	600,877	382,870	218,007	24,180	14,250	9,9
Georgia	893,761	674,382	219,379	28,434	19,298	9,1
Kentucky	580,533	470,152	110,381	20,500	14,000	6,5
Louisiana	575,000	460,000	115,000	19,180	12,780	6,4
Maryland	453,800	289,037	164,763	15,906	8,844	7,0
Mississippi	540,157	450,110	90,047	15,122	10,838	4,2
North Carolina	1,018,067	798,417	219,650	32,255	23,885	8,3
Oklahoma	453,191	332,658	120,533	18,759	11,636	7,1
South Carolina	501,678	370,158	131,520	18,240	12,400	5,8
Tennessee	713,704	537,990	175,714	24,013	17,469	6,5
Texas	1,686,377	1,328,330	358,047	56,013	37,535	18,4
West Virginia	448,280	291,077	157,203	14,570	8,840	5,7
District of Columbia	104,491	66,103	38,388	3,620	1,939	1,6
WEST						
Arizona	186,674	145,899	40,775	6,910	5,165	1,7
Colorado	266,534	204,165	62,369	11,606	8,531	3,0
Idaho	139,059	103,176	35,883	4,695	2,958	1,7
Montana	117,784	87,696	30,088	5,514	4,062	1,4
Nevada	42,187	33,289	8,898	1,732	1,303	4
Oregon	318,470	239,859	78,611	12,622	9,167	3,4
Washington	490,184	372,431	117,753	18,001	13,097	4,9
Wyoming	63,837	44,813	19,024	3,109	2,027	1,0
Outlying parts of the United States 5/						
American Samoa	6,043	5,870	173	194	186	
Alaska	25,003	21,309	3,694	1,132	916	2
Canal Zone	10,495	7,126	3,369	377	224	1
Puerto Rico	520,440	394,759	125,681	10,659	6,705	3,9
Virgin Islands (St. Croix)	2,130	1,550	580	66	40	
Guam	10,917	8,687	2,230	364	292	

* Data not available.

1/ Data for 96 towns only, which account for approximately half of all pupils in the State.

2/ Full-time only.

3/ Data, which are shown as reported by State, appear incomplete when compared with similar data previously re

4/ Includes 143 teachers not distributed by level.

5/ The outlying parts are not listed in strict alphabetical order because of the receipt of two late reports.

954 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING, IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

full-time and ng supervisors, arians, etc.)		Number of full-time teachers teaching under substandard credentials			Number of pupils in excess of the normal capacity of the accessible publicly owned school plants in use			Total number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during current fiscal year
ary	Secondary	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Total	Elementary	Secondary	
00	4,500	875	831	44	1/6,886	*	*	1,652
01	10,245	8,212	6,880	1,332	41,470	28,470	13,000	940
49	2/1,194	261	208	53	4,588	3,549	1,039	227
00	8,600	3,000	2,700	300	81,000	64,000	17,000	1,000
50	38,750	4,200	3,900	300	130,000	120,000	10,000	4,951
92	28,529	1,600	800	800	52,369	47,971	4,398	6,000
*	*	117	88	29	*	*	*	237
74	756	266	229	37	8,448	7,024	1,424	103
92	13,009	2,684	2,282	402	40,614	33,420	7,194	2,116
68	7,483	500	385	115	70,500	50,900	19,600	1,300
43	6,430	45	33	12	1,427	1,107	320	920
97	10,246	400	280	120	*	*	*	700
00	6,800	9,300	8,000	1,300	48,000	40,000	8,000	1,200
46	3,768	739	564	175	7,137	5,120	2,017	430
59	1,487	400	350	50	3,000	2,500	500	150
67	21,278	3,159	2,799	360	81,516	59,317	22,199	2,021
42	2,168	921	921	-	13,380	10,180	3,200	174
*	*	*	*	*	12,500	10,000	2,500	1,050
52	8,970	2,067	1,442	625	330,287	330,287	-	1,051
98	5,525	5,000	3,500	1,500	86,671	55,429	31,242	242
15	1,127	266	262	4	700	700	-	*
50	9,930	1,364	1,148	216	82,789	61,260	21,529	1,613
98	9,136	450	*	*	40,000	*	*	2,000
00	6,500	2,200	1,900	300	60,000	42,000	18,000	1,000
80	6,400	2,500	2,440	60	86,250	62,610	23,640	2,200
44	7,062	3,317	2,636	681	37,849	29,688	8,161	732
38	4,284	1,057	957	100	150,000	112,500	37,500	300
85	8,370	2,400	2,160	240	9,500	7,500	2,000	*
36	7,123	-	-	-	*	*	*	900
00	5,840	650	400	250	70,000	50,000	20,000	2,200
69	6,544	950	691	259	37,166	28,016	9,150	1,031
35	18,478	2,810	1,686	1,124	20,300	20,000	300	4,000
40	5,730	887	756	131	3,500	2,000	1,500	103
39	1,681	450	300	150	7,132	5,760	1,372	24
65	1,745	35	15	20	22,471	15,575	6,896	442
31	3,075	600	540	60	52,000	40,000	12,000	1,000
58	1,737	1,250	906	344	*	*	*	327
62	1,452	553	553	-	14,000	10,000	4,000	405
03	429	4	3	1	5,950	4,560	1,390	247
67	3,455	1,503	1,503	-	1,100	1,100	-	700
97	4,904	1,500	1,200	300	85,000	64,600	20,400	1,000
27	1,082	220	212	8	1,308	849	459	125
86	8	20	20	-	-	-	-	6
16	216	59	56	3	8,000	7,000	1,000	127
24	153	37	36	1	-	-	-	-
05	3,954	4/1,368	583	642	257,049	221,758	35,291	479
40	26	8	3	5	213	213	-	34
92	72	*	*	*	44	44	*	*

previously reported for 1951-52.

ate reports.

Pupils Enrolled and Number of Teachers

It should be noted that the enrollment data appearing in this circular, which are compiled in the fall of the year, will not be comparable with the statistics on enrollment given in other publications of the Office of Education, which are cumulative for the year as a whole. Also, the data for teachers are for classroom teachers only, while in other reports the term "teachers" generally includes other instructional staff such as librarians and guidance officers but not supervisors and principals. Because of the lack of data from the nonreporting States, no totals for the continental United States are given in the table for any of the items. However, it is estimated that there are approximately 28,990,000 pupils who are taught by 1,050,000 teachers.

Shortage of Qualified Teachers

The individual States set the requirements for teachers for both regular certificates and emergency certificates. The proportion of teachers teaching under substandard credentials varied from State to State. Thirty-nine States and the District of Columbia reported data for both total teachers and teachers with substandard credentials. There were over 68,000 in the latter category, which constituted 8.3 percent of all teachers. Over four-fifths of the emergency teachers were concentrated in the elementary schools. There were also many teachers holding regular certificates who have met only the minimum State standards of preparation.

Adequacy of Schoolhousing

There were 1.8 million pupils in excess of the normal capacity of the accessible publicly owned school plants in those States which reported for this item. This represents 8.3 percent of their total enrollment. Normal capacity is defined as the number of pupils that can be accommodated in the instruction rooms of a given plant for the school day according to existing State standards exclusive of multiple sessions. When nonpublicly owned quarters or makeshift or improvised facilities are used, all pupils housed in such facilities are considered as in excess of normal capacity as well as the pupils who are in excess of the normal capacity in permanent publicly owned school plants. A total of 47,000 instruction rooms was reported as scheduled for completion during the current fiscal year.

Assuming that the new instruction rooms will be utilized entirely as additional facilities rather than as replacements for obsolete quarters, almost a half-million pupils currently on the rolls will still be housed in inadequate facilities if a ratio of 30 pupils per classroom is used. This points up the need for additional school construction to meet current demands as well as to provide for the continuing increases in enrollment from year to year.

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Editor,
The New South,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

E-22-4

Education, Gen

Scarboro School Enrollment

1953-54

Accumulative ADA to date	197.57
Total Enrollment	238
Enrollment for April	209
Percentage of attendance for year	91.89

Distribution of Enrollment

Kindergarten-4	97
5th-8th	66
9th-12th	46

1954

Materials - Teacher tenure and status - Ed. Gen.

Negro Teachers In "Integrated" School Systems

By Paul Cooke and Inez Imogene Hairston

Dr. Cooke, Associate Professor of English at Miner Teachers, recently conducted the research study for the Evaluation Commission of the American Council on Human Rights and has several articles on school integration in the Journal of Negro Education. *Miss Hairston, who collaborated on the research and compilation of this article, is a member of the Beta Iota Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and a 1953 graduate of Miner Teachers College.*

On two occasions, December 1952 and December of last year, the full attention of Americans as well as the world generally was directed to arguments to end school segregation complained of in the five cases before the United States Supreme Court. Of course, during the past two decades the Supreme Court has issued a number of decisions which have led to the end of school segregation, particularly on the graduate level. And many institutions have voluntarily ended barriers against the Negro and admitted him to study. Ending racial segregation in education, in all areas of life for that matter, has been and is a primary goal for many people. It is, of course, an essential objective of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority as a member organization of the American Council on Human Rights, the Greek-letter societies' civil rights leader.

This article is directed to what is generally recognized as a secondary factor in the school segregation fight—employment of the Negro teacher. Secondary although the matter is, work for the Negro school teacher, constituting a significant economic factor, nevertheless is very important. How has he fared in integrated school systems? Is his employment on the increase or decrease? Can any conclusions relative to his employment in the integrated school systems be used to gauge his economic opportunity in school systems that change over from segregation to non-segregation and eventually integration?

This study presents certain information about the Negro teacher in the "integrated" school system, which is defined simply as that system which is not required to separate children or teacher by race because of any law or ordinance. The results, in general, are encouraging to the extent that

1. The Negro teacher is employed in many American cities all over the United States.
2. His employment has increased sharply in numbers (and percentage-wise), although by no means in the same numbers or percentages as in the segregated school systems.
3. Many cities, although not now employing Negro teachers, have stated a policy of non-discrimination in hiring educational employees.
4. The Negro works in many other professional and clerical capacities besides that of the classroom teacher.

The following information was collected, first, from questionnaires returned by school officials of public school systems during the school year 1947-48; second, from letters returned by school officials of such systems during the past school year 1952-53. The answers indicated conditions during those two school years. The material that follows has been grouped in four categories: (a) Increase in employment of Negro teachers, 1947-53; (b) Policy of non-discrimination but no Negro teachers; (c) Large cities for which no figures are available but for which an increased number is highly likely; (d) No favorable or unfavorable policy but no Negro teachers..

The information is available from highly reliable sources: generally school superintendents, their administrative assistants, or assistant superintendents; school research bureau officers; personnel officers; in one instance, a president of the A. F. L. teachers' union in that city; in another instance, the Council on Human Rights of another city.

CATEGORY I

Increase in Number of Negro Teachers, 1947 - 53

City School System (Alphabetical)	School Years 1947-48	School Years 1952-53	Increase Numerical	Increase Percent
BERKELEY, CALIF.	3	6[1]	3	50
CAMDEN, N. J.	91	—[2]	—	—
CINCINNATI, OHIO	136.3	—[3]	—	—
DAYTON, OHIO	130	151	21	16.1
DENVER, COLO.	—	23	—	—
ELIZABETH, N. J.				
ERIE, PENNA.	1	1½	½	50
FLINT, MICH.	5	29	24	480
FORT WAYNE, IND.	0	1	—	—
GARY, IND.	135	239	104	77
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.	1	7	6	600
HARTFORD, CONN.	9	25[4]	—	—
LANSING, MICH.	0	4	—	—
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN	1	10[1]	9	900
MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.	2	4[1]	2	50
PATTERSON, N. J.	9	25	16	177
PORTLAND, OREGON	2	10-15[4]	—	—
ROCHESTER, N. Y.	2	15[5]	13	650
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.	1	3	2	200
ST. PAUL, MINN.	3	12	9	300
SOMERVILLE, MASS.	1	2	1	100
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.	1	3[4]	—	—
SYRACUSE, N. Y.	0	2[5]	—	—
TACOMA, WASH.	1	2[5]	1	100
TOLEDO, OHIO	24	43[6]	19	79
TRENTON, N. J.	33	36	3	9.9
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO	5	14	9	180
ZANESVILLE, OHIO	0	1	—	—

[1] Not including substitute teachers
[2] "greatly increasing"
[3] "steadily increasing"
[4] Estimated number of teachers
[5] Additional—either qualified to teach or in adult education
[6] For school year 1951-52

The list of school systems, regional in scope, shows a consistent increase during the five-year period. The percentage increase is likely more striking that the actual increase in the number of teachers. On such a basis of past increase during 1947-48 and 1952-53, a prediction of future increase is reasonable.

CATEGORY II

A Policy of Non-Discrimination

In the letters from school superintendents (and one assistant superindendent) of the following public school systems are either flat statements of non-discrimination or indications that qualified Negro teachers would be hired. Here are pertinent quotations, describing situations in which Negro teachers are not employed but well might be.

1. Allentown, Penna. "Employment of teachers in the Allentown Schools, is so far as we can determine, based on merit of persons irrespective of race, nationality, or religion. We have had only negro (sic) application in recent years."
2. Cedar Rapids, Iowa. ". . . it is true that we have no segregation rule of any kind relative to race or anything else. *At the present time* we do not have any Negros employed in the school system. This is not because there has been any prejudice against it."
3. Manchester, N. H. "We had one Negro cadet teacher at one of our high schools in 1950 but no employees in a full-time capacity."
4. New Britain, Conn. "According to the policy of the New Britain Board of Education, we do not discriminate nor show preference on a religious, political, racial or nationality basis when considering candidates for employment as members of our staff. We have, during the past several years, interviewed Negro candidates for teaching positions but have not up to the present time been successful in finding any that were able to qualify for employment.
5. Providence, R. I. "In the Providence plan for selecting teachers no questions are raised regarding color, race or creed and teachers are selected in absolute order from a list . . . If you have any people interested in applying for teaching in Providence I suggest that they make application to the Director of Personnel who will send them the necessary blank."
6. Racine, Wisconsin, "I do not know the present feeling of the Board of Education, but I have not heard them make any objection to the employment of properly certified negro (sic) persons."
7. Reading, Penna. "The Reading School District employs no negro (sic) teachers in the school system *at the present time.*" (Our italics.)
8. Scranton, Penna. "To the best of my knowledge, at no time has a Negro teacher made application for a position in the Scranton Public School System. This semester, however, we do have a young Negro girl, who will graduate from Marywood College in June, doing her practice teaching in one of our elementary schools. This same young lady was employed by us as a recreation leader during the past summer."

These statements, of course, guarantee no Negro teacher a job, but in varying degrees they are encouraging.

CATEGORY III

Several Large Cities and Negro Teachers

In varying percentages Negro teachers have for some time been a part of the teaching force of large city school systems. For the large cities—included here Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York City, and Philadelphia—figures are generally not easily obtainable. "No record"—Chicago. 385 in Detroit in 1958, no answer in 1953. Los Angeles: "Current Personnel Division records do not identify the race, color, or religion of any employe. This practice is considered consistent with the letter and spirit of the Board's policy that no racial discrimination be shown." In 1947 an assistant superintendent of New York City schools—". . . my estimate that there are several hundred Negro teachers . . ."; comparable figures in 1953 are not available. In Philadelphia in 1947 "a great many Negroes [teachers], in 1952-53, there has been an increase in the proportion of the Negro teachers employed in Philadelphia since 1947." No evidence or reason exists to believe that Negro teachers are not on the increase in numbers and percentage in these large cities.

CATEGORY IV

No Negro Teachers — No Policy

In this category are cities which have neither stated that they will employ teachers on their merit nor stated that they will not employ Negro teachers. No policy, in fact, is stated; as a matter of fact, no Negro teachers employed; as a matter of conjecture, none likely to be employed shortly, in many instances of this category.

In general, these cities have small Negro population, in one instance no Negroes, and apparently assume that no consideration should be given to hiring Negro teachers when the Negro school population is small. Cheyenne, Wyoming: ". . . so few Negroes in our community this particular problem does not present itself in a very serious form." (All of this information from the 1952-53 letters). . . . "no Negroes living in Cicero." . . . "number of Negroes in Salt Lake City and the state of Utah is very small." . . . "no Negro teachers and other educational workers in the public schools of Utica [New York]."

* * *

This whole subject of employment of Negro teachers in public school systems which are not required by law to segregate children and teachers calls for more study. But probably more important it calls for applications on the part of qualified Negro teachers. (Other professional and clerical workers might also apply, for the following workers are also found in the school systems of Categories I and III: medical officers and psychologists, principals and assistant principals, attendance officers; secretaries, clerks, and stenographers; maintenance and custodial employees. And in a very few instances Negroes are members of the "School Committee," or Board of Education.)

On the whole, Negro teachers in increasing numbers are finding employment in their profession in integrated school systems.

Reprint from THE DELTA JOURNAL, 1954

Citizens AND THEIR Schools

MARCH, 1955 NEWS FOR PEOPLE WORKING FOR BETTER SCHOOLS VOL. 5, NO. 6

1955: A BIG YEAR FOR EDUCATION

NSBA SET TO SPUR GRASS-ROOTS TALKS

Field Staff Will Service Communities Planning Meets

On-the-spot assistance to communities planning conferences on education will be provided by the National School Boards Association, thanks to recent action by the NSBA board of directors.

A field staff, headed by Dr. Maurice Stapley, Director of Projects for the NSBA, is now being set up.

The field men will be available to consult with local organizations and individuals and generally lend a hand in the community-wide meetings.

Dr. Stapley

The new NSBA project is intended to supplement the state, territorial, and White House conferences on education called for by President Eisenhower.

The majority of the states and territories have already set up machinery for state-wide meetings, to be held prior to the White House Conference, Nov. 28 - Dec. 1, 1955.

NSBA President Jesse Stratton called school boards "the logical group to take the initiative in assisting communities to do some concerted thinking about their public schools."

Dr. Stapley is on leave of absence as Assistant Dean, School of Education of Indiana University. His new mail address is Box 47, Bloomington, Indiana.

According to Stapley, "the NSBA will seek the cooperation of lay and educational organizations in each of the states in promoting interest in community conferences, and will encourage local board members to help in the planning of such conferences."

SUCCESSOR TO CARRY ON WORK

Responding to the pleas of hundreds of laymen and educators that some form of national impetus for school improvement be continued after the expiration of the charter of the National Citizens Commission, Roy E. Larsen, NCCPS chairman, today announced plans for a successor organization.

Tentatively called the National Citizens Council for Public Schools, the new group would be composed of interested laymen from a wide area of American life. Several new leaders have already emerged and have taken on the responsibilities of organizing the new group.

Meanwhile, the National Citizens Commission announced the extension of its charter through January 31, 1956. The new group, it is hoped, would start operations sometime during 1955 so both groups could operate concurrently for a period.

The exact nature of the new Council's work will be announced through this news bulletin as plans become more definite. Persons who have urged the NCCPS to continue its work have underscored the need for a continuing program to alert Americans to the problems of the public schools and to inspire cooperative work for their improvement. In setting up its program it is expected that the new group will respond to the wishes of citizens' committees and individuals interested in school improvement.

Financing of the successor group is made possible through an announced grant of $500,000 for a two and one half year period from the Carnegie Corporation, one of the NCCPS's principal sources of financial support.

COMMISSION TO BOOST COMMUNITY CONFABS

Will Use Ads, Booklets To Inspire Local Talks

A revival of the old town-meeting method for community action is in the offing -- and on the largest scale in the nation's history.

The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, set to disband in May, 1955, has extended its charter through January 31, 1956, in order to take part in stimulating the community-conference movement and has already begun setting up a program which is designed to inspire "a conference on education in every community."

Dove-tailing with President Eisenhower's program for state and territory-wide conferences culminating in the November 28-December 1, 1955 White House Conference on Education, the Commission's program will concentrate on sparking local-level talks before and after the state and national education discussions.

A grant of $250,000 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education will be used to encourage community-wide meetings.

According to Roy E. Larsen, NCCPS chairman, the Commission's decision to extend its charter results from "a reappraisal of the work that lies ahead."

"The year 1955," he said, "promises to be a most important one for education and our Commission believes that it will be serving the public good to continue its operations as a catalyst and as a clearinghouse of information during this important period of decision."

Activities of the Commission in this project will include:

- Stepped-up Better Schools advertising campaign materials, concentrating on community talks.
- Booklets and publications on the importance of the talks, with a new working guide *How Can We Discuss School Problems?* as a key piece.
- A special newspaper to disseminate information on local and state confer-

(Continued on page 2)

HOW GOOD ARE OUR TEACHING MATERIALS?

The answer must come from you.

And a new booklet in the Commission's working guide series gives the history of the teaching materials used in American public schools, provides a checklist study guide for local groups and gives sources of information -- all to help you determine your answer.

The new guide, *How Good Are Our Teaching Materials?* contains no judgment. Instead, by showing the evolution of textbooks and other instructional materials, it provides a background of knowledge necessary for the citizen who is concerned with the quality of the tools with which our school children learn.

As with all the booklets in the working guide series, it draws but one conclusion: that the responsibility for determining how good or bad instructional materials are lies with the citizens.

Says Commission Director Henry Toy, Jr.: "This new booklet will, I am sure, be of inestimable help to citizens' committees and other groups which are planning to study the materials being used in their local schools.

"In preparing the new guide, we have made no attempt to pass judgment on teaching materials used in our schools for we believe that the judgment must come from the citizens themselves. We believe that everyone is aware of the importance of the textbook and audio visual aids in the schools of today and that because our citizens are cognizant of their importance, they will want to make sure that the children in their schools are being taught with the best materials available. This new guide will help them to study those materials and to come up with their answer to the question posed in the title of our guide -- *How Good Are Our Teaching Materials?*

Some of the discussions contained in the 92-page guide include: Are American textbooks subversive? How are textbooks used? How have they changed over the years? Who writes them? Who publishes them? Who selects them? Who pays how much for textbooks? What do audio-visual aids contribute? What are their limitations? It also considers the school library, government publications and industry-sponsored materials as classroom tools.

Single copies of the guide are available from the Commission at no charge. Quantities are made available at cost price.

"Take a child, add one well-trained teacher and a good textbook...."
(Official photograph, Board of Education, City of New York)

Commission's Annual Dinner Postponed

The Sixth Annual Dinner of the National Citizens Commission -- its final annual meeting -- originally scheduled for May 9, 1955, has been postponed because of the Commission's extension of its charter.

The annual dinner meeting will be held at a date to be announced later. Watch *Citizens and their Schools* for more details.

HARTUNG HEADS LOCAL-TALKS WORK

Cecil H. Hartung, NCCPS regional director for Midwestern States, is now serving as Assistant Director of the NCCPS in charge of coordinating its work on community conferences.

He will be dividing his time between the Commission's New York office and his Minneapolis regional office. That office will remain open for business and will continue to service local and state citizens' committees in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

WRITE FOR

The teaching staff in District No. 1, Rye, New York, wanted to know what talents, hobbies and collections in the community could be of help in teaching children to learn, so they asked the local PTA to find out for them. A case history, COMMUNITY RESOURCE FILE, Rye, N.Y., tells how the PTA went about it.

* * *

The Citizens' Council for the Public Schools of the Pikes Peak Region took a long look at the schools in one district -- and they did their looking only after getting a good historical perspective. Their report, CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF PIKES PEAK, shows how a knowledge of the schools' history helped in planning for tomorrow.

* * *

Want to find out what the people in your community think about their schools? A good guide to action can be found in a new case history from the citizens' committee in Danville, California. It tells how the committee conducted a public opinion survey, how it formed the questions, how it tabulated the answers, how it drew conclusions.

COMMISSION TO BOOST COMMUNITY CONFABS

(Continued from page 1)

ences, to promote them and to present findings of interest to conference planners.

- Intensified promotion of newspaper, magazine, radio and TV coverage of news from local, state and the national conference on education.
- Encouragement of other organizations to work with the NSBA (Page 1, Column 1) in making "1955: A Big Year For Education."

SEE OUR NEW SYMBOL ...

The Better Schools advertising campaign -- conducted by the Commission and The Advertising Council -- now has a new trade mark. It's the silhouette shown at right, five children sitting at their school desks. Watch for the new symbol on Better Schools ads and postage-meter ads. Use it yourself in your school-improvement work. Glossy prints available from the Commission.

BETTER SCHOOLS BUILD

BETTER COMMUNITIES

SPOT NEWS AROUND THE NATION

Great Neck, N.Y., residents gave their solid approval recently to their board's proposal calling for construction of a 1400-pupil junior and a 1200-pupil senior high school. The vote was 2475 in favor to 871 against. The turnout of voters was the largest ever recorded in that town, and the yes vote paves the way for restoration of single sessions in the junior high school.

* * *

The only film to describe in detail how a school board operates -- "School Board in Action" -- is now available for rental at film libraries in 41 states.

According to the National School Boards Assn., the 16mm film runs 27 minutes and is ideal for PTA and citizens' group meetings. For more information, get in touch with the NSBA, 450 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11, Ill.

* * *

It took two full pages of the Kalamazoo (Michigan) Gazette to tell how "All Kalamazoo is Working Together for Better Schools." With that as its title, a double page ad gave an annual school finance report, listed about 60 groups which are helping schools and paid special tribute to the PTA and citizens' committee as "forces that make Better Schools."

* * *

Mrs. Lois Belcher is the new president of the North Dakota Council on Education following a recent annual meeting. Warner Quale of Bismarck is vice-president; and Richard Klein of the same city was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Belcher is from Fessenden.

Besides electing new heads, the Council changed its constitution and by-laws to provide for individual memberships on a non-voting basis and to suggest member organizations select delegates for at least a two-year period.

The teachers of Richmond, Virginia, will receive an across-the-board salary increase of $300 next year, thanks to the work of a special Citizens' Committee on Teachers Salaries appointed by the Richmond City School Board. The committee studied the teacher pay picture and came up with recommendations, which the board seconded as "sound and realistic." The City Manager's new budget provides for the increase.

* * *

In West Des Moines, Iowa, a citizens' committee -- formed last April -- played a big part in putting over a bond issue for 12 additional classrooms late in January. The committee set up sub-committees to study buildings, budget and school population. On the basis of the findings, brochures and a detailed survey book were prepared and distributed. When the votes were all counted they added up to this: 69 against, 799 in favor.

* * *

"101 Questions About Public Education" are answered by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers in a new booklet edited by Dr. John W. Studebaker. As chairman of the National Congress' Committee on School Education, Dr. Studebaker -- assisted by state presidents and other PTA leaders -- asked parents throughout America to decide what questions seemed most serious and important. The book is a selection of the 101 big questions to come out of the survey. It sells for $1. Write the National Congress of PTA, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois. The Title: "101 Questions About Public Education."

* * *

Public-spirited Borg Warner, engineering production firm, in a "Ripley's Believe It Or Not!" advertisement plugging its products, gave a big plug to Better Schools. The advertisement urged readers to write to the Commission. The ad appeared in six leading magazines.

* * *

Both PTA groups in Elmwood Park, Illinois, have increased their scholarship fund from $5 to $250 to assist future teachers.

* * *

A citizens' committee to study school finance has been formed for the Eureka, Kansas, Public Schools.

* * *

The National Education Association and the Magazine Publishers Association have formed a joint committee "to coordinate educational efforts of schools and magazines in behalf of a better informed public." Roy E. Larsen, Commission chairman and president of TIME Inc. serves as co-chairman.

* * *

Thirty local citizens' committees in fast-growing Long Island are now forming a service agency through which they hope to help one another to work more effectively for their schools.

Previous workshop conferences attended by representatives of the 30 groups pointed up the need for the clearinghouse group, to be known as the Long Island Citizens Council for the Public Schools. It represents the first regional association of citizens' committees in New York State.

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is published by
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
2 WEST 45TH STREET • NEW YORK 36

Chairman.....Roy E. Larsen
Vice Chairman...Samuel C. Gale
Secretary.....Leo Perlis
Treasurer.....James F. Brownlee
Director.....Henry Toy, Jr.

Dad's Report Card

Reprinted courtesy National Newspaper Syndicate and Dallas Times Herald.

HELP RADIO HELP SCHOOLS: KEX

From Jesse Leonard, program department of KEX radio station, Portland, Oregon, comes this plea for local citizens' groups to get behind the Better Schools campaign .....

"I believe cities the size of Portland have organized citizens' committees for the betterment of education. Would it not be possible to suggest to such committees that they check the radio, TV stations, etc., to see that the material furnished (by the NCCPS and the Advertising Council) is sufficient? It is my feeling in radio at least that the announcements sent to the individual stations will be used, but after using each announcement once that will be the end of the campaign so far as the station is concerned."

The Commission seconds the motion and offers its booklet, *How Can We Advertise School Needs?* as a source for ideas.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

by Henry Toy, Jr.

The three stories on page one point toward a big year for education in 1955.

The Commission's charter has been extended to the end of next January, a successor group is being planned, and the National School Boards Association is planning an all-out effort to help communities hold local conferences on education.

Citizens and their Schools will keep its readers informed of all three plans as they move from the drawing boards to the field of action. No matter what the details turn out to be, it's clear at the outset that the emphasis of all three organizations is going to be on the community.

In line with this, the Commission is preparing materials that can be shaped to fit the educational picture of the biggest state and the smallest community.

NEW GUIDE ON MEETINGS

Cornerstone of these materials is a booklet in our working guide series which will be ready shortly after this newsbulletin reaches you. It's called *How Can We Discuss School Problems?* and is a guide to conferences on school problems. It takes the reader through the steps of deciding on the purpose of the conference, planning, program, participation, arrangements, publicity and follow-up.

Besides the text on how to set up a workshop in your community, there are fourteen outline pages for the community to fill in. When that's done, those fourteen pages can become the outline for the conference.

We will be delighted to put one of these booklets into the hands of anyone helping or hoping to plan a meeting on school problems. Write us to reserve your copy.

AD CAMPAIGN BOOSTS TALKS

Meanwhile, the Advertising Council and Benton & Bowles Inc., volunteer advertising agency, are working with us on plans for promotion and advertising materials. These will include newspaper ads, radio and television spots, window posters - all of which can be used to tell your community about your local conference.

This added emphasis on community conferences is an indication of the Commission's continuing belief that school problems will be solved on the local level after intelligent discussion. It's also an indication that 1955 will be a big year for education.

But it will be only as big as **you** -- the citizens -- make it!

National Citizens Commission
for the Public Schools
2 WEST 45TH STREET • NEW YORK 36

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PRELIMINARY **PRELIMINARY**

September 1955 STATISTICAL CIRCULAR Circular No. 459

PRELIMINARY STATISTICS OF STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1953-54: PROVISIONAL DATA FOR 35 STATES AND ESTIMATES FOR CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES (Full-time Public Elementary and Secondary Schools)*

by

Samuel Schloss, Specialist in Educational Statistics
and
Carol Joy Hobson, Research Assistant

THIS CIRCULAR is issued in accordance with the general policy of the Office of Education to disseminate statistical information as promptly as possible. It presents preliminary statistics on public elementary and secondary education for the school year 1953-54, based on returns from the first 35 States and 5 outlying parts which furnished reasonably complete data for the Office of Education's Biennial Survey of Education. The reader is cautioned, however, that the figures for 1953-54 are still tentative and subject to revision.

Included in this circular are data on total and school-age population, pupil enrollment and attendance, number of high school graduates, number of instructional staff members, average salary of instructional staff, revenue and nonrevenue receipts, expenditures by major purpose, and current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance. For purposes of comparison, national figures are also given for each item for the school year 1951-52. (No interim survey was conducted by the Office of Education for the year 1952-53.)

Summary

The school year 1953-54 was characterized by new records in both the size and cost of public elementary and secondary education. Total population and school-age population were at an all-time high. This was also true of total pupil enrollment, average daily attendance, number of instructional staff, and school costs. Only two items -- secondary-school enrollment and number of high school graduates -- were below their peaks, probably reflecting the smaller number of children born in the years from which these enrollments originated. Highlights of the changes between 1951-52 and 1953-54 for each of the major educational items are given below.

School-Age Population and Total Population at Beginning of School Year

During the biennium July 1, 1951-July 1, 1953, the estimated school-age population (ages 5-17 years, inclusive) grew at a rate far more rapid than that of the total population. The estimated number of 34.5 million school-age children on July 1, 1953 represented an increase of 3.2 million, or 10.1 percent, over the number estimated on July 1, 1951. During the same period the total population increased 3.2 percent--from 153.4 million to 158.3 million.

*Prepared under the general direction of Emery M. Foster, Head, Reports and Analysis.

(Continued on p. 4)

PRELIMINARY STATISTICS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SE
AND ESTIMATES FOR CONTINEN

Region and State	Estimated population, July 1, 1953 (thousands)1/		Number of pupils enrolled (thousands)			Average daily attendance (thousands)	High school graduates	Number of instructional staff2/	Amount (thousands of dollars
	Total population (excluding armed forces overseas)	School-age population (5-17 years, inclusive)	Total	Elementary (kindergarten to 8th grade, inclusive)	Secondary (grades 9-12 and post-graduate)				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES:									
1953-54 (Estimated)	158,306	34,535	28,819	22,544	6,275	25,637	1,132,395	1,099,245	$7,864,538
1951-52	153,383	31,379	26,563	20,681	5,882	23,257	1,055,586	1,012,384	6,423,816
Percent increase, 1951-52 to 1953-54	3.2	10.1	8.5	9.0	6.7	10.2	7.3	8.6	22.4
NORTHEAST:									
Connecticut	2,162	427	349	280	69	313	13,278	13,972	98,444
Massachusetts	4,900	953	711	541	170	623	33,052	29,505	195,990
New Jersey	5,141	992	794	623	171	701	31,610	33,128	251,319
New York	15,233	2,854	2,303	1,776	526	1,959	91,116	93,948	867,335
Pennsylvania	10,656	2,224	1,699	1,268	431	1,539	80,075	62,037	465,393
Vermont	377	88	64	50	14	59	2,690	2,887	17,356
NORTH CENTRAL:									
Illinois	9,003	1,795	1,363	1,044	320	1,202	60,170	54,189	432,305
Iowa	2,605	572	523	399	123	464	25,205	25,736	151,301
Kansas	2,006	426	407	314	94	356	18,186	18,854	103,937
Michigan	6,852	1,510	1,241	975	265	1,150	48,209	49,380	390,534
Missouri	4,096	839	704	549	155	599	27,055	25,598	162,725
Nebraska	1,347	289	250	189	61	225	12,587	12,780	60,694
North Dakota	621	154	123	94	29	110	5,927	7,484	29,042
Ohio	8,369	1,757	1,474	1,145	329	1,332	59,683	52,888	387,978
South Dakota	657	153	128	98	31	116	6,417	7,651	35,564
Wisconsin	3,518	772	550	400	150	503	31,564	23,191	166,946
SOUTH:									
Alabama	3,114	832	704	563	140	616	25,363	23,676	101,741
Arkansas	1,909	507	415	329	86	356	14,782	13,809	61,566
Delaware	358	73	57	45	12	50	2,136	2,520	26,497
Florida	3,353	694	628	498	130	541	20,638	23,136	151,150
Kentucky	2,965	745	592	484	108	511	17,736	20,265	91,796
Louisiana	2,884	729	552	443	109	489	17,351	19,728	142,299
Mississippi	2,183	601	527	439	89	452	14,178	16,386	55,780
Oklahoma	2,251	537	483	364	119	433	21,626	19,136	116,318
Texas	8,298	1,945	1,604	1,269	335	1,390	56,363	58,414	397,711
Virginia	3,547	817	695	565	130	616	21,130	25,219	156,739
West Virginia	1,937	508	452	351	101	410	17,586	16,420	83,921
District of Columbia	841	135	109	86	24	92	3,294	3,711	32,634
WEST:									
Arizona	930	227	198	158	40	163	5,969	6,819	55,371
California	12,190	2,342	2,140	1,688	452	2,109	82,859	78,474	896,907
Colorado	1,413	309	289	226	63	243	11,281	11,534	84,441
Idaho	603	155	136	102	35	123	6,504	5,078	32,556
Nevada	206	41	44	35	9	36	1,409	1,621	13,376
Oregon	1,602	342	313	237	76	271	13,266	13,189	108,537
Utah	734	191	183	139	44	167	8,384	6,184	52,552
OUTLYING PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES:									
Alaska	205	33	28	24	4	20	577	1,046	9,671
Canal Zone	57	9/10	12	10	2	10	349	405	3,464
Guam	9/59	13	10	9	2	10	204	389	1,896
Hawaii	523	124	--	--	--	103	4,775	3,904	21,897
Puerto Rico	2,229	774	505	448	57	451	8,916	10,565	40,037

1/ Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Continental U.S. data: Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 106. Outlying parts
2/ Includes supervisors, principals, teachers, librarians, and guidance and psychological personnel.
3/ Includes receipts from private sources which amounted to less than one-half of 1 percent of all revenue receipts.
4/ Includes all current expenditures, both allocated and not allocated to pupil costs.
5/ Less than .05 percent.
6/ Expenditures for junior colleges and evening, summer, and adult classes included in columns 16, 18, and 19.
7/ Computed amount furnished by State.
8/ Estimated.
9/ Data as of April 1, 1950.

NOTE: Due to rounding, detail may not add to totals.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS, FOR STATES REPORTING,
IMATES FOR CONTINENTAL U.S.: 1953-54

ber of truc-onal aff2/	Revenue receipts: Amount (thousands of dollars)	Percent distribution, by source: Federal	State	Intermediate (County, etc.)	Local3/	Nonrevenue receipts (thousands of dollars)	Expenditures (thousands of dollars): Current expenditures for day schools4/	Capital outlay	Interest	Bond retirement	Summer, adult, and evening schools	Average salary per member of instructional staff2/	Current expenditure (allocated to pupil costs) per pupil in average daily attendance
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
99,245	$7,864,538	4.7	37.4	5.3	52.6	$1,867,423	$6,872,121	$2,082,406	$154,423	$358,499	- -	$3,835	$266
12,384	6,423,816	3.5	38.6	5.7	52.2	1,213,068	5,722,162	1,477,332	114,310	267,552	30,432	3,450	244
8.6	22.4	- -	- -	- -	- -	53.9	20.1	41.0	35.1	34.0	- -	11.2	9.0
13,972	98,444	3.2	17.8	- -	79.0	36,766	92,756	28,775	2,642	8,195	413	4,274	297
29,505	195,990	3.6	16.3	- -	80.2	- -	198,754	39,314	- -	- -	1,552	4,006	306
33,128	251,319	2.5	11.5	.9	85.1	63,431	233,639	56,386	6,503	13,351	856	4,271	333
93,948	867,335	1.1	35.7	- -	63.1	302,372	717,105	357,906	27,973	53,953	6,867	4,658	362
52,037	465,393	2.2	40.2	- -	57.7	53,734	463,533	48,708	4,142	19,633	- -	4,074	301
2,887	17,356	5.2	20.7	- -	74.2	3,850	13,258	2,279	169	500	40	2,820	224
54,189	432,305	2.0	17.3	.4	80.3	138,956	393,144	125,636	12,019	18,893	- -	4,347	327
25,736	151,301	2.3	12.3	1.0	84.3	45,900	124,878	33,497	1,768	4,968	- -	2,900	269
18,854	103,937	5.9	23.1	21.5	49.6	27,739	92,246	8,877	2,652	8,879	- -	3,258	259
49,380	390,534	3.7	50.6	.2	45.4	116,353	327,374	113,336	6,176	33,316	2,704	3,999	283
25,598	162,725	5.1	30.9	6.5	57.3	39,898	139,637	41,467	2,377	6,331	- -	3,188	233
12,780	60,694	3.4	6.5	9.9	80.1	2,664	58,905	7,227	575	- -	905	2,922	262
7,484	29,045	3.0	27.7	23.8	45.5	5,179	28,981	2,652	35	698	- -	2,546	263
52,888	387,978	2.9	25.5	(5/)	71.6	131,622	334,401	123,447	10,740	23,367	1,547	4,011	251
7,651	35,564	4.1	10.6	1.1	84.2	4,571	31,416	4,660	327	908	- -	2,638	270
23,191	166,946	2.6	15.1	3.7	78.5	35,293	150,286	28,437	1,128	4,144	9,723	3,840	298
23,676	101,741	10.1	68.7	10.9	10.3	6,955	90,874	9,965	665	1,852	2,694	2,783	148
13,809	61,566	12.3	46.5	1.1	39.9	19,371	55,839	13,584	1,718	3,762	1,644	2,286	152
2,520	26,497	1.8	88.0	- -	10.2	4,805	15,935	8,593	239	655	15	4,042	317
23,136	151,150	6.0	50.2	22.6	21.2	23,618	120,622	38,424	2,626	5,454	1,102	3,785	220
20,265	91,796	7.8	38.2	- -	53.9	6,744	75,158	5,474	1,090	1,895	- -	2,526	147
19,728	142,299	6.4	59.6	25.5	8.5	54,013	117,041	34,971	4,230	6,466	100	3,481	240
16,386	55,780	10.0	46.7	11.8	31.5	5,558	51,671	5,558	- -	- -	- -	1,864	114
19,136	116,318	5.6	45.7	5.9	42.8	12,078	102,857	21,594	1,822	4,056	- -	3,271	237
58,414	397,711	5.7	49.6	.4	44.3	68,479	346,614	78,418	13,017	19,327	733	3,886	249
25,219	156,739	12.5	40.4	25.8	21.3	42,434	111,483	62,001	1,971	5,022	1,441	3,082	181
16,420	83,923	4.0	60.7	35.1	.2	6,983	75,523	19,872	55	- -	- -	3,058	184
3,711	32,634	9.6	- -	- -	90.4	- -	27,696	2,991	- -	- -	- -	4,797	301
6,819	55,373	4.3	30.2	7.5	58.0	12,561	45,215	18,800	1,160	3,349	- -	4,401	277
78,474	896,907	4.9	42.5	1.1	51.5	214,218	6/768,271	282,635	6/17,765	6/43,870	(6/)	7/4,787	8/300
11,534	84,441	4.0	18.2	8.3	69.4	17,180	68,298	24,746	2,594	4,797	- -	3,640	274
5,078	32,558	6.4	22.2	16.3	55.1	8,709	28,127	7,453	503	1,537	- -	3,350	229
1,621	13,370	13.7	35.2	24.6	26.5	5,520	9,437	5,553	323	732	34	3,786	265
13,189	108,537	4.1	30.1	3.7	62.1	16,249	91,236	33,884	2,191	6,311	- -	4,163	337
6,184	52,552	6.4	41.3	- -	52.4	9,382	36,132	13,908	535	2,080	255	3,746	216
1,046	9,673	22.3	61.5	- -	16.3	- -	8,457	987	- -	314	- -	4,750	414
405	3,468	93.6	- -	- -	6.4	- -	2,497	896	- -	- -	5	4,006	238
389	1,896	- -	100.0	- -	- -	- -	1,694	390	- -	- -	29	3,371	172
3,904	21,897	14.6	75.4	10.0	- -	1	23,045	727	- -	- -	244	4,124	223
10,565	40,037	15.1	84.8	- -	- -	- -	39,717	1,482	- -	- -	702	1,890	84

6. Outlying parts: Total population—Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 97; school-age population—unpublished estimates.

ipts.

Enrollment and Attendance

Total public elementary and secondary enrollment[1/] rose from 26,563,000 in 1951-52 to 28,819,000 in 1953-54, an increase of 2,256,000, or 8.5 percent. The increase at the elementary level was 1.9 million, or 9 percent, compared with an increase of about 400 thousand, or 6.7 percent, at the secondary level. The percent of pupils enrolled, attending daily, has shown a steady upward trend over the years (with the exception of 1951-52), reaching 89 percent in 1953-54.

High School Graduates

The number of public high school graduates reached a post-World War II peak in 1953-54. The 1,132,000 graduates in that year represented an increase of 77,000 over the number of 1951-52. Only in the early 1940's were there more high school graduates.

Instructional Staff and Average Salary

Between 1951-52 and 1953-54, the 8.6 percent increase in the total instructional staff (which includes supervisors, principals, and teachers as well as librarians and guidance and psychological personnel) compared with an 8.5 percent increase in pupil enrollment. The size of the staff rose from 1,012,000 to 1,099,000, a gain of 87,000.

The average annual salary of the instructional staff was $3,835 in 1953-54 as compared with $3,450 in 1951-52, a rise of 11.2 percent; however, when adjusted to reflect the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, the average salary increased only 8.7 percent during the 2-year period.

Revenue and Nonrevenue Receipts

Revenue receipts (income from appropriations, taxes, permanent funds, school land leases, etc.) increased from $6,424 million in 1951-52 to $7,865 million in 1953-54, or a gain of 22.4 percent.

An analysis of revenue receipts by source indicates that since 1950 the proportion contributed by both the Federal Government and by local governments has increased, while the proportion contributed by State governments and intermediate administrative units, such as counties, has shown a downward trend. In 1953-54 the percentages for the various levels of government were as follows: Federal, 4.7; State, 37.4; intermediate, 5.3; and local, 52.6.

Nonrevenue receipts (income from bond sales, loans, sale of property, etc.), used principally for capital outlay purposes, increased from $1,213 million in 1951-52 to $1,867 million in 1953-54, a gain of 53.9 percent.

Expenditures

Current expenditures, which represent the day-by-day spending of the schools, amounted to $6,872 million in 1953-54, an increase of 20.1 percent over 1951-52. Even larger increases were registered in expenditures for capital outlay, which rose 41 percent to $2,082 million; and in interest payments, which increased 35.1 percent to $154 million.

The current expenditure (allocable to pupil costs)[2/] per pupil in average daily attendance amounted to $266 in 1953-54, a gain of $22, or 9 percent over 1951-52. When expressed in dollars of uniform purchasing power (1953-54 = 100) the increase during the 2-year period was 6.4 percent.

1/ The term "elementary" as used in this circular covers kindergarten through the 8th grade; "secondary" covers grades 9 through 12 and postgraduate.

2/ Items of educational expense not allocable to pupil costs include: expenditures for community services, such as a free public library maintained by the board of education; services or supplies to nonpublic school children, such as transportation and textbooks for children in parochial schools; and refunds of taxes or tuition when accounted for separately.

GPO 898398

A SOCIOLOGIST LOOKS AT EDUCATION

by

Edmund deS. Brunner*

~~Hist~~ - Ed Gen.

Address delivered at Eleventh Annual Supervisors' Conference
St. Petersburg, Florida
October 31, 1955

The excuse for appearing on this program is, I suppose, that your committee believes that the point of view of a person professionally involved in studying social institutions might be of some interest, for clearly the school is a social institution. It is, of course, also an educational institution but in the nature of the case all institutions are social. They involve the cooperation of people to achieve collectively what no one individual could secure alone.

The school, then, is an institution, social in its origins, its control, and its support, and educational in its objectives and purposes. When either one of these aspects of education is forgotten or even neglected, the institution--that is, the school--is very soon in trouble. Created and supported by society, the school is inevitably related to it and responsible for it. The situation in which it works conditions it in many ways. We don't, for instance, teach agriculture in New York City vocational schools except in one on the very edge of Brooklyn, close to Long Island's potato belt. If we did, the tax payers would rise up in wrath and charge that we were wasting their money. For the same reason you in Florida don't teach electro-plating in a rural high school in your citrus belt.

Even such obvious things are not everywhere accepted. Fortunately we in the United States do not hold to such a philosophy of education. The trouble is there are many things far less obvious with respect to the school as a social institution which too many educators neglect or are simply not aware of. Sometimes when the inevitable trouble comes, they do not even know why it has arisen or what hit them.

Certainly an outstanding reason for the trouble in a certain California city was a very human one. The educators were busy. They were so busy with the curriculum and administration of the school as an educational institution, they not only forgot, they also had a social institution on their hands, but they failed even to educate properly the representatives of society, of their community, sufficiently to have the support of a majority of the Board of Education. The educator, of course, says--as perhaps you are saying--"I'm not a sociologist. I'm a teacher, or a supervisor, a guidance specialist or a school administrator. What you are implying I should do simply isn't my job."

I grant that far too many professional educators were not trained to regard the school as a social institution; more's the pity for education's own sake. But even if every school system in the United States had a school sociologist (as so many have a school psychologist), every responsible member of any social institution who

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INVESTMENTS IN HUMAN RESOURCES (Motion Picture) Universal Films, Inc., 1951, 21 min., sd., color. "Shows how handicapped men and women aided by vocational rehabilitation and selective placement in suitable work are contributing to the wealth of the nation through their own self-support."--Educational Film Guide.

LIVING WEALTH (Motion Picture) Florida State University, 15 min., sd., color. "Depicts the problems facing a student entering college. Actual scenes of activities and classroom procedures at Florida State University are shown." FSU Film Library.

WORKING TOGETHER - Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, 23 min., sd., b & w. The story of how a workable adjustment of the interests of labor and management were achieved between the American Lead Pencil Company of Hoboken, N. J. and the local unit of the Textile Workers Union.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION - 17 min., sd., b & w. Traces social changes during the past two hundred years. Contrasts constructive or peaceful methods of change with destruction or violent methods.

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION (Motion Picture) Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, 20 min., sd., b & w. Depicts the problems created by the gradual transfer of decision-making from local communities to centralized bodies at state and national levels. FSU Film Library.

PICTURE IN YOUR MIND (Motion Picture) International Film Bureau. 16 min., sd., color. "Through the use of symbols the film presents the earliest roots of prejudice and the reasons why any group, tribe or nation thinks its way of life is superior to the other man's mode of living." FSU Film Library.

DESPOTISM (Motion Picture) Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, 1947, 11 min., sd., 16mm. Provides a penetrating analysis of the true meaning of despotism. Reveals that any community can be rated somewhere along a scale from complete democracy to complete despotism. FSU Film Library.

DEMOCRACY (Motion Picture) Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, 1946, 11 min., sd., 16mm. Aimed at developing a keen appreciation for the meaning of democracy by analyzing for major concepts on which there is a substantial body of agreement. FSU Film Library.

fails to see it both in terms of its relations to the society of which it is a part, actually handicaps himself and it in the achievement of the purposes his institution was created to serve. Since, so far as I know, no school as yet employs a staff sociologist, there is all the more necessity for professional educators to remember that they are concerned with a social institution and behave accordingly. As the sociologist looks at public education, failure at this point appears to be both one of the greatest weaknesses and one of the greatest dangers of public education in the United States.

These are critical words, but said in kindness. After all, I have been a professor of education; moreover, it is a criticism to which I have been forced by a steadily accumulating mass of data--hard data which go beyond the case illustrations I used a few moments ago.

Let me cite some of these and begin with a study made in the Department of School Administration at Teachers College by Dr. Truman Pierce under the direction of Professor Paul Mort. It was a study designed to test the truth of the very claim I have been making. It used about thirty indices of community well-being, both economic and social, and related these to the performances of the schools studied, all in the M.A.S.C. The major conclusion was that two-thirds of what happened to the school as an educational institution was the result of what the community was and did, and only one-third was to be credited (or chafed!) to what went on within the four walls of the school buildings. With varying proportions, but always over one-half, these results have been confirmed elsewhere. Moreover, the original study was conducted in a locale where there is high state aid to education. One of these confirmation studies is from the areas of rural adult education which I mention, because with the very informality of adult education, one might expect a less positive result. However, Professor Coleman and Dr. Marsh found that the acceptance and adoption of agricultural practices taught by the Extension Service and other agricultural agencies in Kentucky varied to a significant degree among the communities studied because of differences in the prevailing attitudes, norms, values, and expectations of the people and somewhat also according to their economic status.

But let us turn to Florida itself and some data that all of you helped to make available, if the Census Enumerator found you in the Spring of 1950. You had, in 1950, 98 cities in Florida; that is, places of 2500 or more population. The median number of years of schooling completed by adults 25 years of age and over in these cities ranged from 6.1 to 12.8 years. In 11, all under 30,000, the average person had completed high school. In 37, he had had less than 9 years. You are supervisors. It is obvious, I'm sure, that the teachers and administrators with whom you deal in a city where the average voter has had, say, 7 or 8 years of school, will have problems that differ markedly from those of the teachers in places where the adults have, on the average, finished high school or better. For one thing, the image the parents in these two groups have of the school and of education will differ. So will their expectations for the education of their offspring. The problem of getting leadership for the PTA, to say nothing of the approaches teachers and administrators make to parents--a concise

point in school-community relations--will have to take account of the disparaties in educational levels. In the lower community many of the assumptions which the teacher makes and which would be expected elsewhere may not be accepted, probably have never even been thought about. To make a standardized approach to teacher, supervisor, or school-community programs and relations, regardless of educational status, makes as much sense as for North Dakota to import a Florida agricultural agent to teach its farmers how to raise citrus fruit.

Again, Florida's population is older than average. The median age of the people of the United States is 30 years. Florida has 7 communities, several quite large, where the median is over 40 years. The high city approaches 50. It has one city, on the other hand, where there are as many people under 22 as over. Inevitably, the school situation in this place that belongs to youth will differ sharply from that where older people predominate. There will be little interest in the high school and its program, but the elementary school will be an institution of prime interest if the people are interested in education at all.

On the other hand, where there is an above average number of older people, you have conservatism and the pressures that come from living on a retirement income in a period of rising living costs. The elderly are not as interested in progress. They have lived their lives. If they are not actually looking backward, they are satisfied with the status quo. The social institution known as the school will have to deal with such attitudes where they exist when it asks the tax payers for money for better buildings, higher salaries, playgrounds, or equipment, for the simple reason that they exist importantly in the school's community.

Consider for a moment three cities in my native state of Pennsylvania, all under 75,000 population. The proportion of the population 15 years and under in these places varied from about 19 to about 25%. The proportion of those 65 years and over ranged from 3.8 to 7.3 The city with the smallest proportion of both youth and aged has one of the highest per pupil costs in the state. In another city with the same proportion of those 15 and under but with almost twice the ratio of elderly the reverse was true. Per pupil expenses were among the lowest in the state for this size of city. In a third city with the highest ratio of elderly and the second highest of children and thus with a total of almost one-third of its population in the so-called dependency years, the voters turned down a bond issue for a much-needed new school building. The leaders in the opposition to this bond issue were close to or over 65. The campaign for the building never considered the point of view of those nearing retirement or already retired. Labeling such persons as old fogies and unprogressive may be true, but it's not an argument to win friends and influence votes to build a new school.

Consider another comparison highly pertinent to education in this state. In your four most prosperous counties, family income in 1949 averaged from about $2700 to $3100. The average years of school

completed by adults in these counties ranged from 10.1 to 11. At the other end of the scale you have four counties with per family incomes of between $900 and $1000. In these, the average adult had had barely six years of school. Consider what this means in terms of the children in these two groups of counties coming into your schools, differences in home backgrounds and cultural opportunities and in support of the schools--and here I do not refer to financial support alone.

To the sociologist contrasting situations like this would call for varying methods of teaching and supervision, for great care in selecting illustrative content material so that it can be understood by children from a relatively disadvantaged environment. The sociologist, too, would raise the question as to whether the schools could and should do anything to improve such economic and social conditions through educational means. After all, the Sloan Foundation experiments in Kentucky show that a great deal can be done. In one county in northern New York, that progress seems to have passed by, an even more ambitious effort is being made to raise the economic level of the area by education and action growing therefrom. This means, of course, that without abandoning the ideal of personality-development and self-realization through education we seek to achieve such lofty goals by learning the hard facts in the social situation and what they imply in terms of teaching content and methods, guidance, community relations, and adult education. In so often neglecting this last phase of education, the school not only overlooks an opportunity, but fails to make friends for the institution of education.

Statistics are boring to many people. I am trying to show that they have meaning for educational policy. It would be too bad if educators couldn't look some facts in the face because they were presented in numerical symbols. Permit me, then, one more comparison before passing on to the influence of some broader trends upon the school.

It is a truism that rural education has lagged behind urban. Great efforts are being made the nation over to lift the level of rural schools. But as I read the Florida data I can only infer that relative to the city, rural education is further behind urban, now, than it was in the 19th century. For those in this state over 65 years, urban residents have had about $2\frac{1}{2}$ more years of school than the farm population, and a year more than the villager. But when you take those 25 to 29 years of age, the city male is 4 years ahead of the farmer and the woman 3 years. In other words, the spread between rural and urban has widened, indeed, almost doubled. It has widened also for the villager, but only half as much.

You may say that this is due to rural-urban migration, that the better educated leave the country. From your census data on migration this seems to be only a minor factor. Even if it were true, is it to Florida's advantage in view of the growing complexity of agricultural science to leave a large sector of its farm plant in the hands of persons who average an 8th grade education? Your greatest competition in both citrus fruits and early vegetables for the northern market is about 3 years ahead of you in the median years of scholarship

its farm labor force has had.

It might amuse some of you, as it would me, to go much further in explaining the structure of your society as portrayed by the census. Why, for instance, as of 1950, had 13-year-olds in Tampa completed just the average number of school grades for that age for the state and those in Miami almost half a year more? Why were 13-year-old girls in Jacksonville about 2/3 of a grade ahead of the boys of this age, but in your other major cities only about 1/3 of a year?

But the sociologist also views education against the background of the broad social trends that characterize our society as a whole and to which each community must adjust. There are many such. I have time to note only a few.

One of these trends is the fantastic expansion of knowledge in many fields and the demands for knowledge that life increasingly makes of us. On the crude level, this is expressed in the requirement of a college degree to get a job in a number of department stores in northern cities. On a higher level, it relates to the demands that citizenship in a democracy makes upon us. Is flexible parity, fixed parity or the Brannan plan the best way to remedy the ills of agriculture? The decision is likely to affect the pocketbooks of every one of us. So are plenty of other decisions in the area of policy on state and national levels. What business has public education with such issues? A lot! The business of a democracy is the business of all its citizens. If people ever begin to talk about the government of any unit as "they" instead of as "we"---"We the people"---can in truth fear for the future of our land. Does not this bring the public institution of education into controversial issues? Sure it does! So what? Should people make up their minds on major issues on the basis of what factual information is available, objectively presented, or on the basis of propaganda and specious, special interest pleadings? If they cannot secure objective information from an educational agency, where can they get it? A democracy is the best form of government yet devised. It is also the most difficult to operate. Not every people that have tried it have been successful, as witness the Weimar Republic in Germany after World War I. With the mounting strains in our society, the need for education, the continuing education which was recognized by many of the Founding Fathers, notably Jefferson, becomes an increasing responsibility of all levels of public education. The needs are manifold. They may be vocational so that an individual can up-grade himself They may concern public issues so that the exercise of citizenship may be improved. They may deal with art, drama, literature or music so that individual adults and groups may find the deeper things of life through self-expression.

Don't think this is not wanted or not needed. A few years before World War II the American Association for Adult Education estimated that counting all types of adult education, 23 million Americans were participating. Today, the estimate is 35 million. Enrollment has gone up in these 20 years more than twice as rapidly as population. Or in Florida terms, here are four counties in the north--some where the number of years of school adults have had is well below the state average---

which have recently launched adult education programs and already have about 500 enrolled in everything from literacy to theatre and drama. Don't forget, in 1950 one person in 7 in this state had either no schooling or was functionally illiterate by Department of Defense standards. Forty-two per cent of these people were white.

So the sociologist sees in this surge of interest in adult education an authentic social movement. He knows enough from long study of social movements and social institutions, to know that any institution legitimately in the tide of such a movement which seeks either to ignore it, or isolate itself from it, thereby weakens itself, and may even be supplemented.

Out of many world and national trends that impinge upon the school as a social institution, and which make the sociologist look anxiously as to its response, I have chosen two for brief comment. Both are controversial. I have chosen them, even though I cannot possibly review in the time allotted even all the chief facts, to try to illustrate that facts can be presented as such which can be considered, and should be, even though an individual or group may come to a decision contrary to the implication of some particular fact.

I spent much of 1954 in South Africa. They are much concerned there, especially the Boer group, over the rising tide of color. And well they may be. The native African and the Hindu and Moslem from India are not allowed to vote. Even tribal chiefs, duly chosen according to tribal procedures, may be deposed by government fiat. Their schools may be closed without notice. Scores of occupations are closed to them. For the Africans, only 1/3 of their children are in school and 2/3 of these in mission schools. Their slums are unequalled in extent and wretchedness to anything I have seen in Asia, New York, or the South. I was in one where 10,000 people live in less than 1/4 square mile and where the infant mortality rate the previous year had been 100%! This is the product of fear and of an era of Colonial exploitation that has ended in most of the world. John Gunther in his amusing Inside Africa says that Colonialism is on the way out in Africa. Outside the Nationalist party, now in power in South Africa, most responsible leaders agree quite frankly with this judgment.

We in America have taken a different road in dealing with this problem of race. True, North and South and West with Indian, Negro, and Oriental, we have made mistakes, for we are human. But I submit the fact that in no country in the world, in no age of history, has any race made the progress that the American Negro has done, from a time when he had no assets save his bare hands to this current year, whether measured in farm and home ownership, educational level, proportion of the labor force in the profession, ownership of business, or what not. The record is there for all to read in the U. S. Census and here these columns of figures appearing every 10 years reveal a dramatic story. The degree of progress differs among the states, but there is no state in the Union where this trend is not clear--not one. This is a fact of which Americans all can be proud, and which, admitting our mistakes, we could or should herald to the world.

Seen in the light of these trends and all legal issues aside, the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools, whether you agree with it or not, is sociologically understandable. The wisest part of the two decisions of the Court in this issue, it seems to me as a sociologist, was placing the burden of implementation on the local communities. This is as it should be in a democracy. This is why the man in the street needs adult education on many issues. Neither the educator nor any other civil servant or government agency, can ride rough shod over the mores and culture of the community--not yet in our kind of society, whether the issue be desegregation or how to teach Johnny to read. So, it is not for me to come from Connecticut and tell you how your schools and citizens should solve this desegregation problem. I happen to live in a state where the educational level of the non-whites is only slightly lower than that of the whites in Florida, in part because only 3% of our population is non-white. It's higher considerably in my high school district, but even so, less than 10%. The fact that our school is desegregated and always has been, therefore reflects no great credit on us. For what it may be worth, let me say that some months ago I spoke to an adult education group in one of the richest suburbs of New York. For 20 years or more over half its high school enrollment has been Negro, and the universal claim was this had raised no problems such as my South African friends envisage. And an amusing note is added from the brief strike against desegregation, experienced from outside, in a Washington high school in October, 1954. The picket line was desegregated! Negro and white children associated happily in a protest against associating in their classrooms. No, conditions differ. The cultural heritages of a community must be regarded even though groups work in democratic fashion to change them.

Why, then, bring this up? Because there is one fact of great importance to us nationally that is seldom mentioned in this connection. The world of color judges what we do on this issue by our protestations, by the great principles of our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and our Declaration. Like it or not, we are no longer sheltered, and partly hidden, by the vast sweep of two great oceans. We live, as it were, in a goldfish bowl. Any mistake, any apparent denial of our principles, whether in such a tragedy as that in Mississippi or as the recent strike in Newcastle, Indiana, is wafted over the airwaves of the world to undermine our position of leadership by those who dread the threat of those principles in the power they wield as dictators. To this I can hear ample testimony.

Here, of course, we come to the overweening issue of our time; the struggle between what is called the Free World and the other, and the relation of the schools to it. Quite apart from the great principles in the basic document of our nation--self-evident truths, the Founding Fathers called them--when it comes to implementing them, why do dictators fear them?

It is a cardinal principle of our Western democracy that a man is innocent until proven guilty by due process of law and trial before his peers. You can't rid of a political opponent where this

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principle is accepted by the mere process of accusation and arrest. That's very inconvenient for a dictator. No man is considered guilty because whether by chance or design he knows someone who is. That principle would have stopped the Russian and Chinese purges dead in their tracks. You can't, under the tenents of democracy, render judgment, without giving the accused the right to face and cross-examine his accusers. If you've read any of the few accounts of political prisoners who manage to escape from Russia, you know this right was perhaps more emphatically denied than any other. Nor can you, under our legal system, accept the unsworn, unevaluated, often annonymous gossip of spiteful, perhaps unbalanced, people as in truth derogatory of the character and service of trusted civil servants, from General Marshall who was called a traitor on the floor of the Senate, on down the scale.

In Britain and in North America men have fought, bled, and died to establish these principles, men who have places of honor in the Hall of Fame of the Anglo-Saxon world. They are among the principles that have brought this country of ours to its position of power and world leadership.

Yet, as the late Justice Jackson of the U. S. Supreme Court pointed out in his last book; as John Lord O'Brian, Dean of the N. Y. bar, emphasized so eloquently in his recent Godkin lectures at Harvard University, we have increasingly violated every one of these guarantees of our Constitution in recent years in the name of national security, usually by extra-legal means. And as O'Brian says:

> "One curious paradox growing out of this program of government activity is that instead of promoting a sense of security among the citizenry, it has had the opposite effect of spreading doubt, suspicion and mistrust; and creating...a real and anxious sense of insecurity."

This, of course, is what our enemies want--to create dissension among us, lack of confidence in our government. That is why Mr. Philbrick who spent 8 years within the Communist movement as an F.B.I. agent has said Senator McCarthy was "the darling of the Communists."

The sociologist observing the national scene recognizes in the dark, shameful multitude of these instances, the ground swell of a social movement that threatens everything that has made America the hope of a distraught, wounded world.

Of course we must safeguard our land against the fool, the subversive, and the traitor. My own ten years of part-time experience in the War Food Administration and the U.S.D.A. would convince me of that, even if my common sense did not. But I, for one, have high confidence in the almost inspired wisdom of the Founding Fathers who built into our basic law that which would at once safeguard the ordinary, loyal citizen in his freedom of assembly, expression, and religion, and equally safeguard the nation against the criminal and the traitor.

They had had enough experience with ruthless, self-seeking men, trying to climb to power by actual or character assassination. They had had enough experience with dictators to realize that to open the door to unprincipled, unbalanced, notoriety-seeking, or just plain ignorant vigilantes would spell the death knell of the nation they were trying to build, a nation "conceived in liberty."

We have been in the grip of an unreasoning, yes, a hysterical fear in the U. S. in these last years. Fear did not establish this nation. Fear did not make it great. Fear will not keep it great. Fear and democracy are as incompatible as democracy and dictatorship.

What has education to do with this? Much, for the schools are supposed to teach citizenship. President Eisenhower a year ago proclaimed December 15th as Bill of Rights Day. It was the 163rd anniversary of the adoption of that great document. Did the schools of Florida observe it? Or did they in effect by ignoring it, follow the example of a government department where it was removed from the bulletin board because it was controversial!

Controversial? It sure is! It is at the very heart of the ideological conflict between the Free World and the other. Are we in the schools going to be free or bound? Are we going to teach the essence of Americanism or delight the Communists by adopting their methods and giving them the chance to show, as they do at every opportunity, that our democratic protestations are a false front? In geography, when it comes to Russia, are we going to leave a blank space on our maps and say, "Dear children, there is land and there are people in the place that blank space stands for, but they are so wicked we don't dare speak about it," or are we going to take this and every other opportunity in civics, social studies, literature, history, to show the differences between our land and that one, to convince these Americans of tomorrow that they live under the best form of government thus far devised by the mind of man?

If some misguided person is subversive enough to attack a book in the school library he happens not to agree with, are we going to examine it objectively and if it fits our educational purposes, stand on our constitutional rights to use it, or are we, in fear, going to yield to those forces that, if unchecked, can do our nation far more harm than any Fifth Column and eventually make our schools resemble those in Hitler's Germany?

I need not tell you the schools are under fire. Some of the criticism is deserved, for the schools, as human institutions, are not perfect and cannot be. Education has its lunatic fringe that would go back to naught but the three R's or, at the other extreme, minimize the teaching of the basic content of knowledge in favor of happy words of sweetness and light. We have been so disregardful of our obligations as a social institution that we have failed to convince society of our strengths. I am shocked to find how very, very few adults know that hundreds of tests in fundamental subjects show that the children of the 1950's spell better, read better, figure better than their parents did a generation ago, despite the vast increase in enrollments. I am

shocked that very, very few educators have even heard of the amazed and almost fulsome praise of our educational system that has come from English, Australian, and New Zealand leaders who had contact with our G.I.'s in World War I and again in World War II. And never forget in struggling with the daily chores of education that the attack on the schools springs from the same basic fears as the attack on the basic principles of democracy. One has to go no further than the current best seller, Why Johnny Can't Read, to see this, for Dr. Flesch soberly avers that those who teach reading other than by his formula are unwittingly or knowingly furthering the Communist cause. This is a new criterion for determining the subversive. How soon will McCarthy discover it?

And so, as a sociologist, I would say my hope for the school is that it will discover and accept its role as a social institution, analyze the community and the culture of which it is a part, even to using the census as a basis for arithmetic problems, and that it will stand four-square in the development of a citizenship able and worthy to carry this nation, under God, to the greatness this hour demands. So shall be answered that prayer which 50 years ago Henry Van Dyke put into the mouth of the Stranger within our gates, the immigrant who chose to be an American:

"America!
Oh never be thy shining image hurled
From the adoring breast of him who worships
Thee with holy awe."

ADULT EDUCATION WORKSHOP
FLORIDA A & M UNIVERSITY

The second Florida A & M adult education workshop is planned for June 15th to July 6th at Tallahassee.

This year the workshop will concentrate on the study of materials and methods for teaching adults. There will be new materials to examine and chances for you to try all kinds of different methods to use with your adult class.

Several nationally noted adult educators who are particularly skilled in materials and methods will come to A & M to help with the workshop.

To help you, A & M is providing for advance registration.

If you are interested in participating this year, you'd better write immediately to reserve your place on the list.

Send a note to Dr. Leander S. Shaw, Department of Education, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Florida.

He will send you information as the planning for the workshop progresses. If you have any ideas as to things we might include in the program, send them in.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Education Gen.

November 1955

Circular No. 467
(Preliminary)

FALL 1955 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

By
Samuel Schloss, Specialist in Educational Statistics
and
Carol Joy Hobson, Research Assistant*

THIS CIRCULAR presents fall 1955 statistics for the public school system on the number of pupils enrolled, the number of classroom teachers, the number of teachers who do not hold standard teaching certificates, the number of pupils in excess of normal capacity of the accessible publicly-owned school plants in use, and the number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during the current fiscal year. The data were collected through a brief questionnaire identified as "Form RSS-052," mailed to each State and territorial department of education.

This is the second of a series of annual surveys conducted by the Office of Education in the fall of the year, the purpose of which is to obtain certain essential data about the public school system for the year in progress. It represents an effort of the Office of Education to meet the demand for current information. Detailed public school statistics for the entire school year will continue to be made available through the regular periodic surveys.

In the current survey, considerable improvement has been effected in the data-collection process. Last year, a number of States did not actually canvass their school districts but filled in the Office of Education questionnaire by using the best available estimates. This year, however, it is evident that fewer States resorted to estimation.

Brief discussions of the data for each of the items are given below. Figures cited refer to continental United States, which includes the 48 States and the District of Columbia.

Enrollment

Full-time public elementary and secondary day schools enrolled 30.6 million pupils in the fall of 1955 -- 22.1 million in elementary schools, and 8.5 million in secondary schools. The increase in total enrollment was 1,048,000, or 3.5 percent more than a year ago. Separate comparisons of trends in elementary and secondary enrollments cannot readily be made because the definitions of elementary and secondary are more clearly defined in the current survey than in the previous one. In the current survey, State departments of education were requested to report data by type of organization of the school. Thus, junior high schools are classified as secondary schools. Last year, on the other hand, enrollment data were to a considerable extent reported by grade-group (kindergarten through grade 8 for elementary, and grades 9 through 12 for secondary).

It should be noted also that the enrollment data in this Circular, compiled in the fall, are not directly comparable with the cumulative statistics on enrollment which, in other Office of Education publications, are given for an entire school year.

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* Under the general direction of Emery M. Foster, Head, Reports and Analysis Section.

(Continued on p. 4)

State, by region	Number of pupils enrolled			Number of teachers, full-time a part-time (excluding supervisor principals, librarians, etc.)		
	Total	Elementary 1/	Secondary 1/	Total	Elementary 1/	Secondar
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES:						
Fall 1955	30,574,162	22,101,989	8,472,173	1,138,922	730,822	408,10
Fall 1954	29.525,990	21,309,172	8,216,818	1,065,803	690,109	375,69
Percent change, 1954 to 1955	+3.5	+3.7	+3.1	+6.9	+5.9	+8.
NORTHEAST						
Connecticut	383,783	243,352	140,431	15,472	10,364	5,10
Maine	177,028	136,895	40,133	6,951	4,855	2,09
Massachusetts	733,680	490,060	243,620	29,346	17,853	11,49
New Hampshire	87,169	61,993	25,176	3/3,472	3/2,207	3/1,26
New Jersey	835,409	654,973	180,436	34,338	23,836	10,50
New York	2,337,760	1,465,620	872,140	92,925	51,600	41,32
Pennsylvania	1,786,167	1,130,522	655,645	63,455	35,450	28,00
Rhode Island	113,424	71,568	41,856	4,545	2,454	2,09
Vermont	66,921	48,477	18,444	2,882	2,055	82
NORTH CENTRAL						
Illinois	1,493,498	1,131,056	362,442	56,807	39,296	17,51
Indiana	830,000	630,000	200,000	29,000	18,800	10,20
Iowa	579,868	453,152	126,716	23,439	14,172	9,26
Kansas	436,210	338,210	98,000	18,373	12,535	5,83
Michigan	1,385,000	905,000	480,000	51,000	31,000	20,00
Minnesota	598,500	375,900	222,600	23,700	13,600	10,10
Missouri 7/	745,000	583,500	161,500	25,650	18,750	6,90
Nebraska	250,967	188,381	62,586	13,136	9,376	3,76
North Dakota	8/121,542	8/92,880	8/28,662	8/6,815	8/5,050	8/1,76
Ohio	1,557,726	1,212,726	345,000	57,300	33,800	23,50
South Dakota	132,177	100,784	31,393	7,649	5,621	2,02
Wisconsin	617,500	455,000	162,500	24,645	16,800	7,84
SOUTH						
Alabama	720,478	453,990	266,488	27,481	18,297	9,18
Arkansas	418,300	269,803	148,497	14,299	8,365	5,93
Delaware	61,924	37,733	24,191	2,552	1,448	1,10
Florida	650,263	404,123	246,140	24,906	14,786	10,12
Georgia	924,467	687,808	236,659	29,935	19,857	10,07
Kentucky	595,292	437,536	157,756	20,977	14,217	6,76
Louisiana	593,500	474,800	118,700	22,411	14,567	7,84
Maryland	479,737	302,905	176,832	17,129	9,453	7,67
Mississippi	541,938	448,780	93,158	16,235	10,725	5,51
North Carolina	1,030,000	805,500	224,500	33,000	24,500	8,50
Oklahoma	468,800	344,535	124,265	18,922	11,738	7,18
South Carolina	529,655	385,132	144,523	20,389	13,140	7,24
Tennessee	728,829	549,391	179,438	24,649	17,932	6,71
Texas	1,755,300	1,382,000	373,300	65,225	41,750	23,47
Virginia	724,964	528,196	196,768	11/26,282	11/17,012	11/9,27
West Virginia	448,031	288,567	159,464	14,740	8,990	5,75
District of Columbia	106,401	67,766	38,635	3,645	1,929	1,71
WEST						
Arizona	201,607	157,570	44,037	7,772	5,798	1,97
California	2,447,000	1,914,000	533,000	85,500	56,500	29,00
Colorado	296,500	222,375	74,125	12,256	9,076	3,18
Idaho	137,548	102,719	34,829	5,054	3,488	1,56
Montana	123,752	89,686	34,066	5,926	4,145	1,78
Nevada	46,334	36,541	9,793	1,949	1,450	49
New Mexico	179,786	142,421	37,365	5,578	3,330	2,24
Oregon	340,000	259,000	81,000	13,162	9,569	3,59
Utah	193,241	118,351	74,890	6,246	3,603	2,64
Washington	489,186	365,712	123,474	18,602	13,583	5,01
Wyoming	72,000	55,000	17,000	3,200	2,100	1,10
OUTLYING PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES:						
Alaska	28,079	23,987	4,092	1,189	964	22
American Samoa	5,072	4,865	207	178	165	1
Canal Zone	10,598	7,093	3,505	345	214	13
Guam	11,410	9,202	2,208	393	315	7
Hawaii	119,048	75,468	43,580	3,956	2,516	1,44
Puerto Rico	536,795	402,256	134,539	11,216	7,022	4,19
St. Croix, V.I.	2,284	1,933	351	68	41	2

1/ Unless otherwise noted, data for elementary and secondary schools are classified by type of organization of Elementary includes kindergarten. 2/ Includes estimate for nonreporting States. 3/ Full time only. 4/ I their teaching load. 5/ Data for 1954-55. 6/ Data exclude 3 counties. 7/ Data for elementary and secon secondary. 8/ State reports that data are for 1953-54 (the latest available), but probably approximate the curr current year; the figure therefore includes some classrooms completed during the preceding fiscal year. 11/ Inc

955 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING, IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

s, full-time and ing supervisors, rarians, etc.)		Number of full-time teachers teaching under substandard credentials			Number of pupils in excess of the normal capacity of the accessible publicly owned school plants in use			Total number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during fiscal year 1955-56
y 1/	Secondary 1/	Total	Elementary 1/	Secondary 1/	Total	Elementary 1/	Secondary 1/	
22	408,100	2/77,646	2/58,013	2/19,633	2/2,385,239	2/1,741,600	2/643,639	2/66,258
09	375,694	91,191	75,171	16,020	2,644,355	2,197,624	446,731	60,005
9	+8.6	-14.9	-22.8	+22.6	-9.8	-20.8	+44.1	+10.4
54	5,108	950	910	40	23,578	16,129	7,449	1,236
55	2,096	303	247	56	9,340	7,800	1,540	232
53	11,493	247	180	67	27,125	21,086	6,039	1,465
07	3/1,265	286	228	58	4,931	4,105	826	257
86	10,502	3,750	3,311	439	42,409	35,685	6,724	1,555
00	41,325	4,800	3,600	1,200	137,000	125,000	12,000	6,090
50	28,005	4/3,907	4/1,000	4/2,907	23,000	17,000	6,000	3,000
54	2,091	144	96	48	4,862	3,229	1,633	122
55	827	5/315	5/248	5/67	6,804	4,176	2,628	199
96	17,511	6/2,761	6/2,394	6/367	6/23,629	6/17,546	6/6,083	6/1,850
00	10,200	2,800	2,000	800	77,000	75,000	2,000	1,500
72	9,267	300	200	100	64,000	46,000	18,000	900
85	5,838	0	0	0	15,100	13,200	1,900	900
00	20,000	5,900	5,000	900	77,000	54,000	23,000	2,500
00	10,100	400	284	116	125,953	80,686	45,267	1,500
50	6,900	2,600	1,800	800	4,200	2,800	1,400	1,202
76	3,760	705	538	167	6,415	5,582	833	419
50	8/1,765	529	454	75	12/-	12/-	12/-	390
00	23,500	2,700	2,500	200	57,426	41,647	15,779	2,000
21	2,028	223	223	0	2,280	1,880	400	183
00	7,845	2,000	1,760	240	12/-	12/-	12/-	2,000
97	9,184	2,927	2,604	323	300,000	250,000	50,000	910
55	5,934	4,000	2,340	1,660	293,587	156,775	136,812	440
48	1,104	340	320	20	9/	9/	9/	10/202
86	10,120	1,586	1,200	386	87,895	57,727	30,168	1,927
67	10,078	367	292	75	40,000	32,000	8,000	7,000
7	6,760	2,400	1,900	500	65,000	45,000	20,000	650
97	7,844	900	580	320	9/	9/	9/	750
53	7,676	3,892	2,937	955	47,211	31,275	15,936	773
25	5,510	658	568	90	150,000	112,500	37,500	350
00	8,500	9/	9/	9/	9/	9/	9/	9/
88	7,184	0	0	0	36,000	20,000	16,000	750
40	7,249	375	375	0	55,500	40,000	15,500	2,000
82	6,717	740	538	202	33,252	25,065	8,187	992
50	23,475	2,000	1,849	151	40,495	31,851	8,644	4,100
12	11/9,270	2,186	1,926	260	81,593	64,004	17,589	1,024
00	5,750	892	804	88	17,000	15,000	2,000	198
29	1,716	475	315	160	8,978	6,864	2,114	118
98	1,974	55	55	0	19,708	13,986	5,722	322
00	29,000	9,000	6,000	3,000	110,000	90,000	20,000	8,000
76	3,180	527	460	67	40,000	30,000	10,000	1,300
88	1,566	935	673	262	9/	9/	9/	548
45	1,781	592	582	10	6,132	4,448	1,684	389
50	499	12	12	0	6,092	5,487	605	192
80	2,248	0	0	0	15,000	8,000	7,000	500
99	3,593	2,096	524	1,572	4,500	3,000	1,500	700
03	2,643	727	546	181	21,961	15,626	6,335	513
83	5,019	1,800	1,400	400	77,231	51,327	25,904	1,000
00	1,100	500	400	100	3,000	3,000	0	120
64	225	47	41	6	6,100	5,300	800	95
65	13	20	20	0	90	90	0	23
4	131	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	78	79	79	0	722	634	88	62
16	1,440	737	580	157	7,538	5,439	2,099	400
22	4,194	1,684	858	826	249,224	218,533	30,691	1,059
1	27	7	4	3	58	58	12/-	0

ganization of the school, rather than by grade-group. Thus, junior high schools are classified with the secondary schools. nly. 4/ Includes 2,407 teachers (339 elementary and 2,068 secondary) who are on emergency certificates for only part of ary and secondary schools are reported by grade-group: Kindergarten through grade 8 for elementary, and grades 9-12 for imate the current situation. 9/ Data not available. 10/ Covers classrooms in use for the first time during the . 11/ Includes librarians, guidance officers, and psychological personnel. 12/ Nil or negligible.

Number of Classroom Teachers

In the fall of 1955, there were 1,139,000 teachers -- 731,000 in elementary and 408,000 in secondary schools, a gain of more than 73,000, or 6.9 percent over a year ago. The number of elementary teachers increased 41,000, or 5.9 percent; while the number of secondary teachers increased 32,000, or 8.6 percent. The number of teachers during the past year increased proportionately more than the number of pupils, resulting in a reduction in the overall pupil-teacher ratio (from 27.7 to 26.8). Since the pupil-teacher ratio in secondary schools is generally lower than in elementary schools, it may be expected that as the wave of increased enrollment moves into the secondary schools, the overall ratio will decrease. The national pupil-teacher ratio does not, of course, reveal the local situations where the ratio of pupils to teachers may be considered to be too high.

Shortage of Qualified Teachers

The proportion of teachers with substandard credentials (those holding less than standard certificates) differs from State to State. Inter-State comparisons of the number of teachers holding substandard certificates cannot readily be made because of the variation among the States in the minimum requirements for standard teaching certificates. Thus, to qualify for elementary certificates (as of September 1953*), 26 States required the bachelor's degree; but the requirements in the other States ranged from less than 1 year of college in 2 States to 3 years of college in 5 States. For high school certificates, the minimum requirement ranged from 2 years of college in 3 States to 5 years of college in 5 States. The data on teachers holding substandard certificates have value mainly in pointing up the extent of the shortage of qualified teachers within the individual States.

State departments of education reported that in the fall of 1955 there were 78,000 full-time teachers with substandard credentials -- some 14,000 or 14.9 percent fewer than a year ago. Full-time teachers holding emergency certificates constituted 6.8 percent of all classroom teachers.

Pupils in Excess of Normal Capacity of the Accessible Publicly-Owned School Plants in Use

Almost 2.4 million pupils were reported as in excess of the normal capacity of the accessible publicly-owned school plants in use. This number was a quarter of a million less than the number reported a year ago. That the reduction was not general is indicated by the fact that 18 States showed an increase in excess pupils.

The effects of the extensive school construction program carried out during the 1954-55 school year are reflected in an overall reduction in the existing backlog of excess pupils during a period of rising enrollments. Thus, while 9 percent of the total enrollment was reported as in excess of normal capacity in the fall of 1954, the present proportion has been reduced to 7.8 percent.

The number of pupils "in excess of normal capacity" includes pupils exceeding the number that can be accommodated, without multiple sessions, in the instruction rooms of accessible publicly-owned school plants in use, according to State and local standards of normal capacity. Because such standards differ, comparisons between States must give careful attention to such differences. These categories are included in the count of excess pupils: (1) the number of pupils exceeding normal capacity of instruction rooms (regardless of whether the structure may be considered obsolete); (2) in the case of multiple sessions, the difference between the normal capacity of a single full session and the number attending all sessions; (3) the total number of pupils in makeshift or improvised facilities; (4) the total number of pupils in nonpublicly-owned buildings; and (5) the total number of pupils in non-school public buildings. It should be noted that not all pupils in unsafe, over-age, or educationally unsuitable structures are included in the count, but only those in excess of the normal capacity in such structures. This survey therefore gives only a partial measure of the total schoolhousing shortage.

Number of Instruction Rooms to be Completed During Fiscal Year 1955-56

Some 66,300 new instruction rooms are scheduled for completion during the current fiscal year, as compared with 60,000 a year ago. "Instruction rooms" include classrooms, laboratories, and shops; but exclude auditoriums, gymnasiums, lunchrooms, libraries, study halls, and multipurpose rooms. These figures cover the instruction rooms that are "scheduled for completion" during the current fiscal year; this is not necessarily the same as the number that will actually be completed. Approximately three-fifths of the States reported increases in scheduled construction over last year. The outstanding gain was reported by Georgia -- from 2,000 instruction rooms in 1954-55 to 7,000 rooms during the current school year.

Assuming that the 66,300 new instruction rooms will be utilized entirely as additional facilities for the present pupil population (rather than as replacements for obsolete quarters), and assuming further that one new instruction room is needed for each 30 pupils enrolled, almost 2 million pupils of the 2.4 million in excess of the normal capacity would be provided for. If a 25 pupil-per-instruction room ratio were used, the scheduled construction would take care of only 1.6 million pupils, instead of 2 million. In view of the large backlog of classroom needs, the certainty of further expansion in school enrollment, and the need also to replace buildings which are becoming obsolete (either due to age, reorganization of school districts, or population mobility), it is clear that the present rate of school construction must be considerably increased.

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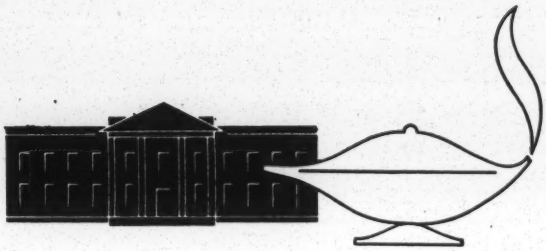
*Tabular Summary of Teacher Certification Requirements in the United States (1953), issued jointly by U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, and National Education Association.

GPO 900444

A Report to
the President

Education, General



The Committee for THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

APRIL 1956

SUMMARY STATEMENT

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CLINT PACE, *Director*

Foreword

In December 1954, President Eisenhower appointed a 34-member Committee for the White House Conference on Education and charged it with responsibilities in carrying out "the most thorough, widespread, and concerted study the American people have ever made of their educational problems." To the Governors of 53 States and Territories, he expressed a hope that each would call a citizens' conference on education, and that the entire program would then culminate in the White House Conference on Education.

All 53 States and Territories took part in the program, with more than 3,500 local, county, regional, and State conferences on education being held prior to the White House Conference in Washington November 28–December 1, 1955. More than a half-million American people were directly involved with these studies of school needs.

The responsibility placed on the President's Committee included giving assistance, on request, to the States and Territories in holding their conferences; planning and conducting the Nation's first White House Conference on Education; and reporting to the President on ways of meeting school needs.

The summary report which follows is the opening statement of the Committee's report to the President. It is not the full report, but it summarizes the Committee's statements and principal recommendations in six areas of elementary and secondary education. It is the Committee's hope that wide distribution of this summary report will acquaint many citizens with some of the needs of their schools and encourage them to obtain and study the full report, which contains the detailed findings of the Committee, the Report of the White House Conference on Education, and a summary of the reports of the State and Territorial conferences.

The full report is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at a cost of 40 cents a copy.

Summary Statement of the Report of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education

From the work of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, one fundamental fact emerges: schools now affect the welfare of the United States more than ever before in history, and this new importance of education has been dangerously underestimated for a long time.

Some of the reasons for the rapidly increasing importance of the schools have been often noted. Ignorance is a far greater handicap to an individual than it was a generation ago, and an uneducated populace is a greater handicap to a Nation. This trend is obviously going to continue and quicken.

An equally important and less frequently mentioned reason for the growing importance of education is the plain fact that the schools have become the chief instrument for keeping this Nation the fabled land of opportunity it started out to be. In other decades, the opportunities of America lay primarily in escape from the rigid class barriers of Europe, the availability of free land at the frontier, and the excitement of a violently growing nation, where farms often became villages and villages became cities within the span of one human life. When the frontier was closed, it would have been easy for opportunities to dry up in this Nation, and for rigid class barriers to develop. It has been primarily the schools which have prevented this from happening. As long as good schools are available, a man is not frozen at any level of our economy, nor is his son. Schools free men to rise to the level of their natural abilities. Hope for personal advancement and the advancement of one's children is, of course, one of the great wellsprings of human energy. The schools, more than any other agency, supply this hope in America today. By providing a channel for ambition, they have taken the place of the frontier, and in a highly technical era have preserved the independent spirit of a pioneer nation. The schools stand as the chief expression of the American tradition of fair play for everyone, and a fresh start for each generation.

It is this fundamental conception of schools designed to give a fresh start to each generation that has broadened the ideals of education in America so much in the past 25 years. It is no longer thought proper to restrict educational programs to the skills of the mind, even though those skills remain of fundamental importance. Schools also attempt

to improve children's health, to provide vocational training, and to do anything else which will help bring a child up to the starting line of adult life as even with his contemporaries as native differences in ability permit.

The most practical aspect of this new concept of education is that it calls for the most careful mining and refining of all human talents in the land—it is in itself a kind of law against waste. This new educational ideal represents the fullest flowering of the long western tradition of emphasizing the dignity of the individual. Many difficulties, of course, attend its development, but the members of this Committee believe that in essence it is noble and right and that in the long run it will prove to be one of the great strengths of America.

It is, of course, obvious that much progress has been made toward realizing this new educational ideal in the United States during the recent past. It is the belief of this Committee, however, that improvement has been nowhere near fast enough. The onrush of science has outstripped the schools. What is even more important, ideals of human conduct have in some areas advanced as rapidly as technology. Many a school which seemed good enough a generation ago now seems a disgrace to the community where it stands.

The schools have fallen far behind both the aspirations of the American people and their capabilities. In the opinion of this Committee, there is growing resolve throughout the Nation to close the gap between educational ideals and educational realities. This Committee therefore makes the following fundamental recommendations:

1. We recommend that school authorities emphasize the importance of priorities in education. This Committee has embraced with enthusiasm the concept of schools which provide a great variety of services designed to do all that is possible to fit children for fruitful adult lives, but there is real danger that in attempting to do everything a little, schools may end by doing nothing well. At present school funds are limited, and the student's time will always be limited. It is essential that schools pursue a policy of giving children first things first. In the rush for a great quantity of courses, quality must not be lost. The desire to provide education for all American children need not be inconsistent with the need to provide full opportunity for the gifted.

2. We recommend that the American people study carefully their systems of schools organization and consider measures to deny funds, other than local, to districts which do not after reasonable time, organize on an efficient basis. If the American people are asked to make sacrifices for better education, they deserve to have their funds used as efficiently as possible. This cannot be done without a great deal of reorganization in both rural and urban areas. There is no excuse for the existence of the 8,674 school districts which operate no

schools. That is just one dramatic example of the need for reorganization. There is special need for studies of school systems in large cities, where most American children are now congregated. Ways must be found to decentralize large urban school systems to make them more responsive to the will of the people.

3. We recommend that local boards of education quickly assess their school building needs, and give this information to their State departments of education, and that the chief State school officers quickly relay this information to the United States Office of Education. Responsible estimates place the Nation's school building need at from less than 200,000 to nearly a half-million additional classrooms by 1960. Inadequate communication between local school districts and State departments of education is the chief cause for these contradictory figures. This Committee also recommends that every community and every State do all that is economically possible to construct the buildings required, and that during such emergency periods as now exists, Federal funds also be used wherever shown to be necessary. In the richest nation in all history, there is no valid reason for the grimy, dilapidated, and overcrowded school buildings which too many children now occupy. It is an ironic truth that most Americans would not permit their children to live in a house which is as bad as the school buildings which many pupils are forced by law to attend.

4. We recommend that greater inducements of all kinds be offered to attract and retain enough good teachers, and that during the coming decade of teacher shortages, every effort be made to utilize the services of available teachers more effectively. Practical steps must be taken to change the concept of teaching as an impoverished occupation. Teaching must be made a financially comfortable profession. Every effort must be made to devise ways to reward teachers according to their ability without opening the school door to unfair personnel practices. Present salary schedules have the effect of discouraging many able people from entering the profession. Teacher preparation programs have the reputation of requiring needless and repetitious courses. This reputation has the effect of deterring brilliant young people from becoming teachers. Salary schedules and preparation courses should be reexamined and changed where necessary to make the teaching profession more attractive to the most able young men and women. This Committee believes that the next decade and possibly two decades will be emergency periods during which the teacher shortage will grow more acute, but that there is ample reason to hope for sufficient supplies of good teachers in the long run.

5. We recommend that a new look be taken at the entire question of how much money this society should spend on education. In view of the recommendations of this Committee concerning the objectives of education, teachers, and buildings, it seems obvious that within the

next decade the dollars spent on education in this Nation should be approximately doubled. Such an increase in expenditure would be an accurate reflection of the importance of education in this society. The exact sources of the necessary funds will be determined more easily when there is more public agreement that the funds must be provided, and more vigorous determination to do something about it. In the opinion of this Committee, money for schools must continue to come from all three levels of government, with a portion of funds for school buildings being made available by the Federal Government on an emergency basis. Good schools are admittedly expensive, but not nearly so expensive in the long run as poor ones.

6. We recommend that every possible step be taken to encourage the interest and activity of all citizens in school affairs. Citizen advisory groups, organizations of parents and teachers, education conferences, and all other means at the disposal of the people of a democracy should be utilized to keep the schools in close contact with the people. In the final analysis, it is only the public which can create good schools and nurture them. In the long run, schools must do what the public wants, and if no strong public will is made known, schools falter. Public interest in education is aroused only by knowledge of problems and intentions, and can continue only if the public can play an active role in school affairs.

7. We recommend that a White House Conference on Higher Education, similar in scope to the program just concluded on the needs of elementary and secondary schools, be held promptly to consider the many complex problems facing, or soon to face, the Nation's colleges and universities. This Committee believes there is yet time to acquaint the American people with their imminent needs in higher education, but the time grows shorter and shorter. The flood of students now in the elementary and secondary schools is not far away from the colleges. If the people of the United States expect to attract more and more students into college, they must begin preparing for them now.

The full report of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, of which this statement is a summary, is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at a cost of 40 cents a copy.

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CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, *and* SCHOOLHOUSING

in full-time public elementary and secondary day schools

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

Circular 490 was prepared by

Samuel Schloss and Carol Joy Hobson

Under the general direction of

Emery M. Foster, Chief, Research Studies and Surveys Section

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Marion B. Folsom . . . . . Secretary
Office of Education . . . . . Lawrence G. Derthick, Commissioner

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January 1957 Circular No. 490

FALL 1956 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

By

Samuel Schloss and Carol Joy Hobson*

THIS CIRCULAR gives statistics of public elementary and secondary schools, as of the fall of 1956, for a number of basic educational items such as enrollment, the number of teachers, the number of teachers who do not hold standard teaching certificates, the extent of pupil overcrowding, and the number of instruction rooms available, needed, and under construction. The Office of Education collected the data by a brief questionnaire /Form RSS-052(56)/ addressed to all State and territorial departments of education (See pages 7 and 8).

This is the third in a series of annual fall surveys conducted by the Office of Education, the purpose of which is to obtain certain basic data about the Nation's public schools at the beginning of the school year. Public school statistics, collected biennially for an entire school year, which are considerably wider in scope and presented in greater detail, will continue to be made available in the regular biennial surveys, with the usual time-lag for such comprehensive publications.

In the current survey, several new items have been included for the first time in order to provide data which the Office of Education is constantly being called upon to supply. The new items include the number of classrooms currently available, the number of additional rooms needed, and the number actually completed the previous year. Another item, dealing with the general education requirements for the lowest regular teaching certificate, has been added to supplement and place in perspective the data on teachers with substandard credentials. In a survey of this nature, some States have had to resort to estimates, especially for some of the new items on the questionnaire. However, it appears that more and more States are making this type of information an established part of their reporting system, with a corresponding improvement in the validity of the data which they supply.

Summary

According to the reports received from the States, the enrollment of pupils in public schools in continental United States in the fall of 1956 rose 1 million over a year ago, to a record 31.5 million with the largest increase taking place at the secondary level. The teaching staff is increasing at a somewhat faster rate than pupils, thereby reducing the pupil-teacher ratio from 26.9 in 1955 to 26.3 in 1956. There is a continuing shortage of fully qualified teachers, with 1 teacher in 13 lacking a standard teaching certificate. The States reported that there were 2,295,000 pupils in excess of the normal capacity of accessible publicly-owned school plants in use. These pupils constituted 7.3 percent of the total enrollment. The States reported that 69,200 instruction rooms were scheduled for completion this school year, a 10 percent increase over the record of 62,800 rooms built last year. The schoolhousing shortage in the fall of 1956 was reported as 159,000 instruction rooms. The current construction rate indicates that the shortage is being reduced very slowly. The classroom problem, of course, involves not only the accumulated shortage, but also the need to provide adequate classrooms for additional enrollment increases estimated for

* Under the general direction of Emery M. Foster, Chief, Research Studies and Surveys Section.

the next several years at over 1 million new pupils each year, and the additional classrooms needed each year to replace facilities as they become obsolete or unsatisfactory.

A brief discussion of the changes that occurred between the fall of 1955 and the fall of 1956 for each of the major educational items covered in the survey is presented below. National figures cited refer to the continental United States which includes the 48 States and the District of Columbia.

Enrollment

Full-time public elementary and secondary day schools enrolled 31.5 million pupils in the fall of 1956-- 22.2 million in elementary schools, and 9.3 million in secondary schools. The increase in total enrollment was 1.0 million, or 3.3 percent more than a year ago. It is difficult to make separate comparisons of trends in elementary and secondary enrollments because of changes in reporting patterns in some States. In the regular fall survey, States are requested to report enrollment data by type of organization of the school. Thus, the seventh and eighth grade pupils in junior high schools are classified as secondary school pupils. Therefore, elementary-secondary data classified by organization cannot be compared with similar data collected by grade-group (kindergarten through grade 8, and grades 9 through 12). It should be noted also that the enrollment data in this Circular, compiled in the fall, are not directly comparable with the cumulative statistics on enrollment for an entire school year which are obtained in the Office of Education's biennial surveys. The difference between the two types of enrollment data is estimated at between 2 and 3 percent.

Number of Classroom Teachers

In the fall of 1956, there were 1,197,000 full-time and part-time teachers-- 750,000 in elementary schools and 447,000 in secondary schools, a gain of 61,000, or 5.4 percent over a year ago. The number of elementary teachers increased 21,000, or 2.8 percent, while the number of secondary teachers rose 40,000, or 9.9 percent. The number of teachers increased proportionately more than the number of pupils during the past year, resulting in a reduction in the overall pupil-teacher ratio from 26.9 to 26.3. Since the class size in secondary schools is generally lower than in elementary schools, it may be expected that as the wave of increased enrollment moves into the secondary schools, the ratio will continue to decrease. /The pupil-teacher ratio for the Nation as a whole does not, of course, reveal the local situations where the ratio of pupils to teachers may be too high./

Shortage of Qualified Teachers

The proportion of teachers with substandard credentials (those holding less than standard certificates) differs from State to State. Interstate comparisons of the number of teachers holding substandard certificates are subject to qualification, because of the variation among the States in the minimum requirements for the lowest standard teaching certificates. Thus, according to the data obtained in the present survey, 29 States require the bachelor's degree as a qualification for regular elementary teaching certificates, 15 States require between 2 and 4 years of college preparation, and 5 States require less than 2 years of college. For high school certificates, 46 States require the bachelor's degree or better and 3 States require between 2 and 3 years of college. The present survey requested information only on the general education requirement for teacher preparation and not on the other requirements such as semester hours of professional education and directed teaching.

State departments of education reported that in the fall of 1956 there were 89,400 full-time teachers with substandard credentials -- 11,800 or 15.3 percent more than a year ago. Full-time teachers holding emergency certificates constituted 7.5 percent of the total teaching staff, compared with 6.8 percent one year ago. The increase in the proportion of substandard teachers was due in part to higher certification requirements adopted by some States.

Pupils in Excess of Normal Capacity of the Accessible Publicly-Owned School Plants in Use

Survey figures showed 2,295,000 public elementary and secondary school pupils in excess of the normal capacity of accessible publicly-owned school plants in use, as compared with 2,262,000 in 1955. Although this is an increase of 33,000 or 1.4 percent over the number a year ago, the proportion that the excess pupils constitute of the total enrollment has remained about the same (7.3 percent).

The number of pupils "in excess of normal capacity" includes pupils exceeding the number that can be accommodated, without multiple sessions, in the instruction rooms of accessible publicly-owned school plants in use, according to State and local standards of normal capacity. For the purposes of this report, the excess enrollment in one school is not reduced by any unused capacity in another. The report form employed in the survey defined "pupils in excess of normal capacity" as including: (1) the number of pupils exceeding normal capacity in overcrowded instruction rooms (regardless of whether the structure might be considered obsolete); (2) in the case of multiple sessions, the differences between the normal capacity of a single full session and the number attending all sessions; (3) the total number of pupils in makeshift or improvised facilities; (4) the total number of pupils in non-publicly-owned buildings; and (5) the total number of pupils in non-school public buildings.

Inventory of Instruction Rooms

"Instruction rooms" include classrooms, laboratories, and shops, but exclude auditoriums, gymnasiums, lunchrooms, libraries, study halls, and multipurpose rooms. The number of instruction rooms available in public schools of continental United States in the fall of 1956 was reported by the States to be 1,087,000--an increase of approximately 49,000, or 4.7 percent, over the number a year ago. Some 14,000 instruction rooms were abandoned during the past school year--reflecting mainly, it is believed, school district reorganization and the closing of small schools. Informal oral reports (supplementary to the survey data) indicate that the number of rooms abandoned because of structural defects or obsolescence was small.

Additional Instruction Rooms Currently Needed

The States were asked to report the number of additional instruction rooms needed to take care of the pupils currently enrolled. Figures were requested in two categories: (a) additional instruction rooms needed to accommodate enrollment "in excess of normal capacity of the accessible, publicly owned school plants in use"; and (b) new instruction rooms needed to replace unsatisfactory facilities (exclusive of rooms counted in (a)). The States reported that a total of approximately 159,000 additional rooms were needed in continental United States: 80,000 to accommodate the 2.3 million pupils in excess of normal capacity; and a nearly equal number, 79,000, to replace unsatisfactory facilities.

These figures are not presented as a precise measurement of the current shortage of instruction rooms in public schools. The figures are presented simply as a factual statement of the shortage as reported by the States in the fall of 1956. Precise measurements are virtually impossible, because interpretations of such terms as "normal capacity" and "unsatisfactory facilities" inevitably will vary in some degree from person to person, from place to place, from one period to another, and under different circumstances. The evaluation of obsolescence is especially difficult, and will vary according to the standards employed.

The School Facilities Survey of four years ago, for example, involved quite different methods of reporting under substantially different circumstances. All reliable studies, however, show a continuing, widespread, significant classroom shortage.

(Text continued on page 6)

FALL 1956 STATISTICS ON ENROLLMENT, TEA
PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND

State, by region	Number of pupils enrolled			Number of classroom teachers			Number of teachers teaching under substandard credentials 1/			Degree or number of semester hours required for lowest teaching certificate 2/	
	Total	Elementary 3/	Secondary 3/	Total	Elementary 3/	Secondary 3/	Total	Elementary 3/	Secondary 3/	Elementary 3/	Secondary 3/
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES	31,527,695	22,236,110	9,291,585	1,196,980	749,851	447,129	89,388	66,205	23,183	-	-
NORTHEAST:											
Connecticut	399,000	5/273,000	5/126,000	16,000	10,600	5,400	1,060	900	160	B	B
Maine	182,052	138,739	43,313	7,286	5,047	2,239	336	255	81	7/96	7/B
Massachusetts	770,364	514,563	255,801	30,813	18,745	12,068	295	170	125	B	B
New Hampshire	91,061	63,560	27,501	3,831	2,481	1,350	279	208	71	B	B
New Jersey	881,087	555,085	326,002	36,829	20,511	16,318	4,565	3,391	1,174	B	B
New York	2,426,400	1,483,400	943,000	98,200	53,900	44,300	5,700	4,000	1,700	B	B
Pennsylvania	1,831,929	1,158,142	673,787	65,112	36,338	28,774	8/5,050	8/1,625	8/3,425	B	B
Rhode Island	116,465	72,134	44,331	4,936	2,702	2,234	257	75	182	B	B
Vermont	67,752	49,098	18,654	2,976	2,086	890	500	400	100	60	B
NORTH CENTRAL:											
Illinois	1,487,458	1,115,569	371,889	58,223	40,121	18,102	4,767	4,067	700	7/B	7/B
Indiana	878,504	5/672,901	5/205,603	33,842	5/19,164	5/14,678	3,974	2,474	1,500	B	B
Iowa	531,029	5/401,311	5/129,718	24,086	5/14,579	5/9,507	300	200	100	7/63	7/B
Kansas	426,000	326,000	100,000	19,100	13,000	6,100	-	-	-	60	60
Michigan	1,455,000	942,000	513,000	51,500	30,500	21,000	6,307	5,200	1,107	7/30	7/B
Minnesota	617,000	387,500	229,500	25,150	14,400	10,750	425	290	135	80	B
Missouri	745,000	578,000	167,000	9/27,339	9/19,582	9/7,757	2,300	1,500	800	60	B
Nebraska	249,449	176,934	72,515	13,421	9,131	4,290	686	462	224	12	7/B
North Dakota	127,108	96,332	30,776	6,881	5,000	1,881	450	400	50	32	B
Ohio	1,633,831	1,255,858	377,973	62,700	37,800	24,900	4,020	3,094	926	B	B
South Dakota	141,092	107,751	33,341	7,794	5,665	2,129	110	110	-	30	B
Wisconsin	641,000	475,000	166,000	25,487	17,407	8,080	1,500	1,230	270	64	B
SOUTH:											
Alabama	745,100	458,000	287,100	26,000	15,600	10,400	4,000	3,000	1,000	B	B
Arkansas	424,000	268,000	156,000	13,540	7,890	5,650	3,900	2,301	1,599	60	60
Delaware	65,915	39,830	26,085	2,872	1,580	1,292	201	147	54	B	B
Florida	725,124	445,541	279,583	27,410	16,034	11,376	640	533	107	B	B
Georgia	917,265	678,866	238,399	30,181	19,965	10,216	236	11/188	11/48	60	60
Kentucky	594,673	437,060	157,613	21,726	14,873	6,853	2,400	1,800	600	64	B
Louisiana	617,400	492,800	124,600	23,611	15,367	8,244	13/466	13/396	13/70	B	B
Maryland	506,834	319,560	187,274	18,255	10,048	8,207	4,163	3,208	955	B	B
Mississippi	550,000	451,000	99,000	16,525	10,755	5,770	5,228	11/4,444	11/784	14/B	14/B
North Carolina	1,009,382	782,500	226,882	36,004	26,191	9,813	2,010	1,815	195	B	B
Oklahoma	478,800	350,682	128,118	19,322	11,988	7,334	-	-	-	B	B
South Carolina	528,259	383,467	144,792	20,460	13,100	7,360	425	425	-	B	B
Tennessee	739,745	557,620	182,125	25,901	18,843	7,058	783	569	214	B	B
Texas	1,814,100	1,423,850	390,250	68,802	43,771	25,031	1,564	1,011	553	7/B	7/B
Virginia	751,013	539,725	211,288	27,507	17,456	10,051	2,247	1,955	292	B	B
West Virginia	449,000	288,000	161,000	14,683	8,872	5,811	872	804	68	64	B
Dist. of Columbia	107,312	70,225	37,087	3,794	2,079	1,715	600	375	225	B	15/B
WEST:											
Arizona	212,210	165,622	46,588	8,269	6,229	2,040	60	60	-	B	B+6
California	2,607,000	1,830,000	777,000	90,500	59,000	31,500	9,500	7,200	2,300	B	B+30
Colorado	320,566	201,675	118,891	13,340	7,719	5,621	632	525	107	7/60	7/B
Idaho	139,038	86,494	52,544	5,756	3,142	2,614	1,083	759	324	B	B
Montana	129,625	89,312	40,313	5,998	4,266	1,732	321	263	58	64	B
Nevada	48,502	37,401	11,101	2,168	1,587	581	49	49	-	30	B
New Mexico	185,853	146,107	39,746	6,757	4,228	2,529	-	-	-	60	7/B
Oregon	351,393	264,762	86,631	16,123	11,664	4,459	2,294	2,158	136	B	B
Utah	199,972	122,404	77,568	6,781	3,859	2,922	839	615	224	B	B
Washington	538,733	407,430	131,303	19,759	12,731	7,028	1,574	1,254	320	B	B
Wyoming	72,300	55,300	17,000	3,430	2,255	1,175	420	300	120	60	B
Outlying parts of the United States:											
Alaska	30,053	25,185	4,868	1,357	1,102	255	70	57	13	90	B
American Samoa	5,092	4,803	289	207	192	15	25	23	2	B	B
Canal Zone	10,653	6,818	3,835	345	210	135	-	-	-	16/B	16/M
Guam	11,757	9,463	2,294	421	331	90	97	97	-	60	90
Puerto Rico	544,893	400,615	144,278	11,759	7,272	4,487	2,197	1,167	1,030	67	B
Virgin Islands—St. Croix	2,331	1,648	683	71	44	27	29	25	4	60	60
—St. Thomas & St. John	3,725	2,611	1,114	119	77	42	46	43	3	60	B
Hawaii	123,131	77,697	45,434	4,110	2,569	1,541	833	606	227	B	B

1/ Some of the "substandard" teachers included here may have met the minimum general education requirements given in columns 11 and 12 but
equivalent of 120-128 semester hours; "M" means the master's degree. 3/ Unless otherwise noted, data for elementary and secondary schools a
5/ Data for elementary and secondary schools are reported by grade group: kindergarten through grade 8 for elementary, and grades 9-12 for seco
Personnel in the United States", 1955 Edition. 8/ Includes 850 teachers (425 elementary and 425 secondary) who are on emergency certificate
414 classrooms to be constructed for the school years 1955-56 through 1958-59 under the 1955 School Building Act. 11/ Distribution by level
reoccupied. 13/ Number of temporary certificates valid for 1 year. 14/ Effective Dec. 1, 1956. 15/ Requirement for teaching in juni
citizens; a Republic of Panama Normal School certificate, or its equivalent, is the requirement for the lowest regular teaching certificate in

TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING, IN FULL-TIME
AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS

Number of pupils in excess of normal capacity of the accessible publicly-owned school plants in use			Inventory of instruction rooms				Additional instruction rooms needed (as of fall 1956)			
Total	Elementary 3/	Secondary 3/	Available, beginning 1955-56 school year	Abandoned for instructional purposes during the 1955-56 school year	Completed during 1955-56 school year	Available, beginning 1956-57 school year	Total	To accommodate excess enrollment reported in column 13	To replace unsatisfactory facilities (exclusive of those in column 21)	Instruction rooms scheduled for completion during 1956-57 school year
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
4/2,295,000	4/1,685,000	4/610,000	4/1,038,000	4/14,000	62,766	4/1,086,766	4/159,000	4/80,000	4/79,000	4/69,200
66,000	6/	6/	12,992	-	796	13,788	2,600	2,100	500	2,102
10,184	7,864	2,320	6,860	-	240	7,100	900	378	522	391
33,910	26,360	7,550	26,456	310	1,160	27,306	2,240	1,240	1,000	1,420
7,877	5,057	2,820	3,374	58	177	3,493	690	280	410	330
76,201	49,502	26,699	26,066	271	1,877	27,672	3,841	2,591	1,250	1,436
137,000	125,000	12,000	6/	6/	6,090	6/	6/	2,200	6/	7,000
39,393	21,901	17,492	61,706	1,081	2,163	62,788	8,366	1,525	6,841	5,454
5,000	3,300	1,700	3,904	65	131	3,970	700	200	500	202
5,873	3,653	2,220	2,892	42	127	2,977	862	198	664	207
52,338	41,674	10,664	51,435	677	2,788	53,546	3,435	1,924	1,511	2,809
44,094	43,000	1,094	29,010	206	1,823	30,627	4,170	1,470	2,700	2,100
30,000	20,000	10,000	19,862	200	400	20,062	1,000	6/	6/	450
13,800	12,100	1,700	16,000	700	900	16,200	1,800	800	1,000	500
80,000	50,000	30,000	46,923	750	3,430	49,603	3,300	2,250	1,050	3,[illegible]00
92,400	61,600	30,800	25,280	275	1,043	26,048	4,345	3,825	520	1,200
14,600	14,000	600	25,000	-	1,200	26,200	4,000	700	3,300	1,300
5,538	4,010	1,528	13,402	351	358	13,409	418	235	183	302
6/	6/	6/	3,020	92	390	3,318	570	470	100	223
57,900	41,900	16,000	55,911	225	1,275	56,961	4,460	2,036	2,424	1,500
3,661	2,780	881	7,695	-	213	7,908	246	146	100	125
3,000	2,000	1,000	25,153	125	1,735	26,763	470	120	350	2,000
287,820	240,000	47,820	13,240	150	556	13,646	11,354	9,594	1,760	407
93,026	49,304	43,722	9,285	326	396	9,355	8,324	3,454	4,870	350
616	616	-	2,125	2	43	2,166	25	25	-	10/138
74,217	49,393	24,824	22,028	205	1,998	23,821	4,643	2,529	2,114	1,584
194,130	129,420	64,710	27,711	1,319	1,770	28,162	7,471	6,471	1,000	2,700
60,000	45,000	15,000	18,000	441	12/1,098	18,657	7,000	2,000	5,000	800
6/	6/	6/	22,411	50	1,300	23,661	6/	6/	6/	1,100
63,790	39,737	24,053	13,959	99	888	14,748	3,150	1,898	1,252	831
76,720	57,540	19,180	17,214	75	350	17,489	6,579	2,192	4,387	600
7,136	11/6,066	11/1,070	33,152	676	1,788	34,264	4,867	1,586	3,281	2,076
10,000	6,000	4,000	20,000	150	1,750	21,600	500	350	150	1,200
55,500	40,000	15,500	18,665	1,000	1,400	19,065	6,453	1,953	4,500	1,186
45,110	34,004	11,106	24,433	336	955	25,052	*	*	*	*
55,590	45,687	9,903	53,430	300	5,487	58,617	7,561	4,538	3,023	5,064
74,833	54,306	20,527	24,163	289	1,214	25,088	4,974	2,680	2,294	993
19,500	17,000	2,500	16,422	625	300	16,097	1,823	780	1,043	450
15,921	14,871	1,050	3,694	16	170	3,848	537	537	-	50
5,300	3,500	1,800	5,218	20	350	5,548	205	175	30	250
115,000	90,000	25,000	74,000	1,000	8,000	81,000	10,000	4,000	6,000	10,000
24,746	17,136	7,610	11,017	211	1,043	11,849	1,197	621	576	1,000
4,850	2,728	2,122	4,493	83	269	4,679	613	181	432	208
4,418	3,051	1,367	6,054	139	304	6,219	661	214	447	309
4,497	3,743	754	1,719	43	244	1,920	271	137	134	106
6/	6/	6/	6/	6/	100	6/	6/	487	6/	100
17,025	11,833	5,192	13,312	-	650	13,962	6/	680	6/	700
13,066	8,982	4,084	6,335	174	585	6,746	709	432	277	124
81,138	54,092	27,046	18,795	332	1,322	19,785	3,344	1,456	1,888	1,417
1,800	1,800	-	3,100	30	120	3,190	210	60	150	100
4,454	3,441	1,013	1,202	36	199	1,365	305	191	114	133
-	-	-	183	7	11	187	6	-	6	25
-	-	-	401	39	16	378	7	-	7	4
17/810	6/	6/	404	-	27	431	27	27	-	15
229,749	202,570	27,179	7,942	-	325	8,267	7,245	5,869	1,376	1,042
261	261	-	48	-	21	69	33	9	24	29
650	536	114	101	10	7	98	31	18	13	1
3,466	2,275	1,191	4,044	78	318	4,284	493	114	379	276

but lack either the required semester hours in professional education or directed teaching. 2/ "B" means the bachelor's degree, the
ls are classified by type of organization of the school, rather than by grade-group. 4/ Includes estimate for nonreporting States.
secondary. 6/ Data not available. 7/ Source: National Education Association "A Manual on Certification Requirements for School
cates for more than half of their teaching load. 9/ Includes supervisors and principals. 10/ Represents one-third of the remaining
evel estimated by Office of Education. 12/ Includes 123 new classrooms produced by remodeling other space and 353 abandoned classrooms
junior high schools; master's degree required for teaching in senior high schools. 16/ Requirement for teaching in schools for U. S.
in schools for Latin Americans. 17/ Estimated by Office of Education. *Data not available until current survey is completed.

Number of Instruction Rooms Scheduled for Completion During School Year 1956-57

States reported that 69,200 instruction rooms are scheduled for completion in the public schools of continental United States during the current school year. Last year the number of instruction rooms reported as scheduled for completion was 67,000; but this has been revised to 61,900, because the figure of 7,000 rooms originally reported by one State for 1955-56 was later certified by the State as the total number of rooms scheduled for completion for the 4-year period 1952-56. Adjustment for this fact reduces the number reported as scheduled for completion in 1955-56 to 61,900--which is within 1 percent of the number reported, in the current survey, as actually built in that year, viz, 62,800.

It is of interest to compare the need for instruction rooms with the number of rooms scheduled for completion in 1956-57. An assumed construction rate of 69,200 instruction rooms per year for public schools in continental United States will take care of the needs which may be expected to arise from enrollment increases, obsolescence, and losses due to fire, flood, hurricanes, etc.; but it will do little toward reducing the backlog of need.

FORM RSS-052(56)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

Budget Bureau No. 51-R236.2
Approval Expires: 12/31/56

Fall 1956 Report on
ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLHOUSING
(Full-time Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools)

Important

This information should reflect the facts on or about October 1, or the nearest date thereto when enrollment can be considered stabilized. If some of the actual data are not available, please furnish reasonable estimates. Please notify this Office at once if you foresee any delay in getting this report to us by November 1.

Fall 1955 data, which have been taken from your report for last year, are furnished for reference purposes.

State (or Territory) _____

Report made by: _____ (Name) _____ (Title)

Item	Fall 1956		Fall 1955	
	Elementary level (including Kindergarten)	Secondary level (including junior high)	Elementary level (including Kindergarten)	Secondary level (including junior high)
1	2	3	4	5
1. Number of full-time and part-time classroom teachers.....	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Number of full-time classroom teachers with substandard credentials (those who do not meet the regular certification requirements of the State).....	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Degree or number of semester hours required for lowest regular teaching certificate	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Number of pupils enrolled....	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal capacity 1/ of the accessible publicly-owned school plants in use..	_____	_____	_____	_____

See footnotes on reverse side.

6. Total number of all publicly-owned elementary and secondary instruction rooms:2/

(a) Available at the beginning of the 1955-56 school year..... _____

(b) Abandoned for instructional purposes during the 1955-56 school year _____

(c) Completed during the 1955-56 school year [NOTE: In your Fall 1955 report, _____ instruction rooms were reported as scheduled for completion during 1955-56]..... _____

(d) Available at the beginning of the 1956-57 school year (a minus b plus c)..... _____

7. Additional public elementary and secondary instruction rooms2/ needed (as of Fall 1956) for housing the pupils enrolled:

(a) Needed to accommodate excess enrollment reported in columns 2 and 3 of item 5 ..... _____

(b) Needed to replace unsatisfactory3/ facilities exclusive of classrooms counted in (a) above..... _____

(c) Total additional instruction rooms needed (a plus b)..... _____

8. Number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during the 1956-57 school year..... _____

1/ The number of pupils "in excess of normal capacity" includes pupils exceeding the number that can be accommodated, without multiple sessions, in the instruction rooms of accessible publicly-owned school plants in use, according to State and local standards of normal capacity. For the purposes of this report, the excess enrollment in one school is not to be reduced by any unused capacity in another. The following categories are to be included in the count: (1) the number of pupils exceeding normal capacity in overcrowded instruction rooms (regardless of whether the structure might be considered obsolete); (2) in the case of multiple sessions, the differences between the normal capacity of a single full session and the number attending all sessions; (3) the total number of pupils in makeshift or improvised facilities; (4) the total number of pupils in non-publicly-owned buildings; and (5) the total number of pupils in non-school public buildings.

2/ Instruction rooms include classrooms, laboratories, and shops, but exclude auditoriums, gymnasiums, lunchrooms, libraries, study halls, and multipurpose rooms.

3/ An "unsatisfactory" facility is one which should be abandoned because its condition or location is such that it cannot be made satisfactory with any reasonable expenditure.

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Citizens and Their Schools

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from 1956 issues

of

BETTER SCHOOLS

A CLEARINGHOUSE FOR SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Published by the NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR BETTER SCHOOLS, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

January 1957 — Supplement to Circular No. 490

Comparative Statistics on Enrollment, Teachers, and Schoolhousing in Full-Time Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, With Related Population Data: Fall 1954, 1955, and 1956

Continental United States*

Item	Fall 1954	Fall 1955	Fall 1956	Annual change [Minus (-) denotes decrease] Number 1954 to 1955	Number 1955 to 1956	Percent 1954 to 1955	Percent 1955 to 1956
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A. POPULATION 1/							
Total population	162,114,000	165,130,000	168,029,000	3,016,000	2,899,000	1.9	1.8
Population aged 5-17 years, inclusive	36,315,000	37,695,000	39,117,000	1,380,000	1,422,000	3.8	3.8
Percent of total population aged 5-17	22.4	22.8	23.3	-	-	2/.4	2/.5
B. ENROLLMENT							
Total enrollment	29,410,118	30,532,166	31,527,695	1,122,048	995,529	3.8	3.3
Elementary schools . . .	3/	22,059,688	22,236,110	3/	4/176,422	3/	4/.8
Secondary schools . . .	3/	8,472,478	9,291,585	3/	4/819,107	3/	4/9.7
Percent of total enrollment in elementary schools . .	3/	72.3	70.5	-	-	3/	2/-1.8
Percent of total enrollment in secondary schools . .	3/	27.7	29.5	-	-	3/	2/ 1.8
Percent of population aged 5-17 years enrolled . . .	81.0	81.0	80.6	-	-	-	2/-.4
C. PUPILS IN EXCESS OF NORMAL CAPACITY							
Total number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal capacity of accessible publicly owned school plants in use	2,336,068	2,262,434	2,295,000	-73,634	32,566	-3.2	1.4
Elementary schools . . .	3/	1,706,735	1,685,000	3/	4/-21,735	3/	4/-1.3
Secondary schools . . .	3/	555,699	610,000	3/	4/ 54,301	3/	4/ 9.8
Percent of total excess enrollment in elementary schools	3/	75.4	73.4	-	-	3/	2/-2.0
Percent of total excess enrollment in secondary schools	3/	24.6	26.6	-	-	3/	2/ 2.0
Pupils in excess of normal capacity as percent of total enrollment	7.9	7.4	7.3	-	-	2/-.5	2/ -.1
Elementary schools . . .	3/	7.7	7.6	-	-	3/	2/ -.1
Secondary schools . . .	3/	6.6	6.6	-	-	3/	2/ -

See footnotes on page 2.

Item	Fall 1954	Fall 1955	Fall 1956	Annual change [Minus (-) denotes decrease] Number 1954 to 1955	Number 1955 to 1956	Percent 1954 to 1955	Percent 1955 to 1956
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D. CLASSROOM TEACHERS							
Total teachers, full-time and part time	1,066,853	1,135,930	1,196,980	69,077	61,050	6.5	5.4
Elementary	690,457	729,194	749,851	38,737	20,657	5.6	2.8
Secondary	376,396	406,736	447,129	30,340	40,393	8.1	9.9
Percent of total teachers in elementary schools . . .	64.7	64.2	62.6	-	-	2/-.5	2/-1.6
Percent of total teachers in secondary schools	35.3	35.8	37.4	-	-	2/ .5	2/-1.6
E. PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO							
Pupil-teacher ratio, all schools	27.6	26.9	26.3	-	-	2/-.7	2/ -.6
Elementary	3/	30.3	29.7	-	-	3/	2/ -.6
Secondary	3/	20.8	20.8	-	-	3/	2/ -
F. TEACHERS WITH SUBSTANDARD CERTIFICATES							
Total full-time teachers with substandard certificates . .	74,815	77,554	89,388	2,739	11,834	3.7	15.3
Elementary	60,520	59,453	66,205	-1,067	6,752	-1.8	11.4
Secondary	14,295	18,101	23,183	3,806	5,082	26.6	28.1
Percent of teachers with substandard certificates in elementary schools . . .	80.9	76.7	74.1	-	-	2/-4.2	2/-2.6
Percent of teachers with substandard certificates in secondary schools . . .	19.1	23.3	25.9	-	-	2/ 4.2	2/ 2.6
Teachers with substandard certificates as percent of total teachers	7.0	6.8	7.5	-	-	2/ -.2	2/ .7
Elementary	8.8	8.2	8.8	-	-	2/ -.6	2/ .6
Secondary	3.8	4.5	5.2	-	-	2/ .7	2/ .7
G. SCHOOLHOUSING							
Number of publicly owned instruction rooms at beginning of school year	3/	1,038,000	1,086,766	3/	48,766	3/	4.7
Number of rooms abandoned for instructional purposes during school year	3/	14,000	-	3/	-	3/	-
Number of instruction rooms completed during school year.	3/	62,766	-	3/	-	3/	-
Total number of additional instruction rooms needed for housing pupils enrolled at beginning of school year. . .	3/	3/	159,000	3/	3/	3/	3/
To accommodate pupils in excess of normal capacity . .	3/	3/	80,000	3/	3/	3/	3/
To replace unsatisfactory facilities	3/	3/	79,000	3/	3/	3/	3/
Percent of additional instruction rooms needed:							
To accommodate pupils in excess of normal capacity . .	3/	3/	50.3	3/	3/	3/	3/
To replace unsatisfactory facilities	3/	3/	49.7	3/	3/	3/	3/
Total number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during school year . .	60,005	5/61,868	69,200	1,863	7,379	3.1	11.9

* Includes 48 States and District of Columbia.

1/ Data as of October 1. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2/ Absolute change in percentage points. 3/ Data not available. 4/ Separate comparisons of trends in elementary and secondary enrollments cannot readily be made because of changes in reporting patterns from year to year. 5/ This figure differs from the one previously published (67,098), because the 7,000 rooms reported by one State for the school year 1955-56 was later certified by the State as the total number of classrooms scheduled for completion for the 4-year period 1952-56.

Source:
Fall 1954 and 1955: Office of Education Circular No. 467 Revised; Fall 1956: Circular No. 490.

Negro Schools In Georgia
From Georgia Teachers & Education Association
January 1957

REGION ONE

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs
Bartow	Bartow Elem.	Walter Johnson, Cartersville	19
Ringgold	Ringgold Elem.	William M..Pride, Ringgold	3
Chattooga	Co. Trng. Sch.	John R. Rosser, Rte. 2, Lyerly	10
	Menlo Colored	Evelyn L. Rambo, Menlo	2
	Summerville Col.	Dewey D. White, Summerville	9
Trion City	Westside Sch.	Mrs. Virginia Shropshire, Trion	2
Dade	Hooker School	Miss Lula D. Paris, Trenton	2
Fannin	Blue Ridge Sch.	Edith B. Brown, Blue Ridge	1
Calhoun City	Stephens School	Mrs. Betty M. Smith, Calhoun	13
Floyd	E. S. Brown Sch.	Eugene Perdue, Cave Springs,	5
Cartersville City	Summer Hill Hi	J. S. Morgan, Sr.,Cartersville	10
	Summer Hill Elem.	J. S. Morgan, Sr., Cartersville	10
Rome City	Main School	C. W. Aycock, Watters St.,Rome	37
	Mary T. Banks	Samuel Burell, E. 12th St., Rome	8
	South Rome	Harold Al dridge, E. 12th St., Rome	6
	West Rome	Mrs. Sarah T. Hixon, Grahm St., Rome	4
Haralson	County High & Elem. Colored School	Charles J. George, Waco	16
Murray	Chatsworth School	Miss Eila Lee Branham, Chatsworth	1
Paulding	Matthews Cons.	B. L. Fuse, Dallas	15
Polk	Elm Street	L. C. Baylor, Rockmart	21
	Lyle	Morris Morgan, Jr., Cedartown	9
Cedartown City	Cedar Hill	R. A. Bryant, Cedartown	16
Walker	Hill Hi & Elem. Sch.	Oliver R. Lumpkin, LaFayette	16
	Wallaceville Sch.	Mrs. Rosa B. Clements, Rte. 1, Chickamauga	9
Whitfield			
Dalton	Emery School	James R. Hightower, Emery St., Dalton	15

REGION TWO

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Butts	Henderson Hi & Elem	N. E. Walker, Jackson,	38
Carroll	Antioch	James O. Reynolds, Clem,	5
	Glanton-Hindsman	Yeadon D. McCleary, Villa Rica,	12
	Hillside	Annie M. C. Heard, Rt. 2, Carrollton	2
	Hudson	Asa A. Chambliss, Bowdon,	9
	Mandeville	Lucy L. Bowen, Bowdon Junction,	1
	Pineview	Jessie D. Stokes, Carrollton	1
	Providence	Walter Strickland, Temple,	5
	Rose Hill	Sanford N. Holliway, Roopville	6
	Shady Dale	Mary A. Bailey, Carrollton	2
Carrollton City	Alabama St. Elem.	L. S. Molette, Box 418, Carrollton,	15
	Carver High	L. S. Molette, Box 418, Carrollton,	17
Coweta	Eastside	W. A. Long, Rt. 1, Senoia,	15
	Grantville Brown	L. D. Walker, Grantville,	15
	Newman-Coweta Central High	F. A. Dodson, Newnan,	25
	Northside	J. E. Jennings, Rt. 2, Newnan,	13
	Westside	Leroy Norwood, Rt. 4, Newnan,	8
Newnan City	Howard Warner	Robert J. Rowe, 55 Savannah St. Newnan,	15
	Ruth Hill	Ulysses S. Jackson, Sunset Lane, Newnan,	11
Douglas	Hutcheson	Ulysees Byas, Douglasville,	20
	Winston	William H. Endsley, Winston,	4
Fayette	Fayette Co. Trng.	Mrs. Pearl Webb, Fayetteville,	26
Heard	Mary Johnson	Felton J. Ransby	18
Henry	Hampton Rosenwald	Percy E. Parks, Hampton,	9
	Henry Co. Trng.	Joseph F. Smith, McDonough,	42
	Shoal Creek	Robert E. Davenport, Locust Grove,	11
	Stockbridge-Rosenwald	Elizabeth S. Clifford	9
Meriwether	Greenville Consolidated	Earl H. Stokes, Greenville,	23
	Durand Elem.	William Mitchell, Durand,	4
	Luthersville Elem.	William C. Clemons, Luthersville,	9
	Meriwether Co., Tng.	Ira Parks, Manchester,	19
	McCrary	Homer C. Williams	11
	Eleanor Roosevelt	Vergil C. Demery, Warm Springs,	4
	Woodbury	I. P. Lewis, Woodbury,	12
Pike	Pike Co., Consolidated	S. H. Harris, Concord,	22
	East Pike Elem.	Marcellous Whitehead, Zebulon,	15
Griffin Spalding	Annie Shockley	Otis C. Boddy, Griffin,	12
	Cora Nimmons	Sadie Kirkpatrick, Griffin,	11
	Fairmont High	Horace E. Tate, Griffin,	19
	Moore	Beatrice Dominis	23
	Mt. Pleasant	Hazel Reeves, Griffin,	2
	Pleasant Grove A.	Christopher Hunter, Griffin,	2
	Pleasant Grove B.	Nellie Sanders, Griffin,	1
	Pomona	Josie Spikes, Griffin,	2
	Rover	Alice Johnson, Griffin,	2

REGION TWO CONTINUES:

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Troup	Ethel W. Kight E. & Hi.	Luther R. Eccleston, LaGrange,	29
	Mount Pleasant Elem.	Alonza R. Ransom, Mountville,	20
Hogansville City	West End	J. E. Robinson, Hogansville,	17
LaGrange City	E. Depot Elem	Ethel Moore, LaGrange,	16
	E. Depot High	J. L. Powell, LaGrange,	13
	Jones Street	Emma Inez Kight, LaGrange,	4
	Kelley	J. H. Hawkins, LaGrange,	17
	Thomastown	W. J. Griggs, LaGrange,	11
West Point City	Tenth St.,	Elmer R. Gould, West Point,	15
	Harrison High	Warren Minniefield, West Point,	8

REGION THREE

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Cherokee	Co. Trng. Sch.	Gertrude B. Hubert, Canton	12
Clayton	Wm. A. Fountain Hi	M. D. Roberts, Forest Park	28
	Jonesboro Col.	Mrs. Roberta T. Smith, Jonesboro	15
Cobb	Acworth School	Robert L. Horton, Acworth	5
	Austell School	Edith B. Murray, Austell	10
	Smyrna School	Franklin S. Jones, Smyrna	10
Marietta City	Lemon St. Sch.	M. J. Woods, Marietta	14
	Lemon St. Elem.	M. J. Woods, "	16
DeKalb	Bruce St. Hi & Elem-	Coy Flagg, Lithonia	22
	County Line	Mrs. Fannie M. Eberhardt, Ellenwood	7
	Hamilton Hi	William Hatton, Avondale Ests.	14
	Lynwood Park Hi & Elem. School	L. A. Robinson, No. Atlanta-19	19
	Robert Shaw	Mrs. E. C. Riggins, Avondale Ests.	23
	Victoria Simmons	Edward Bouie, Stone Mountain	9
Decatur City	Trinity Hi	A. J. Martin, Decatur	13
	Beacon Elem.	Sara T. Blackmon, Decatur	17
Fulton	Bailey-Johnson	Mrs. M. C. Echols, Alpharetta	11
	J. F. Beavers	Mrs. A. Cathryn Johnson, College Pk.	21
	East Point Ele.	Neill A. Bridges, East Point	25
	Fairburn Ele.	James R. Ealey, Fairburn	13
	Palmetto Ele.	John T. Gibson, Palmetto	10
	Stonewall	Mrs. Agnes S. Clark, Stonewall	5
	South Fulton Hi	Frank McClarin, 506 S. Bayard East Point	31
SPECIAL EDUCATION		College Park -Palmetto	2
Aidmore		1420 Burlington Rd., N. E. Atlanta	1
Grady Hospital		Mrs. Adeline Michael, 36 Butler St, SE	1

REGION THREE - Atlanta

School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
D. T. Howard Hi	F. W. Sullivan, 551 Houston St., N. E.	80
C. W. Hill Ele	Felix Maddox, 417 Piedmont Ave., N. E.	45
John Hope Ele	Ralph Long, 112 Boulevard, N. E.	25
H. R. Butler Ele	Frederick D. Brown, 89 Younge St., S. E.	43
Wesley Avenue Ele	Mrs. S. F. Coan, 187 Wesley Ave., N. E.	28
English Ave. Ele	B. S. Burch, 627 English Ave., N. W.	53
Gray St. Ele	Mrs. Florence M. Hogan, 448 Gray St., N. W.	21
Mary M. Bethune Ele	Miss D. E. Hornsby, 220 Northside Dr., N. W.	18
E. R. Carter Ele	Mrs. F. D. Furlowe, 80 Ashby St., N. W.	43
Walker St. Ele	Miss Helen M. Toliver, 165 Walker St., S. W.	26
W. F. Hardnett Ele	Miss Ruth M. Harper, 1201 Bridges Ave., S. W.	4
Lena T. Campbell Ele	G. B. Hollingsworth, 13 Thayer Ave., S. E.	20
W. H. Crogman Ele	Mrs. M. A. Mitchell, 1114 West Ave., S. W.	47
E. P. Johnson Ele	W. J. Rowe, 494 Martin St., S. E.	47
E. A. Ware Ele	Otis White, 569 Hunter St., N. W.	41
Thomas Slater Ele	A. J. Lewis, 1320 Pryor Road, S. W.	64
A. F. Herndon Ele	Mrs. O. P. Davie, 1095 Simpson Road, N. W.	22
Frank L. Stanton Ele	Miss Josephine Po[illegible], 1625 Mozley Dr., S. W.	22
Thomasville School	Mrs. Lottie B. Latimer, 1965 Lewis Rd., S. E.	19
William Scott Ele	Mrs. B. A. Burrus, 1752 Hollywood Rd., N. W.	18
Rockdale Ele	Kennon Thompson, 1557 Johnson Rd., N. W.	41
Anderson Park Ele	Miss Audrey Williams, 2107 Tiger Flowers Dr., NW.	27
E. C. Clement Ele	Mrs. L. P. Brown, 180 Holly Rd., N. W.	22
Thomas Oliver Ele	Mrs. Willie D. Kirkland, 1981 County Line Rd Ben Hill	10
Nathan Forrest Ele	R. G. Gay, 608 Forrest Road, N. E.	22
Georgia Ave. Ele	J. Y. Moreland, 252 Georgia Ave., S. W.	28
Carolyn Harper Ele	Mrs. Ruby G. Bennett, 180 Poole Creek Rd., S. E.	9
Samuel W. Archer Hi	Arthur Richardson, 2250 Perry Blvd., N. W.	41
H. M. Turner Hi	D. F. Davis, 98 Anderson Ave, N. W.	54
B. T. Washington Hi	C. N. Cornell, 45 Whitehouse Dr., S. W.	109
B. T. Washington(Evening)	Milton White, 45 Whitehouse Dr., S. W.	15
Carver Vocational	J. H. Bohannan, 1275 Capitol Ave., S. W.	45
Carver Vocational (Ext.)	C. L. Gideon, 1275 Capitol Ave., S. W.	10
L. J. Price Hi	R. E. Cureton, 1670 Capitol Ave., S. E.	62

REGION FOUR

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Banks	Banks Co. Elem.	George O. Jenkins, Homer,	3
Barrow	Bethlehem	Grace P. Young, Bethlehem,	4
	Fairfield	Lewis J. Barnes, Statham,	5
	Tanner's Bridge	Edward D.Curry, Bethlehem,	4
Winder City	Glenwood E. & H.	L. D. Sims, Winder	10
Clark	Athens H. & I.	H. T. Edwards, P. O. Box 1501, Athens,	29
	East Athens	Mrs. Jessie McWhorter, Peter St., Athens,	14
	Lyons	Miss Cordelia Wymbs, Winterville Rd. "	20
	North Athens	Mrs. Ella G. Brown, Barber St., Athens,	17
	West Broad	Mrs. Mamie M. Freeman, W. Broad St. "	13
Elbert	Bell's Grove	Tommie F. Moss, Elberton,	1
	Bethel's Grove	Edward H. Brownlee, Middleton,	1
	Blackwell Memorial	James W. Hawes, Jr., Elberton,	20
	Bowman	L. R. Neal, Bowman,	13
	Downer's Grove	Cleopatra Blackwell, Elberton,	4
	Heard's Grove	Mamie L. Banks, Middleton,	2
	Hill's Chapel	Thresa W. Browne, Elberton,	1
	Jones St. Elem.	Janesta McKenney, Elberton,	5
	Maple Springs	Annie L. Brewer, Dewey Rose,	4
	Morrison's Chapel	Nellie B. Rucker, Elberton,	1
	Nelm's Chapel	John H. Lee, Jr., Middleton,	2
	Rose Hill	Lillian B. Rucker, Middleton,	2
	St. Paul	Julia M. Walton, Elberton,	1
	Ward's Community	Ruth Burton, Elberton,	2
	Ward's Grove	Thelma K. Strickland, Elberton,	2
Franklin	Lavonia	George T. Henderson, Lavonia,	8
	Royston	W. H. Lyles, Royston,	6
	Union Grove	Louie H. Hardy, Jr., Carnesville,	7
Gwinnett	Duluth	W. C. Jones, Duluth,	3
	Hooper-Renwick	R. L. Hightower, Lawrenceville,	14
	Norcross	H. E. Johnson, Norcross,	3
	New Bethel	Miley Mae Hemphill, Lithonia,	1
	Shiloh	Johnnie D. Jordan, Lithonia,	1
Buford City	Buford	W. A. Watson, Buford,	9
Greene	Alexander Center	Harvey V. Smith, RFD. Greensboro,	3
	Eastover	Mary J. Moss, White Plains,	1
	Greensboro High	Eli J. Jackson, Greensboro,	25
	Jones Central	Mattie B. Neal, RFD Madison,	3
	Siloam	Willie M. Alexander, Siloam,	12
	Union Point	Ulysees Bacon, Union Point,	9
	White Plains	Prince Davis, White Plains,	7
	Woodville	Chas. W. McNair, Woodville,	7
Hart	Hart Co. Trng.	Harvey B. Coleman, Hartwell	30
Hall			
Gainesville City	Fair St. Elem	E. D. Billingslea, Gainesville	21
	Fair St. High	E. C. Billingslea, Gainesville	11
Habersham	Clarkesville	Miss Joan Harbin, Clarkesville,	1
	Cornelia	Oswald Wright, Cornelia,	8

REGION FOUR CONTINUES:

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Jackson	Bryan High	Lewis W. Jay, Jefferson,	16
	Center	Jessie Ruth Deadwyler, Center,	1
	Hoschton Chapel	James L. Robinson, Hoschton,	2
	Jones Chapel	Julia D. Bryson, Commerce,	1
Commerce City	Johntown High	C. W. Gannaway, Commerce,	7
Jasper	Carrie Taylor	J. L. Lawson, Shady Dale,	6
	Jasper Co. Trng.	A. R. Payne, Monticello,	29
Lumpkin	Dahlonega	Gradie G. Whelchel, Dahlonega,	1
Madison	Northside	Robert L. Calloway, Ila,	5
	Southside	Bertha Carithers, Colbert,	19
Morgan	Burney St. Pearl Hi	William Ingram, Madison,	24
	Ebenezer	Mrs. Mary L. Jordan, RFD, Madison,	1
	Flat Rock	Mrs. Roline Bass, Madison,	1
	Holland Spring	Mrs. Irene Moore, Madison,	1
	Jackson Grove	Mrs. Jessie E. Manuel, Madison,	1
	Mars Hill	Mrs. Pernella C. Anderson, Mars Hill,	1
	McHugh's Hill	Mrs. Minnie W. Bell, Madison,	1
	Moses Chapel	Mrs. Eula M. Griffin, Ruthledge,	1
	Mt. Zion	Mrs. Lilla B. Ashe Jones, Buckhead,	2
	New Enon	Mrs. Eura S. Davis, Godfrey,	2
	Pleasant Grove	Mrs. Mary L. White, Newborn,	3
	Rock Springs	Mrs. Daisy B. Davis, Madison,	2
	Ruthledge	Mrs. Elder B. Walton, Ruthledge,	3
	Smyrna	Margaret N. Love, Madison,	1
	Springfield	Rev. Lee H. Stinson, Madison,	3
	Sweet Home	Mrs. Bettye E. Brown, Bostwick,	2
	Thankful	Mrs. Viola Saeggers, Madison,	1
	Bethel	Mrs. Lillian Moore, Madison,	2
	Buckhead	Mrs. Ida Belle Stewart, Buckhead	2
Newton	Bentley	Frances McCord, Covington,	2
	Dixie	Horace Johnson, "	4
	Leguin	Hazel Binder "	3
	Livingston Chapel	Robert Clement "	5
	Newborn	Ossie Hamm, Newborn,	2
	Oxford	Nathaniel Mitchell, Oxford,	6
	Rose Hill	Odessa Washington, Porterdale,	2
	Washington Street	Robert L. Stewart, Covington,	28
Oconee	Edd Stroud	Marvin F. Billups, Watkinsville,	16
Oglethorpe	Oglethorpe Co.Trng.	W. D.Tolbert	
Putnam	Butler-Baker	W. N. Glockton, Eatonton,	42
Pickens	Pickens Co., Trng.	G. W. Hatcher, Tate,	7
Rockdale	Bryant	George L. Edwards, Jr.	
Rabun	Ivy Hill	Audrey Lee Allen, Clayton,	1
Stephens	Bethelem	W. C. Rice, Toccoa,	1
	Deercourt	Snowbird Grant, Toccoa,	1
	Oak Hill	Georgia Mae Williams, Toccoa,	4
Toccoa City	Whitman	L. L. Banks, Toccoa,	20

REGION FOUR CONT'D

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Walton	Bethany	Florence B. Etchinson, Monroe,	2
	Carters Hill	Elizabeth Thompson, Loganville,	2
	Carver	C. P. Cochran, Monroe,	18
	Etchinson	Arnella W. Camp, Loganville,	2
	Good Hope-Peters	Clyde C. Carr, Good Hope,	14
	Loganville	Curtis Richardson, Loganville	2
	Mt. Enon	Cora J. Smith, Campton,	2
	Social Circle	E. P. Yorpp, Social Circle,	17
	Spring Hill	Azalee Richardson, Campton,	2
	Thompson	Ella Mae Butler, Monroe,	1
White	Oak Spring	Fannie M. Sidney, Cleveland,	2

REGION FIVE

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Burke	Palmer Ele	Chas. I Bennifield, Jr., Keysville	8
	Cousins Ele	James C. Griggs, Sardis	10
	Girard Ele	John E. Briggs, Jr., Girard	10
	Gough Ele	Paul G. Walser, Gough	14
	Midville Ele	Chas. H. Brown, Jr., Midville	14
	Waynesboro H & I	Robert E. Blakeney, Waynesboro	63
Columbia	Allen Grove *	Essie Watkins, Appling	1
	Appling Hi *	Charlie Lazenby, Appling	18
	Central *	Hattie Smith, Harlem	2
	Community *	Annie Mae Thomas, Evans	22
	Ellis *	Ruth Dent Sauls, Harlem	1
	Galilee *	Julia Johnson, Appling	2
	Gibbs Ele & Hi	Sarah Washington, Evans	7
	Gospel Water Br. *	Eula Evans, Martinez	2
	Jerusalem *	Rev. Geo. Wingfield, Grovetown	1
	Lampkin Grove *	Bernice Mason, Appling	1
	Macedonia *	Virginia B. Mims, Martinez	3
	Oakey Grove *	Margaret Gardener, Evans	1
	Pollard Academy	Mary E. Sanders, Harlem	6
	Poplar Springs *	Deliah D. Lamkin, Appling	1
	Rehoboth *	Lillie B. Collins, Appling	2
	Rosemont *	Lillian P. Geter, Appling	1
	Smith Grove *	Mary J. Beard, Appling	1
	Solid Rock *	Serena J. Lamar, Appling	1
	Steiner Grove *	Mamie R. Samuels, Grovetown	1
	Walnut Grove *	Ethel S. Williams, Appling	1
	Water Branch *	Annie M. Rhodes, Appling	1
	Wingfield *	Hattie Marshall, Appling	1

* Schools are scheduled to consolidate in December.
The four Centers will be:

The John P. Blanchard Elementary & High (Appling Hi Sch.)

George T. White Elementary (Pollard Academy)

Gibbs Elementary (Gibbs)

The Phinizy Area Elementary School (Has not been Officially named)

Glascock	Glascock Co. Trng. School	Ulysses S. Evans, Gibson	11

REGION FIVE (Continued)

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Hancock	Culverton	Lizzie J. Smith, Culverton	1
	East End	Jesse W. Landers, Sr., Sparta	8
	Galilee	James E. McMullen, Sparta	3
	Green Springs	Horace A. Ruff, Sparta	2
	Harris Grove	Romie S. Turner, Devereux	1
	Hickory Grove	Antee Lawson, Culverton	2
	Hunt's Chapel	Elizabeth L. Coleman, Sparta	2
	L. S. Ingraham	Carlton H. Morse, Sparta	25
	New Buelah	Dorothy L. Lott, Culverton	2
	Old Buelah	William McMullen, Devereux	4
	Sandy Run East	Mazie E. Burton, Sparta	1
	Springfield	Charles W. Hill, Mayfield	6
	Stanton Grove	Carrie W. Jackson, Devereux	1
	Thankful	Rosa M. Chappell, Culverton	1
	Union	Derrie Harmon, Mayfield	2
	Warren	Marvin E. Lewis, Devereux	8
Jefferson	Atwell	Valeria Brown, Wrens	1
	Avera	Carrie Singuefield, Avera	1
	B. T. Washington	Hewitt Lundy, Bartow	8
	Carver	Q. E. Parker, Wadley	18
	Ebenezer	Sarah Harden, Louisville	1
	Farmers Grove	Rhina Quarterman, Louisville	2
	Galilee	Mattie Brown, Louisville	1
	Grange	Lillie B. Mack, Louisville	1
	Gordon Grove	Mattie Baskett, Louisville	1
	Hardeman	Pearl L. Scantling, Louisville	1
	Jefferson Co. Trng.	W. E. Price, Louisville	22
	Lewis Grove	Gladys Whigham, Wadley	1
	Lockhart	Tabitha Hobbs, Louisville	1
	Lofton	Bettie M. Simpkins, Wrens	2
	Mathews	Frank Allen, Matthews	3
	Mt. Olive	Fannie Osborne, Louisville	1
	Pine Hill	Kate Walker, Louisville	2
	Spring Bethel	Ira D. Mack, Louisville	1
	Springfield	Annie L. Ivey, Avera	3
	Stapleton	Fannie Garrett, Stapleton	2
	Tarvers Grove	C. B. Mitchell, Bartow	1
	Tenders Grove	Lois H. Daniels, Avera	1
	Wrens	O. S. Beasley, Wrens	16
Lincoln	County Trng.	W. E. Mason, Lincolnton	27
McDuffie	County Trng.	R. L. Norris, Thomson	32
	Mt. Gilead	Walter Moses, Dearing	8
	Mt. Pleasant	Principal, Thomson	1
	Piney Grove	Principal, Dearing	2
	White Oak	Principal, Thomson	1
	Allen Chapel	Principal, Thomson	1
	Farr	Principal, Dearing	1

REGION FIVE (Continued)

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Richmond	Ursula Collins	Charles L. Butler, Augusta	39
	Peter H. Craig	Wm. Lamback, Augusta	20
	Doughty	Miss Annie M. Jones, Augusta	4
	Fifth Ward	L. R. Williams, Augusta	2
	Silas X. Floyd	Y. N. Myers, Augusta	23
	Hepzibah Cons.	Hubert Wilson, Hepzibah	21
	Johnson Jr. Hi	Lloyd Reese, Augusta	37
	Lucy Laney Hi	Charles W. Johnson, Augusta	49
	C. T. Walker	I. E. Washington, Augusta	43
	Weed	James L. Starks, Augusta	19
	Levi White	Robert L. Blount, Augusta	20
Taliaferro	Murden	Harry S. King, Crawfordville	21
Warren	Warrenton Hi & Ele	Mildred Freeman, Warrenton	26
	Norwood Ele	Delmus Bacon, Norwood	12
Washington	Beech Grove Ele	Harold Duggan, Tennille	2
	California Ele	Ida Hall, Sandersville	2
	Cleveland	Bertha Jackson, Bartow	1
	Davisboro	Elbert L. Lawson, Davisboro	8
	T. J. Elder Hi	C. W. Daniels, Sandersville	33
	Gardner Ele	Doris W. Crawford, Oconee	2
	Harrison Ele	Itola M. Powell, Harrison	2
	Green Grove Ele	Cleveland Rayford, Sandersville	2
	Jones Chapel Ele	Mary J. Rowland, Bartow	2
	Jordon Jr. Ele	Margaret Gordy, Sandersville	2
	Jordon Station Ele	Geraldine A. Poole, Sandersville	2
	Middle Hill Ele	Celia Reeves, Sandersville	2
	Mineral Springs	Eva K. Pinkston, Sandersville	2
	Tennille Ele	Jack Daniels, Tennille	9
	Mt. Olive Ele	Elmus Williams, Sandersville	4
	Pringle Ele	Bertha Walker, Harrison	1
	Riddleville	Lucius Woods, Davisboro	4
	Royal Ele	Marion K. Smith,Sandersville	7
Wilkes	Clifford's Grove	Annie J. Stephens, Rayle	2
	Gibson Grove	Mary Jane Hill, Washington	2
	Hilliard Station	Doretha Jenkins, Rayle	1
	Lyonville	Mary Lou Mattox, Rayle	1
	Mt. Nebo	Carrie M. Stephens, Washington	2
	New Hope	Pecola O. Moore, Washington	2
	New Ford	John H. Hill, Danburg	8
	New Salem	Mary L. Felts, Washington	3
	Peerman Grove	Elizabeth Davenport, Rayle	1
	Pleasant Grove	Sadie B. Willis, Rayle	1
	Poplar Springs	Mattie Stokes, Rayle	1
	Pole Branch	Minnie L. Willis, Tignall	1
	Reeves Chapel	Ardelia S. Hull, Tignall	2
	Rosenwald	John T. Parks, Tignall	5
	Rocky Mount	James Ella Mays, Washington	1

REGION SIX

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Harris	Carver Ele-Hi	Rev. S. A. Laing; Hamilton,	17
	Dunbar	Joseph Kennebrew, Chipley;	8
	Johnson	George P. McKinney; Rt. 1, W. Point,	7
	Laney	Edward F. Robinson, Waverly Hall,	15
	Thomas	Theodore C. Bowen, Cataula;	9
Lee	Lee Co., Trng.	Johnnie J. Jones, Leesburg,	38
Macon	Felton Chapel	Rosetta O. Kendrick, Oglethorpe,	1
	Flint River Farms	Moses Lightfoot, Montezuma;	14
	Garden Valley	Bettye R. Loyd, Oglethorpe,	2
	Hicks Mill	Bertha L. Hicks; Reynolds,	1
	Ideal	K. H. Hankerson, Ideal,	8
	Lamson-Richardson	S. R. Hollinshed, Marshallville,	12
	Macon Co., Trng.	T. E. Moore, Montezuma,	16
	Oglethorpe	Pauline M. Fields, Oglethorpe,	10
	Red Oak	Aurrie Belle J. McCrary, Reynolds,	1
	Wilbur Hall	John W. Matthews, Reynolds;	1
Marion	Marion Co. Trng.	Casilo Hughes; Buena Vista,	35
Muscogee	Carver Heights	B. F. Moseley, 3042-8th St. Columbus,	31
	Carver Jr.	S. P. Charleston, 3042-8th St. "	18
	Claflin	George E. Pope, 1532-5th St. "	24
	Cusseta Road	Sadie Sanford, Old Cusseta Road "	12
	Fifth Avenue	W. B. Hudson, 627-5th Ave. "	20
	Forrest Road	Z. B. Anderson, Forrest Road "	13
	Harrison Avenue	Helen R. Burt, Harrison Avenue "	6
	Lynch Road	T. T. Alexander, Lynch Road "	10
	Manley Taylor	L. D. Bussey, 1152 Cusetta Road "	13
	Pou Street	Lyda H. Hannan, 2412-13th Ave. "	6
	Radcliff	M. A. Clarke; 733 Radcliff Ave. "	13
	Shepherd Drive	W. M. Thomas; 1822 Shepherd Dr. "	24
	Spencer Jr.	J. A. Huling; 800-10th Ave. "	23
	Spencer High	C. W. DuVaul, Shepherd Drive "	41
	St. James	Mattie B. Minter; Dawson Drive "	2
Quitman	Kaigler Trng.	Julius L. Thomas, Georgetown,	17
Randolph	Benevolence	James B. Smith, Benevolence,	8
	Coleman	Leon J. Young, Coleman,	8
	Enterprise	Jentsey M. Morris, Shellman,	1
	Joe Terrell	Mable P. Thomas, Shellman,	1
	Martin	Lawrence W.Wilson, "	5
	Pumpkintown	Verneal Powell, Cuthbert,	6
	Randolph Co.Tng.	Melvin P. Davie, "	32
	Shellman Voc.	Charles M. Fuller; Shellman,	16
	Springdale	Lillie P. Stergis, Springdale,	1
Sohley	Ellaville	F. D. Harrold, Ellaville,	9
	Spring Hill	Ozie Lee Thompson, Ellaville,	3
	New Phillip	Nannie K. Smith, "	2
	Simmons Chapel	Alma Smith, "	1
	Marietta	Artelia Seldon, Ellaville	1
	Horry Level	Mary Paschal, "	1
	Cedar Creek	Rosa G. Smith, "	1
	St. James	Eula Mann, Buena Vista,	1
	Wall's	Clara Freeman, Ellaville,	1
	Jerusale	Annie Rumph, "	1
	Mt. Zion	Eddie D. DeLoach, Ellaville	1

REGION SIX CONT'D

County	School	Principal Address	No. of Trs.
Stewart	Athens Hill	Johnnie W. Mathis, Lumpkin,	1
	Bluff Springs	Alvetta Brown, "	2
	Brooklyn	William D. Foy, Brooklyn,	3
	Charles	Sammie P. Castor, Lumpkin,	1
	Coffinton	Ethel P. Brown, Omaha,	1
	Florence	D. J. Flanagan, Omaha,	2
	Green Grove	Sammie G. Hudson, Lumpkin,	2
	Kimbrough	Jakie W. Willis, Richland,	1
	Louvale	Walter A. L. Williams, Louvale,	3
	Lumpkin H & I.	Lawrence S. Young, Lumpkin,	14
	Mt. Airy	Daisy A. Flanagan, Lumpkin,	2
	Mt. McKeithan	Bessie Davis, Omaha,	2
	Mt. Olive	Hattie P. Thornton, Richland,	2
	Omaha Trng.	Joseph Ash, Jr., Omaha,	4
	Philadelphia	Olivia J. Adams, Lumpkin,	2
	Pleasant Valley	Hattie S. Young, Lumpkin,	2
	Randall	Hattie M. Hardwick, "	2
	Richland H & I	George O. Lawson, Richland,	12
Sumter	Andersonville	Maxine Dorsey, Andersonville,	2
	Antioch	Mattye Sue Taylor, Plains,	2
	Corrinth	Reva Lowe, Americus,	1
	Davis Grove	Hallie Mann, Leslie,	2
	DeSoto	Albert Battle, DeSoto,	3
	Eastpoint	Louis Dix, Rt. 4, Americus,	1
	Flintside	Eula Bell Sellers, Rt.1, DeSoto,	1
	Leslie	Doshia Burton, Leslie,	3
	Mt. Carmel	Gladys Holt, Americus,	2
	Mt. Hope	Henry Mathis, Americus,	2
	Nunn Ind.	Kelsie Daniels, Rt.2, Leslie,	5
	Paradox	Katie Brown, Rt 1, Smithville,	1
	Plains	Annie B. Floyd, Plains,	6
	Piney Grove	Viease Dowdell, Rt. 1, Americus,	1
	Pleasant Grove	Wilhelmenia Robinson, RtlAmericus,	1
	Seay	Emily Seay, Rt.2, Americus,	2
	Shady Grove	Willie Paschal, Rt. 1, "	6
	Shipp Chapel	Carobel Balkcom, Americus,	1
	Shipp Trng.	Lewis Lowe, "	5
	Spring Hill	Irma Hart, Rt 1, Americus,	1
	Union Grove	Ella Clark, Americus,	1
	Union Oak Grove	Janie Cotton, Andersonville,	1
	Wards Chapel	Elizabeth Russell, Americus,	2
	Welcome	Theodore London, Rt 1, Americus,	3
Americus City	Staley High	James L.Bozeman, Americus,	13
	McCoy Hill	John W. Harris, Americus,	25
Talbot	Ruth Carter Hi	Lonnie M. Clark, Talbotton,	29
	John H. Woodall E.	J. B. King, Jr., Woodland,	12
	Geneva Elem.	David M. Bradley, Geneva,	7
Taylor	Eureka	R. L. McDougald, Butler,	31
	Reynolds Elem.	R. E. Brown, Jr., Reynolds,	14

REGION SIX CONT'D

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Terrell	Bethel	Laura N. Dyer, RFD, Dawson,	1
	Carver	E. E. Sykes, Dawson,	22
	Corner	Hattie P. Albritten, RFD, Dawson,	2
	Cottondale	Lula B. Odum, RFD, Dawson	1
	Dover	Susie S. Pollard, RFD, Dawson,	
	Dunbar	Susie S. Moore, Sasser,	9
	Helen Gurr	Robert R. Aaron, Parrott,	7
	Hickory Level	Ruby D. Weston, RFD, Dawson,	1
	James Griggs	Jessie Marshall, Graves,	4
	Laing	Rosa W. Scott, RFD, Dawson,	3
	Martin	Petronia K. Burch, Bronwood,	4
	Mt. Grove	Fannie Richardson, RFD, Dawson,	2
	Piney Grove	Forrest P. Johnson, RFD, Dawson,	1
	Pleasant Hill	Fannie Wilbon, RFD, Dawson,	1
	Red Hill	Mary Gordon, RFD, Parrott,	1
	Shiloh I	Sarah R. Ward, RFD, Dawson,	1
	Shiloh II	Mamie J. Huckaby, RFD, Bronwood,	1
	Walker Chapel	Jajie Breedlove, RFD, Dawson,	1
	Yeomans	Bernadine Dorsey, RFD, Dawson,	4
Upson	Fellowship	Marion Underwood, Rte. 3, Thomaston,	8
	Lincoln Park	Monroe Worthy, RTE. 5, Thomaston,	20
	Thomaston Trng.	Andrew Johnson, Thomaston,	25
	Yatesville	Lewis Conn, Yatesville,	10
Thomaston City	Thomaston Trng.	Andrew S. Johnson, Thomaston,	25
Webster	Archery	Beatrice Johnson, Plains,	1
	Brooks	Susie Ward, Richland,	1
	Bethlehem	Clara Franklin, Richland,	1
	Church Hill	Nannie B. Hawk, Preston,	1
	Daniel Chapel	Gurlena Smith, "	2
	Green Pond	Mattie King, Parrott,	1
	St. James	Leola Archibald, Richland,	1
	St. Mart	Lilla Goodwin, Weston,	2
	Preston	Ruby Lee McCluster, Preston,	1
	Rosenwald	Adolphus Gunter, "	5
	Zion	Johnnie Freeman, "	1

REGION SEVEN

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Baldwin	J. F. Boddie Hi	Joseph M. Graham, Milledgeville	21
	Carver Ele	Charles C. Phelps, Milledgeville	22
	Harrisburg Ele	Marion D. Heath, Milledgeville	14
	Northside Ele	Oscar S. Austin, Milledgeville	12
Bibb	Ballard-Hudson Sr. High	R. J. Martin, Macon	58
	Ballard-Hudson Jr.	R. J. Martin, Macon	28
	Green Street	Mrs. Carolyn Douglas, Macon	15
	George W. Carver	Miss Kate Shakespeare, Macon	13
	L. H. Williams	B. H. Price, Macon	26
	Unionville	Miss Lottie Price, Macon	20
	M. M. Burdell	Mrs. Lilla C. Parker, Macon	23
	B. S. Ingram	Miss Juliette Brown, Macon	22
	Ada J. Banks	Miss Elfleta Moore, Macon	30
	Eugenia Hamilton	Mrs. Mae M. Miller, Macon	18
	Special Education	Melvin Hudson, Macon	2
	Pleasant Grove	Mrs. Lilla Davis, Lizella	9
	Duresville	Mrs. Essie F. Harvey, Macon	10
	Bessie Capel	Mrs. Maude Pye, Macon	8
	Henry A. Hunt	Stewart B. Gandy, Macon	17
Crawford	County Trng. Sch.	E. E. Owens, Roberta	30
Houston	County Trng. Sch.	Adleigh D. Redmond, Perry	28
	New Hope Ele	James E. Ash, Perry	15
	Pearl Stephens	John P. Johnston, Warner Robins	17
	Southside Ele	Walter J. Rollins, Perry	14
Jones	Coliff Hi	B. F. Crawford, Gray	25
	Idello Duncan	Willie Barnes, Haddock	7
	Bradley-Wayside	Marie H. Collins, Gray	8
Lamar	Booker	E. P. Roberts, Barnesville	40
Monroe	Hubbard Ele	Samuel B. Hubbard, Forsyth	32
	Hubbard High	Samuel B. Hubbard, Forsyth	13
Peach	County Trng.	Harriett M. Tabor, Ft. Valley	17
	H. A. Hunt Hi & Ele	H. E. Bryant, Ft. Valley	47
Twiggs	Antioch Ele	Annie Stewart, Dry Branch	8
	Jeffersonville	A. M. Fields, Jeffersonville	28
	Mt. Olive Ele	Henry Bryant, Jeffersonville Rte. 1	7
Wilkinson	Brundage Mt.	Robert C. Carruthers, McIntyre	5
	Danville Cons.	Christine Watson, Danville	9
	Gordon	Walter Z. Thomas, Gordon	10
	Irwinton Jr. Hi	Kenneth F. Allgood, Irwinton	6
	Toomsboro Rosenwald	Kermit E. Robinson, Toomsboro	9

REGION EIGHT

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Bulloch	Mary Jackson Elem.	John D. Redwine, Rte. 6, Statesboro,	6
	Edward Johnson "	R. W. Campbell, RFD, Brooklet,	11
	New Hope Elem.	Corrie Everett Brown, RFD, Register,	6
	Willow Hill Elem.	John W. Lawton, Rt.4, Statesboro,	15
	William James Elem.	Floriene Bates, Statesboro,	9
	William James Hi & El.	Robert Hamilton, Statesboro,	33
Candler	Candler Co., Trng.	Elmer Collins, Metter,	22
Emanuel	Emanuel Co. El & Hi	D. D. Boston, Swainsboro,	31
	Lexsy	N. F. Williams, Lexsy,	8
	Summertown	J. A. Thomas, Summertown,	11
	Twin City Elem.	L. T. Southerland, Twin City,	9
Effingham	Clyo Jr. High	Mack W. Davis, Clyo,	8
	Eden Elem.	Inez Love Griffin, Eden,	1
	Effingham Co H & E.	Clifton Allen Wiggins, Springfield,	13
	Effingham Co. Trng. (Guyton Elem.)	Elisha Hall, Guyton,	7
	Meldrim Elem.	Isadell Scott Wilson, Meldrim,	1
	Oak Grove	Perrie Lee Irving, Egypt,	1
	Rincon Jr. Hi.	Amos E. Hagins, Rincon,	5
Evans	Evans Co. High	Raleigh Macon, Claxton,	25
Jenkins	Aaron	Franklyn F. Banks, Millen,	11
	Cousins	John G. Jenkins, Millen,	8
	Herndon-Birdsville	Minnie S. Wallace, Millen,	7
	Burgess Landrum	S. P. Pride "	26
Johnson	Adrian	Bessie Mae Smith, Adrain,	3
	Dock Kemp	W. J. Burton, Wrightsville,	21
	Kite	"Babe" Duncan, Kite,	2
Montgomery	County High	James Collins, Ailey,	24
	Uvalda	James Brown, Uvalda,	6
Dublin City	Oconee High	Lucius T. Bacote, Dublin,	16
	Susie Dasher Elem.	Sophronia D. Walker, Dublin,	12
	Washington St. Elem.	Eula C. Jackson, Dublin,	11
Screven	Arnett	L. L. Ballard, Rte 6, Sylvania,	16
	Annie E. Daniels	Johnnie C. Owens, Box 192, Sylvania,	15
	Central High	J. Tolbert Lacy, Sylvania,	42
	Southside Elem.	Ashley Aiken, Newington,	11
Tattnall	Collins Col. Elem.	William P. Forrest, Jr., Collins,	9
	Glennville Elm.	Sylvester Ashford, Glennville,	13
	Tattnall Co., Ind.	John E. Clark, Reidsville,	21
Toombs	Johnson Corner	Chas. D. Bell, RFD, Lyons,	3
	Lyons Ind.	T. R. Maxwell, Lyons,	20
Vidalia City	Dickerson Trng.	Alonza L. Epps, Vidalia,	22
Treutlen	Treutlen County Trng.	Augustus McArthur, Soperton	17
Wheeler	Alamo High	Maudecca L. Wilson, Alamo,	8
	Glenwood High	A. T. Johnson, Glenwood,	9
	McArthur High	Woodrow Love, RT.2, Lumber City,	6

REGION NINE

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Baker	East Baker Hi	Jacob Freeney, Newton	21
	Christ Church	Pecola H. Phipps, Arlington	2
	Davis Grove	Gussie O. Jones, Leary	1
	New Salem	Lula Mae Kunney, Elmodel	3
	Pleasant Hill	Thelma J. Hall, Damascus	1
	Piney Grove	Candace E. George, Arlington	3
	Providence	Eloise P. Miller, Colquitt	5
Berrien	Nashville Hi & Ele	-Walter M. Simmons, Nashville	18
Brooks	Barney	Rubye I. Golden, Barney	3
	Brooks Co. Trng.	Erasmus Dent, Dixie	12
	Cross Roads	Thelma J. Wells, Dixie	3
	Elizabeth	Lizettae F. Brown, Quitman	4
	New Empress	Maceo Horne, Quitman	4
	Grooverville	Nellie Miller, Quitman	23
	Ham City	Verna Frazier, Pidcock	2
	Liberty	Maggie Davis, Quitman	1
	Morning Star	Esther Spencer, Quitman	1
	Morven Rosenwald	Turner H. Tillman, Morven	12
	Mt. Moriah	Buelah Davis, Quitman	1
	Mt. Zion Pavo	Maggie Mae Felder, Pavo	2
	Pidcock	Ruth Thurman, Pidcock	1
	Pine Hill Barwick	Rosa D. Robinson, Barwick	2
	Salem	Louvenia Jenkins, Quitman	3
	St. Phillips Piscola	- Velma Young, Quitman	3
Quitman City	Washington Hi & Ele	-C. W. Rutherford, Quitman	27
Calhoun	Arlington Ele (Col)	-William Powers, Arlington	13
	Edison Col Ele	James A. Slaton, Edison	11
	H. T. Singleton Hi	James A. Slaton, Edison	12
	Leary Col. Ele	Mary Anderson, Leary	9
	Morgan Col. Ele	Luburda Sullivan, Morgan	7
Cook	County Trng.	Walter C. King, Adel	24
	Lennox Ele	Dosha B. White, Lenox	3
	Sparks Ele	Elijah Williams, Sparks	3
Colquitt	Charlie A. Gray	Mrs. F. S. McHenry, Moultrie	34
	Doerun	David Hooker, Doerun	13
Moultrie City	Moultrie Negro Hi	George W. Parker, Moultrie	25
Clay	Speight Ele & Hi	Melvin C. Berry, Ft. Gaines	24
	Bluffton Ele	Harvey Maxwell, Bluffton	8
Decatur	Attapulgus	J. A. McCullough, Attapulgus	7
	Attapulgus-Mt. Moriah	Annie K. Maddox, Attapulgus	13
	Climax Ele	Ilah J. Jackson, Climax	5
	Faceville	Florence L. Walden, Bainbridge	4
	Fowlstown Ele	Elsie G. Paul, Fowlstown	4
	Hutto Hi & Ele	W. D. Mann, Bainbridge	29
	John Johnson Ele	Evelyn B. Martin, Bainbridge	15
	Mt. Moriah Ele	Collin J. Greenleee, Climax	7
	West Bainbridge Ele	-Norvie H. Guyton, W. Bainbridge	17

REGION NINE (Continued)

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Dougherty	Monroe Hi	Melvin L. Heard, Albany	30
	Carver Jr. Hi	Ruth Kimbrough, Albany	26
	Coachman Park	George S. Bragg, Albany	23
	Jackson Heights	Robert Harvey, Albany	15
	Madison Street	Fletcher V. Rollins, Albany	20
	River Road	Louis M. Taylor, Albany	25
	Tift Ele	Carrie H. Sprye, Albany	18
Early	Carver Ele	Ernest T. Brown, Jakin	9
	Kestler Hi & Ele	John R. Harris, Damascus	28
	Washington Hi &Ele	Curtis E. Stanley, Blakely	51
Echols	Herctoma Col.	E. K. Howell, Statenville	6
Grady	Beckbranch	Noah Lester, Calvary	9
	Washington	D. T. Grant, Cairo	48
	Whigham	Bessie Weston, Whigham	7
Lanier	Lakeland Hi & Ele	Theodore R. Small, Lakeland	13
Lowndes	Bemiss Ele	Cora S. Howell, Valdosta	5
	Mineola Ele	Annie M. Hunter, Valdosta	3
	Mt. Zion Hi	E. T. Townsend, Valdosta	14
	Webb-Miller	Lamar C. Copeland, Hahira	13
	Wetherington-Robinson	J. B. Everett, Valdosta	6
	P. G. Williams Ele	-Owen H. Davis, Valdosta	14
Valdosta City			
	Magnolia St. Ele	Randolph P. Binford, Valdosta	18
	Lomax Jr. Hi	James L. Lomax, Valdosta	18
	Pinevale Hi	Charles C. Hall, Valdosta	20
	South St. Ele	Alfred L. Kincey, Valdosta	23
Mitchell	Camilla Cons.	Monscree Sanders, Camilla	39
	Cotton Ele	N. J. Smith, Cotton	7
	Dent-Reynolds	Cornelius Williams, Baconton	8
	Oak Grove	Claude Gervin, Camilla	8
	Sale City Ele	Albert Marshall, Sale City	5
Pelham City			
	Mitchell Co. Trng.	Beaufort C. Mandeville, Pelham	30
Miller	Bethel Hi	James E. Merritt, Colquitt	29
Seminole	Seminole Co. Trng.	R. D. Rambeau, Donaldsonville	34
Telfair	Lumber City Negro	Henry J. Dent, Jr., Lumber City	10
	Milan Negro	Arthur R. Edington, Milan	8
	Rock Hill	William A. Williams, Jacksonville	12
	Twin City Hi	Joseph H. James, McRae	20
Thomas	Barwick	Fannie Harris, Pavo	2
	Boston	W. L. McDonald, Boston	17
	Centenial	Octavia O'Neal, Thomasville	2
	Coolidge	Richard C. Brown, Coolidge	9
	Greenwood	Maggie E. Hall, Thomasville	1
	Magnolia	Margaret Munson, Thomasville	1
	Lincoln-Brown	Lucinda C. Saunders, Meigs	8
	Metcalf	Eva S. Grooms, Metcalf	3
	New Union	Napoleon Greene, Boston	11
	Ochlochnee	Walter L. Dawkins, Ochlochnee	6
	Spring Hill	Estelle Richardson, Thomasville	33
Thomasville City			
	Douglass Hi & Ele	W. J. Varner, Thomasville	37
	Normal Park	Mrs. Susie Dunlap, Thomasville	16

REGION TEN

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Bleckley	Brown Hill	Pearle H. Bryant, Cochran	3
	Center Hill	Sara Burch, Cochran	2
	Green Grove	Lula Mizell Carson, Cochran	2
	St. Paul	Rosa Dupree Willis, Cochran	2
	Wimberly	Mary K. Hall, Cochran	2
Cochran City	Cochran Col	Lee J. Hudson, Cochran	11
Ben Hill	Queensland	M. C. Pettigrew, Fitzgerald	25
Fitzgerald City	Monitor Ele	G. W. Ellis, Fitzgerald	27
Coffee	Carver	Leonard N. Rodgers, Douglas	37
	Mary Hayes	Joseph D. Murray, Broxton	8
	Paulk	L. W. Stribling, Ambrose	7
	Special	Lillie P. Thomas, Douglas	1
Crisp	Arabi	Thomas Dent, Cordele	7
	Buck Hill	Willie Mae Johnson, Cordele	2
	Cross Road	Anita Harris, Cordele	1
	Long Pond	Rosa Lee Harris, Cordele	1
	McKenzie	Hattie Dunlap, Cordele	1
	Penia	Willie Mae Wellons, Cordele	2
	Piney Grove	Gladys Evans Morris, Cordele	1
	Pleasant Hill	Mamie Laman Kirk, Cordele	1
	Raines	Georgia Mae Mack, Cordele	1
	St. Paul	Eloise Anderson, Cordele	2
Cordele City	A. S. Clarke	Lawrence Coleman, Cordele	26
	Southview	George B. Tutt, Cordele	19
Dooley	Bay Point	Robert B. Duncan, Byromville	3
	Big Poplar	Jodie B. Burgess, Unadilla	1
	Brown Grove	Geraldine Oliver, Vienna	1
	Byromville	Frank E. Williams, Byromville	4
	Dooling	Bernice B. Waters, Dooling	3
	Drayton	Maxie G. Duncan, Byromville	2
	Forest Chapel	Earl K. Chaney, Pinehurst	3
	Holly Grove	Annie L. Harris, Elko	1
	Lebannah	Thelma L. Harris, Vienna	2
	Lilly	John N. Torrence, Lilly	4
	Little Poplar	Anthony Bowens, Byromville	3
	Oak Grove	Elnora Wright, Pinehurst	1
	Pinehurst	Rufus Hatten, Pinehurst	4
	Snow	Ora Lee West, Pinehurst	1
	Unadilla	James F. Glover, Unadilla	8
	Vienna Hi & Ind.	Napoleon Williams, Vienna	18
Dodge	Chauncey Jr.	S. T. Spaulding, Chauncey	4
	Chester, Jr.	John A. Pope, Chester	9
	Copeland Hi	Irwin A. Hamilton, Rhine	7
	Lisbon Hi	John H. Rollins, Eastman	7
	Mt. Olive	E. W. Dean, Eastman	8
	Peabody Hi	St. Elmo Morgan, Eastman	15
Irwin	Ocilla Hi & Ind.	Alfonso Owens, Ocilla	28
	Mystic Ele	Rosebud Smith, Jr., Mystic	5
	Holt Ele	Joseph Bell, Ocilla	8

REGION TEN

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Jeff Davis	Hazelhurst Hi & Ele	Willis A. Long, Hazelhurst	19
	St. Matthew	Viola Cornish, Hazelhurst	3
Pulaski	Bembry Hill	Mary E. Allen, Hawkinsville	3
	Harmony	Douglas Anderson, Hawkinsville	3
	Hawkinsville Ind.	William V. Walton, Hawkinsville	16
	Lampkin	Robert Pickett, Hawkinsville	6
	Little Poplar	Helene Jackson, Hawkinsville	3
	Mt. Air	Elmira Bembry, Finleyson	2
	New Hope	Rosa Frazier, Finleyson	3
	Oak Grove	Willie Belle Thomas, Hawkinsville	2
Tift	Chula	Willia Mae Wyche, Chula	2
	Omega	Evelyn Bolton, Omega	2
	Ty Ty	Daniel DeLoatch, Ty Ty	5
	Tift Co. Hi & Ind	R. L.Mack, Tifton	44
Turner	Coverdale	Leola McKenzie, Ashburn	2
	Eureka	Hodge King, Ashburn	26
	Inaha	A. C. Murph, Sycamore	3
	Rebecca	Wilda T. Cleveland, Rebecca	3
	Sycamore	S. C. Murph, Sycamore	5
Worth	Blue Springs	Mathie Lee Taylor, Oakfield	1
	Bridgeboro	Annie Mae Hudson, Bridgeboro	2
	Buckaloo	Willie Mae Sampson, Oakfield	1
	Charity	Thelma Williams, Oakfield	2
	Evergreen	Elizabeth Atkins, Sylvester	2
	Fort Early	J. R. Plummer, Warwick	3
	Friendship	Maggie Lowe, Oakfield	1
	Harrisonville	Precious N. Jackson, Sylvester	2
	Isabella	Sadie S. Carter, Sylvester	2
	Jackson Grove	Mary Johnson, Sylvester	1
	Mercer Mill	Mary L. Fowler, Oakfield	2
	Millers Chapel	Marie Fulton, Sumner	1
	Mitchell Grove	Annie H. Jackson, Bridgeboro	2
	Morning Star	Osie L. Whearry, Sylvester	2
	Mount Olive	Birnelle Williams, Warwick	3
	Morris Hill	Clarice Davis, Sylvester	2
	New Bethel	Annie B. Shipp, Sylvester	2
	New Hope	Fannye P. Dixon, Warwick	2
	Oakfield	Bessie M. Jordon, Oakfield	2
	Oak Grove	Essie Mae Threatts, Sylvester	2
	Parkerville	Mary Jackson, Sylvester	2
	Oak Hill	I. J. Cantrell, Sylvester	22
	Pleasant Hill	William Calhoun, Sumner	1
	Porter's Corner	Wessie Mae Henry, Sylvester	3
	Poulan	Irma Sadl er, Poulan	2
	Powelltown	Thelma P. Williams, Sylvester	1
	St. James	Dorothy Washington, Oakfield	2
	Shady Grove	Theresa F. Keaton, Sylvester	1
	Slinger	S. W. Berry, Poulan	5
	Spring Hill	Vivian Rogers, Sylvester	1
	Sumner	I. D. Paramore, Sumner	3
	Unionville	Willie B. Glover, Warwick	1
	Zion Grove	Lucile M. Rawls, Sylvester	1
Wilcox	Abbeville	K. N. Colclough, Abbeville	8
	Pineview	J. E. Hill, Pineview	5
	Rochelle	J. R. Moore, Rochelle	15

REGION ELEVEN

County	School	Principal-Address	No. of Trs.
Appling	Co. Consolidated	S. D. Tarver, Baxley	21
	Baxley Trng.	W. E. Henry, Baxley	6
	Surrency Ele	Marion B. Cooke, Surrency	6
Atkinson	County Trng.	Daughtry L. Thomas, Pearson	13
	Willacoochee Col.	Eva Mae Perkins, Willacoochee	4
Bacon	Alma Hi	W. A. Myles, Alma	11
Brantley	Hoboken	Betty A. Crittenden, Hoboken	2
	Nahunta	William D. Eastern, Nahunta	3
Bryan	G. W. Carver	E. W. Lash, Richmond Hill	11
	Mill Creek Ele	Edna Sanders, Ellabelle	4
	Pembroke Hi	Leon Dingle, Pembroke	12
Camden	County Trng.	Lillie S. Harris, St. Mary's	6
	Kingsland Union	Afphny D. Armstrong, Kingsland	7
	R. J. Bunche Hi	Emerson O. Bynes, Woodbine	22
	Tarboro Cons.	Evelyn Martin, White Oak	9
Chatham	Antioch	Mrs. Frances Sharpe, Savannah	3
	Alfred E. Beach	Otha L. Douglas, Savannah	43
	Cuyler	Arthur Dwight, Savannah	28
	DeReene	Miss Frankie Golden, Savannah	31
	East Broad	Mrs. Esther Warrick, Savannah	16
	Florence	Mrs. Willie G. Edwards, Savannah	29
	Gadsden	Norman Elmore, Savannah	28
	Harris	Mrs. Esther Warrick, Savannah	11
	Haven Home	Mrs. Ophelia McIver, Savannah	20
	Montieth	Mrs. Eunice Clay, Savannah	2
	Paulson	Miss Matella Maree, Savannah	11
	Powell Lab.	Mrs. Dorothy Hamilton, Savannah	7
	Spencer	R. P. Jordon, Savannah	24
	Springfield Terr.	Malcolm Thomas, Savannah	15
	West Broad	W. G. Dixon, Savannah	23
	W. Savannah	Mrs. Ayler Lovett, Savannah	28
	Woodville	James Luten, Savannah	51
Charlton	Folkston Col.	Robert DeLoach, Jr., Folkston	16
Clinch	Homerville Hi &Ele	Ellis Whitaker, Homerville	19
Glynn	Risley Jr. & Sr. Hi	J. S. Wilkerson, Brunswick	33
	Risley Ele	Elizabeth C. Smith, Brunswick	32
	Perry Ele	Priscilla Massey, Brunswick	17
Liberty	Baconton *	DeWitt F. Morrison, Walthourville	3
	Free Branch *	Margaret Baker, McIntosh	2
	Hineshaw *	Jessie A. Stevens, Hinesville	9
	Holmestown *	Doretha Dryer, McIntosh	3
	Liberty Co. Hi	Samuel L. Smith,McIntosh	27
	Moose Hill *	Gertrude Johnson, McIntosh	3
	Riceboro Ele	Evans B. Cooper, Riceboro	12

* Schools to be consolidated during this term

Long	Walker Hi	E. J. Junior, Ludowici	15
McIntosh	Todd-Grant	C. A. DeVillars, Darien	21
	Eulonia	Thomas P. Williams, Eulonia	7
	Sapelo Island	Jessie Mae Moore, Sapelo	3
	Dean's Grove	Orlease C. Thorpe, Riceboro	3
	Cannon Bluff	Daisy Johnson, Townsend	2
	Carneghan	Rosalind Curry, Meridan	2

REGION ELEVEN (Continued)

County	School	Principal - Address	No. of Trs.
Ware	Glenmore Manor	Almary Moody, Waycross	3
	Telmore	Mary L. Barr, Waycross	6
Waycross City			
	Center Hi	J. C. Reese, Waycross	25
	Bailey St.	C. L. Rawls, Waycross	27
	Hazzard Hill	Mrs. Carrie M. Akery, Waycross	7
	Reedsville	Mrs. Rosa Belle Gunn, Waycross	7
Wayne	Screven Col.	Christopher Greene, Screven	7
	Wayne Co, Trng.	Frank Robinson, Jesup	24

Education, 1956-57 F.B.I.

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW

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IN BRIEF

Despite record-breaking school construction, the classroom shortage crisis continues. In fact, in the next five years it may get worse.

Why the crisis? Where is the greatest need? Why can't local and state governments cope with it?

This month *Labor's Economic Review* seeks out the answers to these questions and shows what must be done if the birthright of a decent education is to be enjoyed by the nation's children.

HELP OUR SCHOOLS NOW!

For some of those who live in prosperous and well-established communities, it may be hard to face the fact that America's classroom shortage is still critical or, indeed, that a crisis exists at all.

After all, *their* hometown school needs, they say, are satisfied. Besides, haven't they seen with their own eyes that more schools are going up than ever before? Why, last year alone, a record 63,000 new classrooms were constructed across the country, the Federal Government reports!

Perhaps you, too, live in one of those few fortunate places where school needs are now completely met. Nonetheless, for most of the nation—and notwithstanding the construction boom—the school crisis does continue. In fact, without rapid and substantial federal aid, it threatens to become worse.

A glance at the chart below helps explain the reason why.

(1) Total capital investment in new primary and secondary schools, in constant dollars, is shown by the bottom line.

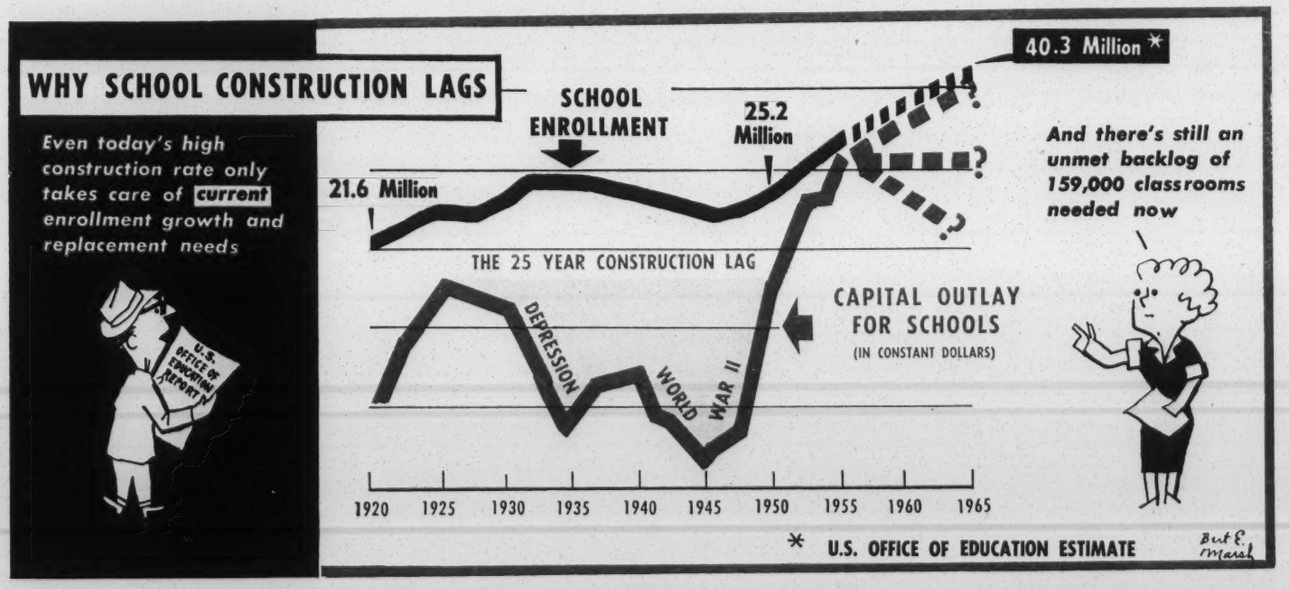
While investment began to rise spectacularly after 1945, note how it lagged during all the long years of depression and World War II. In fact, school outlays only got back to the earlier peak of 1925 in the year 1950—after a 25-year construction lag.

Thus, for a quarter century a tremendous school construction deficit was gradually piling up.

(2) Now look at the upper line which traces the enrollment rise.

By 1950, after a moderate decline—due to the low depression birthrate and the impact of the war—enrollment began to skyrocket. The avalanche of war-time babies was now advancing on the schools.

In the last five years, public school attendance has mushroomed by 5½ million, the U. S. Office of Education says. Today, over 32 million chil-



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dren are in the schools; this is over a million more than just 12 months ago. And, an additional 6 million pupils will be knocking on the doors five years from now. By 1965, well over 40 million young Americans are expected to be seeking admission into the nation's public schools.

Despite the school construction boom, we are building scarcely enough classrooms to keep pace with the yearly enrollment rise and our replacement needs due to *current* obsolescence and school destruction.

As a consequence, millions of our children are still attending overcrowded and substandard schools. They are paying a high price—and so is the entire nation—for the 25-year construction deficit that hasn't been overcome.

Even if we are able to maintain school building at last year's record level for the next five years—and without Federal aid this is not a likely prospect—the deficit will not be dented. In fact, it is likely to grow.

Measuring the Need

According to a recent state-by-state survey by the Office of Education, about one million public schoolrooms were in use at the start of the school term last autumn.* However, enrollment exceeded the normal capacity of these classrooms (judged to be 30 pupils per room) by about 2.3 million pupils.

In the words of Secretary Marion Folsom of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare:

". . . These children, and additional millions of their classmates, are handicapped by split sessions of half-day schooling, or obvious overcrowding, or emergency use of makeshift quarters such as warehouses or fire stations. This is no theoretical shortage. These are children in school today, and they can be counted with reasonable accuracy. The States estimated 80,000 new classrooms are needed specifically to correct these conditions." *

In addition, the Secretary said, there are other classrooms which may not be overcrowded but are too old, unsafe, or otherwise unsatisfactory to be in use today. At a minimum, there are 79,000 of these substandard classrooms (excluding those listed above) which should be replaced immediately.

Thus, just to end present overcrowding and to eliminate existing obsolete and unsafe structures, at least 159,000 new classrooms are urgently needed right now. This is our legacy from the 25-year lag.

But, in addition, school authorities calculate about 45,000 new classrooms will be needed *each year* just to accomodate the enrollment rise. Over the next five years, about 225,000 additional schoolrooms must be built for this one reason alone. (See chart, page 19.)

Remember, too, that every year our total stock of schools is growing older; deterioration and destruction constantly go on.

At least 20,000 more new classrooms are needed every year just to offset the current obsolescence rate. This is a conservative calculation based on an annual replacement rate of less than 2%. Furthermore, destruction due to fire, floods, and other catastrophes creates a replacement need for an additional 2,000 schoolrooms every year. Thus, deterioration and destruction alone necessitate the building of 110,000 classrooms over the next five years.

Now add together:

(1) Our backlog of immediate classroom needs to replace substandard schools, and to end present overcrowding (159,000).

(2) Additional classrooms needed over the next five years just to take care of the enrollment rise (225,000).

(3) Replacement required merely to make good *current* losses due to school obsolescence and destruction (110,000).

In the next five years, America will need, and should build, almost a half million new public school classrooms.

Taking the foregoing into account, therefore, even if last year's school construction rate is actually maintained, the classroom deficit will, in all likelihood, grow by another 20,000.

* "Enrollment, Teachers, and Schoolhousing in Full-time Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools," U. S. Office of Education, Circular No. 490, issued January 1957.

* Statement before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, February 5, 1957.

The Heavy Local Burden

With classroom needs so great, how can anyone doubt that construction will expand until the school requirements of this wealthy and education-minded country are fully met?

To understand why school building may, indeed, decline in the years ahead, one must be aware of the outmoded and inequitable manner in which the education of American children is still financed.

Since the beginning of our public school system, major responsibility has been borne by our local governments. The local school district, the local school board and the local property tax have been —and still are—the media through which most public education is administered and financed.

As long as the country remained predominately agricultural, the local property tax met school needs fairly well. After all, the curriculum was rigid and simple, the term was short and the cost was low. Besides, the overall functions and expenditures of government were slight; road building, protection of life and property, and support of the schools were the major forms of public service. Furthermore, in those days property ownership pretty well measured a man's wealth and income and, consequently, comparative ability to bear his share of taxes.

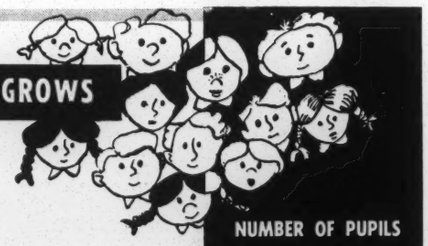
But as the nation became more urbanized — as more and more families converged on the cities, and as the way people lived and earned their living altered—the financing of education became more difficult.

To live successfully in our increasingly industrialized society, young people are required to grapple with a variety of complex problems which, in turn, involves broader knowledge and the mastery of more complicated skills. Inevitably the curricula of schools had to broaden, the school term lengthened, and the number of children of school age in attendance mounted.

For example, whereas only 68.6% of all children aged 5 through 17 were in the public schools in 1890, there were 83.5% by 1954. While the average pupil spent only 86 days in school in 1890, the average was 159 days by 1954. While in 1890 the kindergarten was practically unknown, the needs of pre-schoolagers and of their working mothers had sent 1.2 million youngsters into kindergartens by 1954.

Inevitably, as the responsibilities of public education rose, current school operating costs *per child*—for teaching, equipment and maintenance —went up, too. And, for the same reason, per pupil school construction costs also rose. Space for science teaching, shop crafts, physical education, libraries and kindergartens can in no sense be regarded as "frills" today.

While sole dependence on local property taxes for school needs had obviously become inadequate, it took the disaster of the depression to finally move the states into action. Since then, school equalization programs, geared primarily to helping the poorest school districts through grants from state collected funds, have been widely in-



WHY THE CLASSROOM SHORTAGE GROWS

	NUMBER OF PUPILS
ENROLLMENT KEEPS GOING UP	
In last 5 years, public school enrollment	UP 5½ million
In the next 5 years, estimated rise	UP 6 million
MORE CLASSROOMS - A MUST	NEW CLASSROOMS NEEDED
Right now: To eliminate overcrowding and substandard schools	159,000
In the next 5 years	
To meet the enrollment rise	225,000
To meet current obsolescence and destruction due to fire, flood, etc.	110,000
We must build, in the next 5 years	494,000
BUT THE SCHOOL DEFICIT IS GROWING	
Last year, new classrooms totalled	63,000
At that rate, the 5-year total would be	315,000
AND THE DEFICIT—without federal aid, would rise to	**179,000**

troduced. However, as we shall see later, many states are hardly able to provide adequate aid. Besides, most of the state assistance is earmarked to help schools keep open by defraying operating costs and *not* to meet school construction needs.

Thus, the tremendous burden of classroom expansion—to adjust to a modern school curricula, to eradicate the 25-year construction lag, and to meet the growth in school enrollment—still remains a local responsibility and, in many instances, an insurmountable burden.

Although more classrooms are needed almost everywhere, we must not overlook the added burden that population shifts are bringing about, a factor which overall statistics on rising enrollment tend to obscure. We refer to the mushrooming growth of the suburbs and the spectacular growth of whole regions, like the west and southwest. Population shifts are occurring between states and within *every* state. They add still another school space problem with which the local school districts are forced to cope.

The Heroic Local Effort

During the current 1956-57 school year, an estimated $11.8 billion will be spent for primary and secondary public education throughout the United States. This sum includes both the expected outlay for current school operations and for capital investment and interest on the school debt as well.

Nearly two-thirds of this total is being raised by local governments—primarily from property taxes and by further borrowing.

*About one-third is coming from the states—aid that is largely financed by regressive sales tax levies.**

Only about 3% will be contributed by the Federal government—for vocational training, the school lunch program, and to aid school districts with abnormally high enrollments due to a large influx of Federal employees.

Of this $11.8 billion total, approximately $3.1 billion is being spent this year for capital investment in the schools and to meet interest charges on existing school debt. These expenditures—primarily outlays for school construction—are almost exclusively a local government burden.

In their frantic effort to increase revenue for current operating costs and capital needs, and to reduce the cost of school construction, harassed school boards have done many things.

Almost everywhere property assessments and tax rates have been, and still are being, raised.

Almost universally school construction standards have now been cut down to the bone.

Across the country, school district consolidation has become a continuing process. From 127,000 school districts twenty-five years ago, the number has now been cut to about 52,000, and continues to go down. Yet, consolidation—a favorite nostrum of the Chamber of Commerce to finally "solve" the problems of the schools—is no certain cure for rising costs. The merger of two bankrupt districts doesn't create solvency. Besides, consolidation almost always necessitates the building of new classrooms to replace abandoned ones.

Despite limited local resources, the school building record of the last five years stands as a monumental effort. A total of 325,000 new classrooms have been built and an additional 69,000 are expected to go up during the present school term. This achievement could not be accomplished, however, without an astronomical rise in local debt.

The outstanding indebtedness of all local governments has gone up from $13½ billion in 1946, to $35 billion by 1956, a 160% rise in one decade. The debt of school districts, on the other hand, went up over 600%, from $1.3 billion to more than $8 billion. Even this is an understatement since the approximate $1 billion rise in indebtedness of school systems run by cities and counties is recorded in the local government debt total.

Without doubt, local school borrowing would have been even greater but for three restraining factors:

(1) In many localities the school debt has reached its legal maximum. This is true in 18% of our districts of more than 10,000 population, according to a recent survey conducted by the American Federation of Teachers. In 35% of these districts more than 75% of the legal bonding power had already been used up.

(2) The present "hard money" policy of the Federal government has drastically increased borrowing costs. Interest charges on tax-free school bonds, which ranged from 2% to 2½% but two years ago, have now skyrocketed to 3% to 4%, and even higher. It costs $300,000 more to borrow $1 million for 30 years at 4% than at 2%. Because of the long-term burden present interest rates impose, some districts are now being forced to postpone borrowing even in the face of continuing critical school construction needs.

(3) Many school districts across the country can't borrow because the inhabitants are just too

* See November 1956 issue of *Labor's Economic Review*, "State and Local Taxes Hit Low Income Families Hardest."

poor. The bankers deem the tax base too low to afford a "reasonable risk."

ANY CANDID ASSESSMENT OF ALL THESE FACTORS CAN LEAD TO BUT ONE CONCLUSION. NO MATTER HOW VALIANT THE LOCAL SCHOOL EFFORT, NEITHER AN EXPANSION OF LOCAL TAX REVENUE NOR OF LOCAL BORROWING SHOWS PROMISE OF RAISING, OR EVEN OF LONG SUSTAINING, OUR PRESENT CLASSROOM CONSTRUCTION RATE.

THE BETTER-OFF MINORITY OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS WILL ERADICATE THEIR CLASSROOM BACKLOG IN THE YEARS AHEAD. BUT THOUSANDS OF POORER DISTRICTS ARE WITHOUT RESOURCES TO FORGE AHEAD OR EVEN TO SUSTAIN PRESENT CAPITAL OUTLAYS. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE NATION-WIDE BUILDING RATE WILL PROBABLY GO DOWN.

Poor States—Richer States

Impoverished school districts exist in every state, but no nation-wide wide survey has catalogued them. Comparisons of educational standards between states are available, however.

After studying the table on Page 24, the following facts become evident:

(1) A shocking inequality exists in educational standards—the outlay for current school operations, teachers' salaries, and the adequacy of classrooms.

(2) School standards within a state closely reflect the personal income level of its inhabitants.

(3) Low standards do *not* reflect a lack of effort to raise them. Many poor states with low standards show high educational outlays in relation to the limited income of their citizens.

Operating Expenditures Per Pupil for the current school year are estimated to average $295 for the country as a whole (see Column 1). For the Arkansas child, however, this outlay is only one-third ($138) of the level in New York ($473), or in New Jersey ($397). Eight states are spending $190 or less for each child enrolled. Nine wealthier states, on the other hand, are supporting expenditures of $350 or more.

Classroom Teachers' Salaries now average about $4,220 throughout the country (Column 2), a slight improvement after the long war and post-war lag. Yet, they still remain too low considering the training, skill, and responsibility required of the teacher.

The nation-wide "average" tends to obscure the extent of this inequity. For example, in Arkansas the average is $2,380, Mississippi $2,442, Kentucky $2,800, and North Dakota $3,000. Salaries show up best in more prosperous Nevada, $4,890, Michigan $4,900, California $5,150, and New York $5,550.

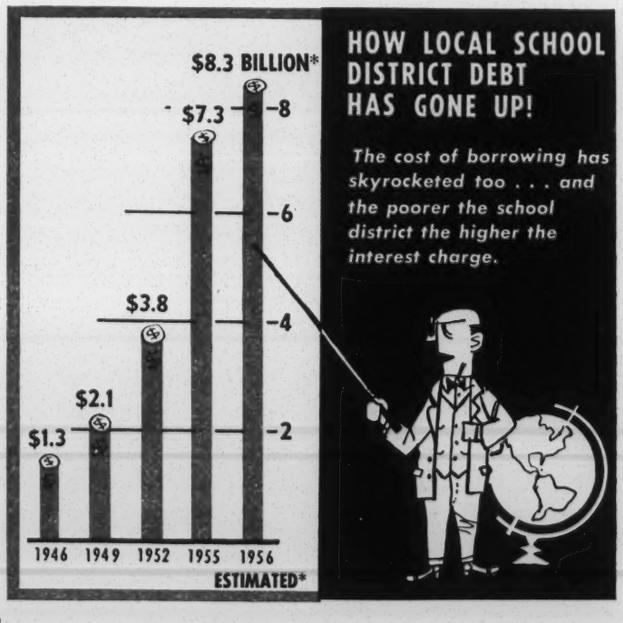
Thirty-five percent of our 1.2 million teachers still earn under $3,500; more than half of the teachers in fifteen states earn *less* than this amount. In seven states—Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Tennessee—over a quarter receive less than $2,500.

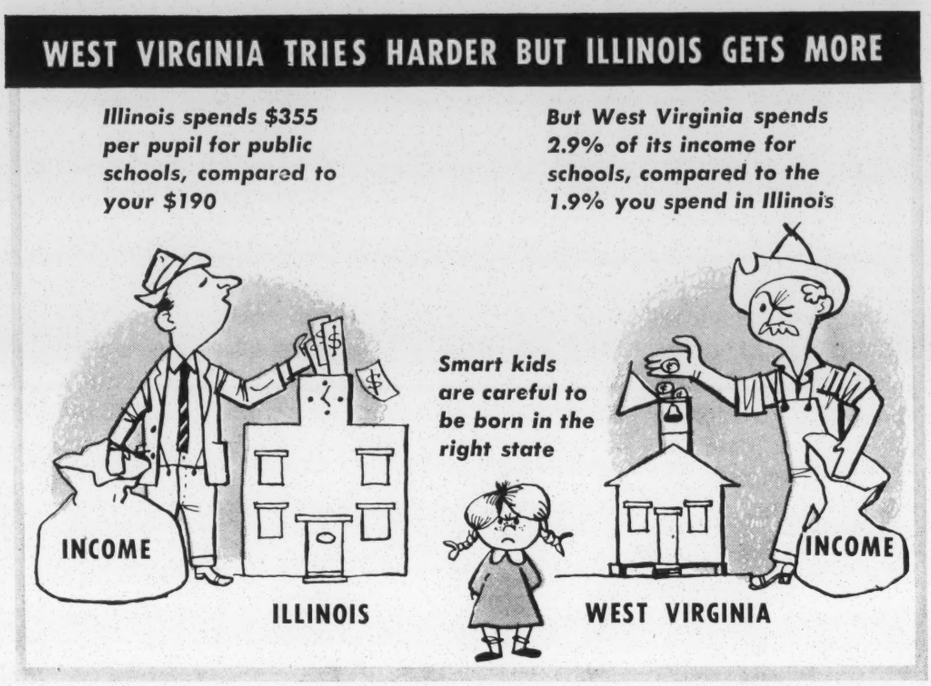
(In the current school year we need 180,000 new teachers to take care of rising enrollment and to replace emergency teachers and the large number dropping out. Less than a third of this number, however, will graduate from our teacher education institutions and go into the schools.)

Current Classroom Need, because of substandard and overcrowded schools, is overwhelming in the poorer states. But overcrowding is also a major problem where suburban growth and the population shift have rapidly raised school enrollment (Columns 3, 4 and 5).

For example, fast-growing California and Florida report 115,000 and 75,000 pupils in excess of normal classroom capacity. Connecticut and New Jersey—with mushrooming suburbs—report a pupil excess of 66,000 and 76,000 respectively. On the other hand, in a few states where population and dispersal patterns have changed but slowly—like Wisconsin, Delaware, Oklahoma and Nebraska—current classroom need is low.

Educational Effort: When school expenditures are measured against the ability of the citizens in each state to pay for public education (Column 8), it becomes clear that low standards and poor results (Column 6) are *not* due to lack of effort. Low income is the major factor (Column 7).





While the nation as a whole spends 2.3% of its personal income for public schools, the outlay of the people in the eight states with the lowest expenditure per child is, in all cases, more. In contrast, the citizens of New York and New Jersey—with the highest standards—spend considerably less.

While our 12 wealthiest states have less than one-fourth of the classroom shortage, they currently are building 45% of the new school total, according to Secretary Folsom. Our poorest 12 states, on the other hand, suffer well over 35% of the shortage, but are able to build only 16% of the United States total.

Lack of effort is not a factor. Ten of the 12 poorest states are spending more than the national average for their children's education.

A National Problem

If all American children are to enjoy their educational birthright—a chance to acquire understanding and the skills on which individual welfare so much depends—the public school burden no longer can be entirely shouldered by the localities and the states alone. Some Federal aid is imperative.

More than the well-being of each child is at stake. In our mobile and inter-related society, educational failure anywhere touches the lives of all of us. Juvenile delinquency and crime can't be quarantined. And when millions are ill-prepared to participate effectively in the enterprises of the nation or to contribute to its defense, a staggering burden falls on everyone.

Only recently the White House Conference on Education—the most representative and distinguished group ever assembled to weigh school problems—voted by more than two to one for Federal support for pubic schools. The form of aid overwhelmingly endorsed was a program of Federal grants to the states to accelerate school construction in the neediest districts.

Both great political parties have pledged themselves to support this concept of Federal aid and, today, two important bills are being considered by the Congress.

H.R. 1, introduced by Augustine Kelley, a Democratic Congressman from Pennsylvania, would authorize $3.6 billion in Federal grants to the states for school construction over a 6-year period. This proposal would provide enough Federal aid to build about 15,000 additional classrooms a year, or a total of about 90,000.

H.R. 3986, introduced by Samuel McConnell, Jr., a Republican Congressman from Pennsylvania, is the official Administration bill. It is calculated by its authors to be sufficient to eradicate the classroom shortage in four years. Yet, to achieve this tremendous undertaking it would authorize a total outlay that would build only 33,000 additional schoolrooms in four years.

Clearly, the amount of Federal aid proposed by both bills is too small to reduce our classroom need substantially. Besides, the commendable additional provisions which would authorize Federal loans for school districts that otherwise could not borrow under reasonable terms, have, in both cases, a major defect: The proposed interest charge of the Federal Government—about 3½%—is higher than most hard-pressed school districts can afford to meet.

Nonetheless, AFL-CIO has strongly endorsed the principle of Federal aid which both bills would secure. While we have urged a substantial increase in the size of the Federal grant and a reduction in the cost of obtaining Federal school construction loans, we are supporting with all

our force the effort to secure aid for the nation's hard-pressed schools in this session of the Congress.

In its recent testimony on this issue, the AFL-CIO concluded:

> "We are confident that the members of this Committee and the overwhelming majority of both Houses of the Congress are now aware of the gravity of our nation's school problem, and are resolved to let nothing obstruct the passage of an adequate school construction bill." *

The forces arrayed against the interests of the nation's children are, however, formidable. The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau—all traditional opponents of Federal activity in areas of proven need—are vociferously opposing Federal school construction aid.

Once again the familiar nostrums of school district consolidation and the end of "frills" are advanced as the solution.

Some charge that the classroom shortage is only a statistical mirage—a figment of the imagination of the professional school administrators. Others, while conceding that the problem does indeed exist, argue that, if left alone, it will quickly liquidate itself.

Finally, they thunder about the danger of Federal domination of our public schools if Federal assistance for construction is enacted.

But, the Federal Government has aided schools in other ways for almost 100 years, and there is no Federal domination of education today. All that is now proposed is that Federal funds be allocated to the states to help financially hard-pressed communities provide brick and mortar for more schools. "Once the schools have been built," Secretary Folsom has pointed out, "the local authorities would take title to the buildings and the Federal Government will have no contact or connection whatsoever with the operation of the schools."

Poor Schools—A False Economy

More than a century ago, the trade unionists of that day gave leadership in the initial effort to establish free and universal public education throughout this land. It was labor's view then—as it is today—that our democracy can not be fully achieved unless a decent education is available to all children.

Whether a child is born and reared in Iowa, Oregon, Mississippi or New York, he is, at the same time, a child of the United States. The welfare of both the nation and of every child requires that at least a minimum educational opportunity be assured.

To marshal all the resources for our schools that are now required to match our needs, the Federal Government must join our hard-pressed states and localities in supporting education at a minimum financial level.

As a nation, we certainly have the means. America has both the most productive and one of the most rapidly expanding economies in the world. Today our national output approximates an annual rate of $425 billions. By 1965, we may reasonably expect to be creating goods and services worth one-third more than the total we produce and enjoy today.

Surely a larger share of this expanding wealth should and must be invested in the education of our future citizens. But if our public schools are to have access to this growing national income, Federal support from revenues derived from the Federal income tax is the most direct—and surely the most equitable—method of achieving it.

Today, as in the past, people who do not wish to face the necessities brought on by changing times, who are insensitive to the school needs of our children, or who are seeking tax avoidance for themselves, are massed against the Federal school construction bills.

In the present session—just as mounting public approval and bipartisan support have seemed to insure passage of Federal legislation for the schools—a new argument is being raised in order to postpone it. It is now said that school aid must be tabled once again because of the necessity of cutting the Federal budget.

However, while the prudent use of public funds should always be demanded of those who govern, no "economy drive"—no matter how well-meaning—can justify the continued deterioration of America's public schools.

Unfortunately, those most victimized by our classroom shortage—our millions of children—have no vote. It's up to adult Americans to be their spokesmen. If our voices are loud, the Congress will hear.

* Copies of the AFL-CIO testimony before the House Subcommittee on General Education, February 12, 1957, are available on request.

HOW DO YOUR SCHOOLS RATE?

A Report On Primary and Secondary Education in Your State*

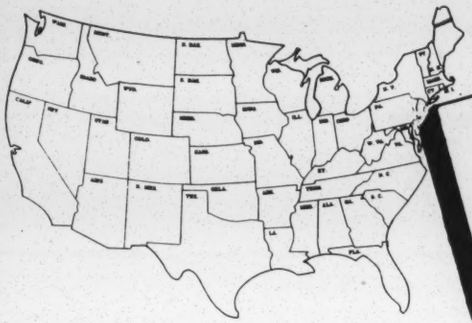
States	Operating Expenditure Per Pupil 1956-57, School Year§	Average Salary of Classroom Teachers, 1956-57	No. of Pupils in Excess of Normal Capacity, Fall, 1956	Additional Classrooms Needed to Eliminate Overcrowding and to Replace Unsatisfactory Facilities, Fall, 1956	Additional Classrooms Needed in Relation to Existing Classrooms, Fall, 1956	Selective Service Registrants Disqualified by the Mental Test, 1955	Per Capita Personal Income, 1955	Effort: Percent of Personal Income Spent for Public Schools, 1953-54
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
United States	$295.00	$4,220	2,295,000†	159,000	14.6%†	14.7%	$1,847	2.3%†
Alabama	175.00	3,366	287,820	11,354	83.2	40.2	1,181	2.5
Arizona	340.00	4,600	5,300	205	3.7	18.1	1,577	3.1
Arkansas	138.00	2,380	93,026	8,324	89.0	24.3	1,062	2.4
California	328.40	5,150	115,000	10,000	12.3	15.7	2,271	2.6
Colorado	301.48	3,750	24,746	1,197	10.1	4.0	1,764	2.7
Connecticut	340.00	4,650	66,000	2,600	18.9	4.6	2,499	1.8
Delaware	350.00	4,750	616	25	1.2	7.9	2,513	1.9
Florida	254.00	4,117	74,217	4,643	19.5	30.5	1,654	2.3
Georgia	197.00	3,275	194,130	7,471	26.5	30.0	1,333	2.7
Idaho	250.00	3,550	4,850	613	13.1	6.4	1,462	3.1
Illinois	355.00	4,725	52,338	3,435	6.4	12.9	2,257	1.9
Indiana	290.00	4,200	44,094	4,170	13.6	7.8	1,894	2.3
Iowa	287.00	3,741	30,000	1,000	5.7	1.4	1.577	3.0
Kansas	276.00	3,650	13,800	1,800	11.1	3.0	1,647	2.7
Kentucky	230.00	2,800	60,000	7,000	37.5	23.7	1,238	2.0
Louisiana	268.00	3,875	‡	‡	‡	31.5	1,333	3.0
Maine	220.00	3,025	10,184	900	12.7	7.1	1,593	2.3
Maryland	284.00	4,700	63,790	3,150	21.4	13.9	1,991	1.9
Massachusetts	303.00	4,325	33,910	2,240	8.2	5.9	2,097	2.0
Michigan	300.00	4,900	80,000	3,300	6.7	7.7	2,134	2.2
Minnesota	355.00	4,200	92,400	4,345	16.7	1.0	1,691	2.7
Mississippi	152.00	2,442	76,720	6,579	37.6	45.3	946	2.6
Missouri	272.00	3,780	14,600	4,000	15.3	8.4	1,800	1.9
Montana	356.00	4,000	4,418	661	10.6	2.0	1,844	3.0
Nebraska	275.00	3,138	5,538	418	3.1	6.0	1,540	2.7
Nevada	350.00	4,890	4,497	271	14.1	11.4	2,434	2.0
New Hampshire	290.03	3,620	7,877	690	19.8	6.2	1,732	2.1
New Jersey	397.00	4,880	76,201	3,841	13.9	11.8	2,311	2.0
New Mexico	310.00	4.650	‡	‡	‡	13.1	1,430	3.1
New York	473.00	5,550	137,000	‡	‡	8.8	2,263	2.1
North Carolina	181.00	3,291	7,136	4,867	14.2	45.4	1,236	2.9
North Dakota	275.00	3,000	‡	570	17.2	3.0	1.372	3.6
Ohio	300.00	4,400	57,900	4,460	7.8	4.7	2,062	1.9
Oklahoma	295.00	3,700	10,000	500	2.3	8.3	1,506	2.9
Oregon	364.00	4,525	17,025	‡	‡	2.1	1,834	3.0
Pennsylvania	320.00	4,640	39,393	8,366	13.3	4.4	1,902	2.2
Rhode Island	330.00	4,525	5,000	700	17.6	6.0	1,957	1.5
South Carolina	184.00	3,125	55,500	6,453	33.8	35.3	1,108	2.9
South Dakota	305.00	3,150	3,661	246	3.1	2.9	1,245	3.5
Tennessee	168.00	3,150	45,110	‡	‡	20.3	1,256	2.4
Texas	255.00	3,925	55,590	7,561	12.9	21.2	1,614	2.5
Utah	253.00	4,000	13,066	709	10.5	2.3	1,553	2.8
Vermont	255.00	3,300	5,873	862	29.0	4.9	1,535	2.5
Virginia	215.00	3,400	74,833	4,974	19.8	26.9	1,535	2.0
Washington	330.00	4,551	81,138	3,344	16.9	2.0	1,987	2.4
West Virginia	190.00	3,410	19,500	1,823	11.3	14.3	1,288	2.9
Wisconsin	315.00	4,200	3,000	470	1.8	2.3	1.774	2.3
Wyoming	380.00	3,775	1,800	210	6.6	4.8	1.753	2.9

* Sources: U. S. Office of Education, U. S. Department of Commerce, Office of the Surgeon General and estimates by the National Association of Education.

§ Includes teachers' salaries, books, maintenance, etc. Capital outlays for school construction and interest on the school debt are not included.
† Includes estimate for non-reporting states and the District of Columbia.
‡ Data not available.

Materials - Ed - Gen.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Marion B. Folsom, Secretary
Office of Education
Lawrence G. Derthick, Commissioner



PRELIMINARY STATISTICS OF STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS 1955-56

Selected Data for 35 States and 6 Outlying Parts,
With Estimates for Total Continental United States
(Full-Time Public Elementary and Secondary Schools)

October 1957 | Washington 25, D. C. | Circular No. 508

This circular is issued in accordance with the general policy of the Office of Education to make available as promptly as possible, in preliminary form, the findings of the Biennial Survey of Education. It presents summary statistics of public elementary and secondary education for the school year 1955-56, based on returns from the State departments of education of the first 35 States and 6 outlying parts which furnished reasonably complete data. The reader is cautioned, however, that the figures for 1955-56 are still tentative and subject to revision.

Included in this circular are data on total population, school-age population, pupil enrollment and attendance, number of public high school graduates, number of instructional staff members, average salary of instructional staff, revenue and nonrevenue receipts, expenditures by major purpose, and current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance. For purposes of comparison, national figures (totals for the 48 States and the District of Columbia) are also given for each item for the school year 1953-54. No interim survey was conducted by the Office of Education for the year 1954-55.

This report was prepared in the State School Systems Unit of the Research and Statistical Services Branch by Samuel Schloss and Carol Joy Hobson. Assistance in analyzing and tabulating the data for this report was given by Bronson Price and Ann Mitchell.

The Year in Brief

Reflecting the steady growth of the country's population, the giant enterprise represented by American public elementary and secondary education reached a new peak during the 1955-56 school year. On whatever basis size is determined--whether in terms of total enrollments, number of high school graduates, number of instructional staff, or school costs--the figures were bigger for 1955-56 than for any prior year. Highlights of the significant changes that occurred between 1953-54 and 1955-56 for each of the major educational items are given in the following paragraphs.

Growth of School-Age Population and Total Population

During the biennium July 1, 1953-July 1, 1955, the estimated school-age population (ages 5-17 years, inclusive) grew at over twice the rate of the total population. The estimated number of 37.3 million school-age children on July 1, 1955 represented an increase of 2.7 million, or 7.9 percent, over the number on July 1, 1953. During the same period the total population increased 3.8 percent--from 158.3 million to 164.3 million.

(text continued on page 4)

PRELIMINARY STATISTICS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTAR
AND ESTIMATES FOR

Region and State	Estimated population, July 1, 1955 (thousands) 1/		Number of pupils enrolled (thousands)			Average daily attendance, K-12 (thousands)	High school graduates	Number of instructional staff 3/				Reve (amounts	
	Total population (excluding armed forces overseas)	School-age population (5-17 years, inclusive)	Total	Kindergarten and grades 1-8 2/	Grades 9-12 and postgraduates				Total revenue receipts	Federal		Stat	
										Amount	Percent of total	Amount	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
CONTINENTAL U.S.:													
1955-56 (Est.)	164,303	37,262	31,145	24,224	6,921	27,760	1,256,000	1,217,000	$9,694,301	$406,312	4.2	$3,870,071	
1953-54	158,313	34,540	28,836	22,546	6,290	25,644	1,129,000	1,098,000	7,866,852	355,237	4.5	2,944,103	
Percent increase over 1953-54	3.8	7.9	8.0	7.4	10.0	8.3	11.2	10.8	23.2	14.4	--	31.5	
NORTHEAST:													
Connecticut	2,200	455	389	311	77	350	15,075	15,957	122,429	4,679	3.9	32,639	
Maine	906	214	177	141	36	164	6,744	7,501	38,076	1,972	5.2	10,316	
Massachusetts	4,773	982	766	582	184	689	35,139	32,136	236,288	8,063	3.4	48,851	
New Jersey	5,324	1,074	865	679	185	766	35,416	37,421	329,087	8,258	2.5	79,518	
New York	16,021	3,160	2,468	1,899	569	2,115	96,677	103,520	1,080,552	17,910	1.7	386,473	
Vermont	370	89	71	56	15	64	2,802	3,006	18,598	905	4.9	4,787	
NORTH CENTRAL:													
Illinois	9,301	1,935	1,487	1,141	346	1,309	64,439	59,073	437,945	15,586	3.5	105,251	
Iowa	2,671	614	551	422	129	492	9/26,749	27,214	173,801	4,653	2.7	22,922	
Kansas	2,060	453	435	335	99	381	19,911	20,217	127,407	8,791	6.9	33,250	
Michigan	7,326	1,677	1,370	1,085	285	1,264	55,347	55,026	515,032	7,677	1.5	250,990	
Missouri	4,201	895	742	575	168	631	29,417	27,339	200,045	9,846	4.9	72,917	
Nebraska	1,394	309	258	196	62	237	15,325	13,442	70,762	3,485	4.9	5,716	
North Dakota	643	167	127	96	31	117	6,307	7,359	32,796	1,520	4.6	9,219	
Ohio	8,945	1,968	1,618	1,254	364	1,468	67,579	59,697	468,580	14,670	3.1	114,055	
Wisconsin	3,702	846	10/596	439	10/157	547	10/33,821	25,916	208,094	7,813	3.8	40,281	
SOUTH:													
Alabama	3,110	852	733	580	154	649	26,051	25,448	124,783	10,267	8.2	90,168	
Arkansas	1,802	490	419	326	93	360	16,636	14,144	63,100	7,038	11.1	26,724	
Delaware	390	82	65	51	14	57	2,600	2,852	25,684	780	1.8	21,490	
Florida	3,580	757	734	580	154	632	24,637	27,546	201,283	10,615	5.3	107,073	
Kentucky	3,011	784	598	478	120	535	20,025	21,442	104,375	8,728	8.4	37,462	
Louisiana	2,934	762	599	474	125	532	21,320	21,850	177,220	8,791	5.0	113,079	
Maryland	2,744	614	495	393	102	438	16,765	18,104	157,593	13,112	8.3	51,445	
Mississippi	2,133	607	531	436	95	444	17,589	16,799	75,394	6,232	8.3	40,270	
North Carolina	4,344	1,154	1,024	801	223	927	38,161	35,312	213,973	12,562	5.9	148,035	
Oklahoma	2,210	537	502	374	128	453	23,457	19,843	137,277	10,104	7.4	59,678	
Tennessee	3,414	867	755	597	158	678	26,081	26,351	140,349	11,006	7.8	81,820	
Texas	8,748	2,092	1,760	1,387	373	1,527	64,291	65,672	509,094	19,096	3.8	277,498	
Virginia	3,579	865	750	612	138	668	25,953	27,898	165,424	23,180	14.0	58,238	
West Virginia	1,984	537	458	352	106	416	19,253	16,720	92,847	4,231	4.6	55,275	
Dist. of Col.	857	122	111	87	24	95	3,034	3,947	38,419	5,415	14.1	--	
WEST:													
California	12,961	2,697	2,459	1,942	517	2,360	96,746	91,754	1,155,713	48,957	4.2	481,127	
Idaho	612	162	145	108	37	131	6,883	5,484	37,600	2,194	5.8	9,574	
Montana	629	153	128	97	31	116	5,843	6,589	48,322	2,793	5.8	11,969	
Nevada	235	50	52	42	11	44	1,780	2,114	16,292	2,468	15.2	6,705	
Oregon	1,685	382	339	255	84	298	15,256	14,630	135,983	4,855	3.6	35,965	
Utah	797	215	199	151	47	181	9,045	7,125	60,665	3,484	5.7	22,933	
OUTLYING PARTS OF THE U. S.:													
Alaska	209	38	32	27	5	27	670	1,230	13,819	2,601	18.8	6,838	
American Samoa	21	7	5	5	1	4	--	279	295	295	100.0	--	
Canal Zone	53	12/10	11	9	2	10	402	372	3,130	2,902	92.7	--	
Guam	12/59	14	12	10	2	10	333	416	2,238	--	--	--	
Hawaii	560	136	119	13/65	13/54	113	5,233	4,359	28,788	2,586	9.0	--	
Virgin Islands	30	9	4	13/ 3	13/ 1	5	150	204	1,127	73	6.5	--	

* Estimated.

1/ Source of population data: (1) Current Population Reports, Series P-25, Nos. 145 and 151, and unpublished estimates, U. S. Bureau of the Census. (2) Annual reports of the Territorial governors.

2/ Includes nursery schools.

3/ Includes supervisors, principals, teachers, librarians, and guidance and psychological personnel.

4/ Includes other revenue receipts (tuition and transportation fees from patrons and gifts) which amounted to less than .05 percent of all revenue receipts.

5/ Includes expenditures for community services, summer schools, community colleges, and adult education.

6/ Includes capital outlay expenditures by school building authorities.

IC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS, FOR STATES REPORTING,
STIMATES FOR CONTINENTAL U.S.: 1955-56

Revenue receipts by source (amounts in thousands of dollars)						Nonrevenue receipts (thousands of dollars)	Expenditures (thousands of dollars)					Average annual salary per member of instructional staff 3/	Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance (Col. 21 ÷ Col. 7)	Region and State
State		Intermediate		Local 4/				Current expenditures						
Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total		Total (Sum of cols. 21, 22, 23, and 24)	Elementary and secondary schools	Other programs 5/	Capital outlay 6/	Interest			
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
														U. S.:
$3,870,071	39.9	$164,514	1.7	$5,253,404	54.2	$2,361,868	$11,155,294	$8,192,944	$172,000	$2,581,242	$209,108	$4,139	$295	1956
2,944,103	37.4	240,733	3.1	4,326,779	55.0	1,824,004	9,092,449	6,790,923	92,464	2,055,178	153,884	3,825	265	1954
31.5	- -	7/	- -	21.4	- -	29.5	22.7	20.6	7/	25.6	35.9	10.8	11.3	% Incr.
														N. E.:
32,639	26.6	- -	- -	85,111	69.5	32,835	156,406	119,198	772	32,511	3,925	4,730	341	Conn.
10,316	27.1	- -	- -	25,788	67.7	5,156	39,911	36,312	258	2,855	486	2,801	221	Maine
48,851	20.7	- -	- -	179,374	75.9	- -	272,666	226,214	2,086	44,367	- -	4,337	328	Mass.
79,518	24.2	19	8/	241,293	73.3	97,091	399,081	292,543	1,277	96,949	8,311	4,701	382	N. J.
386,473	35.8	- -	- -	676,169	62.6	492,791	1,256,339	899,963	21,838	297,293	37,245	5,277	426	N. Y.
4,787	25.7	- -	- -	12,906	69.4	7,238	21,024	16,939	24	3,806	255	3,105	263	Vt.
														N. C.:
105,251	24.0	13	8/	317,095	72.4	214,349	627,899	465,304	- -	145,399	17,196	4,950	355	Ill.
22,922	13.2	1,802	1.0	144,424	83.1	51,271	185,081	147,257	753	34,482	2,589	3,181	291	Iowa
33,250	26.1	23,813	18.7	61,553	48.3	28,538	131,737	101,927	1,160	*25,000	3,649	3,673	267	Kans.
250,990	48.7	1,809	0.4	254,555	49.4	154,230	632,423	438,575	6,789	177,404	9,655	4,711	347	Mich.
72,917	36.4	13,394	6.7	103,887	6.0	39,603	220,217	164,507	- -	51,866	3,844	3,520	261	Mo.
5,716	8.1	6,971	9.9	54,591	77.1	1,594	72,520	67,603	878	3,887	152	3,171	278	Nebr.
9,219	28.1	7,658	23.3	14,399	43.9	10,201	41,887	33,684	- -	6/7,571	632	2,927	294	N. Dak.
114,055	24.3	54	8/	339,801	72.5	169,909	573,343	415,367	2,845	139,677	15,455	4,337	283	Ohio
40,281	19.4	6,576	3.2	153,423	73.7	58,213	237,374	183,215	1,937	50,324	1,899	4,127	335	Wis.
														SOUTH:
90,168	72.3	- -	- -	24,348	19.5	3,462	127,921	118,798	1,250	7,212	660	3,350	183	Ala.
26,724	42.4	- -	- -	29,337	46.5	10,123	71,690	57,825	851	11,112	1,902	2,378	160	Ark.
21,490	88.0	- -	- -	3,414	10.1	6,697	28,589	19,938	31	8,294	327	4,376	348	Del.
107,073	53.2	- -	- -	83,596	41.5	38,919	226,826	11/163,430	11/641	58,410	4,345	4,150	259	Fla.
37,462	35.9	- -	- -	58,185	55.7	8,522	106,651	90,005	1,033	14,492	1,121	2,698	168	Ky.
113,079	63.8	- -	- -	55,350	31.2	45,102	194,536	153,601	290	35,155	5,489	3,907	289	La.
51,445	32.6	- -	- -	93,037	59.0	46,371	188,884	131,109	1,508	49,738	6,528	4,513	299	Md.
40,270	53.4	8,074	10.7	20,818	27.6	4,545	73,199	67,000	205	5,906	88	2,436	151	Miss.
148,035	69.2	- -	- -	53,376	24.9	18,245	225,301	174,924	1,339	45,111	3,926	3,400	190	N. C.
59,678	43.5	9,987	7.3	57,509	41.9	30,573	145,693	110,837	200	34,505	151	3,703	245	Okla.
81,820	58.3	- -	- -	47,522	33.9	18,214	155,927	128,120	739	25,991	1,077	3,156	189	Tenn.
277,498	54.5	1,630	.3	210,870	41.4	100,427	546,691	407,826	14,601	107,273	16,991	3,983	267	Tex.
58,238	35.2	- -	- -	84,005	50.8	27,231	189,271	143,364	1,278	41,447	3,182	3,422	215	Va.
55,275	59.5	- -	- -	33,341	35.9	4,794	95,173	81,982	692	12,403	*96	3,112	197	W. Va.
- -	- -	- -	- -	33,004	85.9	- -	38,060	33,084	741	4,235	- -	5,394	349	D. C.
														WEST:
481,127	41.6	22,650	2.0	602,979	52.2	264,977	1,280,393	818,135	93,098	343,636	25,525	5,243	352	Calif.
9,574	25.5	5,120	13.6	20,713	55.1	8,850	43,259	32,515	- -	9,882	863	3,550	248	Idaho
11,969	24.8	13,387	27.7	20,173	41.7	9,614	51,722	40,483	111	10,408	720	3,600	349	Mont.
6,705	41.2	- -	- -	7,118	43.7	820	21,638	15,179	49	5,827	584	4,496	348	Nev.
35,965	26.4	4,933	3.6	90,229	66.4	12,486	135,148	106,412	- -	25,922	2,814	4,423	357	Oreg.
22,933	37.8	- -	- -	34,249	56.5	5,779	68,861	43,598	539	23,946	777	3,922	240	Utah
														TERR.:
6,838	49.4	- -	- -	4,380	31.7	- -	13,093	11,179	- -	1,673	241	5,431	419	Alaska
- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	311	311	- -	- -	- -	901	75	Samoa
- -	- -	- -	- -	228	7.3	- -	2,922	2,707	193	22	- -	5,288	273	C. Z.
- -	- -	- -	- -	2,238	100.0	- -	3,682	2,225	88	1,369	- -	3,657	212	Guam
- -	- -	- -	- -	26,202	91.0	1	28,677	26,569	132	1,601	375	4,230	236	Hawaii
- -	- -	- -	- -	1,054	93.5	- -	1,098	1,016	63	19	- -	2,940	187	V. I.

ureau

cent of

7/ A direct comparison between 1955-56 and 1953-54 data cannot readily be made because of changes in the classification of items.
8/ Less than .05 percent.
9/ Includes persons granted high school equivalency certificates.
10/ Excludes vocational schools.
11/ Current expenditures for community colleges included with elementary and secondary day schools.
12/ Data as of April 1, 1950.
13/ Data by organizational level instead of by grade group.

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Enrollment and Attendance

Total enrollment in public elementary and secondary day schools rose from 28.8 million in 1953-54 to 31.1 million in 1955-56, an increase of 2.3 million or 8 percent. The increase in kindergarten and grades 1 through 8 was 1.7 million, or 7.4 percent, compared with an increase of 631,000 or 10 percent, in grades 9 through 12 (including postgraduates). The percent of enrolled pupils attending daily has shown a steady upward trend over the years, reaching a peak of 89.1 percent in 1955-56.

High School Graduates

The number of public high school graduates reached an all-time high in 1955-56. The 1,256,000 graduates in that year represented an increase of 127,000 over the number in 1953-54. The increase between 1953-54 and 1955-56 was 11.2 percent as compared with an increase of 7 percent between 1951-52 and 1953-54.

Instructional Staff

The total instructional staff 1/ increased from 1,098,000 in 1953-54 to 1,217,000 in 1955-56, an increase of 10.8 percent. The larger proportionate increase in staff than in pupil enrollment resulted in a reduction in the ratio of pupils to instructional staff (from 26.3 in 1953-54 to 25.6 in 1955-56).

The average annual salary of the total instructional staff was $4,139 in 1955-56 as compared with $3,825 in 1953-54, a rise of 8.2 percent.

Revenue and Nonrevenue Receipts

Revenue receipts (income from appropriations, taxes, permanent funds, school land leases, etc.) rose from $7,867 million in 1953-54 to $9,694 million in 1955-56, a gain of 23.2 percent.

1/ Includes supervisors, principals, teachers, librarians, and guidance and psychological personnel.

The proportions of revenue receipts derived from Federal and State sources have been increasing in recent years while the proportions derived from intermediate and local sources have been declining. During the 10-year period from 1945-46 to 1955-56 the changes in proportions derived from various sources were as follows: income from Federal sources increased from 1.4 percent to 4.2 percent, income from State sources increased from 34.7 to 39.9 percent, and income from local (including intermediate) sources declined from 63.9 to 55.9 percent.

To finance the huge capital outlay programs of recent years, nonrevenue receipts (income from bond sales, loans, sale of property, etc.), have likewise shown large gains. Nonrevenue receipts rose from $1,213 million in 1951-52, to $1,824 million in 1953-54, and to $2,362 million in 1955-56.

Current Expenditures, Capital Outlay, and Interest

Current expenditures, which represent the day-by-day spending of public elementary and secondary schools, amounted to $8,193 million in 1955-56, an increase of 20.6 percent over the $6,791 million spent in 1953-54. Some of the increase in expenditures may be attributed to the rising proportion of pupils in secondary schools where educational costs are generally higher. When related to the total number of pupils to be educated the percent increase in cost was not as great. Thus, the current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance was $295 in 1955-56, an increase of $30 or 11.3 percent over 1953-54.

Expenditures for capital outlay, which have been mounting steadily in recent years, reached a peak of $2,581 million in 1955-56, a gain of 25.6 percent over the $2,055 million spent in 1953-54.

Interest payments rose even more markedly during the 2-year period--from $154 million in 1953-54 to $209 million in 1955-56, or 35.9 percent.

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COPY

TABLE 5.--CURRENT EXPENDITURES BY MAJOR ACCOUNT AND UNIT EXPENDITURES FOR FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS, BY STATE: 1953-54

(In thousands of dollars)

Region and State	Current expenditures							Current expenditure (allocated to pupil costs) per pupil in average daily attendance	Average salary per member of total instructional staff 3/
	Total current expenditures	Administration 1/	Instruction	Operation of plant	Maintenance of plant	Fixed charges	Other 2/ school services		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
CONTINENTAL U. S.:									
1953-54	4/ $6,790,923	$310,995	$4,552,349	$622,671	$284,871	$446,252	$573,785	$264.76	$3,825
1951-52	5,682,345	265,636	3,781,837	508,575	248,674	341,601	536,022	244.24	3,450
Percent increase, 1951-52 to 1953-54	+19.5	+17.1	+20.4	+22.4	+14.6	+30.6	+7.0	+8.4	+10.9
NORTHEAST	1,776,053	72,460	1,152,253	167,834	71,722	168,535	143,249	-	-
Connecticut	92,755	3,370	64,443	9,003	3,835	6,445	5,659	296.80	4,274
Maine	30,872	1,055	19,879	3,251	1,106	2,041	3,540	199.33	2,427
Massachusetts	189,814	7,111	126,700	20,383	8,619	8,100	18,901	298.39	4,006
New Hampshire	19,025	1,105	11,963	1,844	490	1,554	2,069	256.38	3,252
New Jersey	233,639	10,544	152,872	23,188	12,545	17,211	17,279	333.31	4,271
New York	709,174	24,344	471,779	64,417	23,139	76,336	49,159	361.99	4,658
Pennsylvania	460,628	23,202	277,740	41,228	20,286	55,028	43,144	299.31	4,074
Rhode Island	25,608	935	18,075	3,030	961	693	1,914	268.05	3,881
Vermont	14,542	795	8,803	1,490	742	1,127	1,585	245.31	2,820
NORTH CENTRAL	2,010,872	88,175	1,337,806	229,612	95,201	94,700	165,378	-	-
Illinois	383,164	18,013	250,488	44,225	17,752	21,347	31,339	318.81	5/ 4,353
Indiana	192,114	3,642	122,510	28,645	8,024	10,374	18,919	279.57	4,086
Iowa	127,059	7,908	79,936	13,084	6,857	5,417	13,857	273.91	2,897
Kansas	94,014	3,286	65,420	9,209	3,979	2,324	9,796	263.79	3,258
Michigan	4/ 325,497	15,734	223,851	37,610	14,275	13,272	20,755	282.82	3,999
Minnesota	143,829	8,121	93,788	17,309	5,743	4,764	14,104	286.59	3,687
Missouri	139,481	6,338	93,528	12,928	6,964	5,853	13,870	232.79	3,188
Nebraska	59,027	3,549	40,684	5,802	3,331	2,956	2,705	262.45	2,922
North Dakota	28,924	1,147	20,280	3,227	1,269	1,089	1,912	262.40	2,659
Ohio	338,214	11,780	227,488	38,522	17,676	19,113	23,635	253.88	4,012
South Dakota	31,930	1,899	21,822	3,248	1,473	663	2,825	274.91	6/ 2,638
Wisconsin	147,615	6,755	98,012	15,800	7,859	7,528	11,661	293.39	6/ 3,840
SOUTH	1,774,172	81,377	1,234,974	111,009	65,891	98,913	182,008	-	-
Alabama	92,895	2,715	67,492	3,684	2,588	5,595	10,821	150.88	2,783
Arkansas	49,598	3,789	33,035	3,690	1,380	1,251	6,453	139.19	2,286
Delaware	16,597	1,438	10,715	1,630	513	409	1,892	325.42	4,042
Florida	7/ 123,843	5,347	93,333	7,522	4,608	3,919	9,114	228.74	3,785
Georgia	125,198	4,299	87,270	6,363	3,574	6,904	16,788	177.41	2,862
Kentucky	78,332	3,409	53,586	5,364	2,994	2,794	10,185	153.17	2,526
Louisiana	120,523	5,514	72,906	5,404	5,634	11,116	19,949	246.65	3,504
Maryland	103,849	2,846	71,273	7,784	4,124	7,454	10,368	268.47	4,148
Mississippi	55,444	3,523	32,586	2,681	1,794	4,917	9,943	122.60	1,864
North Carolina	154,700	4,606	113,878	8,009	6,013	10,468	11,726	176.97	3,354
Oklahoma	4/ 96,969	5,186	70,101	7,568	5,068	2,972	6,074	223.87	3,271
South Carolina	80,527	4,310	54,197	4,285	2,303	5,459	9,973	176.34	2,815
Tennessee	106,402	3,736	75,090	6,632	3,282	5,623	12,039	166.36	2,875
Texas	4/ 346,615	23,642	245,267	22,515	11,338	18,497	25,356	249.22	3,886
Virginia	118,701	3,995	83,056	8,462	5,319	4,880	12,989	192.56	3,082
West Virginia	76,244	2,400	51,918	5,954	3,892	4,431	7,649	186.09	3,058
District of Columbia	27,735	620	19,273	3,464	1,467	2,224	687	302.10	4,797
WEST	1,229,827	68,984	827,317	114,215	52,057	84,104	83,150	-	-
Arizona	45,990	2,379	31,905	4,155	1,928	2,349	3,274	281.63	9/ 4,401
California	8/ 727,557	45,989	488,905	66,603	30,784	55,742	39,534	314.51	4,787
Colorado	4/ 69,210	2,790	45,660	6,103	2,721	6,336	5,600	279.76	3,640
Idaho	29,229	1,551	18,372	2,832	921	1,669	3,884	237.81	3,350
Montana	34,989	2,228	22,391	3,632	1,644	1,428	3,666	327.99	3,530
Nevada	10,482	601	6,681	1,102	402	1,137	559	294.12	3,786
New Mexico	38,367	1,624	28,318	2,610	157	1,585	4,073	264.71	4,127
Oregon	91,236	4,118	60,546	9,040	4,229	5,099	8,204	336.72	4,163
Utah	34,723	1,219	24,924	3,006	1,637	834	3,103	208.18	3,746
Washington	129,610	5,484	87,528	13,254	6,959	7,102	9,283	305.42	4,334
Wyoming	18,434	1,001	12,087	1,878	674	824	1,970	329.86	3,512
OUTLYING PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES:									
Alaska	8,409	701	5,763	1,030	191	213	511	411.46	5,016
Canal Zone	2,370	79	1,849	182	117	111	32	233.63	4,005
Guam	1,685	44	1,346	178	36	-	81	172.10	3,380
Hawaii	23,313	566	17,265	1,272	1,360	1,419	1,431	225.92	4,172
Puerto Rico	37,796	3,619	21,514	1,397	240	2,568	8,458	83.72	1,922

1/ Includes expenditures for administration at all levels -- State, intermediate, and local.

2/ Includes expenditures for personal services to pupils which are primarily concerned with getting the children to school and their physical and social well-being; viz., attendance, transportation, health, and food services.

3/ Includes supervisors, principals, teachers, and other instructional staff.

4/ Includes current expenditures not allocable to pupil costs, as specified: Continental United States, $1,460,000; Michigan, $126,000; Oklahoma, $32,000; Texas, $213,000; and Colorado, $1,090,000. These amounts for the continental United States and for the individual States are excluded from the computations in column 9.

5/ Includes salaries of administrators.

6/ Excludes salaries of vocational teachers.

7/ Includes expenditures for community colleges operated by local school administrative units.

8/ Includes expenditures for junior colleges, evening and summer schools, and adult education.

9/ Represents weighted average of median salaries of total instructional staff in elementary and secondary schools.

NOTE: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Friday, January 24, 1958 HEW--H1

The estimated shortage of public school classrooms dropped from 159,000 in the fall of 1956 to 140,400 last fall, a 12 percent reduction, reports from State departments of education indicate.

The estimated number of pupils in excess of normal classroom capacity dropped from 2,295,000 to 1,937,000, the State reports show.

These and other statistics are contained in a preliminary report by the Office of Education on data supplied by the States in the fourth annual fall survey of public school enrollment, teachers, and housing.

The indicated shortage of 140,400 classrooms breaks down this way:

--Classrooms needed to accommodate students in excess of normal capacity, 63,200.

--Classrooms needed to replace makeshift, obsolete or otherwise unsatisfactory facilities, 77,200.

State procedures for determining the classroom situation and other aspects of public school education are steadily being improved, the Office of Education reported. This year's figures are based on district-by-district surveys in about three-fourths of the States.

(More)

The biggest change from last school year was the reduction in the estimated number of pupils in excess of classroom capacity. Reductions were reported by 25 States. Six of this group--Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Minnesota and South Carolina--accounted for about 75 percent of the reduction. Like a number of other States, they reported that their changes were the result of such factors as improved estimating procedures, actual school surveys, and additional classroom construction.

The schoolhousing situation improved in 24 States, while the shortage became worse in 17, the Office of Education said. A similar comparison could not be made in the preliminary report for the remaining States, it was explained, because data were lacking for one of the two years.

According to the State reports, 68,600 classrooms were built between the fall of 1956 and the fall of 1957, an increase of 9.3 percent over the number constructed the previous year. The estimate for the 1956-57 school year had been 69,200. Estimated construction during the current school year is 70,800 classrooms, an increase of 3.2 percent over actual construction in 1956-57. (The Office of Education estimates enrollments will increase by 1.3 million, or 4 percent next fall.)

About 14,300 classrooms were abandoned during the 1956-57 school year chiefly because of obsolescence and reorganization and consolidation of school districts. A like number were abandoned the previous year.

The 68,600 new classrooms built last year, less the number of rooms abandoned, produced a net increase in the country's public school plant of 54,300 rooms, for a total of 1,155,300.

(More)

Meanwhile, enrollments continued to increase. Full-time public elementary and secondary schools enrolled a record 32.9 million pupils (22.8 in elementary schools and 10.1 million in secondary schools) last fall--an increase of 1.3 million, or 4.3 percent more than enrollments the previous fall.

The States reports also indicate a slight reduction in the pupil-teacher ratio and in the proportion of teachers not holding regular teaching certificates.

In the fall of 1957, there were 1,255,000 full-time and part-time classroom teachers (786,000 in elementary schools and 469,000 in secondary schools) a gain of 58,000 or 4.8 percent over the fall of 1956. The average ratio of pupils to teacher throughout the country was reduced from 26.4 to 26.2.

There were 91,200 full-time teachers with substandard certificates in the fall of 1957--an increase of 1,800 or 2 percent over the previous year. Proportionately, however, these "emergency" teachers constituted 7.3 percent of the total teaching staff, compared with 7.5 percent the previous year.

Totals in the report are for the continental United States. Reports were received from 47 States and the District of Columbia, although information on some items was not supplied by some States. The totals actually reported for each item were projected to cover the States not reporting on that item and thus round out estimates for the country as a whole. The survey also covered Alaska, American Samoa, the Canal Zone, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

- 30 -

Note: Copies of the report, "Fall 1957 Statistics on Enrollments, Teachers and Schoolhousing," Circular No. 513, may be obtained from the Office of Education, Washington 25.

Materials - Education - Gen. Teachers Status + Tenure

VTA REPORT

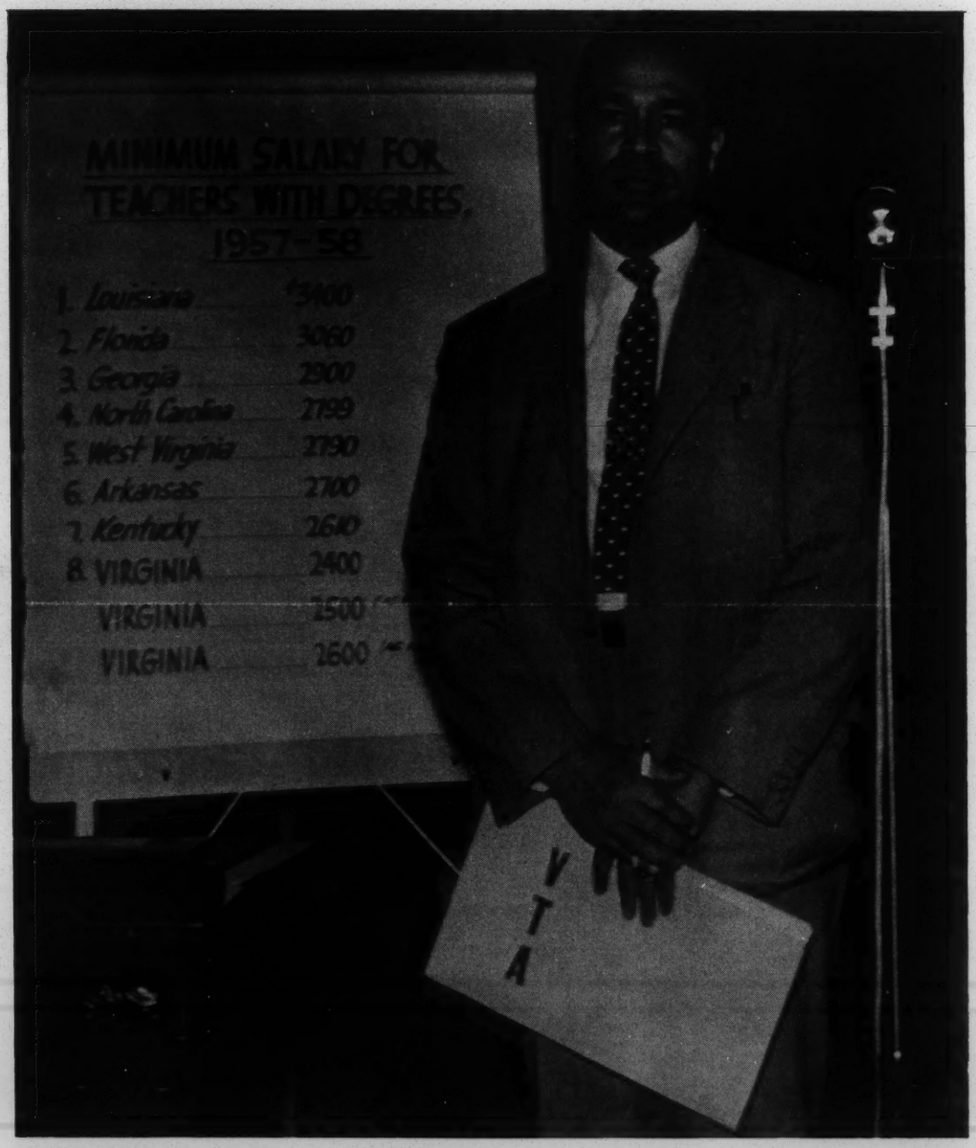
FEBRUARY, 1958

You Were Represented In Legislature

HIGHER TEACHER SALARIES ASSURED

It pays handsomely for Teachers Associations to continue to fight in Virginia General Assembly for "higher teachers salaries." As a result of mounting pressure by citizens of Virginia, spearheaded by the VTA and other educational organizations in the Commonwealth, twelve million dollars has been "found." This is to be added to the State budget for the biennium 1958-60 recommended by outgoing Governor Stanley. According to reliable authorities the major portion of these "newly discovered" monies in the State coffers will go to increase Virginia public school teachers' salaries. Varying amounts will also be allotted for capital outlay for the State supported universities, colleges and other institutions.

"Teachers salaries will still be much too low in Virginia and more buildings will be needed on our college campuses, but this increase in State Appropriations will help," VTA Executive Secretary J. Rupert Picott declared. Dr. Picott, who with the VTA President A. L. Scott and others has appeared several times before committees of this session of the Legislature, deplored the low ranking in comparison with the other states which Virginia will continue to have. He urged all citizens "to keep up the fight for adequate teacher pay and reasonable and proper State support of Virginia's public school system."



President A. L. Scott is shown just before he addressed the Joint Session of the House Appropriations Committee and the Senate Finance Committee of the 1958 Virginia General Assembly.

A degree teacher employed in a State-aid assigned teaching position during 1957-58 without any prior teaching experience is now entitled to receive $2400. If such person remains in the teaching profession in the public schools of Virginia based on anticipated appropriation by this session of the General Assembly, the salary will be $2700 in 1958-59 and $2950 in 1959-60. If a person is not at the maximum of $3600, the salary will be $3750 in 1958-59 and $3850 in 1959-60. An assigned teaching position is defined as a position for each 30 pupils in average daily attendance in elementary grades and 23 in the high school grades.

In summation, the VTA Executive Secretary said, "favorable action by this Legislature should result in

(1) upgrade in the salary schedule of $150 the first year for every State-aid teaching position in the State, and

$100 additional upgrade in the salary schedule the second year for every State-aid teaching position in the State.

(Continued on page 4)

Attention, Please

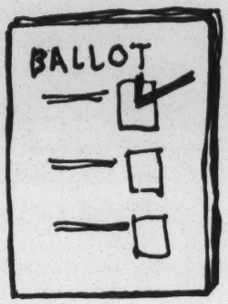
"Wake Up and Read!" will be National Library Week's advice to Americans everywhere. Scheduled March 16-22, 1958, this first observance is being sponsored by the American Library Association and the National Book Committee.

Wallace van Jackson, chairman, VTA Department of Librarians and Director of the Virginia State College Library, Petersburg, urges all schools and citizens in the Commonwealth to share in the Library Week celebration.

VTA REPORT

Editor: J. Rupert Picott

FEBRUARY, 1958



1958 Nominating Committee For State General Officers

Note: All persons listed were appointed by the district president or elected by the membership of the district.

FIRST DISTRICT: Mr. G. B. Ruffin, Union High School, Bowling Green

SECOND DISTRICT: Mr. J. Murray Brooks, Thomas Hunter High School, Mathews

THIRD DISTRICT: Mr. J. Rodman Ransome, Randolph Jr. High School, Richmond

FOURTH DISTRICT: Mr. Clyde S. Scott, Peabody High School, Petersburg

FIFTH DISTRICT: Mr. E. L. Morse, South Hill

SIXTH DISTRICT: Mr. George Harris, Carter G. Woodson School, Dillwyn

SEVENTH DISTRICT: Mr. Leon D. Harding, Johnson-Williams School, Berryville

EIGHTH DISTRICT: Mrs. Ethel G. Anderson, Box 47, Amissville

NINTH DISTRICT: Miss Eunice Poindexter, Booker T. Washington Jr. High School, Roanoke

TENTH DISTRICT: Miss Ethel L. Wiley, Route 1, Box 2, Gladstone

ELEVENTH DISTRICT: Mrs. Hattie Heath, Tazewell

Contact Your District Representative

ELECTION TIME APPROACHES

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

Revised as of October 16, 1947

ARTICLE VIII—Section 5: There shall be a Nominating Committee appointed by the President. This committee shall meet at least ninety days prior to the annual meeting of the State Association and nominate candidates for offices of the Association. The various districts shall have the privilege to submit names of probable candidates to the Nominating Committee. Said district suggestions must be made prior to the meeting of the Nominating Committee held for the purpose of selecting candidates for offices.

The time has now come again when we must think in terms of the nomination and election of the person who will direct the Virginia Teachers Association for the biennium 1958-'60. Our VTA President is elected for a two year term and cannot immediately succeed himself. This policy was adopted by our Association some fifteen years ago to assure the continuance of new and progressive leadership in our State Teachers Association's activities. Incidentally, it is the policy that is now followed by national and state teachers associations and other professional groups all over America.

President A. L. Scott, like his predecessors in office in the Virginia Teachers Association, is anxious to avoid any hint of "politiking" in this election. He, therefore, requested the president of each of the eleven districts to select the district's official representative to serve on the Nominating Committee. These VTA members who live and work in your section of the State are listed. Your suggestions of names of possible nominees for VTA General Officers should be sent to your VTA State Nominating Committee *District Representative.* Do not send names of nominees to the Executive Secretary office.

STATE ELECTION PROCEDURE

- Suggestions are made by teachers or local associations all over the State to our official representatives on the Nominating Committee.
- The representatives of the eleven VTA districts meet in Richmond as a Nominating Committee and select two or more persons who shall be candidates for each of the VTA general offices.
- A ballot listing the names of the candidates is prepared and sent to the local association secretaries throughout Virginia.
- Official announcement of the selection is made in the May-June issue of the *Virginia Education Bulletin* which is sent to each teacher.
- Actual voting on the candidates takes place during the month of September, and is by secret ballot cast by teachers in their local association meeting.
- Ballots are counted by the local association secretary or other designated persons and sent to the Executive Secretary's office in Richmond.
- Official Ballot Reports from each local association are submitted to a special Ballot Counting Committee which meets as a part of the annual VTA Convention.
- Total voting results as certified by the Official State Association Ballot Committee are reported to the convention and the newly elected officers are formally installed.

It is our belief that the Virginia Teachers Association now has the most democratic election procedure of any similar organization in all Virginia. There is ample reason to be proud of this system. Your continued cooperation and assistance in making it work efficiently and properly again this year is solicited.

These are the Salaries Paid in Virginia this School Year

These schedules are for regular classroom teachers with Bachelor's Degrees only; they do not apply to Home Economics, Agriculture, etc., principals, supervisors, Master's Degree holders or part-time teachers.

No. of years	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Accomack	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500					
Albemarle	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800			
Alleghany 1	3200	3200	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200				
Amelia	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600						
Amherst	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Appomattox	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Arlington	3800	3950	4100	4300	4500	4700	4900	5100	5300	5400	5500	5600	5700	5800	5900		
Augusta	2600	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800			
Bath																	
Bedford	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800			
Bland	2400	2600	2800	3000	3200	3400											
Botetourt	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800				
Brunswick	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Buchanan																	
Buckingham	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Campbell 2	2400	2550	2700	2850	3000	3150	3300	3450	3600								
Caroline	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Carroll	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Charles City	2400	2600	2800	3000	3200	3400											
Charlotte																	
Chesterfield	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300				
Clarke	2600	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Craig																	
Culpeper	2600	2650	2700	2750	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Cumberland	2450	2550	2650	2750	2850	2950	3050	3150	3250	3350	3450						
Dickenson	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600					
No. of years	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Dinwiddie	2800	2850	2900	2950	3000	3050	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800			
Essex	2900	2900	2900	2900	2900	3000	3100	3200	3400	3500							
Fairfax	3800	3900	4100	4400	4600	4800	5000	5100	5200	5300	5400	5500	5600	5700	5800	5900	6000
Fauquier	3000	3000	3000	3050	3100	3150	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000		
Frederick																	
Floyd																	
Fluvanna	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Franklin																	
Giles 3	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900				
Gloucester 4	3000	3000	3000	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600							
Goochland	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600						
Grayson	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500					
Green	2400	2550	2700	2850	3000	3150	3300	3450	3600								
Greensville	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Halifax	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Hanover	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Henrico	3300	3450	3600	3750	3900	4050	4200	4350	4500	4650	4800						
Henry	2800	2850	2900	2950	3000	3050	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800			
Highland																	
Isle of Wight	2800	2850	2900	2950	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900			
James City																	
King George	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800		
King and Queen	2400	2550	2700	2850	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600					
King Wm.	2400	2550	2700	2850	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600					
Lancaster	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Lee	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Loudoun	3240	3300	3360	3420	3480	3540	3600	3660	3720	3780	3840	3900	3960	4020	4080		
Louisa	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Lunenburg	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Madison	2450	2550	2750	2850	3000	3150	3300	3450	3600								
No. of years	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Mathews	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600								
Mecklenburg	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Middlesex	2800	2900	2900	3000	3100	3150	3200	3300	3400	3460							
Montgomery	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Nansemond	2850	2900	2950	3000	3050	3100	3150	3200	3250	3350	3450	3550	3650	3750			
Nelson	2400	2500	2700	2900	3100	3300	3500	3600									
New Kent	2400	2600	2800	3000	3200	3400											
Norfolk	3000	3100	3150	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4500
Northampton	2400	2550	2700	2850	3000	3150	3300	3450	3600								
Northumberland	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Nottoway	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Page	2700	2825	2950	3075	3200	3325	3450	3575	3700								
Patrick	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Pittsylvania	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Powhatan	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500					
Prince Edward	2450	2550	2650	2750	2850	2950	3050	3150	3250	3350	3450						
Prince George	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Prince Wm.	3300	3400	3600	3800	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4500	4600	4700					
Princess Anne	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400			
Pulaski	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800				
Rappahannock																	
Richmond	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400						
Roanoke 5	3050	3050	3050	3100	3150	3250	3350	3450	3550	3650	3750	3850	3850	4050	4150		
Rockbridge	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800				
Rockingham	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Russell	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Scott	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500					
Shenandoah	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Smyth	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				
Southampton	2800	2850	2900	2950	3000	3050	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3650	3700			
Orange	2600	2650	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700				

1 Covington
2 Salaries are being adjusted
3 Men paid $100 per year more than women until the maximum is reached, then, both the same thereafter.
4 Maximum $3,720 in twenty years.
5 21 years—$4,250.

(Continued from page 1)

(2) Annual increments of $150 each year for those in State-aid assigned teaching positions who do not have eight or more years of experience.

Proposed Revision of State Minimum Salary Schedule:

	Years of Experience	Present Scale	Proposed 1958-59	Proposed 1959-60
Collegiate and Collegiate Professional	0	$2400	$2550	$2650
	1	2550	2700	2800
	2	2700	2850	2950
	3	2850	3000	3100
	4	3000	3150	3250
	5	3150	3300	3400
	6	3300	3450	3550
	7	3450	3600	3700
	8	3600	3750	3850
Normal Professional, Elementary and Special	0	$2000	$2150	$2250
	1	2100	2250	2350
	2	2200	2350	2450
	3	2300	2450	2550
	4	2400	2550	2650
	5	2500	2650	2750
	6	2600	2750	2850
	7	2700	2850	2950
	8	2800	2950	3050
	9	2900	3050	3150
	10	3000	3150	3250
	11	3100	3250	3350
	12	3200	3350	3450

GRIMROSE GRAMMAR

Distributed by NASSTA

"I teach him in *his* dreams all day long and in *mine* all night long."

No. of years	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Spotsylvania	2600	2700	2700	2800	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Stafford	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800		
Surry	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500					
Sussex	2800	2825	2850	2875	2900	2950	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700			
Tazewell	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Warren	3000	3050	3050	3100	3150	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000			
Washington	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Westmoreland	2500	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400						
Wise	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Wythe	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
York	3100	3150	3200	3250	3300	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200				
No. of years	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Alexandria	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4650	4750	4850	4950	5050	5200	5400	5600	5800	6000	
Bristol																	
Buena Vista																	
Charlottesville	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	
Clifton Forge	2900	2950	3000	3050	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000			
Colonial Heights	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200				
Covington 6	3200	3200	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200				
Danville	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000						
Falls Church	3800	3850	3950	4050	4250	4400	4550	4700	4850	5000	5150	5300	5450	5600	5750	5900	
Fredericksburg	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4500			
Galax	2400	2500	2600	2700	2800	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600				
Hampton	3100	3200	3325	3450	3550	3650	3750	3850	3950	4050	4150	4250	4350	4450	4550		
Harrisonburg	2750	2800	2850	2900	2950	3050	3150	3250	3350	3450	3550	3650	3750	3850	3950	4050	
Hopewell																	
Lynchburg	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400				
Martinsville	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400				
Newport News	3250	3375	3500	3625	3750	3875	4000	4125	4250	4375	4500	4625	4750				
Norfolk	3000	3100	3200	3350	3500	3650	3800	3950	4100	4250	4400	4450	4500				
Norton	2500	2650	2800	2950	3100	3250	3400	3550	3700								
Petersburg	3000	3150	3300	3450	3600	3750	3900	4050	4200								
Portsmouth	3000	3150	3200	3350	3500	3650	3750	3850	3950	4050	4150	4250	4350	4450	4500		
Radford	2700	2700	2800	2800	2900	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800		
Richmond	3300	3450	3600	3750	3900	4050	4200	4350	4500	4650	4800						
Roanoke 7	3000	3100	3200	3300	3370	3440	3510	3580	3650	3720	3790	3860	3930	4000	4070	4140	4210
South Norfolk	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4500		
No. of years	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Staunton	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200			
Suffolk	3300	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000						
Virginia Beach																	
Warwick	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4100	4200	4300	4400	4500	4600	4700
Waynesboro 8	2900	3000	3100	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000	4150	4400	4500		
Williamsburg	3050	3150	3250	3350	3450	3550	3650	3750	3850	3950	4050	4150	4250	4300			
Winchester	3200	3300	3400	3500	3600	3700	3800	3900	4000								

6 Same as Alleghany County
7 Maximum in eighteen years $4350
8 Twenty years plus $4600

Coming Events...

DATES AND PLACES OF NEXT VTA DISTRICT MEETINGS

FIRST DISTRICT
Date: October 10, 1958
Place: Poole Jr. High School, Stafford

SECOND DISTRICT
Date: March 28, 1958
Place: Hampton Institute, Hampton

THIRD DISTRICT
Date: April 12, 1958
Place: Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg

FOURTH DISTRICT
Date: March 8, 1958
Place: Peabody High School, Petersburg

FIFTH DISTRICT
Date: March 22, 1958
Place: Edwin A. Gibson School, Danville

SIXTH DISTRICT
Date: April 12, 1958
Place: Carter G. Woodson School, Dillwyn

SEVENTH DISTRICT
Date: Ocotber 3, 1958
Place: Douglas High School, Winchester

EIGHTH DISTRICT
Date: October 3, 1958
Place: Douglass High School, Leesburg

NINTH DISTRICT
Date: March 28, 1958
Place: Carver High School, Salem

TENTH DISTRICT
Date: October 3, 1958
Place: Jackson P. Burley High School, Charlottesville

ELEVENTH DISTRICT
Date: October, 1958
Place: Tazewell County High School, Bluefield

VTA Has General Assembly Lobbyist

"Approximately 50 per cent of the salaries of Virginia public school teachers in Virginia is provided from the treasury of the Virginia State government," VTA President A. L. Scott declared. "This," Mr. Scott said, "is one of the basic reasons why the VTA maintains a lobbyist in the Virginia Assembly." The Teacher's representative is VTA Executive Secretary J. Rupert Picott, who has been working with the lawmakers on behalf of teachers salaries and other welfare projects for the past thirteen years.

(Continued on page 6)

General Officers To Be Elected For 1958 - '60 Term

PRESIDENT: Incumbent, Mr. A. L. Scott, Principal, J. J. Wright Consolidated School, Snell

TREASURER: Incumbent, Mrs. Lavinia J. Banks, Richmond

AUDITOR: Incumbent, Mr. P. J. Chesson, Principal, Bowling Park Elementary School, Norfolk

SECRETARY OF CIVIC EDUCATION: Incumbent, Miss Sadie V. Lawson, Teacher, Lucy Addison High School, Roanoke

SECRETARY OF RESEARCH: Incumbent, Mr. H. A. Marshall, Assistant Director, Norfolk Division, Virginia State College, Norfolk

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS-AT-LARGE: Incumbents,

Mr. A. McKee Banks, Teacher, Union High School, Bowling Green

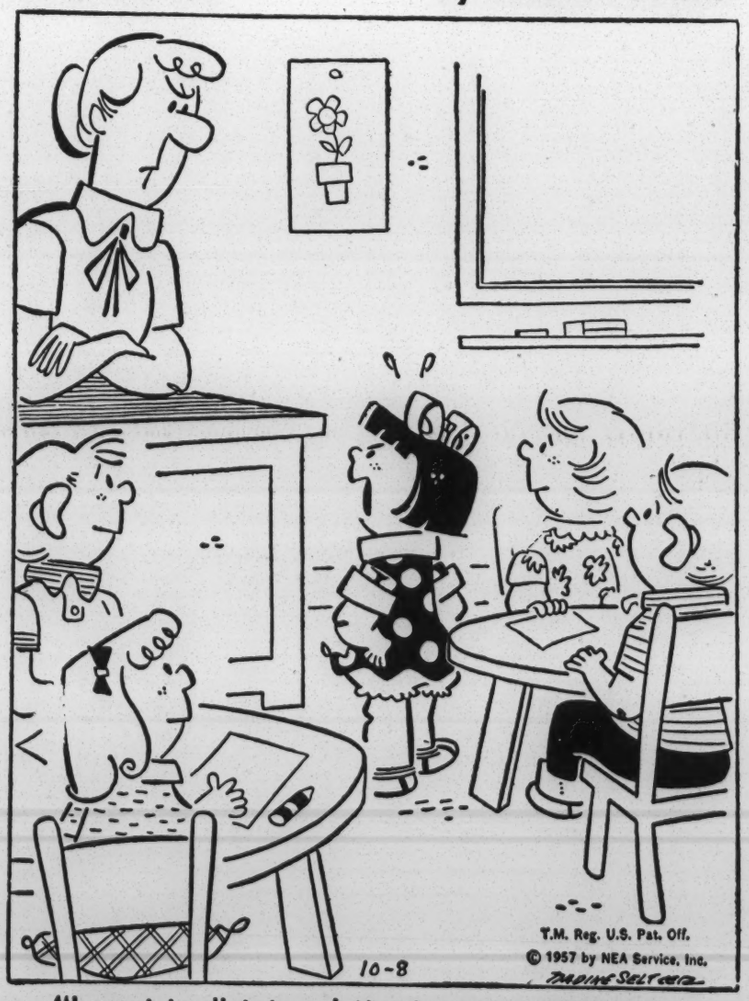
Mr. C. B. Jeter, Area Supervisor, Agricultural Education, State Department of Education, Richmond

Mrs. Lillian W. McDaniel, Teacher, Blackwell Jr. High School, Richmond

Mr. W. H. Pitts, Principal, Parker-Gray High School, Alexandria

Miss Lillian M. Weaver, Teacher
Huntington High School,
Newport News

SWEETIE PIE **By Nadine Seltzer**



"I want to dictate a letter to my congressman about schools!"

3-28-58

Did You Know?

Seventeen VTA Statewide Committees At Work For Teachers

The Virginia Teachers Association operates in a number of ways to help Virginia teachers. One of the chief means is through our fourteen active, functioning state committees. These committees are as follows:

Committee on Conferences on Education
Chairman: Miss Willie Mae Watson, Supervisor, Norfolk City Public Schools, Norfolk

Committee on Teaching the Fundamentals in Our Schools
Chairman: Mrs. Aurelia E. Huggard, Teacher, Augusta County Training School, Staunton

Committee on Insurance
Chairman: Dr. L. H. Schuster, Professor, Division of Business, Virginia State College, Petersburg

Committee on Teacher Education and Professional Standards
Chairman: Dr. William M. Whitehead, Superintendent, Virginia State School, Hampton

Committee on Travel
Chairman: Mrs. Margaret B. Whylie, Teacher, Walker-Grant School, Fredericksburg

Committee on Citizenship
Chairman: J. A. Hubbard, Principal, Tazewell County Training School, Bluefield

Committee on Publications and Public Relations
Chairman: Mrs. Addie Pleasants, Teacher, Fairfax County Public Schools, Fairfax

Committee on Legislation and Teacher Welfare
Chairman: Mrs. Madge J. Wheaton, Teacher, Booker T. Washington Junior High School, Roanoke

Committee on VTA Diamond Jubilee
Chairman: George M. Richardson, Principal, Hoffman-Boston School, Arlington

Committee on Ethics
Chairman: Miss Wilhelmina E. Hamlin, Head, Division of Elementary Education, Virginia State College, Petersburg

Committee on NEA Membership and Activities
Chairman: Mrs. Esther Wallace, Teacher, Brunswick County Public Schools, Lawrenceville

Committee on Federal Credit Unions
Chairman: Sumner G. Madden, Teacher, Armstrong High School, Richmond

Committee on Educational Television
Chairman: Mrs. Alice E. Houston, Teacher, Maggie L. Walker High School, Richmond

Committee on Economic Competence
Chairman: P. P. Wimbush, Teacher, Northside High School, Gretna

Committee on Necrology
Chairman: C. P. Hazzard, Principal, Rosenwald School, Warrenton

Committee on Resolutions
Chairman: Alfred Ferguson, Visiting Teacher, Martinsville Public Schools, Martinsville

Committee on Citations
Chairman: C. B. Jeter, Area Supervisor of Agricultural Education, State Department of Education, Richmond

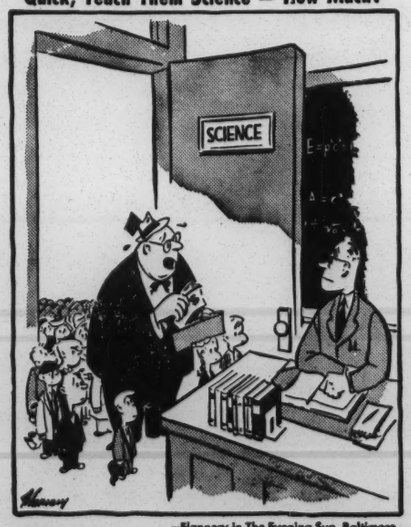
VTA Has General Assembly Lobbyist

(Continued from page 5)

Mr. Scott referred to the Constitution of the State Teachers professional organization which states that the "Virginia Teachers Association exists for the protection of the teacher and the promotion of education throughout Virginia."

The VTA president and Spotsylvania County School principal told of the several appearances of himself, Dr. Picott and VTA Executive Committee members before the current session of the Legislature. Mr. Scott recited the program which the VTA urged the lawmakers to adopt. This package recommendation asked for "establishment of a state-wide salary for holders of Bachelor Degrees up from $3,600 to $6,000 per teacher per year, applicable throughout the State." Other features of the VTA proposal included "classes of not over 25 pupils in elementary or secondary schools, permissible retirement for both men and women with full benefit at age 60, more generous sick leave, definite sabbatical leave, maternity leave, teacher tenure, increased allowances per school for teaching supplies and equipment and other classroom, school buildings and teacher welfare improvement."

"Quick, Teach Them Science — How Much?"



—Flannery in The Evening Sun, Baltimore

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VTA REPORT
VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
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Richmond 19, Virginia

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NEWS

F.W. DODGE CORPORATION

the magazine of better school administration

For IMMEDIATE release

Attn: Education Editor

$12,000 ANNUAL SALARY IN SIGHT

FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

CHICAGO, July 00 -- A $12,000 annual salary for elementary school teachers became possible through a referendum recently voted by the citizens of Winnetka, Ill.

According to an article in the June issue of The Nation's Schools, teaching salaries in Winnetka can rise through an "incentive formula" by frequent earned steps to an ultimate $12,000 - from a starting low salary of $4,200.

In addition to the "incentive formula" for salary increases, a four-compartment package of supplementary benefits will give Winnetka teachers extra insurance and retirement protections almost unique among school systems of the world.

Dr. S. P. Marland, Jr., superintendent of schools at Winnetka, merits great credit for obtaining the higher salary schedule and other benefits according to The Nation's Schools. He convinced his school board that dollars are one of the principal forces in putting teachers and teaching on a par with other lifetime careerists and learned professions.

MORE

Then in May 1957 the Winnetka Board of Education carefully selected a 13 member Citizens Advisory Committee on Teachers Salaries. Less than a year later, so well had this committee performed its study and informed the community of its findings, that the citizens passed by a vote of almost 5 to 1 a referendum that will make a teaching post in Winnetka one of the most rewarding - financially and professionally - of any city in the nation.

Commenting on the new salary and benefit program Dr. Marland states, "...those teachers who are merely looking for a fast buck will find no advantage in the Winnetka schedule...We are interested primarily in the long-term, the career teacher...we expect each of our teachers to turn his talents toward high quality teaching first, but also toward research and development. Our schools are to be laboratories for learning."

The new teachers' salary schedule is divided into two parts, the first of which will go into effect in Fall. The remaining steps will be put into effect annually hereafter.

The supplementary benefits, which have been voted not only for teachers, but for non-professional personnel, contain four features:

1 - a retirement benefit at age 60, which consists of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year of annual earnings in excess of $8000.

2 - total medical and health insurance, under Blue Cross-Blue Shield, and (after a $100 corridor) an additional coverage of major medical expenses up to $10,000.

3 - a group life insurance policy amounting to $5000.

4 - disability income, after sick leave benefits are exhausted.

The supplemental retirement plan is paid for entirely by the board of education. Costs of group insurance and comprehensive medical and health coverage are divided equally between board and board employee.

###

July 2, 1958

For further information call:

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SUperior 7-6402
Chicago, Illinois

or

Daniel J. Howe, Jr.
OXford 5-3000, ext. 75
New York, New York

Ed. Dem.

HAYES--EX 3-6300
Ext. 5433

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Thursday, August 28, 1958 HEW-132

The Nation's total school and college enrollment, increasing for the 14th consecutive year, will reach a new all-time peak of about 45 million in school year 1958-59, Lawrence G. Derthick, U. S. Commissioner of Education, said today.

One of every four persons in the United States will attend school or college, Dr. Derthick pointed out.

The shortage of qualified teachers, Dr. Derthick said, will continue this school year.

Enrollment will be about 1,750,000 higher than the previous record enrollment of 43,195,000 last school year, the Commissioner reported.

Public and private school enrollment in kindergarten through Grade 8 is expected to total about 31,793,000, a gain of more than a million over last year's elementary school enrollment of 30,670,000.

A gain of almost half a million is expected in high school (Grades 9 through 12), with an enrollment of 8,880,000 in 1958-59 compared with 8,424,000 last year.

For every 100 persons aged 14-17 years, 83 persons will be enrolled in high school. Ten years ago 75 in 100 were enrolled.

Colleges and universities are expected to enroll about 173,000 more students during the coming academic year than they did last year -- 3,623,000 this year, 3,450,000 last year.

(More)

Dr. Derthick said approximately 245,500 additional qualified teachers are needed this year -- 99,000 to replace teachers who died, retired, or left the profession to be married or to take other employment last year; 55,000 to meet requirements of increased enrollments, and 91,000 to replace emergency teachers.

It is estimated that 90,300 men and women will enter the teaching profession for the first time this year and that 23,000 former emergency teachers will have attained qualified status. The remaining shortage of 132,200, Dr. Derthick said, will be met by a return to teaching by former teachers and the employment of emergency teachers, and in part by too-large classes.

Approximate school and college enrollments in recent years follow:

School Year	Kindergarten through Grade 8	Grades 9 through 12	Higher Education
1929-30	23,740,000	4,812,000	1,101,000
1939-40	21,127,000	7,130,000	1,494,000
1949-50	22,207,000	6,453,000	2,659,000
1957-58	30,670,000	8,424,000	3,450,000
1958-59	31,793,000	8,880,000	3,623,000

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NOTE TO EDITORS: See attached tables.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS: 1958-59

Item	Elementary and Secondary
Supply	
Total teachers 1957-58 1/	1,412,000
Less emergency teachers 1957-58 2/	91,500
Total qualified teachers 1957-58	1,320,500
Less 7.5 percent turnover of qualified teachers 3/	99,000
Qualified teachers returning for 1958-59	1,221,500
Emergency teachers qualifying for 1958-59 4/	23,000
New supply of qualified teachers (82.9 percent of elementary and 65.5 percent of high school teachers trained in 1957-58) 5/	90,300
Beginning and continuing qualified teachers 1958-59	1,334,800
Demand	
Total teachers 1957-58 1/	1,412,000
Teachers needed to meet increase in enrollment in 1958-59 6/	55,000
Total Demand 1958-59	1,467,000
Teachers needed in addition to new supply of qualified teachers 7/	132,200

1/ The number of elementary and secondary school teachers in the public school system, in the fall of 1957, was 1,254,000 (Office of Education Circular No. 513 revised). To this has been added an estimated 158,000 teachers in nonpublic schools (private and parochial), in model and practice schools, in subcollegiate departments of colleges and universities, in residential schools for exceptional children, and in schools operated under Federal auspices.

2/ Office of Education Circular No. 513 revised.

3/ Turnover, as used here, includes only those who leave the profession of teaching through death, retirement, marriage, or to take a position in some other field. Changes of positions from one school system to another are not included.

4/ Approximately one quarter of the emergency teachers the previous year, probably a generous estimate. No figures are available.

5/ "The 1958 Teacher Supply and Demand Report," prepared by the National Education Association Research Division.

6/ The need for teachers is calculated at 30 pupils per teacher for grades K-8 and 25 per teacher for grades 9-12.

7/ The need for 132,200 elementary and secondary teachers will probably be met by additional emergency teachers, by the re-entrance of former teachers into the profession, and by further overcrowding. In the calculations of this figure, no provision was made for additional teachers to reduce present overcrowding or to enrich the curriculum.

Ed-Ben.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Table 1. - OFFICE OF EDUCATION ENROLLMENT ESTIMATES: CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, 1958-59 and 1957-58

SCHOOL	YEAR 1958-59	YEAR 1957-58
Kindergarten through Grade 8:		
Public school system (regular full-time) 1/	26,927,000	26,037,000
Nonpublic schools (regular full-time) 1/	4,693,000	4,466,000
Federal schools for Indians	25,000	26,000
Federal schools under P. L. 874 2/	20,000	20,000
Other 3/	128,000	121,000
Total kindergarten through Grade 8	31,793,000	30,670,000
Grades 9-12:		
Public school system (regular full-time) 1/	7,790,000	7,399,000
Private and parochial schools (regular full-time) 1/	1,002,000	942,000
Federal schools for Indians	11,000	11,000
Federal schools under P. L. 874 2/	1,000	1,000
Other 3/	76,000	71,000
Total grades 9-12	8,880,000	8,424,000
Total elementary and secondary	40,673,000	39,094,000
Higher education:		
Universities, colleges, professional schools, including junior colleges, normal schools and technical institutes	3,623,000	3,450,000
Other schools:		
Private commercial schools (day and evening)	560,000	560,000
Nurse training schools (not affiliated with colleges and universities)	89,000	91,000
Total other schools	649,000	651,000
GRAND TOTALS	44,945,000	43,195,000

1/ Office of Education projections of February 1957.
2/ Includes only "schools operated on post by Federal Agency."
3/ Includes model and practice schools in teacher training institutions, subcollegiate departments of colleges, and residential schools for exceptional children.

NOTE: These estimates include enrollments for the entire school or college year; they are not restricted to September enrollments alone.

Total estimated population of continental United States (excluding Armed Forces overseas) as of July 1, 1957, was 170,333,000.

Total estimated 1958-59 school enrollments include 26 percent of this population.

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Ed. Rem.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

ADVANCE RELEASE FOR
Sunday, August 30, 1959 HEW-L9

The Nation's school and college enrollment, increasing for the 15th consecutive year, will reach an all-time high of 46,480,000 in the school year 1959-60, Commissioner of Education, Lawrence G. Derthick, announced today.

This is an increase of 1,940,000 over the 44,540,000 enrollment for the 1958-59 school year.

Commissioner Derthick estimated that a total of 1,563,000 teachers will be needed in both public and nonpublic schools in the coming year, whereas the number presently qualified is 1,368,000.

Making up this total supply are 1,248,000 teachers expected to continue in service; 97,000 newly trained teachers; and 23,000 teachers formerly employed with substandard credentials but now fully trained and certified. A part of this shortage will be met by former instructors returning to service, but the number cannot be determined.

"The deficit of teachers will mean, in many communities, over-large classes or the employment of teachers without adequate training, or both," Commissioner Derthick said. "In many instances, it will also mean curtailing the number of subjects offered."

Last year, elementary and secondary schools were 182,000 teachers short of the total need.

Intensifying the scarce supply of teachers, Commissioner Derthick said, is the teacher-turnover rate of 10.9 percent, which represents the proportion

of teachers who leave the profession each year. Studies in progress confirm this rate as being more accurate than the 7.5 percent formerly utilized in calculating teacher shortages.

The Commissioner pointed out that one out of every four persons in the United States is now attending school, from kindergarten through college. Last October, 89.2 percent of boys and girls 14 through 17 years of age were enrolled in secondary schools and colleges. Ten years ago, 81.8 percent were enrolled.

Anticipated enrollments for the 1959-60 school year in public, non-public and miscellaneous elementary and secondary schools are estimated, by grade levels, to be 33,460,000 in kindergarten through Grade 8 and 9,240,000 in Grades 9 through 12, compared with 32,010,000 and 8,940,000, respectively, last year.

Institutions of higher education expect a total enrollment of 3,780,000 as compared with 3,590,000 last year.

Commissioner Derthick warned that swelling enrollments and their attendant problems are likely to continue for many years. Four years from now, he said, the school-age population--pupils 5 through 17 years of age--will probably go as high as 48.8 million or 13 percent more than at present.

Approximate school and college enrollments in recent years follow:

School-Year	Kindergarten through Grade 8	Grades 9 through 12	Higher Education
1929-30	23,740,000	4,812,000	1,101,000
1939-40	21,127,000	7,130,000	1,494,000
1949-50	22,207,000	6,453,000	2,659,000
1958-59 (Est.)	32,010,000	8,940,000	3,590,000
1959-60 (Est.)	33,460,000	9,240,000	3,780,000

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Additional details are contained in 5 attached tables.

Table 1--OFFICE OF EDUCATION ENROLLMENT ESTIMATES: CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES (EXCLUDING ALASKA), 1959-60 AND 1958-59

(Estimates are for total enrollment during the school year. These figures are larger than figures for fall enrollment)

GRADE LEVEL AND TYPE OF SCHOOL	1959-60	1958-59
Kindergarten through Grade 8:		
Public school system (regular full-time)	27,890,000	26,780,000
Nonpublic schools (regular full-time)	5,400,000	5,060,000
Other schools[1]	170,000	170,000
Total, Kindergarten through Grade 8	33,460,000	32,010,000
Grades 9 through 12:		
Public school system (regular full-time)	8,100,000	7,840,000
Nonpublic schools (regular full-time)	1,050,000	1,010,000
Other schools[1]	90,000	90,000
Total, Grades 9 through 12	9,240,000	8,940,000
Kindergarten through Grade 12:		
Public school system (regular full-time)	35,990,000	34,620,000
Nonpublic schools (regular full-time)	6,450,000	6,070,000
Other schools[1]	260,000	260,000
Total, Kindergarten through Grade 12	42,700,000	40,950,000
Higher Education:		
Universities, colleges, professional schools, junior colleges, normal schools, and teachers colleges (degree-credit enrollment)	3,780,000	3,590,000
Total, elementary, secondary, and higher education	46,480,000	44,540,000

[1] Includes Federal schools for Indians, Federally-operated elementary-secondary schools on posts, model and practice schools in teacher training institutions, subcollegiate departments of colleges, and residential schools for exceptional children.

Table 2--OFFICE OF EDUCATION ESTIMATES OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY CLASSROOM TEACHERS, PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS: CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES (EXCLUDING ALASKA), 1959-60

DEMAND		
Total classroom teachers, preceding year (1958-59).....	1,493,000	
Total classroom teachers needed to meet enrollment increases from 1958-59 to 1959-60.....	70,000	
Total classroom teachers needed, 1959-60.....		1,563,000
SUPPLY FROM REGULAR SOURCES		
A. Qualified teachers of the preceding year returning to classroom service:		
Total classroom teachers, preceding year (1958-59).....	1,493,000	
Less teachers with substandard credentials in public schools preceding year (Fall 1958).....	92,300	
Qualified classroom teachers, preceding year.....	1,400,700	
Less qualified teachers not returning to classroom service in 1959-60[1].....	152,700	
Qualified teachers of the preceding year returning to classroom service in 1959-60.....		1,248,000
B. Newly trained teachers entering classroom service[2].....		97,000
C. Teachers with substandard credentials becoming fully certificated[3].....		23,000
Total qualified teachers from above sources in classroom service, 1959-60.....		1,368,000
SUPPLY NEEDED FROM OTHER SOURCES, 1959-60.....		195,000
To be met by the re-entrance of former teachers into the profession, employment of teachers with substandard credentials, further overcrowding of classes, or curtailment of curriculum. (The corresponding figure for 1958-59, using the same dropout rate, is 182,000[1])		

1/ This figure for the number of qualified teachers not returning to classrooms is estimated on the basis of a 10.9 percent dropout rate. The total is approximately 50,000 higher than would be obtained by using the dropout rate of 7.5 percent employed in previous years. The advisability of using the new rate was indicated by the results of a survey being conducted by the Office of Education.

2/ Derived from "The 1959 Teacher Supply and Demand Report," National Education Association, Research Division. Computed as 83.3 percent of newly certificated inexperienced elementary teachers, and 67.8 percent for high school teachers.

3/ One-quarter of the teachers with substandard credentials the preceding year, probably a generous estimate. No data available.

Table 3--OFFICE OF EDUCATION DATA ON ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND CLASSROOMS IN PUBLIC, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BY STATE: Fall of 1958

STATE	Fall Enrollment 1/		Classroom Teachers		Classrooms	
	Number	Percent of U. S. total	Number	Percent of U. S. total	Number	Percent of U. S. total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Continental U. S. excluding Alaska	33,936,470	100.00	1,300,560	100.00	2/1,232,667	2/100.00
1. Alabama	780,000	2.30	26,000	2.00	23,375	1.90
2. Arizona	273,734	.81	9,215	.71	8,562	.69
3. Arkansas	420,700	1.24	13,830	1.06	9,954	.81
4. California	3,035,000	8.94	104,600	8.04	98,000	7.95
5. Colorado	360,972	1.06	15,177	1.17	14,188	1.15
6. Connecticut	440,832	1.30	17,892	1.38	16,241	1.32
7. Delaware	73,551	.22	3,234	.25	2,805	.23
8. District of Columbia	113,030	.33	4,089	.31	3,667	.30
9. Florida	857,723	2.53	32,521	2.50	28,194	2.29
10. Georgia	893,431	2.63	30,950	2.38	30,272	2.46
11. Idaho	149,638	.44	6,034	.46	5,792	.47
12. Illinois	1,612,145	4.75	67,040	5.15	56,892	4.62
13. Indiana	910,000	2.68	33,000	2.54	31,522	2.56
14. Iowa	554,223	1.63	24,746	1.90	19,965	1.62
15. Kansas	441,000	1.30	20,100	1.55	3/	3/
16. Kentucky	614,607	1.81	22,602	1.74	22,290	1.81
17. Louisiana	655,191	1.93	25,377	1.95	23,652	1.92
18. Maine	191,622	.56	7,653	.59	7,450	.60
19. Maryland	557,540	1.64	20,784	1.60	18,027	1.46
20. Massachusetts	809,100	2.38	33,040	2.54	35,432	2.87
21. Michigan	1,603,194	4.72	62,000	4.77	58,978	4.78
22. Minnesota	650,800	1.92	28,025	2.15	26,222	2 13
23. Mississippi	552,000	1.63	16,620	1.28	15,212	1.23
24. Missouri	787,419	2.32	28,680	2.21	29,035	2.36
25. Montana	136,901	.40	6,689	.51	6,669	.54
26. Nebraska	267,618	.79	14,021	1.08	13,798	1.12
27. Nevada	56,396	.17	2,318	.18	2,229	.18
28. New Hampshire	98,953	.29	4,112	.32	3,880	.31
29. New Jersey	971,000	2.86	41,500	3.19	33,700	2.73
30. New Mexico	204,137	.60	7,925	.61	7,627	.62
31. New York	2,624,582	7.73	111,234	8.55	106,400	8.63
32. North Carolina	1,061,171	3.13	36,000	2.77	37,711	3.06
33. North Dakota	127,003	.37	4/6,939	.53	5,984	.49
34. Ohio	1,782,637	5.25	65,812	5.06	63,334	5.14
35. Oklahoma	5/540,433	1.59	19,439	1.49	25,512	2.07
36. Oregon	359,215	1.06	14,701	1.13	14,497	1.18
37. Pennsylvania	1,915,051	5.64	68,943	5.30	68,098	5.52
38. Rhode Island	125,165	.37	4,988	.38	4,407	.36
39. South Carolina	558,212	1.64	19,762	1.52	19,149	1.55
40. South Dakota	145,608	.43	8,007	.62	8,407	.68
41. Tennessee	769,506	2.27	27,795	2.14	24,048	1.95
42. Texas	1,956,000	5.76	74,621	5.74	70,876	5.75
43. Utah	218,157	.64	7,790	.60	7,340	.60
44. Vermont	71,061	.21	3,045	.23	3,086	.25
45. Virginia	803,719	2.37	29,783	2.29	27,187	2.21
46. Washington	595,850	1.76	24,799	1.91	20,875	1.69
47. West Virginia	458,425	1.35	16,458	1.26	16,171	1.31
48. Wisconsin	675,000	1.99	27,050	2.08	29,741	2.44
49. Wyoming	77,218	.23	3,620	.28	3,315	.27

SOURCE: Office of Education Circular 551, Fall 1958 statistics on enrollment, teachers, and school housing in full-time public elementary and secondary schools. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

1/Fall 1958 enrollment is slightly less than enrollment for the entire school year 1958-59.
2/Includes estimate for nonreporting States.
3/Data not available.
4/Excludes kindergarten teachers.
5/Data for 1957-58.

Table 4.--BUREAU OF CENSUS DATA ON SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION as of July 1, 1955, 1959, and 1963; Percent of Increase, 1955 to 1959 and 1959 to 1963; by State
(Amounts in Thousands)

STATE	School-Age Population (5-17 years, inclusive)				Increases in School-Age Population			
	1959 (estimated)		1955 (actual)	1963 (estimated)	1955 to 1959		1959 to 1963	
	Number	Percent of U.S. Total			Number	Percent Increase	Number	Percent Increase
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Continental United States excluding Alaska	43,347	100.00	37,262	48,815	6,085	16.33	5,468	12.61
Alabama	891	2.06	852	909	39	4.58	18	2.02
Arizona	319	.74	249	400	70	28.11	81	25.39
Arkansas	467	1.08	490	436	-23	-4.69	-31	-6.64
California	3,512	8.10	2,697	4,296	815	30.22	784	22.32
Colorado	444	1.02	351	527	93	26.50	83	18.69
Connecticut	541	1.25	455	623	86	18.90	82	15.16
Delaware	111	.26	82	139	29	35.37	28	25.23
Florida	1,068	2.46	757	1,354	311	41.08	286	26.78
Georgia	1,069	2.47	961	1,159	108	11.24	90	8.42
Idaho	181	.42	162	193	19	11.73	12	6.63
Illinois	2,318	5.35	1,935	2,666	383	19.79	348	15.01
Indiana	1,170	2.70	985	1,338	185	18.78	168	14.36
Iowa	690	1.59	614	743	76	12.38	53	7.68
Kansas	530	1.22	453	599	77	17.00	69	13.02
Kentucky	819	1.89	784	842	35	4.46	23	2.81
Louisiana	882	2.03	762	997	120	15.75	115	13.04
Maine	233	.54	214	245	19	8.88	12	5.15
Maryland	760	1.75	614	889	146	23.78	129	16.97
Massachusetts	1,082	2.50	982	1,170	100	10.18	88	8.13
Michigan	2,056	4.74	1,677	2,434	379	22.60	378	18.39
Minnesota	862	1.99	747	967	115	15.39	105	12.18
Mississippi	625	1.44	607	626	18	2.97	1	.16
Missouri	996	2.30	895	1,105	101	11.28	109	10.94
Montana	181	.42	153	205	28	18.30	24	13.26
Nebraska	356	.82	309	392	47	15.21	36	10.11
Nevada	70	.16	50	93	20	40.00	23	32.86
New Hampshire	137	.32	122	153	15	12.30	16	11.68
New Jersey	1,329	3.07	1,074	1,540	255	23.74	211	15.88
New Mexico	252	.58	218	294	34	15.60	42	16.67
New York	3,614	8.34	3,160	4,046	454	14.37	432	11.95
North Carolina	1,253	2.89	1,154	1,330	99	8.58	77	6.15
North Dakota	176	.41	167	185	9	5.39	9	5.11
Ohio	2,346	5.41	1,968	2,751	378	19.21	405	17.26
Oklahoma	557	1.28	537	561	20	3.72	4	.72
Oregon	450	1.04	382	496	68	17.80	46	10.22
Pennsylvania	2,597	5.99	2,352	2,821	245	10.42	224	8.63
Rhode Island	195	.45	166	214	29	17.47	19	9.74
South Carolina	717	1.65	653	764	64	9.80	47	6.56
South Dakota	184	.42	166	199	18	10.84	15	8.15
Tennessee	916	2.11	867	953	49	5.65	37	4.04
Texas	2,553	5.89	2,092	2,941	461	22.04	388	15.20
Utah	257	.59	215	294	42	19.53	37	14.40
Vermont	93	.21	89	96	4	4.49	3	3.23
Virginia	1,018	2.35	865	1,132	153	17.69	114	11.20
Washington	707	1.63	592	792	115	19.43	85	12.02
West Virginia	527	1.22	537	508	-10	-1.86	-19	-3.61
Wisconsin	987	2.28	846	1,114	141	16.67	127	12.87
Wyoming	87	.20	76	95	11	14.47	8	9.20
District of Columbia	161	.37	122	185	39	31.97	24	14.91

1/ Civilian non-institutional population aged 5-17 years, inclusive, as of July 1. Estimates for 1959 and 1963 assume migration at 1950-57 levels.

NOTE: Details may not add to total because of rounding.

Source: Cols. 2 and 5, Bureau of the Census, P-25, No. 201; Col. 4, P. 25, No. 151.

Table 5.--OFFICE OF EDUCATION DATA ON HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT AND DEGREES: By State: 1958

STATE	Higher Education Degree-Credit Enrollment Fall 1958		Bachelor's and 1st Professional Degrees, School Year 1957-58		Master's Degrees School Year 1957-58		Doctor's Degrees School Year 1957-58	
	Number	Percent of U.S. Total	Number	Percent of U.S. Total	Number	Percent of U.S. Total	Number	Percent of U.S. Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Continental United States excluding Alaska.....	3,226,038	100.00	362,554	100.00	65,487	100.00	8,938	100.00
Alabama.....	44,036	1.36	6,104	1.68	731	1.12	27	.30
Arizona.....	29,607	.92	2,449	.68	507	.77	9	.10
Arkansas.....	23,054	.71	3,249	.90	466	.71	14	.16
California.....	386,520	11.98	26,501	7.30	5,435	8.29	882	9.87
Colorado.....	44,778	1.39	5,235	1.44	1,306	1.99	134	1.50
Connecticut.....	43,332	1.34	4,974	1.37	1,314	2.01	228	2.55
Delaware.....	6,865	.21	457	.13	132	.20	21	.23
Florida.....	59,573	1.85	6,375	1.76	981	1.50	107	1.20
Georgia.....	48,739	1.51	6,133	1.69	538	.82	32	.36
Idaho.....	10,829	.34	1,162	.32	149	.23	-	-
Illinois.....	173,222	5.37	18,505	5.10	3,911	5.97	747	8.36
Indiana.....	85,852	2.66	11,579	3.19	2,525	3.86	458	5.12
Iowa.....	51,919	1.61	6,918	1.91	856	1.31	291	3.26
Kansas.....	48,194	1.49	6,223	1.72	869	1.33	91	1.02
Kentucky.....	42,703	1.32	5,565	1.53	761	1.16	37	.41
Louisiana.....	52,479	1.63	6,261	1.73	822	1.26	87	.97
Maine.....	11,992	.37	1,780	.49	157	.24	-	-
Maryland.....	46,029	1.43	4,989	1.38	651	.99	186	2.08
Massachusetts.....	125,951	3.90	16,979	4.68	3,788	5.78	674	7.54
Michigan.....	143,962	4.46	15,671	4.32	4,234	6.47	439	4.91
Minnesota.....	70,163	2.17	8,378	2.31	973	1.49	221	2.47
Mississippi.....	30,250	.94	4,103	1.13	467	.71	6	.07
Missouri.....	77,012	2.39	9,055	2.50	1,131	1.73	134	1.50
Montana.....	11,235	.35	1,552	.43	195	.30	5	.06
Nebraska.....	30,525	.95	3,813	1.05	399	.61	48	.54
Nevada.....	3,354	.10	245	.07	27	.04	-	-
New Hampshire.....	10,866	.34	1,732	.48	180	.27	5	.06
New Jersey.....	73,268	2.27	6,911	1.91	1,506	2.30	197	2.20
New Mexico.....	15,554	.48	1,372	.38	388	.59	16	.18
New York.....	326,846	10.13	35,941	9.91	9,917	15.14	1,397	15.63
North Carolina.....	61,872	1.92	8,744	2.41	1,286	1.96	163	1.82
North Dakota.....	12,618	.39	1,529	.42	177	.27	9	.10
Ohio.....	156,385	4.85	17,287	4.77	2,239	3.42	350	3.92
Oklahoma.....	53,105	1.65	6,524	1.80	1,269	1.94	72	.81
Oregon.....	38,530	1.19	4,451	1.23	736	1.12	85	.95
Pennsylvania.....	175,061	5.43	23,506	6.48	3,512	5.36	514	5.75
Rhode Island.....	16,677	.52	2,100	.58	161	.25	42	.47
South Carolina.....	29,764	.92	4,199	1.16	292	.45	14	.16
South Dakota.....	14,610	.45	1,916	.53	263	.40	-	-
Tennessee.....	56,910	1.76	7,465	2.06	1,463	2.23	130	1.45
Texas.....	175,854	5.45	19,321	5.33	3,721	5.68	263	2.94
Utah.....	30,972	.96	3,821	1.05	385	.59	55	.62
Vermont.....	8,060	.25	1,246	.34	188	.29	2	.02
Virginia.....	54,104	1.68	6,099	1.68	525	.80	61	.68
Washington.....	57,385	1.78	6,303	1.74	720	1.10	141	1.58
West Virginia.....	27,918	.87	3,337	.92	444	.68	7	.07
Wisconsin.....	67,596	2.10	8,266	2.28	1,288	1.97	311	3.48
Wyoming.....	6,362	.20	599	.17	167	.26	12	.13
District of Columbia.....	41,738	1.29	3,794	1.05	1,128	1.72	214	2.39
U.S. Service Schools.....	11,808	.37	1,836	.51	207	.32	-	-

NOTE: Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
Source: Col. 2, Office of Education Circular No. 544 Table 1, Opening (Fall) Enrollment in Higher Education, 1958: Institutional Data
Cols. 4, 6, 8 Office of Education Circular No. 570 Table 18, Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions: 1957-58

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

41 Exchange Place, S. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

LWD

MEMORANDUM

Mat - Intergroup Education

To: ADL Chairmen

From: Murray L. Shapiro

Date: March 10, 1960

Subject: Anti-Semitism -- What The School Can Do To Prevent It

Much concern has been evidenced in various local communities over the recent rash of anti-Semitic incidents in the United States. Since the vast majority of these desecrations have been committed by adolescents between the ages of 14 and 19, we feel that the responsibility for these acts must be shared equally between the home, the church and the school. The facts concerning these incidents seem to indicate that the young people involved are largely ignorant of Nazism, the meaning of the swastika, and the threat of such totalitarian ideology to our democratic way of life.

Specifically regarding the responsibility of the school, we strongly recommend that the following information be shared with the public school educators in your community:

1. Teachers should recognize that schools share in the responsibility for anti-social behavior, and therefore they cannot ignore the problem.

2. Teachers should become more sensitive to what happens to Jewish children in school:

   (a) from kindergarten to the 12th grade some experience name-calling, scapegoating and abuse.

   (b) from early teens on, some experience exclusion; e.g., from parties and from certain school clubs and prestige activities.

3. Teachers should examine their own and their pupils' attitudes and behavior towards Jews and Judaism. The teacher sets an example which the children follow. At all ages, pupils identify with teachers' values.

4. Teachers should teach the facts:

   (a) about the various ethnic groups in American history and in present-day American life (their contributions to business, industry, science, medicine, literature, theatre, films, art, music, military services).

   (b) about the World War 11 period, and specifically about the Nazi movement and the swastika symbol as dangerous to Democracy and to Christianity, as well as to Jews.

   (c) about intergroup education as an integral part of teaching democratic principles.

5. Teachers should never ignore pupils' anti-social speech (stereotypes) and action (rejection) and the symbol of the swastika, which may point to the existence of organized anti-social behavior which needs to be exposed. They can challenge and correct stereotypes and help children to respect, understand and include those different from themselves.

6. Teachers should encourage classroom discussions of current events which call for the use of critical thinking and propaganda analysis.

7. Teachers should develop school-wide programs of intergroup education (for which you can offer to provide materials and consultant service), with the objective of creating a society within the school in which anti-Semitic behavior is unacceptable.

8. Teachers can help parental understanding of the problem of anti-social behavior by discussing it in PTA's, Church Study Groups, Mental Health Associations, and by cooperating in programs and projects with local human relations groups such as your ADL committee.

In order to help teachers implement the above suggestions, your regional ADL office has prepared a special packet of resource materials specifically designed for classroom use. The packet has been priced at the minimal cost of $3.00 so that your ADL committee can make at least one available to each school in your community.

ms:dg
cc: B'nai B'rith Presidents

ORDER FORM

Southeastern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
41 Exchange Place, SE, Atlanta 3, Ga.

Please send_____packets of resource materials dealing with anti-semitism and prejudice, specifically designed for classroom use.

Included in the packet are the following:

Prejudiced - How Do People Get That Way	.25
American Jews: Their Story	.35
Danger in Discord	.35
Prejudice and Society	.35
A Primer for Parents	.40
The Jews (Look reprint)	.10
Position of Jews in America Today (reprint)	.10
ABC's of Scapegoating	.35
Behind the Desecrations	n/c
Barriers (soft-cover)	1.50
	3.75

SPECIAL PRICE PER PACKET 3.00

(Individual items as indicated above)

_____
name

_____
address

_____
city

Note: Postage charges will be absorbed if remittance is included with order.

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NEWS

F.W. DODGE CORPORATION

the magazine of better school administration

Ken

For IMMEDIATE release

Attn: Education Editor

MAT- ED- Teacher Status and Tenure

A VOTE FOR MERIT RATING

CHICAGO, July 00 -- In the past two years a majority of school administrators have become more favorably disposed toward the merit rating system for teachers according to a representative sampling of school administrators throughout the nation by The Nation's Schools and published in the June issue.

In response to whether fellow teachers, parents and children should help to identify the superior teacher, 62.6% of those who answered yes felt it should be fellow teachers only, with 55.5% responding no to the question of whether teacher superiority should be the responsibility of the administrative staff and board.

Several superintendents participating in the poll felt "that before any merit salary system is adopted by schools, there should first be a satisfactory base pay."

One superintendent whose school has successfully conducted a merit salary plan for many years states, "The reluctance of school administrators and organized teacher groups to consider the merit pay question, in my opinion, has been one of the chief deterrents to

MORE

the development of truly professional salary levels. As we increase the ceiling of opportunity, we should be able to recruit more of the most able minds into the teaching profession."

The following table shows the breakdown of replies:

EXTRA PAY FOR SUPERIOR TEACHING?

1. Do you favor the principle of extra pay for superior teaching (that is, paying the teacher somewhat in accordance with the quality of his or her teaching)?
   Yes.....80.8% No.....19.2%

2. Do you think your teachers favor this principle?
   Yes.....34% No.....59.2% No opinion.....6.8%

3. Do you think your school board would favor this principle?
   Yes.....74% No.....22.8% No opinion.....3.2%

4. Should the rating of a teacher's superiority be solely the responsibility of the administrative staff and the board?
   Yes.....40.4% No.....55.5% No opinion.....4.4%

5. If extra pay is to be granted for superior teaching, should any of the following groups participate in helping to identify the superior teacher: fellow teachers, parents, children?
   Yes.....65.2% No.....14.4% No opinion.....20.4%

   Of those who answered Yes:

   Teachers....62.6% Parents....2.5% Children....1.2%
   Teachers and parents....8% Parents and Children....0.6%
   Teachers and children....5.5%
   Teachers, parents, children....19.6%

6. Have you changed your mind on merit rating within the last two years? If so, are you: more favorable to merit rating? more opposed?
   Yes.....74.8% No.....11.2% No opinion.....14%
   More favorable.....77.5% More opposed.....22.5%

###

July 2, 1958

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A Research Report from

ENGELHARDT, ENGELHARDT AND LEGGETT 300 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

CONSULTANTS TO BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN THE DETERMINATION OF SCHOOL BUILDING NEEDS AND THE PLANNING OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BEGINS LONG CLIMB

by N. L. Engelhardt, Jr.

STAGGERING PROBLEMS AHEAD

National public school enrollment in 1952 is estimated to be 7 per cent above the 1940 figure. By 1960, the enrollment may be expected to rise to a figure 34 per cent higher than in 1940.

School enrollment began its climb in 1946, when it numbered approximately 23,500,000 pupils. It is estimated that, in 1952, the total enrollment is 27,000,000. By 1960, the total may be expected to exceed 34,000,000.

Heavy kindergarten enrollments this year are the result of the large number of births in 1947 - but 1951 broke 1947's record in births, and it looks as though 1952 would see an all-time high.

The full effect of the high plateau in birth figures between 1947 and 1952 will not be felt in the elementary schools until 1958; until then, expect a steady climb.

If your community follows the national average, first grade enrollments this year are about 20 per cent above last year's figure. Next September will bring another 12 per cent rise, after which there will be a three-year lull before the upward trend begins again.

Junior high schools will feel the full impact about 1959. Enrollment in senior high schools, climbing slowly at present, will increase sharply following 1961.

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For every six elementary school classrooms in use in 1952-53, you will need, within five years, an additional room - or more, if you have not been keeping up with enrollment increases.

For every 100 pupils in junior high school today, you may expect 140 by 1961.

For every 100 pupils in senior high school today, you may expect 150 by 1965.

ESSENTIAL FACTS

Births

The number of children born in 1951 attained a record high. Preliminary estimates for 1952 indicate the possibility that a new record may be achieved. This means six successive, record-breaking years.

The birth rate from 1935 to 1940 ranged from 18 to 19 births per thousand population. From 1941 to 1945 the rate ranged from 20 to 23, while from 1946 to 1952 the rate has exceeded 24.

Marriages

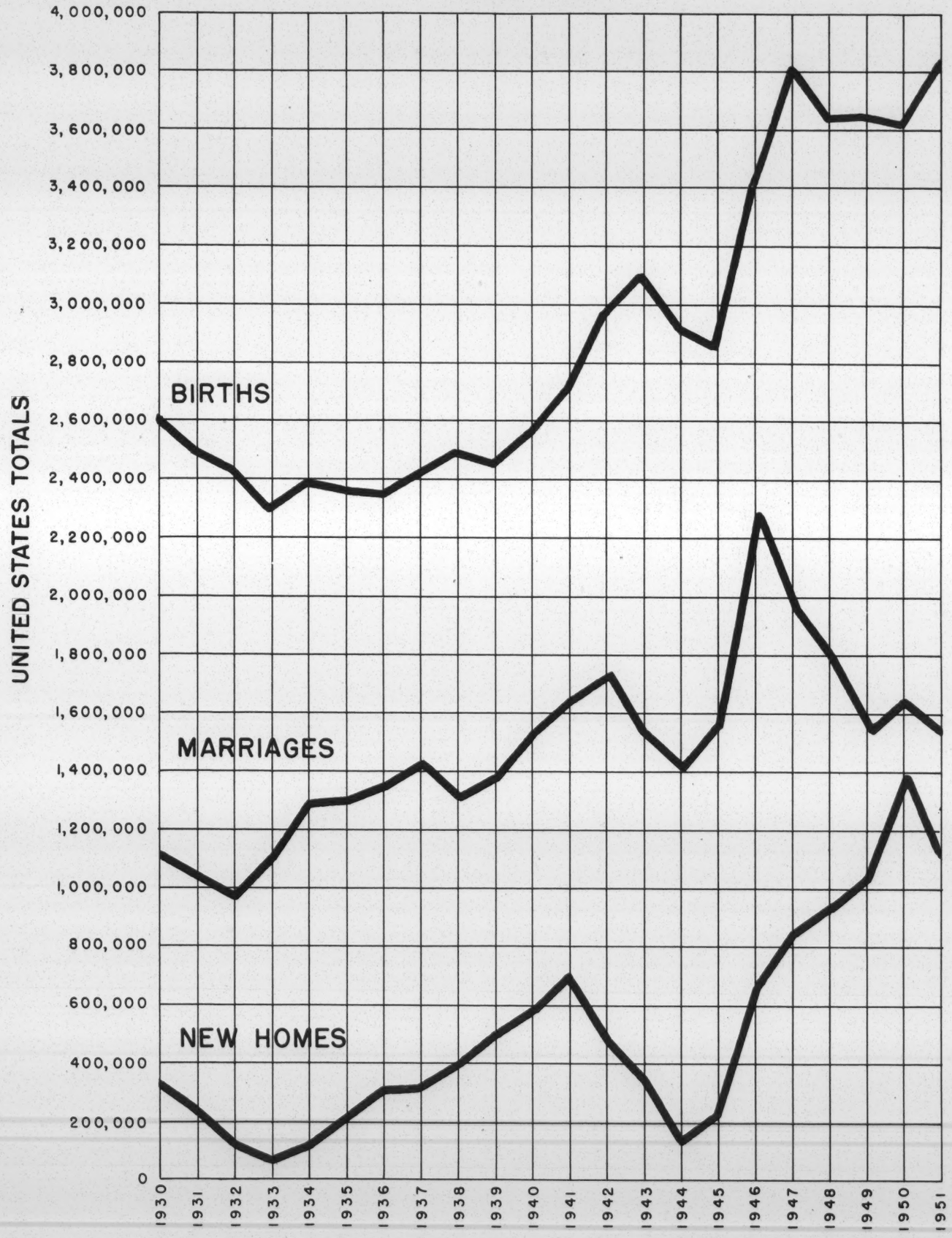
The number of marriages in the United States reached a peak in 1946, undoubtedly reflecting delays in marriages of young people due to the war. Subsequent years witnessed a continuing high marriage rate, although considerably below the 1946 peak.

The number of families has increased significantly in recent years, from an estimated 32,000,000 in 1940 to approximately 40,000,000 in 1951. Similarly, the size of the family has also increased.

People are getting married at an earlier age. The median age for first marriages for men was 24.6 years in 1920 and 22.6 years in 1951, while for women it was 21.2 in 1920 and 20.4 in 1951.

A greater percentage of the total population is now married than ever before. In 1940, 60 per cent of all persons sixteen years of age and over were married; in 1951, the percentage stood at 68.

TRENDS IN NUMBERS OF BIRTHS, MARRAGES AND NEW HOMES
1930–1951



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Educational Consultants

All this would indicate that the increase in the number of children which is occurring cannot be passed off as simply a temporary rise following the war.

New Homes

A surge in the construction of new homes occurred between 1936 and 1941, when it was halted by the war. A tremendous resurge began in 1944, with the count still high in 1952. The large number of new families which have been organized contributed much to this demand. Equally significant are decentralization of large urban centers, new locations for business and industry, and superhighways extending the radius of daily activity. New neighborhoods and new communities have been created where the demand for schools never before existed.

LOOKING WAY AHEAD

On the average, the parents of today's elementary school (K-6) children were born during the years from 1919 through 1925. During those years, there were 20,425,000 births, compared with today's enrollment of 17,110,000 pupils in kindergarten through sixth grade.

During the years from 1946 through 1952, there were 25,888,000 births - the parents of the children who will be in elementary school in 1979-80.

If high birth rates continue, by 1980 the elementary school enrollment will exceed 30,000,000, instead of today's 17,000,000. Even if the very low birth rate of the thirties should recur, the elementary school enrollment will, in all likelihood, exceed the present enrollment.

Every fact points to the vital need for long-range educational planning in all communities. Thus, the maximum use of facilities would be secured, financing ability would be conserved, and proper and orderly development to meet this staggering load of the future would be assured.

INDEX NUMBERS OF ENROLLMENT TRENDS

The table and graphs of index numbers provide a simple method of comparing your local enrollments with the national trend. The base year is 1940, with an index number of 100. Comparisons can be made by converting your enrollment figures into index numbers and plotting them on this graph.

Index numbers are obtained by dividing the enrollment figures for each year by the enrollment for 1940. By plotting these index figures, you can readily see whether your community is above or below the national norm. This may also give you some inkling of the trend that may be faced by your schools over the next few years. Even if you do not have kindergartens, these index numbers may be used with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

INDEX NUMBERS OF TRENDS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940-41 - 1969-70

Base: 1940 = 100

School Year	K-6	7-9	10-12	K-8	9-12	Total
1940-41	100	100	100	100	100	100
1941-42	98	97	96	98	95	97
1942-43	97	96	90	97	91	95
1943-44	95	93	81	95	83	92
1944-45	95	91	82	95	83	92
1945-46	96	89	83	95	84	92
1946-47	97	90	87	96	87	93
1947-48	100	90	84	99	84	94
1948-49	103	91	84	101	84	97
1949-50	106	94	84	105	85	99
1950-51	108	96	86	106	87	101
1951-52	110	98	88	108	88	103
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1953-54	122	102	92	119	93	112
1954-55	126	106	94	123	94	116
1955-56	129	112	96	127	97	119
1956-57	133	115	98	131	100	122
1957-58	139	113	102	134	105	126
1958-59	142	118	107	138	108	130
1959-60	142	127	110	142	107	133
1960-61	142	137	108	143	112	134
1961-62		140	113		120	
1962-63		138	123		125	
1963-64		140	131		131	
1964-65		143	134		133	
1965-66		146	132		133	
1966-67			134		135	
1967-68			137		137	
1968-69			140			
1969-70			141			

INDEX NUMBERS OF TRENDS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–41 – 1969 – 70

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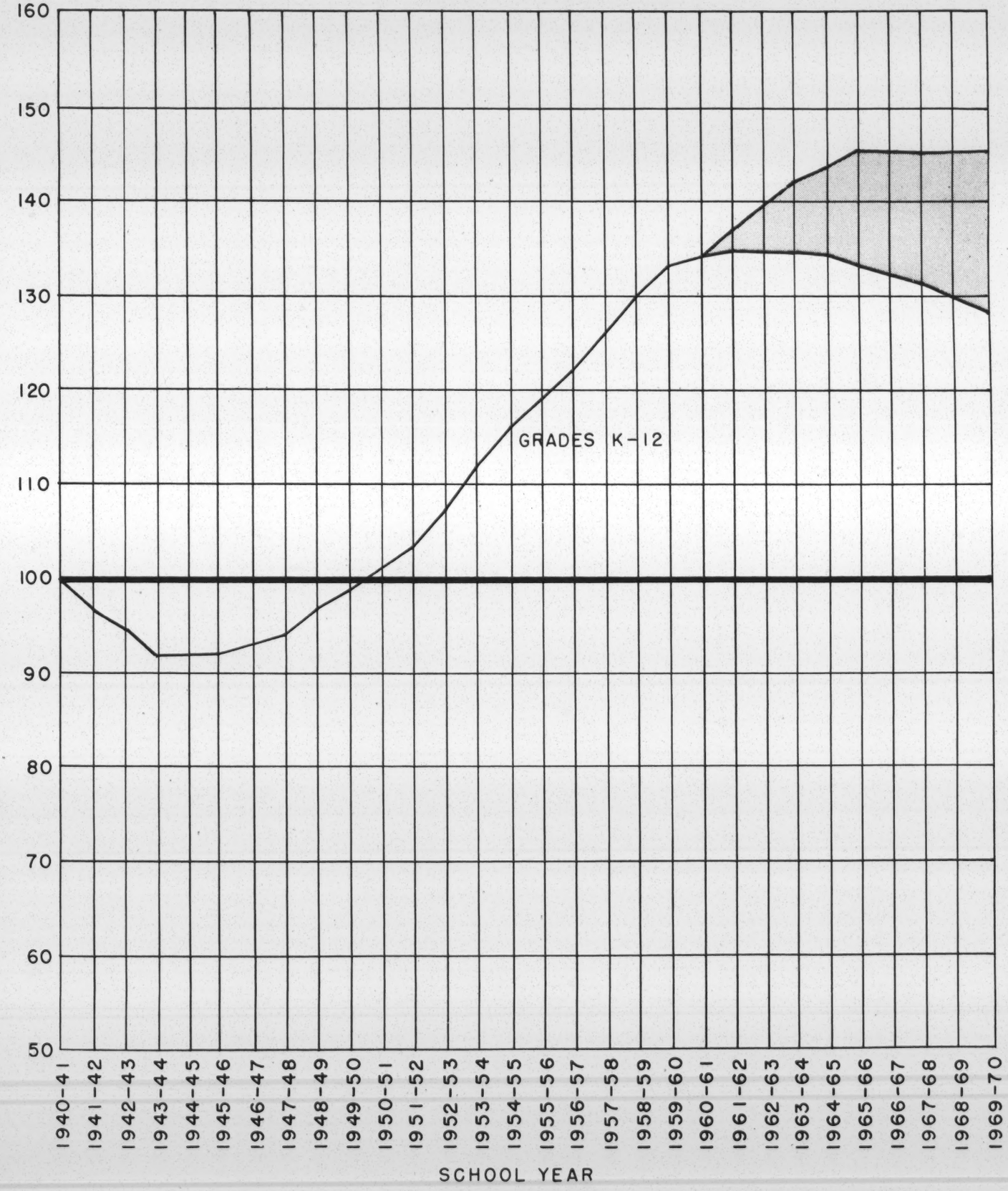

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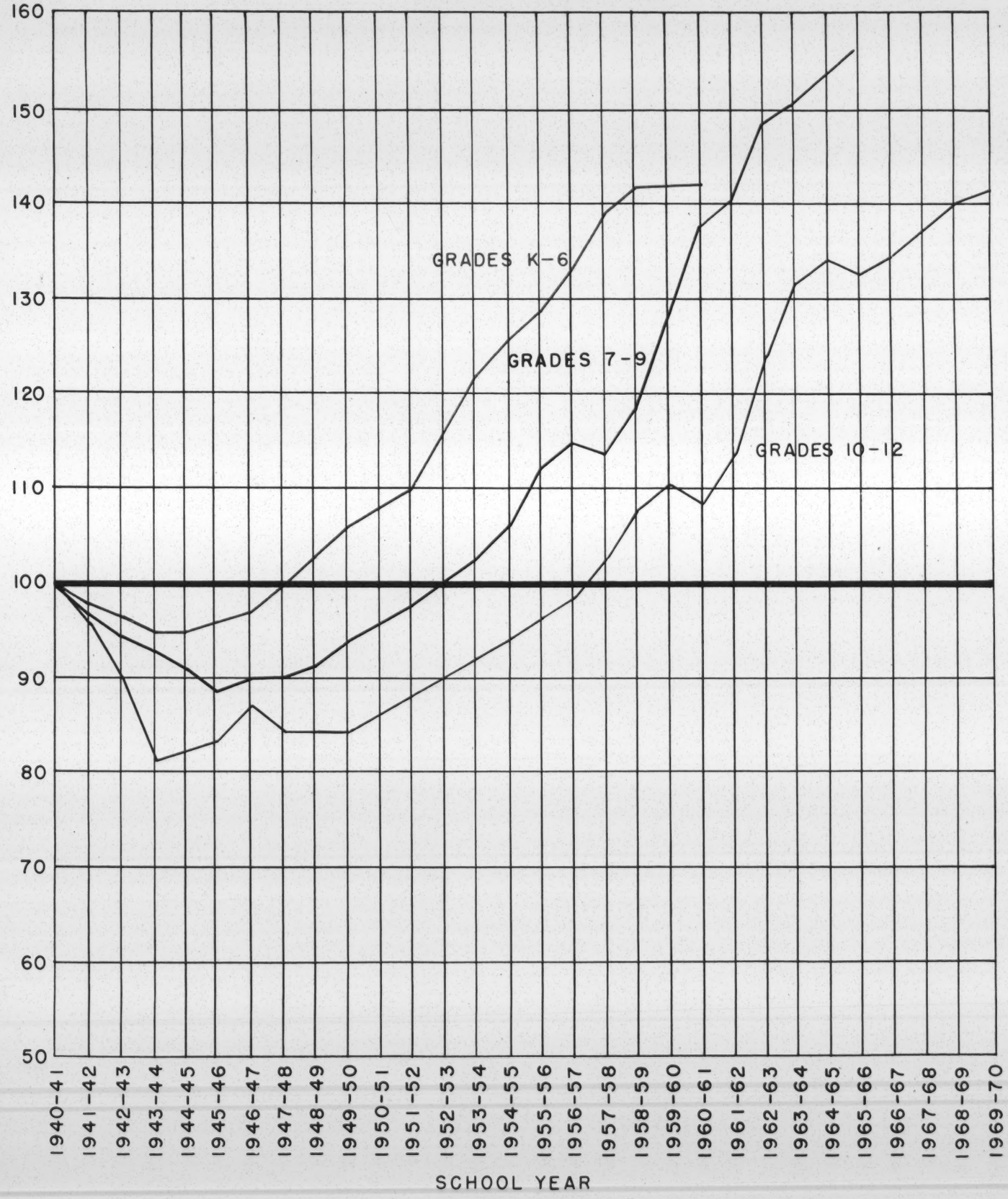
INDEX NUMBERS OF TRENDS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–41 – 1969 – 70

BASE : 1940 = 100



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Are L.A.'s Schoolteach

(Editor's Note: In keeping with its policy of going "behind" the news, The Mirror today begins a series of four articles on a poll of Los Angeles teachers. Purpose of the poll was to learn the teachers' state of mind and whether they feel the public schools are serving democracy.)

BY VERNON MACPHERSON and GEORGE KETZE
Mirror Staff Writers

More than half the political science and history teachers in Los Angeles high schools who answered a Mirror poll are "afraid to teach" because of recurrent uproars over "controversial subjects."

Teachers are afraid they'll be accused of being "leftwingers" if they try to lead classroom discussions on such topics as the New Deal, public housing, Sen. McCarthy and Communism.

They're afraid they'll lose their jobs.

They believe this fear of controversy stifles public education.

They believe knowledge of those subjects is essential to good citizenship and that their students are being cheated of this knowledge by fear.

Those are just a few of the conclusions reached in a Mirror poll of Los Angeles high school political science and history teachers.

The poll was an honest effort to prove or disprove charges that Los Angeles teachers are so browbeaten their students are being deprived of knowledge of the social and political world in which they live.

Two hundred and fifty questionnaires were sent out. The response was excellent, despite the fact that the poll concerned controversial matters and that teachers were asked to outline their reasons for answering as they did.

In publishing these comments, The Mirror has been careful to present a balanced view, with both sides of every question receiving fair representation.

Ten questions were asked, ranging from inquiries concerning teachers' fear of losing their jobs to whether they feel spied upon by loyalty investigators.

The answers received were illuminating, especially in view of charges by Robert Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, that American teachers are afraid blunt and forthright in their comments.

Here are some samples:

"Students certainly are being deprived. Few students are even conscious of the most important issues. It is just too dangerous for teachers to raise questions about which there is disagreement. We have seen acquaintances who were guilty of nothing but energetic good teaching attacked and discredited with no adequate means of defense.

"We have seen them cleared, and then penalized for having been accused. The best teachers are looking for other work if young, and most of us who plan to continue until retirement are being most careful.

"The inquisition is damaging through its paralyzing effect on the many teachers who fear unjust and damaging attacks on their deservedly good reputations."

Another teacher doesn't agree with that summing-up of the situation in local schools.

He wrote:

"The lack of freedom of teachers to teach in Los Angeles has been exaggerated by Dr. Hutchins' article in a recent issue of Look magazine. It is a disappointing contribution of half-truths and wild imaginings from an educator who should know better."

Here is a short, pithy No vote:

"It is entirely false for anyone to say that students are being deprived educationally."

One of the bitterest of the local uproars was about UNESCO, a U.N. agency whose announced purpose is the free exchange of knowledge among the nations of the world.

Russia has never joined UNESCO, but despite that it has been accused of being a Communist-infiltrated organization.

Pressure was brought to bear on the school board, which after a year of committee meetings and discussion, instructed teachers they could discuss UNESCO and the United Nations in current affairs but banned any organized U.N. or UNESCO teaching program as such.

such subjects as the New Deal, public housing, McCarthy and Communism.

More than 21% consider the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the 5th Amendment "dangerous" subjects for classroom discussion.

Sixty-seven per cent feel they shoulud be careful of subscribing to certain books and magazines and of attending meetings and joining organizations.

In general, teachers answering the poll felt that everyone, including parents, should be wary of joining organizations.

"Without question," one teacher wrote, "teachers feel they must be cautious about the books and magazines they subscribe to and the meetings or organizations they attend.

"Whether we like it or not, we are used as examples of conduct and we must keep this in mind. It is generally assumed that teachers do help direct mass thinking and we have been placed in the role of community leader. What we do, what we say, what books we read, where we go, are all made

that they won't be misinterpreted or misquoted and that they will get the message of open thinking and discussion across.

"Many teachers have reached the point where they consider it dangerous to confess there are still improvements to be made in our society."

A courageous teacher wrote:

"I try to handle controversial subjects honestly and frankly and let the chips fall where they may."

One teacher wrote he handles frankly such topics as the New Deal and public housing but "avoids any discussion of McCarthy or Communism."

"I feel this is prudent at the present time," he commented.

Another teacher disagrees:

"We can still discuss — and give FACTS—without fear of any problem with school administration or outside groups."

One teacher said he belongs to the Republican Party, the Americans for Democratic Action, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"I'm extremely circumspect about my opinions,"

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them up deliberately. Some students will approach the teacher and shyly ask if they may do a term paper on one of these 'controversial subjects.' This always gives the teacher the opportunity to ask, 'How else can you combat something if you do not know about it?' One boy didn't want the class to discuss anything about Communism he was so afraid of the subject."

A teacher wrote that only "fearful" instructors consider the Constitution and the Bill of Rights too dangerous to discuss.

"All history can be controversial," he wrote. "I teach about them quite frankly but am extremely careful that all sides are presented. I can remember losing a night's sleep because a father demanded to see me. In trying to decide what he was so irate about I decided it might be the statement in a recent exam which the boy had argued about. The statement was that 'Our colonial ancestors were somewhat radical.'

"As it happened, this was not what the father wanted, but I feared the situation due to misinterpretation of the word 'radical.'"

One last comment from a political science teacher:

"We still have permission in writing to handle these topics as long as we do not present one-sided (so it says) education. But frankly, the teachers who will not allow progressive points of view (criticism of the administration is an example) to be voiced in their classrooms are breaking the rules of the Course of Study, which still pays at least lip service to the idea of presenting all sides."

(Editor's Note: The Mirror polled 250 high school political science and history teachers to find out if Los Angeles teachers are afraid to teach. Here is the third report on results of this poll.

(In previous reports it was indicated more than half the teachers polled were convinced students are being cheated of essential knowledge by their teachers' fear of becoming the center of one of the recurrent community "storms" over controversial subjects.

(Today we tackle loyalty oaths, fear of school spies and the so-called "atmosphere of inquisition.")

loyal to the United States and are glad to make public their declaration of loyalty. There is somewhat more concern about the legality of the Dilworth Act. This kind of legislation is felt by many to be a possible forerunner of complete academic dictation."

Here is another view:

"My opinion is that if one has a skeleton in his closet that he doesn't want exposed that person will fear loyalty oaths and the Dilworth Act."

A final opinion on loyalty oaths:

"I know a great many teachers. I know of none who is disloyal to the nation, the Constitution or the country in any sense. I know no Communists, although I have listened carefully in order to find one.

"I don't believe there is a Communist movement of any power whatever in America, and am not afraid of the few that exist. I affirm my belief in America and believe that it did not become the great nation it is by being afraid of its own —or any other—shadow. The hysteria is entirely uncalled for and has no basis in fact."

These are some typical comments on Question No. 8, asking if teachers fear being spied upon:

"No. Except those who fear being exposed because of their relations with subversive groups."

Another:

"I don't think so. I have never heard this said."

And:

"I don't know. But I suppose we ought to, for when we are called up before a committee we are given no chance to defend ourselves because we are not actually accused of any 'acts.' It is only that they (the committee) do not like what they think we are thinking."

And again:

"They definitely are spied upon. I know of one teacher who was taken to task because she read the interview between Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin to her class. This interview was in 1774 or 1775."

This teacher hints he fears spies among other teachers:

"Certainly it is not wise to speak frankly about controversial subjects in the

The School Board's policy on classroom presentation of controversial subjects is in urgent need of restatement.

That's the most important single conclusion from The Mirror poll of Los Angeles high school political science and history teachers.

Results of the poll's 10 questions are summarized in another story today.

Many teachers who tried to assess the blame for the atmosphere of fear disclosed by the poll said it was the fault of the Board of Education for not making its policies clear.

They said the board should restate its policies so that every teacher will understand the board has not tried to limit or ban discussion of controversial subjects but merely to make sure those subjects are presented "factually and impartially."

Others who blamed misunderstanding of official policy included two members of the School Board itself.

Harry Hillman, the member of the board who is known as its "economy watchdog," had this to say:

"It is shocking that 21% of the teachers polled consider the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and the 5th Amendment dangerous subjects for classroom discussion.

"If these teachers answered candidly it is an indictment of principals and vice-principals who have failed to make the teachers understand the board's policy, which is to permit factual presentation and to discourage extremist teachers from indoctrinating students' minds with their own viewpoints.

"I wouldn't mind if Malenkov taught my children about Communism," Hillman said, "because they'd know who he was and what he stood for. But I'd be afraid to have them taught by an American teacher who was a Communist."

Paul Burke, another member of the board and its former president, said The Mirror poll was a "startling vote of lack of confidence in the board."

Burke said he will move at tonight's School Board meeting

press only for their own point of view.

"The teacher is on the firing line and receives much of this pressure," she said.

"The majority of the PTA membership, along with other responsible community groups, believes that teachers should be free and duty-bound to present all sides of an issue."

Booth Woodruff, East Los Angeles Junior College teacher and president of the Affiliated Teachers Organizations of Los Angeles, agreed that the Board of Education policies have been misinterpreted.

"It would be a good thing if the board would restate its policy on controversial subjects, reassuring teachers that it does not intend to curb free classroom discussion," he said.

"If The Mirror poll makes the board conscious of this need it is to be commended," he added.

Mrs. David Menkin, president of the League of Women Voters, said:

"We're concerned that there are indications that the board's policies are not understood.

"The Mirror has done a fine public service in bringing to the citizens of the community the facts on existing attitudes and the need for understanding of the board's policies."

Joseph Scott, prominent Catholic layman, said:

"I am sorry if there is any such thing as timidity and cowardice in the faculties of our schools. I have no hesitation in saying that if there is any feeling of alien philosophy and contempt for American independence among shool-teachers we had better clean house."

The Mirror asked Dr. Hugh C. Willett, president of the board, and Dr. Alexander Stoddard, Superintendent of Schools, for comment.

In publishing these comments, The Mirror has been careful to present a balanced view, with both sides of every question receiving fair representation.

Ten questions were asked, ranging from inquiries concerning teachers' fear of losing their jobs to whether they feel spied upon by loyalty investigators.

The answers received were illuminating, especially in view of charges by Robert Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, that American teachers are afraid to discuss the political facts of life.

Whether you're Republican or Democrat, anti-McCarthy or pro-McCarthy, for public housing or against it, there are certain political facts of life to which you can agree.

They are the facts that confront all of us who live in the Atomic Age.

There's the frightening but undeniable fact, for example, that the United States and Russia each have the atomic power to destroy the other.

There's the sobering fact that a way must be found to make the present precarious peace a stable and lasting one if many of us are not to die in atomic dust and flames.

And there's the inescapable fact that how these problems are resolved depends a great deal on the attitudes of Americans who are still in school.

Nobody can argue with those political facts.

That's why charges that our children are being educated in a political vacuum in which they learn little or nothing about these facts are so important.

It was those charges The Mirror set out to disprove or prove by questioning Los Angeles political science and history teachers.

Here are the first three questions and the percentage results:

1—Are Los Angeles pupils being deprived educationally as a result of the uproar locally about controversial issues or as a result of the Board of Education's policy on teaching about the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization?

Yes	54½%
No	45½%

2—Do you feel as free as you did five or 10 years ago to discuss thoroughly and frankly in your classes all phases of social studies, history, geography, political science and international relations?

No	53%
Yes	47%

3—Does fear for their jobs or professional standings cause teachers to be cautious about or to shy away from complete classroom presentation of any subjects, including so-called "controversial subjects"?

Yes	55½%
No	44½%

The teachers who criticized or defended the way Los Angeles students are taught were

nounced purpose is the free exchange of knowledge among the nations of the world.

Russia has never joined UNESCO, but despite that it has been accused of being a Communist-infiltrated organization.

Pressure was brought to bear on the school board, which after a year of committee meetings and discussion, instructed teachers they could discuss UNESCO and the United Nations in current affairs but banned any organized U.N. or UNESCO teaching program as such.

This is what one teacher wrote about that policy:

"As I understand it, we may no longer teach a unit of study on the United Nations, but we may give and discuss factual information on the United Nations as the occasion presents itself. This policy has resulted in students being nearly in complete ignorance of the United Nations and its agencies. So long as we are in it, we should study it."

Another teacher wrote of that policy:

"A lot of hogwash! The students are deprived of everything but how to prepare for power politics and war."

Still another who answered "No," declared:

"Students may be deprived of the left-wing emphasis on UNESCO. The United Nations themselves are as foreign to the American way of life as can be. It is anti-Christian, conceived by Russian agents, and midwifed by extreme Socialists."

One teacher said he definitely was not afraid of losing his job.

"I think the only fear or hysteria to be found in local educational circles is among the 'pinkos,' crypto-Communists, and their friends."

According to this particular teacher, half the political science and history teachers in the Los Angeles schools are pinkos, crypto-Communists and fellow travelers.

Another teacher is brave: "When a controversial question arises in the classroom I discuss it even though I am aware of the possible consequences. If the teacher fears to lose his job he will have little to offer in the way of constructive thinking."

This teacher evidently takes seriously a statement in Point of View, a pamphlet issued by the Board of Education, telling what city schools stand for.

On Page 33, under "Factors That Promote Learning," the school board-sponsored booklet says:

"A varied, healthful, and thought-provoking classroom environment is provided."

And there's this opinion, from a teacher who apparently believes the school board doesn't mean what it says:

"Any young person who chooses to teach under conditions obtaining in Los Angeles, or under any system that may be run according to the policies of the present board, is either ignorant, devoid of dignity, or a willing slave."

Forty per cent of Los Angeles high school political science and history teachers polled by The Mirror say they are afraid to discuss frankly

wary of joining organizations.

"Without question," one teacher wrote, "teachers feel they must be cautious about the books and magazines they subscribe to and the meetings or organizations they attend.

"Whether we like it or not, we are used as examples of conduct and we must keep this in mind. It is generally assumed that teachers do help direct mass thinking and we have been placed in the role of community leader. What we do, what we say, what books we read, where we go, are all made matters of public interest. This is not a new development. It is as old as our profession."

Many teachers felt that in asking whether the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the 5th Amendment are considered dangerous topics for classroom discussion, distinction should be made among the three.

They felt that almost no teacher would hesitate to discuss the Constitution, a few would avoid discussing the Bill of Rights, but considerably more would steer discussion away from the 5th Amendment.

They also felt that only a few teachers would avoid classroom discussion of the New Deal or public housing, but that more would shy away from the subject of Sen. McCarthy and still more from Communism.

This opinion was expressed despite a school system directive that the study of current problems should be based on the understanding of "totalitarian ideas and methods that are contrary to American democracy."

Yesterday's answers to Questions 1, 2 and 3 indicated that more than half of the teachers polled were "afraid to teach" in general. But when we got down to specific examples in Questions 4, 5 and 6, a majority felt free to teach certain specified "controversial" subjects.

Here is the breakdown of answers to Questions 4, 5 and 6:

4—Do teachers feel they should be cautious about subscribing to certain books and magazines and about attending meetings or joining organizations?

Yes:	**67%**
No:	**33%**

5—Are the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the 5th Amendment considered dangerous classroom discussion topics because of teachers' fear that their opinions will be misinterpreted?

Yes:	**21½%**
No:	**78½%**

6—Do you avoid or handle frankly such topics as the New Deal, public housing, Sen. McCarthy, and Communism?

Handle such topics frankly: 60%.

Avoid such topics: 40%.

Here are some teachers' comments on these questions:

"I don't avoid such topics but I discuss them with fear and trepidation. It is unfortunate for the students who are being educated during this 'phase.' But I believe there is still a lot of good teaching going on by teachers who have a silent prayer in their hearts

frankly such topics as the New Deal and public housing but "avoids any discussion of McCarthy or Communism."

"I feel this is prudent at the present time," he commented.

Another teacher disagrees:

"We can still discuss — and give FACTS—without fear of any problem with school administration or outside groups."

One teacher said he belongs to the Republican Party, the Americans for Democratic Action, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"I'm extremely circumspect about my opinions," this teacher wrote. "I belong to the ADA and the ACLU mainly to support necessary dissident groups."

Far from considering the Constitution and the Bill of Rights "dangerous" topics, this teacher said he feels they are "must" topics for classroom discussion.

"Where else is an immature student going to get the chance to see both sides of an issue?" he commented.

Some teachers still "dare" to teach about the Bill of Rights and the 5th Amendment, one political science teacher wrote.

"Some still dare but most have become very guarded about them and would not discuss freely the use of the 5th Amendment in evading the answering of questions."

A history teacher thinks conditions have changed recently:

"Until the narrow-minded McCarthy began his use of the term '5th Amendment Communist,' I'd have said the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and the 5th Amendment were not dangerous subjects. I think McCarthy has hurt the Republican Party tremendously by failing to uphold the dignity of the Constitution."

This teacher said he is a Republican.

It was indicated in a couple of comments that teachers who consider themselves "conservative" feel "safer" than those who do not.

For instance, one teacher wrote she felt freer now than she had since 1932.

"For 20 years I did not dare even to question the validity, legality or wisdom of the activities of the administrations."

In answering Questions 4, 5 and 6, this teacher commented she was not careful of the magazines she subscribed to, of the organizations she joined, that she handled frankly such subjects as the New Deal, public housing, McCarthy and Communism, and that she did not consider the 5th Amendment, the Bill of Rights or the Constitution "dangerous" subjects.

Another teacher wrote:

"In my classes the topics you mention are handled. We meet them head on. I encourage students to give frank opinions. The pure light of truth is the best tonic for growing minds. Whenever we seem uncertain of our ground we end the discussion until we have more facts."

Here is an interesting comment:

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Angeles teachers are afraid to teach. Here is the third report on results of this poll.

(In previous reports it was indicated more than half the teachers polled were convinced students are being cheated of essential knowledge by their teachers' fear of becoming the center of one of the recurrent community "storms" over controversial subjects.

(Today we tackle loyalty oaths, fear of school spies and the so-called "atmosphere of inquisition.")

BY VERNON MACPHERSON AND GEORGE GETZE
Mirror Staff Writers

The overwhelming majority of Los Angeles political science and history teachers are willing to take loyalty oaths but resent teachers being singled out as an untrustworthy group.

The big majority also feels loyalty oaths are ineffective since Communists and other disloyal persons will swear to their undying loyalty to the United States "without blinking an eye."

All who took their stand against loyalty oaths did so because of these two objections, not because they are disloyal.

This is the breakdown for the last four questions in The Mirror's poll, Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10:

7—How do teachers feel about loyalty oaths and the Dilworth Act? (The Dilworth Act empowers school boards to fire teachers who refuse to answer board questions about Communist Party membership.)

Accept loyalty oaths: 91%
Reject loyalty oaths: 9%

8—Do teachers fear being spied upon by loyalty investigators?

No: 83%
Yes: 17%

9—Do teachers feel there is presently an atmosphere of inquisition in the local school administration?

No: 62%
Yes: 38%

10—Are teachers in Los Angeles afraid to teach in the manner which they, as trained educators, feel they should teach to best educate our children?

Yes: 51%
No: 49%

Here are their comments on No. 7:

"I feel that no loyalty oath will make an American patriot. If I were a Communist I'd be among the first to sign up."

Another:

"Most teachers I talk to feel oaths are not necessary. If a person is a Commie he won't hesitate to swear."

Another:

"Some teachers resent their loyalty being questioned. Some feel that anyone not loyal would not hesitate to sign to cover his disloyalty. Some feel the oaths infringe on their civil liberties. Personally, I don't see why anyone should object. They are just opportunities of proudly reaffirming one's allegiance."

One political science teacher writes:

"Most teachers have no compunction about signing loyalty oaths. All teachers I have known are completely ly accused of any 'acts.' It is only that they (the committee) do not like what they think we are thinking."

And again:

"They definitely are spied upon. I know of one teacher who was taken to task because she read the interview between Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin to her class. This interview was in 1774 or 1775."

This teacher hints he fears spies among other teachers:

"Certainly it is not wise to speak frankly about controversial subjects in the classroom, outside with the pupils, or even outside with other teachers," he wrote.

Concerning Question No. 9, the "atmosphere of inquisition," there are these opinions:

"I can speak only for myself. I feel the present school administration is unfair to teachers. The independent teacher using her own judgment as a guide has no place in this school system."

Another:

"There is no such atmosphere in the administration but well-meaning pressure groups have certainly made life miserable for the administration and teachers by seizing on isolated events and blowing them up out of all proportion to their importance."

And another:

"No, but there is a feeling the board is not very courageous in facing the critics of our schools.

On Question 10, which asked if teachers are afraid to teach the way they have been trained, the poll brought forth these comments:

"Many are. Also we cannot do our best job under the constant strain of being misinterpreted."

Another:

"Poorly informed, one-sided teachers are NOT concerned. They are teaching just as they always have and no one is bothering them one minute! They are being promoted, getting praise, they're doing all right! The inquisition is not after them. It is after the teacher who believes that all sides of a question should be aired so that children can learn to think honestly."

Another comment:

"It is only within a few specific and controversial areas that definite restrictions are felt. I don't believe these restrictions are having the effect of interfering with the basic education of the children of our city to any degree."

And:

"I'd say yes. Since the ban on the teaching of UNESCO we don't know what's coming next."

This series of articles was published as a public service feature March 22-25, 1954

kov taught my children about Communism," Hillman said, "because they'd know who he was and what he stood for. But I'd be afraid to have them taught by an American teacher who was a Communist."

Paul Burke, another member of the board and its former president, said The Mirror poll was a "startling vote of lack of confidence in the board."

Burke said he will move at tonight's School Board meeting that the board's policy toward controversial subjects be clarified and restated.

Another member of the board, Mrs. Edith Stafford, accused The Mirror of "loading" the questions asked in the poll "to imply that fear results from the board's actions."

She defended the board's official policy statements, saying they were intended "to open up freedom in the classroom and not to stifle it."

Mrs. Robert Beasley, chairman of the School Relations Committee of the 10th District Parent-Teachers Association, pointed out that in these "anxious times" misunderstanding is "manipulated" by those who

Joseph Scott, prominent Catholic layman, said:

"I am sorry if there is any such thing as timidity and cowardice in the faculties of our schools. I have no hesitation in saying that if there is any feeling of alien philosophy and contempt for American independence among shoolteachers we had better clean house."

The Mirror asked Dr. Hugh C. Willett, president of the board, and Dr. Alexander Stoddard, Superintendent of Schools, for comment.

"I don't wish to comment," Willett said. "I'd appreciate it if you would leave the board out of this discussion."

Stoddard said: "It's very interesting."

Richard Graves, Democratic candidate for Governor, said he has been concerned for some time that the minds or tongues of "loyal, dedicated teachers are being fettered."

"The danger strikes at our children," Graves said. "Children who are deprived of open classroom discussion of important topics, just because someone thinks they are 'controversial,' are not being educated to become intelligent, reasoning adults in a free democracy."

Results of Mirror Poll: There IS Fear in Schools

Here are the results of the 10 questions The Mirror asked 250 Los Angeles high school political science and history teachers:

1—Are L.A. pupils being deprived educationally as a result of the uproar about controversial issues or as a result of the Board of Education's policy on teaching about the U.N. and UNESCO?

Yes: **54½%**
No: **45½%**

2—Do you feel as free as you did five or 10 years ago to discuss thoroughly and frankly in your classes all phases of social studies, history, geography, political science and international relations?

No: **53%**
Yes: **47%**

3—Does fear for their jobs cause teachers to be cautious about or to shy from complete classroom presentation of any subjects, including so-called "controversial issues"?

Yes: **55½%**
No: **44½%**

4—Do teachers feel they should be cautious about subscribing to certain books and magazines and about attending meetings or joining organizations?

Yes: **67%**
No: **33%**

5—Are the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the 5th Amendment considered dangerous classroom discussion topics because of teachers' fear that their opinions will be misinterpreted?

No: **78½%**
Yes: **21½%**

6—Do you avoid or handle frankly such topics as the New Deal, public housing, Sen. McCarthy and Communism?

Handle frankly: **60%**
Avoid: **40%**

7—How do teachers feel about loyalty oaths and the Dilworth Act?

Accept **91%**
Reject **9%**

8—Do teachers fear being spied upon by loyalty investigators?

No: **83%**
Yes: **17%**

9—Do teachers feel there is an atmosphere of inquistion in the local school administration?

No: **62%**
Yes: **38%**

10—Are teachers in Los Angeles afraid to teach in the manner which they feel will best educate our children?

Yes: **51%**
No: **49%**

Exclusively in THE MIRROR, Los Angeles

Education, Gen.

If We Fail the Schools . . .

Pamphlet No. 245—Reprinted from March 1954, Economic Outlook.

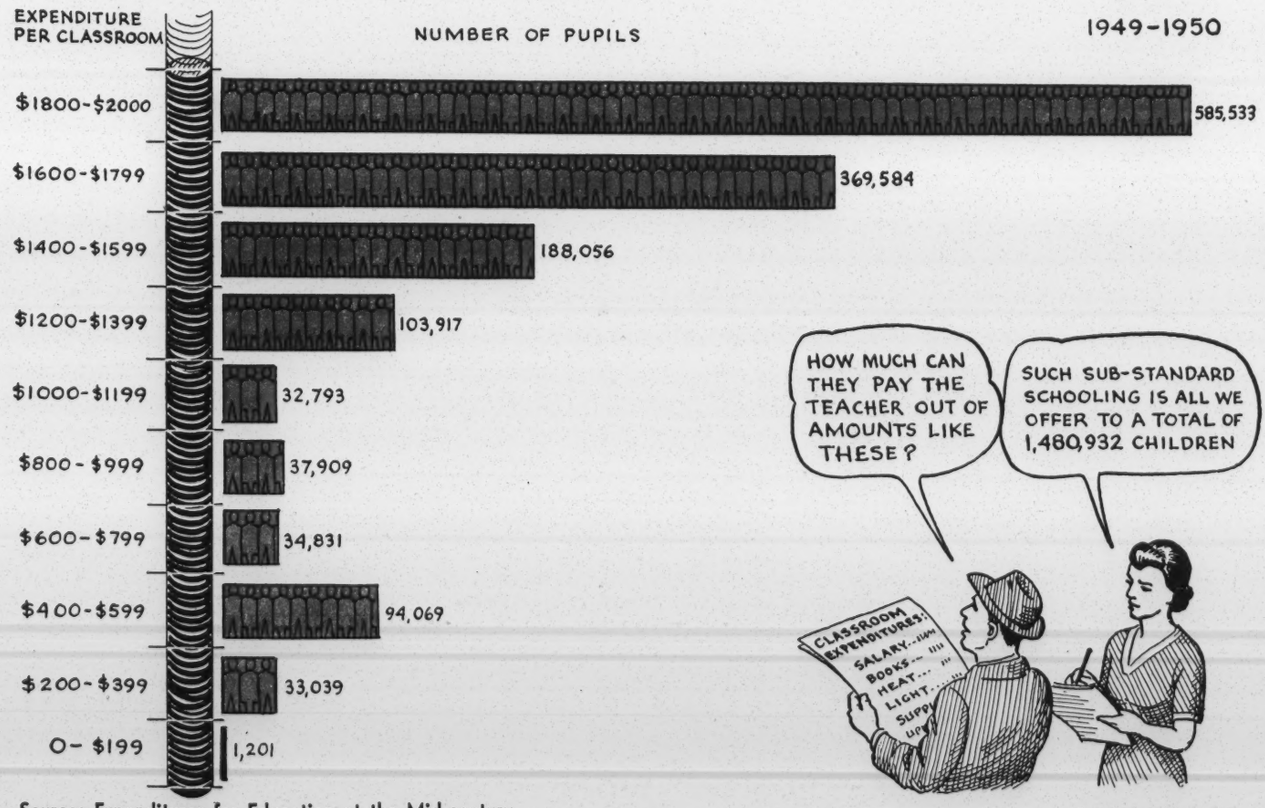
"If the schools fail because we fail the schools, none of us, rich or poor, will be able to buy our way out of the century we live in or out of the challenge it offers. That challenge is to make democracy work and to make democracy possible, not just in a privileged and barricaded corner of the world but in all the underdeveloped and underprivileged sectors—wherever, in short, democracy's promise has too far outrun its performance."

—CIO President Walter P. Reuther, in National Parent-Teacher, April, 1953

Who Pays When Public Schools Are Neglected? The answer is we all do. We can't put a price tag on the whole cost, but we pay it just the same. We pay it in the cost of crime, especially, juvenile crime; we pay it in wasted and unproductive lives of men and women whose talents might have been brought out by proper schooling; we pay it in Selective Service rejections for inability to read and write. Neglected public schools are like a neglected car which keeps on running, perhaps a little balky at times, but it runs. Sooner or later it quits running, and a major repair job becomes necessary. That's the way it is with our schools. They're staying open. Our kids are going to them, and in many cases they are getting a fine education, but in too, too many cases they are not. The situation is critical: classrooms are crowded beyond capacity; teachers are hard to get, and even harder to keep; building and teacher shortages

Children Getting Poor Education—

attending classrooms supported at less than $2000 a year



Source: Expenditures for Education at the Mid-century

Economic Outlook, CIO.

that have plagued the elementary schools are now moving in on the high schools.

Slowly, too slowly in fact, we are waking up to the needs of our schools. We are voting bond issues and school tax increases to pay for buildings and operating costs; but we are not catching up on the ground lost during the depression years and the war years that followed. Our children can't wait while the painful process of obtaining state and local funds for schools takes place. The effects of neglected schools spill over city lines and state lines. Shortages of school buildings and teachers are a national problem; and this calls for immediate action by the national government to close the gap between what states and communities can do and what must be done now to assure each child the school he deserves.

For a long time CIO groups have recognized this crisis in U. S. education and have worked with many other citizens' groups toward the goal of better schools for the nation's children. CIO has fought for general federal aid to education and for federal aid to school construction. And CIO has published many pamphlets on this problem which have been widely distributed. In its one-week summer schools, CIO and its affiliated unions have featured discussions on school problems led by such outstanding authorities as Willard Goslin.

CIO councils and unions have been active in their state legislatures, fighting for increases in state aid, higher minimum salaries for teachers, and state aid for school construction.

Local CIO groups have been taking an increased and active interest in school board elections and are concerned about unwarranted attacks on our public schools. Recently, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where a member of the United Steelworkers is on the school board, the CIO led a fight for increased funds for schools, which was defeated.

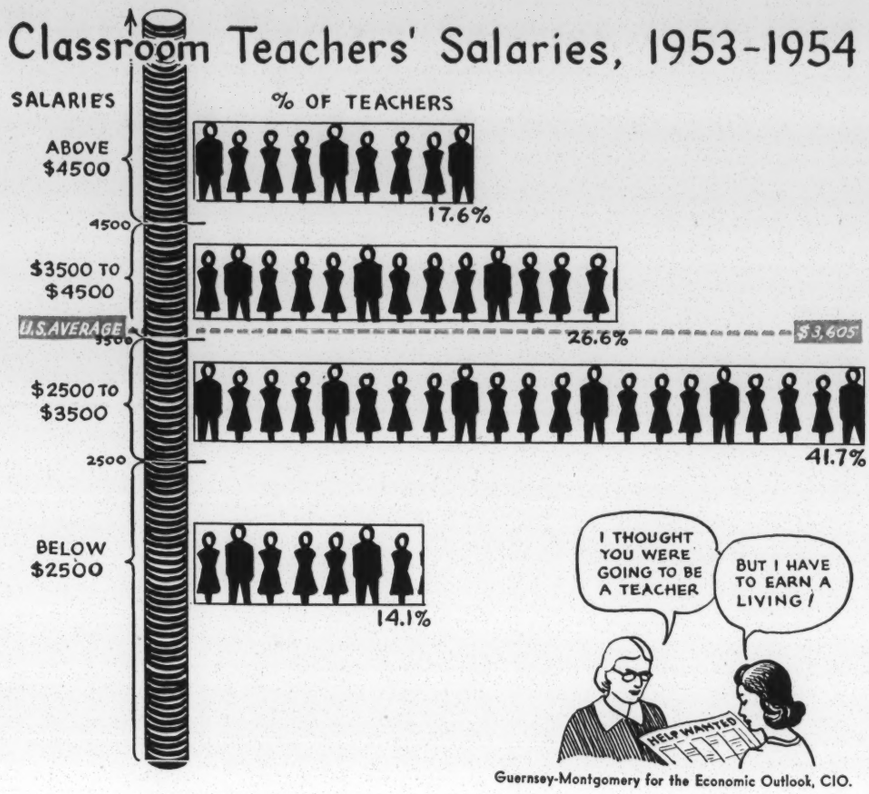
Why Shortages? Right after World War II experts began telling us that our schools were going to be overcrowded within a few years when the children born during the war started making their way up through the elementary grades. Nobody paid much attention to them, but, sure enough, by 1949 the predictions began to come true. Nevertheless, many communities made little, if any, attempt to raise the money needed to build new school buildings or to hire additional teachers. In some cases, they couldn't have raised the money if they had wanted to, but in many other cases, school board elections or special tax levies were defeated by the argument that "this overcrowding is only temporary, and we shouldn't build a lot of school buildings which we won't need in a few years." How wrong they were! Even the experts were fooled, because the number of children born in this country did not decrease after World War II as had been expected. After making a slight dip in 1949, the number of children born surged upward until in 1952 we reached a peak of 3,889,000 children born in that year, an unprecedented record for this country. Even now, there is no sign of a downturn in population growth.

The children who were born in the early 1940's began pouring into our schools in September 1947. In 1951, an enrollment of 26,693,000 children surpassed, for the first time in almost two decades, the previous peak enrollment of 26,434,000 children in 1933. Our present public school enrollment is estimated at 29.6 million. By 1959 this will have jumped to 36.3 million, an increase of approximately one million children a year. High school enrollments, which have remained fairly steady in the last several years, are going to increase rapidly between now and 1960 as children born in the 1940's become teenagers.

The fact that there are more children in school now than there were five years ago and that millions more are scheduled to enroll between now and 1960 shows an obvious and imperative need for more teachers to take care of new classes as they are formed, and for more classrooms.

Teacher Shortage. Because of enrollment increases and overcrowding we need at least 40,000 new teachers a year. This is the number needed to provide one teacher for every 30 pupils coming into our schools. At present, most of these teachers are needed in elementary schools, but we are only graduating from our colleges 35,000 persons a year qualified to teach in elementary schools. Moreover, each year at least 75,000 teachers leave the profession, so that replacements for them must be found, in addition to hiring new teachers. The annual loss of persons from the teaching profession is between 8 and 10 percent of the total teaching force. Furthermore, there are at present teaching in our schools approximately 70,000 teachers who hold temporary or emergency certificates indicating that they are not fully qualified for their work. If an attempt were made to replace even half of these teachers with persons fully qualified the annual demand for teachers would be in the neighborhood of 150,000. Putting this against a maximum supply from our colleges of not over 90,000 persons qualified to teach in grade schools or high schools shows how serious the situation is.

School boards and superintendents, desperate for teachers, adopt a variety of shortcuts. One is to increase classroom loads so that an individual teacher handles, not 30 children in a classroom, but 40 or 50. Needless to say, overloading of



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

teachers is one of the principal reasons why they leave the profession. If the stretchout system doesn't work then local school boards and superintendents resort to hiring persons not qualified to teach or only partly qualified to teach.

When we consider that the average salary of teachers for 1953-54 is $3,605 a year it is small wonder that we can't attract young people to teaching or keep them in the classroom for more than a few years. If we want teachers who are college graduates then we have to pay them salaries such as they might get in other jobs which are open to college graduates. Look at the table of teachers' salaries (column 3, page 20) and ask yourself if you would care to spend 6 hours a day with 40 lively youngsters plus another 6 hours of paper work, attending meetings, and other out of class duties, all for the magnificent sum of what the teachers in your state are paid.

Building Shortage. Early in 1954, in upper New York State 14 sixth graders burned to death in a frame "temporary" classroom attached to a permanent fire-proof building. The story made national headlines, but what didn't make the headlines is the fact that one out of every five children in the United States is housed in a building that doesn't meet minimum fire safety standards. Another 6 percent of our children are in buildings that are rated "possibly acceptable" for fire safety. This includes one-story buildings not otherwise fireproof. The building that snuffed out the lives of 14 children was such a building.

In 1949, CIO, with many other groups, supported Senator Hubert Humphrey's move for a real federal aid program for school construction which would have allocated $3 billion over a five-year period, partly on the basis of need, to help the states meet their school construction problems. Support for Title 1 of this bill resulted in Congress' appropriating $3 million for grants to the states through the U. S. Office of Education for a survey of school construction needs.[1]

The survey shows according to the U. S. Office of Education 47 percent of all school buildings in 1951 were over 30 years old. Also reported was the fact that 39 percent of all classrooms have more than 30 pupils in them. This same survey found that 33 percent of our school buildings are unsatisfactory in terms of structure or location, safety and sanitation. Approximately 1 out of 5 school children are housed in buildings rated as unsatisfactory.

Obviously we need school buildings to replace unsafe and unsatisfactory buildings. What's more we need additional classrooms and buildings to house the enrollment increase and to relieve overcrowding in otherwise satisfactory buildings. As of September 1952 the 43 states taking part in the national school facilities survey of the U. S. Office of Education reported that they needed to build 245,417 classrooms for these purposes:

73,421 to relieve overcrowding

45,816 to house the enrollment increase through September 1952

126,680 to replace obsolete buildings.

The cost for these 43 states alone would have been $8.3 billion. Actual school construction in *all* the states and territories in 1952-53 amounted to $2 billion. Obviously we didn't even begin to meet our school building needs that year. So while our states and localities try to find the money to build schools, often over the protests

[1] See **Report of the Status Phase of the School Facilities Survey** (70¢), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

CHECK YOUR STATE ON THESE TABLES. HOW GOOD ARE YOUR SCHOOLS?

State	1 Current Expense Per Pupil 1953-54	2 Median Expenditure per Classroom Unit 1952-53	3 Teachers Average Salary 1953-54	4 Percent of Income Spent on Schools 1950-51	5 Income Per Capita 1952	6 Income per Child of School Age 1952	7 Percent of Aid from State Funds 1953-54	8 Amount Required To Raise All Classroom Expenditures to U. S. Median 1953-54	9 Number of Teachers Refusing Jobs 1952-53	10 Current School Construction Funds 1953-54	11 Amount (Est.) by States to Give Away in Oil Leases	12 Percent Inferior Schools Estimated
United States	$247	$4,391	$3,605	2.27%	$1,639	$7,712	37.3%	$633,384,946	.....	§ $10,566,213,639	.....	16.4%
Alabama	112	2,059	2,610	2.69	1,012	3,795	73.6	55,705,650	58.19%	289,529,007	$203,300,000	39.2
Arizona	292	5,246	3,850	3.39	1,498	6,071	29.6	731,648	11.87	44,188,396	45,200,000	15.2
Arkansas	115	2,029	*2,035	2.44	951	3,711	58.0	34,105,406	45.63	256,871,393	124,300,000	39.2
California	323	5,830	*4,800	2.36	2,032	10,801	49.1	3,268,052	29.58	1,169,362,000	.....	7.1
Colorado	292	4,380	3,500	2.37	1,618	7,669	18.9	4,166,910	18.36	124,824,500	71,000,000	8.1
Connecticut	265	5,643	4,000	1.89	2,080	10,883	16.4	256,594	22.10	134,237,734	94,400,000	9.1
Delaware	*315	4,936	4,213	1.92	2,260	10,914	*84.8	186,943	12.35	22,491,945	16,100,000	14.6
Florida	214	4,072	3,600	2.38	1,319	6,458	51.2	8,108,902	31.64	208,547,549	.....	28.3
Georgia	177	2,536	2,720	2.31	1,137	4,528	72.6	41,316,473	50.47	237,670,199	200,600,000	30.2
Idaho	*215	3,572	3,330	2.83	1,438	5,905	*24.2	3,595,952	**	**	37,900,000	3.3
Illinois	293	6,215	*4,015	1.92	1,983	10,304	12.1	11,098,381	33.33	412,773,095	422,800,000	5.2
Indiana	*252	4,626	*3,785	2.36	1,685	7,914	*38.0	10,024,220	29.60	257,353,000	210,600,000	7.0
Iowa	295	4,296	3,230	2.79	1,545	7,272	10.1	13,212,340	2.32	123,261,407	145,300,000	4.8
Kansas	255	4,424	3,190	2.66	1,698	8,293	20.7	7,557,367	12.12	168,745,000	101,700,000	5.2
Kentucky	*160	1,847	2,300	2.16	1,135	4,529	38.9	43,082,627	49.73	185,865,574	171,900,000	22.2
Louisiana	230	4,511	*3,225	3.30	1,206	5,016	62.3	2,528,452	35.37	208,048,500	.....	38.7
Maine	195	2,662	2,645	2.22	1,361	6,015	17.7	10,596,896	82.83	92,630,254	51,700,000	14.6
Maryland	233	4,601	4,187	1.87	1,761	8,539	35.5	2,456,105	32.24	219,628,507	118,600,000	13.9
Massachusetts	285	5,473	*4,000	1.80	1,749	9,265	19.2	2,135,779	‡	‡	225,100,000	3.7
Michigan	264	4,939	4,000	2.31	1,815	8,488	42.6	14,016,077	16.44	431,134,809	351,800,000	9.8
Minnesota	312	4,857	3,250	2.76	1,491	6,857	30.5	8,865,695	32.55	165,959,305	165,500,000	1.3
Mississippi	103	1,451	1,741	2.66	818	3,008	53.1	58,750,432	54.37	144,421,870	145,200,000	40.4
Missouri	232	3,553	3,100	1.86	1,583	7,995	25.0	23,863,583	**	**	200,100,000	14.5
Montana	316	5,080	3,435	2.72	1,697	7,375	29.4	1,436,084	25.11	39,237,723	33,900,000	5.2
Nebraska	245	3,693	2,510	2.37	1,566	7,587	4.9	12,343,905	65.35	136,922,943	71,800,000	7.6
Nevada	260	5,115	3,680	1.97	2,250	11,250	38.2	191,535	54.25	18,598,267	8,100,000	9.2
New Hampshire	266	4,608	3,225	2.16	1,530	7,550	4.0	847,853	39.41	43,873,408	28,200,000	4.8
New Jersey	338	6,323	4,170	2.12	1,959	10,668	16.7	1,435,345	‡	‡	223,500,000	10.6
New Mexico	250	4,543	4,059	3.70	1,331	4,949	84.1	721,334	63.69	58,336,318	44,400,000	25.7
New York	356	7,627	4,650	2.00	2,038	11,294	39.4	2,410,572	**	**	680,200,000	10.8
North Carolina	173	3,256	3,175	3.02	1,049	4,051	71.0	33,266,363	44.11	358,237,530	259,900,000	34.6
North Dakota	*250	3,338	*2,750	3.04	1,223	4,893	*24.1	7,274,280	8.89	22,532,717	38,700,000	10.7
Ohio	215	4,659	3,800	1.90	1,881	9,159	*40.0	14,104,442	17.26	342,426,447	406,800,000	11.8
Oklahoma	235	3,744	*3,340	3.34	1,285	5,575	48.6	11,572,608	11.39	103,470,500	135,600,000	17.2
Oregon	328	5,992	3,995	2.80	1,733	8,272	30.1	355,861	12.85	68,587,100	80,700,000	2.2
Pennsylvania	241	4,626	3,832	2.13	1,710	8,470	32.1	29,008,215	49.89	676,588,700	547,900,000	7.0
Rhode Island	240	5,337	3,825	1.75	1,655	8,895	11.6	299,855	38.32	51,846,020	36,300,000	5.1
South Carolina	168	2,234	2,765	2.83	1,099	3,882	74.4	35,804,147	**	**	142,900,000	56.0
South Dakota	273	3,557	2,800	3.00	1,258	5,567	11.9	6,676,940	13.10	30,440,675	37,900,000	6.4
Tennessee	145	2,599	*2,620	2.30	1,126	4,615	55.9	37,677,533	66.27	218,492,530	196,900,000	36.4
Texas	223	4,436	3,326	2.58	1,452	6,405	45.8	11,565,815	21.11	540,294,500	.....	21.1
Utah	210	4,419	3,400	2.94	1,450	5,597	31.6	566,363	**	**	46,000,000	1.9
Vermont	250	3,506	2,900	2.79	1,336	5,917	20.5	2,153,165	70.33	28,879,140	21,800,000	12.9
Virginia	185	2,749	2,925	2.21	1,322	5,831	39.7	30,999,239	**	**	185,600,000	28.9
Washington	287	5,497	4,247	2.37	1,810	8,826	56.4	228,578	38.08	280,359,792	120,200,000	3.8
West Virginia	175	3,093	2,960	2.84	1,232	4,705	49.9	20,483,207	28.41	84,091,543	129,200,000	21.8
Wisconsin	285	4,439	3,661	2.24	1,649	7,783	19.3	11,452,046	9.82	171,035,235	188,000,000	4.2
Wyoming	317	4,916	3,300	3.12	1,607	7,174	33.9	879,177	**	**	19,400,000	4.7

* Estimated by NEA Research Division
** State did not take part in survey
† Rejections because of educational deficiencies
‡ Not yet available
§ Estimated by U. S. Office of Education
¶ Estimates of royalties to states if Hill-Anderson Amendment had been passed

IF WE'VE COUNTED RIGHT, there are approximately 570 sets of figures on tables above so the reader may have a tendency to skip the whole page. Behind these tables, however, is the story of the crisis in American education. An "average" teacher in Kentucky is being paid $1847; some more—some less. In Alabama they're spending $112 educating a child; in California $323. Arkansas had $951 per capita income in 1952—Connecticut $2,080. Schools are better in Connecticut.

In South Carolina, 56% failed the educational requirements for the army. Illinois lost $422,800,000 when President Eisenhower signed the giveaway oil bill. Wisconsin needed $171,035,235 spent on school construction in 1952—it wasn't. In Pennsylvania, 49.89% of the school buildings were "unsatisfactory."

Check your own state through the 12 columns. How good are your schools? How good should they be? How good will you make them?

CIO Economic Outlook

of special interest groups, another million children each year are crowding into classrooms already bursting at the seams.

Why Isn't Something Done About It?

No parent wants his children housed in unsafe buildings, crammed into classrooms like sardines, going to school on half-day sessions. If he thinks about it a little, no parent wants his children taught by unqualified teachers any more than he wants them treated by unlicensed doctors. The fact is that we are not spending enough on schools either because we haven't made up our minds to, or, as is often the case, because the money isn't there to spend. Let's look for a minute at what we spend on our schools.

This year we are spending on our public elementary and secondary schools just over $8 billion. According to figures published by the Department of Justice the annual cost of crime in the United States is $20 billion. The total cost of public education is thus about $200 per family while the cost of crime is $495 per family.

The $8 billion we spend on our public schools must be broken down into what we spend for school construction and what we spend on actually running the school once it is built. Only in recent years has the school construction total approached $2 billion. It didn't even crack the $1 billion mark until 1950 after reaching a wartime low of $54 million in 1944. We can only estimate that we are going to spend $2 billion on school construction before the school year 1953-54 is out, but we know for a fact that in 1951-52 we spent one and three-quarter billion on construction of schools or about $64 per school child.

School construction is only a quarter of the total spent on public education in grade schools and high schools. In the school year 1953-54, we will have spent just over $6 billion to cover the cost of operating these schools—the cost of teachers' salaries, of books, equipment, lighting, heating and running school buses. This will come to $247 per pupil which is $12 more per child than we spent in 1952-53.

Column 1, page 20, shows the average amount spent per pupil in each of the 48 states during the school year 1953-54. Column 4 shows the percent of average income payments for school expenditure from state and local sources in 1950-51. This percentage is one of the best ways of measuring the effort of a state to educate its children.

In 1950-51 West Virginia could afford to spend only $150 per child but devoted 2.8 percent of its income to school operation. *It ranks 10th from the top in effort and 9th from the bottom in*

HOW GOOD ARE YOUR SCHOOLS?

Percent of School Buildings Rated Unsatisfactory 1952	Current School Construction Needs, September 1952	Amount Lost by States by Give-Away of Offshore Oil ¶	Percent of Selected Service Rejections, 1950-51 †
9	10	11	12
.....	§ $10,566,213,639	.....	16.4%
58.19%	289,529,007	$203,300,000	39.2
11.87	44,188,396	45,200,000	15.2
45.63	256,871,393	124,300,000	39.2
29.58	1,169,362,000	.....	7.1
18.36	124,824,500	71,000,000	8.1
22.10	134,237,734	94,400,000	9.1
12.35	22,491,945	16,100,000	14.6
31.64	208,547,549	.....	28.3
50.47	237,670,199	200,600,000	30.3
**	**	37,900,000	3.3
33.33	412,773,095	422,800,000	5.2
29.60	257,353,000	210,600,000	7.0
2.32	123,261,407	145,300,000	4.8
12.12	168,745,000	101,700,000	5.2
49.73	185,865,574	171,900,000	22.2
35.37	208,048,500	.....	38.7
82.83	92,630,254	51,700,000	14.6
32.24	219,628,507	118,600,000	13.9
‡	‡	225,100,000	3.7
16.44	431,134,809	351,800,000	9.8
32.55	165,959,305	165,500,000	1.3
54.37	144,421,870	145,200,000	40.4
**	**	200,100,000	14.5
25.11	39,237,723	33,900,000	5.2
65.35	136,922,943	71,800,000	7.6
54.25	18,598,267	8,100,000	9.2
39.41	43,873,408	28,200,000	4.8
‡	‡	223,500,000	10.6
63.69	58,336,318	44,400,000	25.7
**	**	680,200,000	10.8
44.11	358,237,530	259,900,000	34.6
8.89	22,532,717	38,700,000	10.7
17.26	342,426,447	406,800,000	11.8
11.39	103,470,500	135,600,000	17.2
12.85	68,587,100	80,700,000	2.2
49.89	676,588,700	547,900,000	7.0
38.32	51,846,020	36,300,000	5.1
**	**	142,900,000	56.0
13.10	30,440,675	37,900,000	6.4
66.27	218,492,530	196,900,000	36.4
21.11	540,294,500	.....	21.1
**	**	46,000,000	1.9
70.33	28,879,140	21,800,000	12.9
**	**	185,600,000	28.9
38.08	280,359,792	120,200,000	3.8
28.41	84,091,543	129,200,000	21.8
9.82	171,035,235	188,000,000	4.2
**	**	19,400,000	4.7

‡ Estimated by U. S. Office of Education
¶ Estimates of royalties to states if Hill-Anderson Amendment had been passed

hower signed the giveaway oil bill. Wisconsin needed $171,035,-235 spent on school construction in 1952—it wasn't. In Pennsylvania, 49.89% of the school buildings were "unsatisfactory."

Check your own state through the 12 columns. How good are your schools? How good should they be? How good will you make them?

CIO Economic Outlook

of special interest groups, another million children each year are crowding into classrooms already bursting at the seams.

Why Isn't Something Done About It?

No parent wants his children housed in unsafe buildings, crammed into classrooms like sardines, going to school on half-day sessions. If he thinks about it a little, no parent wants his children taught by unqualified teachers any more than he wants them treated by unlicensed doctors. The fact is that we are not spending enough on schools either because we haven't made up our minds to, or, as is often the case, because the money isn't there to spend. Let's look for a minute at what we spend on our schools.

This year we are spending on our public elementary and secondary schools just over $8 billion. According to figures published by the Department of Justice the annual cost of crime in the United States is $20 billion. The total cost of public education is thus about $200 per family while the cost of crime is $495 per family.

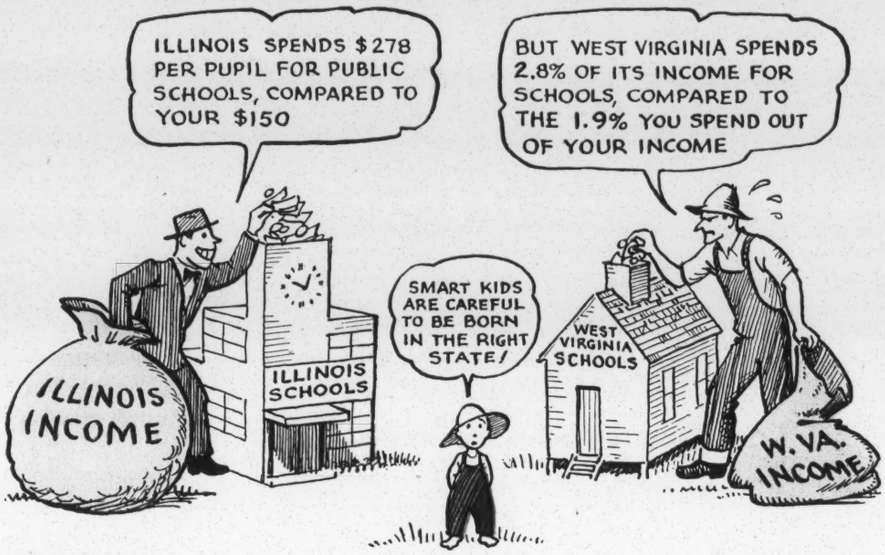
The $8 billion we spend on our public schools must be broken down into what we spend for school construction and what we spend on actually running the school once it is built. Only in recent years has the school construction total approached $2 billion. It didn't even crack the $1 billion mark until 1950 after reaching a wartime low of $54 million in 1944. We can only estimate that we are going to spend $2 billion on school construction before the school year 1953-54 is out, but we know for a fact that in 1951-52 we spent one and three-quarter billion on construction of schools or about $64 per school child.

School construction is only a quarter of the total spent on public education in grade schools and high schools. In the school year 1953-54, we will have spent just over $6 billion to cover the cost of operating these schools—the cost of teachers' salaries, of books, equipment, lighting, heating and running school buses. This will come to $247 per pupil which is $12 more per child than we spent in 1952-53.

Column 1, page 20, shows the average amount spent per pupil in each of the 48 states during the school year 1953-54. Column 4 shows the percent of average income payments for school expenditure from state and local sources in 1950-51. This percentage is one of the best ways of measuring the effort of a state to educate its children.

In 1950-51 West Virginia could afford to spend only $150 per child but devoted 2.8 percent of its income to school operation. *It ranks 10th from the top in effort and 9th from the bottom in*

West Virginia Tries Harder, but Illinois Gets More



1950-51 figures

Economic Outlook, CIO.

what it can spend. The fact that this situation is repeated in several states points to a basic inequality in terms of what is spent on our children's education. How much a state can afford depends largely on per capita income. Column 5 of the table on page 20 shows this for 1952.

The U. S. Office of Education published in early 1954 the results of a new study of the inequality of educational opportunity in the United States entitled "Expenditures for Education at the Mid-Century." This study found great differences in educational opportunity available to U. S. children. (*See* chart on page 17 and column 2 on page 20.) The study uses as its measure current expenditures per classroom unit. The average (median) for a classroom unit of 30 pupils in the United States for 1949-50 was $4,391, of which, it was estimated, approximately $3,000 represents the teacher's salary. The study includes a careful breakdown of the expenditure per classroom unit for each of the forty-eight states and includes a supplemental study of expenditures for segregated schools in twelve states where the information was available. Check page 20, column 8, to see how much additional money was needed in your state in 1949-50 to bring every classroom unit in the state up to the level of $4,391, thus establishing a minimum wage for teachers of approximately $3,000. In column 2 on the same page, you can check the average (median) classroom unit expenditure in your state.[2]

Let's take another look at school buildings. Here we find that many of the states that can't afford to spend as much as $200 per year per child can't afford to build the school buildings they need right now, much less the ones they will need in the future. The federal government spent $3 million between 1950 and 1953 to make a complete survey of school building needs in the Nation. The states were granted money to do the actual survey, and all but 7 took part in it. These 7 were left out either because they had just made a survey on their own or because reactionary state governments wanted no part of it. As a result of this survey, it is estimated that the nationwide need in September 1952 was for 312,000 classrooms to house 8,881,360 children at a cost of $10.6 billion. The local school districts in each state said that they could only raise $5.9 billion of this using every legal resource available to them, including state aid. This left a national deficit of $4.7 billion (or 44 percent of the need) at the beginning of the 1952 school year. We didn't make it up that year by a long shot. We aren't making it up this year either, even though the need has been increased by the 2 million more children we have enrolled since then. Column 10, page 20, shows the school construction which each state needs. Again the basic inequality exists not only in money to run the classrooms our children go to but the money to build the classrooms as well.

These inequalities in educational opportunity can only be corrected through a federal aid program. One valiant attempt in this direction was made by Senators Hill of Alabama and Anderson of New Mexico when they proposed that royalties from the development of offshore oil reserves go into a program of grants-in-aid to the states for education. Unfortunately, the 83rd Congress, Republican controlled, turned a portion of these national resources over to a few states. President Truman had vetoed this give-away twice while he was in office. President Eisenhower was photographed signing the bill in a smiling and jovial mood. The needs of America's school children were unimportant. Column 11 on page 20 shows what your state might have received for its schools through the Hill-Anderson program.

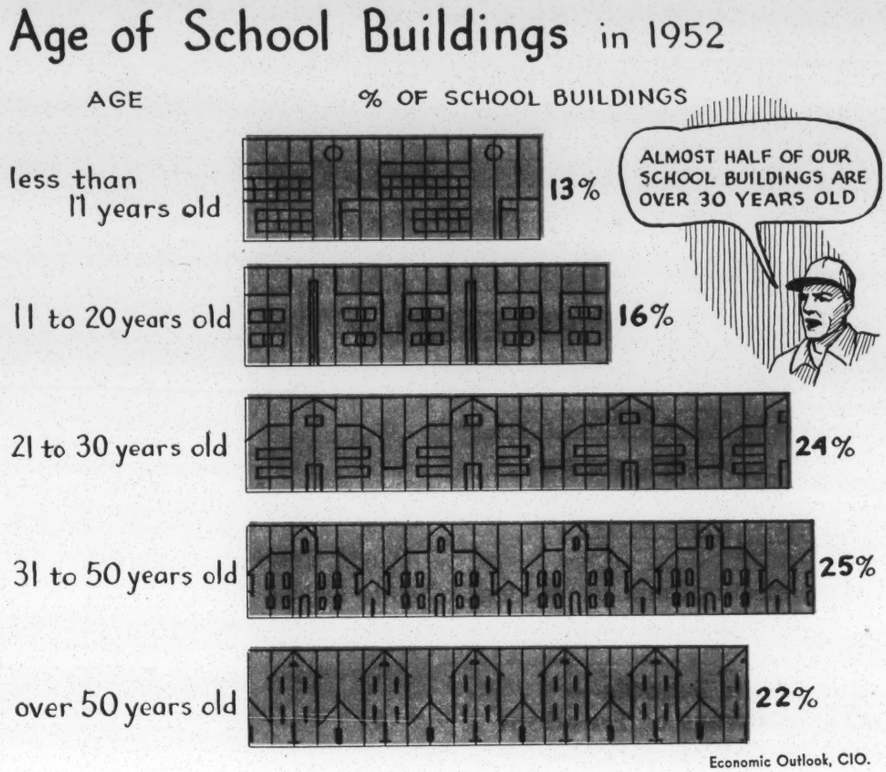
[2] For additional facts on the nation's schools, see **Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury** (65¢) and **Supplement** (35¢), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.; and **Educational Differences Among the States** (25¢), National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Results of Educational Inequalities

The fact that there is a vast difference between the state that spends the least on education and the state that spends the most is nothing new. For 20 years groups interested in the welfare of children have pointed out these facts and urged that the federal government help the states equalize educational opportunity.

During World War II we began to reap the consequences of neglected schools, but it has been in the post war period that the waste of human resources has become even more apparent.

In the Korean war we drafted young men who were school children in the late 30's and early 40's. Each young man drafted had to meet a minimum educational standard by passing the Armed Forces Qualification Test. Between July 1950 and June 1951 we rejected for military service 16 percent of these men because they couldn't pass this simple test. Look at Column 12, page 20, if you want to see whether or not your state was high or low in rejectees.



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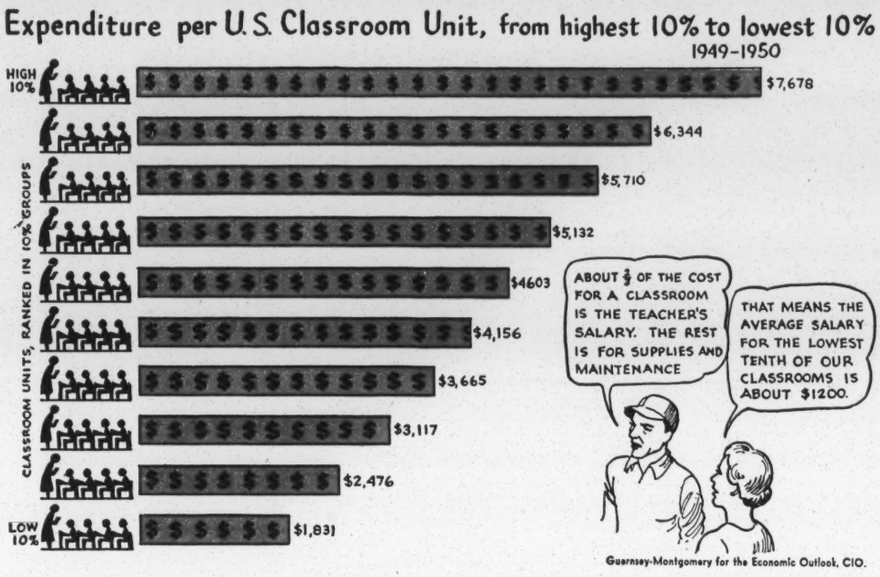
Federal Action. It took Pearl Harbor to shock America into taking national defense seriously. Will it take a similar catastrophe in education to get action to save our schools? The trouble is that what will happen to our schools unless something is done will be more like dry rot rather than sudden collapse. What has actually happened to schools in defense affected areas shows how a sudden strain on local resources brings education to a near standstill. Yet in these instances the federal government moved in to help. Now, when not just a few areas here and there but whole regions are unable to provide a decent minimum standard of education, is the time for federal government to give the states and localities some help. One form of immediate assistance which would free state and local funds for running schools and paying teachers salaries is federal aid for school construction. Bills to do this have been introduced by Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Republican Senators like John S. Cooper of Kentucky and Democratic Congressmen like Cleveland Bailey of West Virginia.

But these bills are a long way from passage. The Eisenhower Administration has spoken no word of approval for Senator Cooper's bill. It has proposed instead that we hold conferences to discover the needs of our schools and what should be done about them. It has ignored the fact that there is a great quantity of reliable data at hand from the U. S. Office of Education and others. Thus a first line of action is letters and messages to Senators and Congressmen asking them what they intend to do about our school building shortage. Even President Eisenhower himself admitted that "our school system needs some prompt, effective help", but conferences to talk about it are neither prompt nor effective particularly when several years will be spent gathering material which is already available. This is not only double work but double talk.

State and Local Action. Letters to Congressmen aren't enough. Schools are built and school budgets are passed on by local school boards and city and county councils. State legislatures vote on funds to aid localities build and operate schools. Column 7, page 20, shows the percent of school operating funds your state furnished to local school districts.

What we need are more citizens going to school



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

board meetings and to meetings of state legislative committees and demanding action.[3]

Our Public Schools—Watchtowers of Freedom

Much has been said about the needs of our schools. These needs are urgent and we must not delay further in meeting them. Yet for all the inequalities of educational opportunity that now exist in the United States the average school child in the U. S. has an opportunity that few nations of the world can parallel.

Today, our public schools are under fire in many communities. It is claimed that they aren't teaching the 3 R's or that they aren't keeping good discipline or that the textbooks are "socialistic". Others complain about "frills" in the school system and point to home economics classes or music and art classes as waste.

Some of these attacks are purely local, and represent nothing more than selfishness disguised as economy. But there are some well-organized efforts being made in this country to undermine public confidence in our schools. Such groups as the National Council for American Education would like to capture our schools for the super-patriots and economic reactionaries. They would like to censor textbooks and intimidate teachers (and they have succeeded in some places—Los Angeles and Houston, for example). Their method is to divide and conquer. Split the parent-teacher associations, sow doubt about the schools in the community, attack the state and local teacher associations—these are their tactics. But they can be stopped, and they have been stopped when citizens have taken the trouble to find out the facts and to stand solidly behind their teachers and school boards.[4]

The public schools are closer to each American family than any other tax supported institution. They are free, first because entrance to them does not depend on economic status; in a much deeper sense they are free because they are answerable to no special interest but to us, the free citizens in a free democracy. All citizens have the responsibility to use this freedom to defend and improve our public school systems.

[3] For groups interested in further background on the problem of the nation's schools, we suggest the following: **Let's Talk Sense About Our Schools,** by Paul Woodring, McGraw Hill Book Company; **Working Together for Better Schools,** by Menge and Faunce, American Book Company; and pamphlets published by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 2 West 45th Street, New York 36, N. Y., such as **How Can We Get Enough Good Teachers?, How Have Our Schools Developed?, How Can Citizens Help Their Schools?** (single copies free).

[4] For those interested in the problem of academic freedom and attacks on our schools, the following books and pamphlets will be of interest: **On Education and Freedom,** by Harold Taylor, Abelard-Schuman (a new book by one of America's courageous college presidents); **Are Our Teachers Afraid to Teach?** by Robert M. Hutchins in LOOK magazine, March 9, 1954; **The Minute Women,** reprint from the HOUSTON POST (a series of articles which won the reporter an award from the American Newspaper Guild); **Keeping Our Schools Free,** by H. Gordon Hullfish, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 199; **Time to Get Angry,** CIO pamphlet reproducing a speech by Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey on the need to defend our schools.

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Vegetables and People

ONCE UPON A TIME-

THERE WAS A BOY

NAMED BILL

WHO DIDN'T LIKE SPINACH...

He had never tasted spinach. All of his family just assumed that spinach didn't taste good, so it was never served in his home.

BILL

WAS

PREJUDICED

AGAINST SPINACH

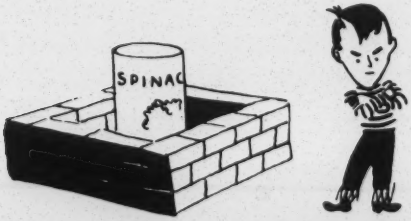
WHY? HE DIDN'T KNOW.

HE JUST DIDN'T LIKE IT.

THAT'S WHAT Prejudice is -

AN ATTITUDE WITHOUT REASON
A JUDGMENT IN ADVANCE

Bill had built a wall around spinach.



He shut it out of his experience without knowing WHY.

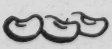
As Bill grew older he became more fixed in his dislike of spinach.

He began to apply his prejudice to all green vegetables. He refused to eat

• LETTUCE

• and CABBAGE

• and PEAS

 • and BEANS

Bill's PREJUDICE against green vegetables didn't hurt the vegetables very much. They had no feelings.

It did deprive Bill of the pleasure of eating some of them, but there were plenty of others he could eat and enjoy.

PREJUDICE against certain kinds of food is relatively harmless. It can even be a bit humorous sometimes.

BUT-
People Are Not Vegetables

PREJUDICE AGAINST PEOPLE is neither humorous nor harmless.

UNITED STATES

AFRICA

PREJUDICE AGAINST PEOPLE

- **Contradicts our faith** and the words of God

- **Hurts the persons** who have it as well as those who receive it

- **Builds walls** around people instead of bridges between people

- **Robs people** of jobs, homes, human dignity, and fellowship in God

- **Costs our citizens** millions of dollars to provide separate facilities for colored and colorless people

- **Deprives our nation** of the respect of two-thirds of the world's people, who are colored.

ARE YOU PREJUDICED?

Do you	No	Yes
• Choose your friends only from among your "own" racial and religious group?		
• Believe that God created different races so that some might be "inferior" to others?		
• Believe that certain jobs should be denied to people because of race or religion regardless of their qualifications?		
• Feel that people should be treated, spoken to, or thought of as being "different" because of their race or religion?		
• Think that a family, because of its color or religion should be deprived of the right to buy or live in any home it can afford?		
Total		

Do you	No	Yes
• Believe that houses of worship should be divided into racially segregated congregations?		
• *Habitually* speak of other racial and religious groups as "they" and your own as "we"?		
• Believe that any racial or religious group can be characterized by such terms as happy, rhythmic, lazy, shrewd, dirty, clean, or prejudiced?		
• Feel it necesary to praise members of other racial groups whenever you speak of them, and frequently refer to your own freedom from prejudice?		
• Get more irritated (or less irritated) by an offense from a member of another race or religion than by one from a member of your own group?		
Total		

Do you	No	Yes
• Use derogatory terms such as "Chink," "Nigger," "Jig," "Kike," "Jap," "Ofay," etc.?		
• Ever say, "So-and-so is a tribute to his race"?		
• Believe that people are more or less talented, intelligent, ambitious, or athletic because of their race or religion?		
• Frequently say, "Some of my best friends are ———"?		
• Ever say, "I'm not prejudiced, but . . . "?		
Total		

RATE YOURSELF-

Two "Yeses" = some prejudice

Three "Yeses" = considerable prejudice

Four or more "Yeses" = a real problem

PREJUDICE is NOT usually caused by CONSCIOUS ILL-WILL

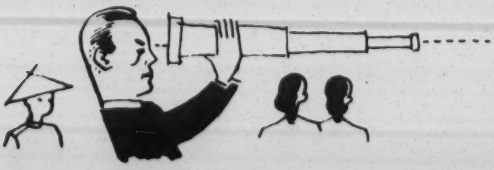
It is more frequently the result of

- **Ignorance** of any firsthand knowledge about members of other races, and religions

- **Fear** of economic or social loss

- **Insecurity** or a sense of inferiority and the need for a "scapegoat"

- **Unawareness** of any experiences or ways of thought other than those of one's "own" group.



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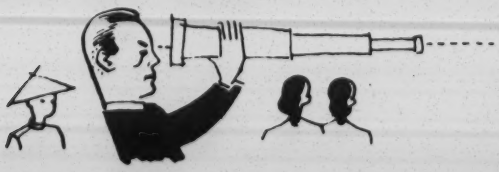
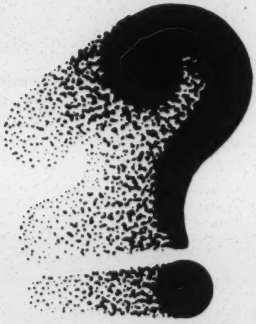


ARE YOU PREJUDICED?



Most of us are, in one degree or another, and we need to get rid of our prejudice, for our own sake, if for no one else's.

Ridding ourselves of Prejudice is like:

- *Taking a refreshing bath*

- *Throwing up the shade to let the light in*

- *Breaking down the walls we have built around ourselves and others*

- *Discovering a wonderful, new world of PERSONS for the first time.*

How Do We Do This?

- **We examine** ourselves and our attitudes with the painful probe of searching and fearless honesty

- **We study** the teachings of our faith about human brotherhood

- **We read** what some great thinkers and writers have said about human relations

- **We learn** the scientific facts about what "race" is

- **We discuss** calmly and intelligently with our friends and our group what American attitudes should be

- **We pray** for God's help in becoming more understanding in all our thoughts and words and relationships with all people.

... AND ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE

We seek to establish personal and democratic friendships with members of other races and religions.

BOTH AS INDIVIDUALS

AND IN GROUPS

As human beings, created in the image of God, we are all members of one human family, "of one blood . . ."

As Christians and Jews, we are especially called to witness by thought, word, and deed to the brotherhood of all men.

MAKE BROTHERHOOD

A REALITY IN OUR WORLD

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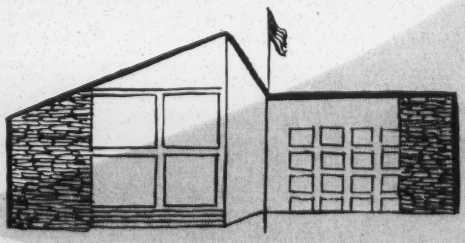
Education ~~Gen~~ General

CRUSADE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By John D. Connors



The Story of The American Federation of Labor's Long and Continuing Fight for Better Education for America's Children

By John D. Connors

Director of Education

The American Federation of Labor

Mr. Connors

"WE are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce by compulsion the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands."

—From the proceedings of the first convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (later renamed the American Federation of Labor), held in 1881 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

TODAY, as at the moment of its founding in 1881, the American Federation of Labor is the prime supporter of free public education in the United States. In this it follows the traditional policy of organized American workers.

At the time of our Revolution and the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and even at the formation of our nation with the execution of the Constitution in 1789, few people received any formal education. On the Hamiltonian hypothesis that only the propertied and the "accomplished" should govern—which view commanded wide acceptance in high circles during the first two presidencies—it could be argued that "the people" did not really need a formal education. However, with the victory of republicanism in Jefferson's election as our third president, the country assumed the content as well as the form of democracy.

It became apparent to an objective observer that a nation dedicated, as ours is in the Declaration, to the proposition that man has inalienable, God-given rights and that government's function is "to protect these rights"—that such a government must allow, then encourage, then promote the free and informed discussion of government policy. It became clear that a nation dedicated, as ours is in the Constitution's preamble, to "promote the general welfare" must determine and promote it through a universal and informed electorate. It is axiomatic that for self-rule people must have at least the opportunity for a full education. This ideal—while not yet fully realized—has now been recognized as a prerequisite to America's attainment of the position of world leader.

As noted, organized labor was one of the first to recognize these facts. Almost from the founding of this country, union groups began agitation for free public education. In Philadelphia, when the first voluntary association of workmen was formed in 1828, the spreading of public education was a prime topic for study. In 1829 a committee of workers was formed to study the state's school system. This committee recommended free, public schools open to all children, in every part of the state. As early as 1834 the nation's trade unions met in New York on the need for education and noted the necessity of an "equal, universal republican system of education."

EVEN AT THIS TIME some areas had so-called free schools. Unfortunately, the students bore the stigma of having passed a "needs" test, in that only children of the very poor were admitted. The workingmen stated that such "pauper schools," teaching only the basic subjects, could "never secure the common prosperity of a nation, nor confer intellectual as well as political equality on a people."

Gradually, by supporting progressive candidates for school board and legislative office, labor and its liberal supporters in this field won the establishment of the public school system.

A vital element in the realization of the hope for at least a primary education for all was the limitation of child labor, achieved bv organized labor after decades of struggle. Today's federal and state laws limiting child labor—inadequate as they are in so many respects—at least assure most children freedom from exploitation in the shop so that they may study during their early years.

From providing, through local government, the opportunity for free education the labor movement moved for compulsory school attendance laws during the 1860's and thereafter.

By increasing our national wealth, and thus the ability to support a public school system, and by bringing a degree of economic stability to working people, the labor movement has constantly enhanced the opportunity of American youth for a better and better education.

The formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 provided the coordinated and continuing effort needed to make popular education a reality.

In 1885 the A.F. of L. demanded compulsory education of children up to 14 years of age—a goal reached only recently in many states. In 1887 it recommended the teaching of government in the public schools.

The A.F. of L.'s consistent position on financing public schools was established in its convention resolution of 1889 when it stated: "The American Federation of Labor . . . favors the greatest liberality . . . by the United States and the state Governments to further and advance the cause of the education of the masses."

IN A MULTITUDE OF WAYS America's leading labor organization, through convention action, has set the pattern and the tone for the school system we know today. Down through the years the American Federation of Labor has taken action as follows:

1895 Encouraged municipalities to establish institutions with lecture courses, reading rooms, and gymnasiums;

1900 Urged that laws provide for free schoolbooks;

1902 Appointed a Committee on Education in the Public Schools, Colleges, and Universities;

1903 Provided for a permanent Committee on Education; insisted that the necessity for school teachers to use political influence to secure or retain positions be eliminated;

1908 Appointed a committee to study methods and means of industrial education in the United States;

1910 Obtained federal government cooperation in a study of the entire problem of vocational and industrial education throughout the nation, and at the same time urged higher wages and salaries for school teachers;

1911 Again urged the provision of free textbooks by state governments to all students and recommended the opening of public night schools for children over 16;

1912 Had to call attention to "the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50% of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade, at approximately fourteen years of age . . ."

1914 Noted success in the passage of legislation for vocational education; applauded gains in the realization of teachers' right to organize and in the struggle for free schoolbooks;

1915 Established the policy of supporting free state universities where textbooks, tuition, and laboratory work would be free;

1917 Endorsed the idea of free junior colleges for men and women and called for the establishment of self-governing schools and district councils of teachers to utilize their knowledge in the conduct of the schools; urged that teachers have tenure rights so long as they are efficient and that full and fair hearings precede any discharge;

1919 Restated the organization's basic position by saying: "It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress";

1920 Stood for academic freedom in supporting veto of a New York state bill which would have given the Board of Regents undue control of subject matter; called for a school-leaving age of 16 years; and urged the affiliation of teachers with the labor movement;

1923 Urged that members of organized labor serve on school boards and the boards of institutions of higher learning;

1928 Opposed the use of private or public schools to spread the propaganda of special interests;

1930 Noted and reaffirmed its previous position urging State Federations and Central Labor Unions to maintain Committees on Education, including on them members of the teachers' union; endorsed the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to provide the benefits of organization to American teachers;

1931 Denounced discrimination in employment of teachers on grounds of sex, race, creed, and other extraneous considerations;

1932 Defended the kindergarten against "economy" drives during the Depression, and urged federal aid to education during the emergency;

1938 Approved federal grants-in-aid for vocational education . . . .

THE A.F. OF L. urged reconstruction of the educational system after World War II. The Federation has continued its policy of urging needed federal aid for education, coupled with local control of the school system. It has protected the academic freedom of our teachers and pointed out the incompatibility of freedom with membership in Communist or other totalitarian organizations. The A.F. of L. has hailed the 1955 decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in denying that American children of various colors or races can have "separate but equal" school facilities, and it has urged its affiliated organizations—as always—to assist communities in complying with the law of the land.

The American Federation of Labor has been very active over recent months in helping plan the White House Conference on Education to be held from Nov. 28 to Dec. 1, 1955, in Washington, D.C. Through its Department of Education the A.F. of L. has urged the participation of its members in the hundreds of state, area, and community conferences held in preparation for the White House conference, because it feels it highly important that organized labor should take part in drawing up in a preliminary way a list of school needs and methods of meeting them.

Unfortunately, the listing of these few items tells only the outline of the story. Volumes have been written on the subject. The important thing, however, is the wisdom of A.F. of L. policy over the years and the degree to which the goals have been reached.

Labor's support of free, universal, public educational opportunity has been weighed by eminent authorities. George Counts of Columbia University's Teachers College, a former president of the *American Federation of Teachers*, has said that the A.F. of L.'s support of public schools "is incomparably more enlightened and consistent than that of any other important organization of educational laymen."

John Dewey has commented that: "The educational record of the American Federation of Labor is conspicuous . . . I say without any fear of contradiction that there is no organization in the United States—I do not care what its nature is—

that has such a fine record in the program of liberal progressive public education as will be found in the printed records of the American Federation of Labor."

As Dr. Floyd Reeves, chairman of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, has stated: "The American Federation of Labor has done more than any other group in implementing federal aid to education."

One of the chief contributions by labor to public education has been its support of its teachers' organization, the *American Federation of Teachers.* Organized in April, 1916, and affiliated with the A.F. of L. within a month, the *A.F. of T.* has provided the means for the professional and economic advancement of classroom teachers. It is growing constantly.

This proud record of achievement by U.S. organized workers is not used, however, as a laurel upon which to rest. Instead it is the starting place for further gains.

TODAY'S RAPIDLY INCREASING SCHOOL POPULATION is faced by a selfish minority who would "save" on taxes by denying our children the means for a good education. These forces, with great political power, would deny society the money needed to pay fair salaries to obtain qualified teachers. They would permit thousands of our children to attend "school" in dirty and dilapidated firetraps. We must now fight, just as in the past, to overcome this shortsighted selfishness. Much remains to be done, promptly, if our critical school situation of today is to be improved. Much must be done, indeed, if we are to stay at even our present inadequate level.

Not only are more and better teachers and classrooms needed but more opportunities are essential. Shall we continue to waste ability because some young people cannot take advanced education just

because they do not have the money to do so? Can our society be so prodigal?

The A.F. of L.'s interest in education is basic. As President George Meany has stated:

"The provision of educational opportunities for every American child was one of the first objectives of the A.F.L. . . . The efforts of the A.F.L. to bring education within the reach of all have tremendously bolstered our democratic society."

The A.F. of L.'s support of public education and other community activity is not selfish; it is based on community loyalty. As Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler has said:

". . . We are eager to join with public-spirited groups in every locality to promote the fullest possible development of services and facilities essential to a wholesome community life—better housing, better education and recreation, better welfare and health services, better government—in short, a better life—not just for trade union members but for every man, woman and child."

Just as our advances in the past have made America free and strong, as a nation among nations, so great new advances must now be made if we are to meet the challenge of world leadership and, as people among peoples, work toward a world of law and peace and plenty.

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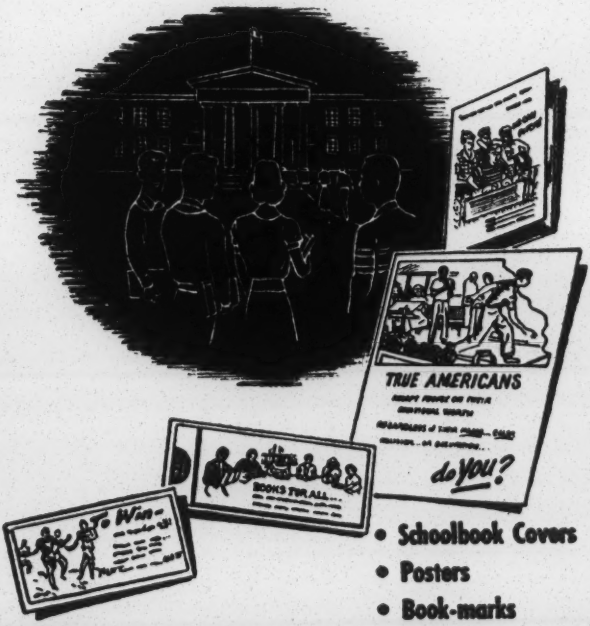

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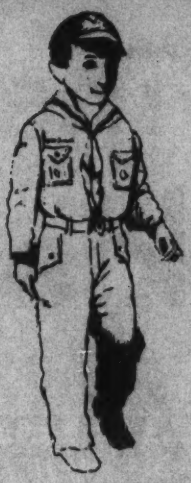

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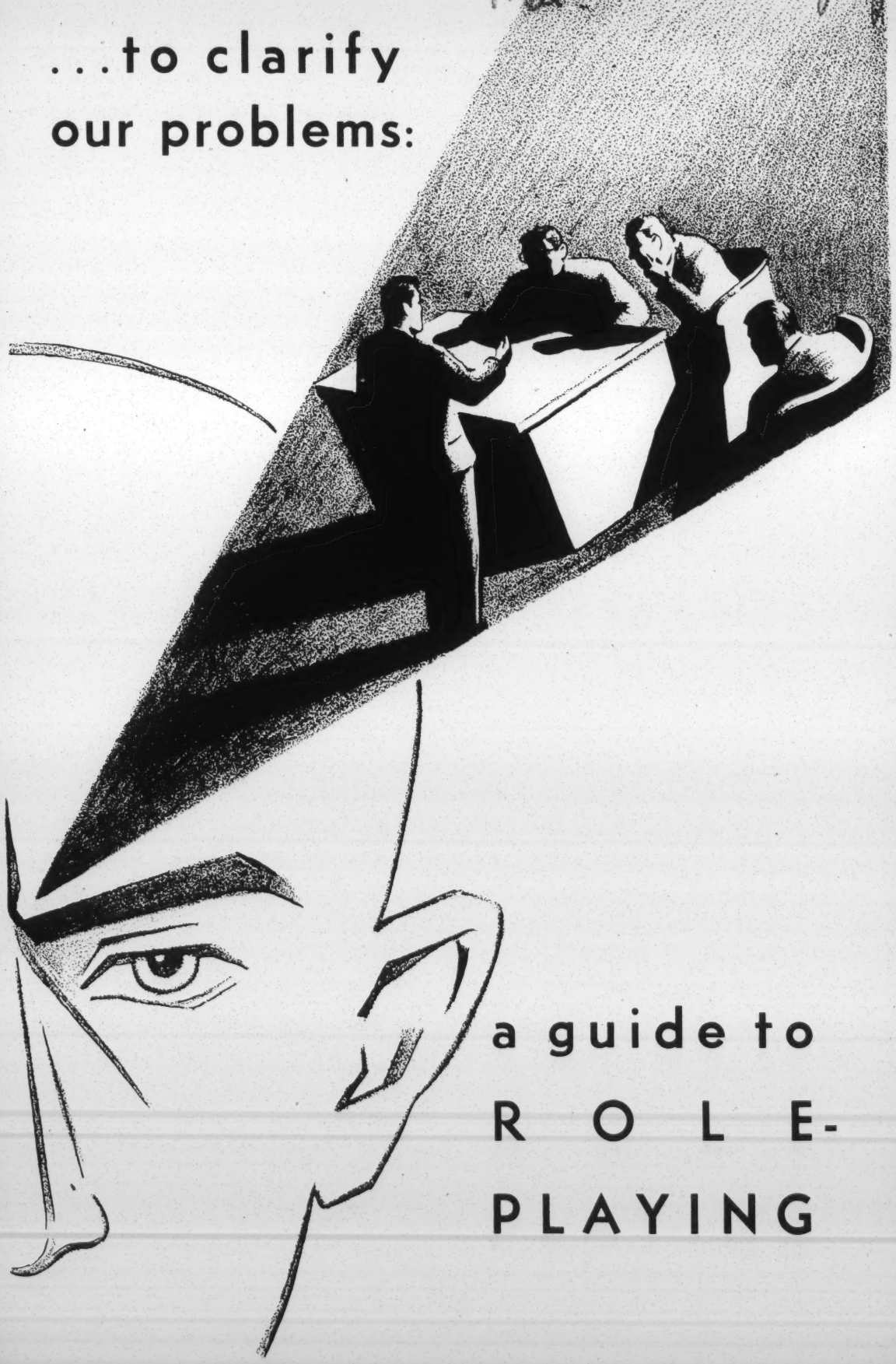
Ed - Intergroup

...to clarify our problems:



a guide to ROLE-PLAYING

Ed. Intergroup

THE ODD MAN

A PLAY IN ONE ACT

Prepared by the Staff of Southern Office

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith

11 Pryor Street, S. W. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

H E L P F U L S U G G E S T I O N S

for using

"T H E O D D M A N"

There are so many valuable lessons of effective citizenship to be derived from THE ODD MAN that you will doubtlessly wish to emphasize further these democratic concepts to your group. In many classrooms, this play has served as a point of departure for discussions and activity programs. Here are several suggestions which have been employed.....

Prepared by the Staff of the Southern Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S.W. Atlanta, Ga.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION:

Recognizing the dangers of stereotyping. The democratic way is to judge each individual on the basis of personal worth, regardless of religion, national origin, race, economic or social status.

1. Why did Vincent reject Mark because he comes from the East Side?

2. Can it possibly be true that all members of any group have the same or certain fixed personal traits?

3. Vincent, who lived on the North Side, was bossy and a snob. Does that mean all North Siders are bossy and snobs?

4. In your everyday contacts, do you hear groups of people being classed as dirty, or lazy, or bad-tempered, or thrifty, or greedy? Why is it wrong to do so?

Cooperation is the spirit of democracy. The strength of a democracy lies in the cooperation of all different kinds of people united in the common belief of equal rights and opportunities for all. A truly democratic citizen respects the right of others to be different.

1. What makes people become friends?

2. Is it possible to know what a person is like before you even get acquainted?

3. What factors should enter into the choice of a friend? What factors should NOT enter into the choice of a friend?

4. Even if the team needed a good end, should they have kept Mark off the team because he was "different"?

5. What makes good teamwork, and a good team?

6. Have you ever been in a situation like Mark's, of being a newcomer in a school or social group? What are the difficulties a newcomer encounters?

7. How can we welcome new arrivals into our group?

Personal responsibilities in a democracy. Each citizen in a democratic society must be willing to assume personal responsibility in correcting unfair treatment of other individuals and groups.

1. Do you know of a situation similar to THE ODD MAN? If you experienced a situation where someone was treated unfairly, what would you do?

2. If the boys had shown an interest in getting acquainted with Mark and learning what he was like, do you believe he would have received fairer treatment?

3. If Vincent didn't like Mark for some reason and kept him off the team, isn't it possible that he might get to dislike another one of the boys and keep him from playing too?

4. How was Van a better teammate and citizen than Vincent?

5. How did the other boys finally reach a decision that was good for the team?

THINGS TO DO:

1. Write compositions related to the subject of friendship or teamwork -- for example, "My Best Friend," "What We Expect of Our Friends," "What Makes a Winning Team," etc.

2. Work out on the blackboard a check list of characteristics or personal traits which make for the kind of person to be chosen as a friend or teammate.

3. Choose a champion football or baseball or basketball team, learn as much as possible about the background of each player, and discuss their similarities and differences and why the team won the championship.

4. Discuss short stories and books that show the effects on young people of not being wanted.

5. Listen to or report on radio programs and discuss whether the characters were stereotyped.

6. Report on radio programs with which you are familiar which attempt to build better understanding among different groups.

7. Prepare short talks on the subject, "The Kind of Citizen I Want To Be."

8. Discuss instances in American history to illustrate how this nation grew strong through the teamwork of its many different kinds of people, such as the American Revolution, the expansion of the West, industrial development, etc.

9. Design posters on the theme of "Teamwork" (perhaps as a contest).

THE ODD MAN

Fair Play Wins
On the Football Field

★

For additional copies of this play,
write to:

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 Pryor St., S.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ODD MAN

★

CHARACTERS

VAN

VINCENT

DICK

AL

PEEWEE

MAC

MARK O'DONALD

INDEFINITE NUMBER OF BOYS BETWEEN AGES OF 13-17

★

SCENE

Edge of a neighborhood playground, which is the sideline of a football field. An odd number of young boys (no more than 23), all dressed in old clothes and some of them in incomplete football uniforms (helmets, knee pads, shoulder pads, jerseys, etc.), are lying or sitting on stage, apparently waiting for somebody. Downstage (farthest from audience) two boys stand about 20 feet apart, passing football back and forth. Downstage left is a pile of sweatshirts, sweaters and assorted coats that the boys have discarded preparatory to play. In the foreground are Dick, Al, Vincent, Peewee and Mac. Upstage left sits Mark O'Donald, observing the conversation and horseplay of the other boys but not participating.

Peewee, the smallest and youngest in the group (he's about 10 or 11), speaks first. He is a very animated little boy, who regards himself as something of a comedian and who is regarded with considerable affection by the others. He is lying on his back, his head resting on a helmet.

PEEWEE: Say, Mac.

MAC: Un-huh?

PEEWEE: You know why the moron put a chair in the hearse?

MAC: I can't imagine, Peewee. Why?

PEEWEE: To let rigor mortis set in. (BRIGHTLY) Get it?
(MAC LAUGHS AND JERKS THE HELMET OUT FROM UNDER PEEWEE'S HEAD. PEEWEE'S HEAD HITS THE GROUND WITH A THUMP. GENERAL LAUGHTER)

AL: I wish Van would come on. He said he'd be here at three, and it's three-fifteen now.

DICK: Oh, he probably had to run to the store for his mother, or something, He'll be along in a minute.

PEEWEE: (LAUGHING, WITH MOCK BOASTFULNESS) You got nothing to worry about, Al. If Van doesn't show up, *I'll* take his place.

MAC: (TEASING) Yeah, *you* take his place! You'll take Van's place the day I sub for Charlie Trippi!

AL: The trouble is, *nobody* can take Van's place. I'd hate to think where we'd have been without him last week.

DICK: Yeah, the Pelicans would have sure beat us if Van hadn't intercepted that pass.

VINCENT: Aw, I don't think Van's that hot. He's just lucky, that's all.

AL: (INDIGNANTLY) Lucky! Luck hasn't got anything to do with the way he runs or the way he kicks. He can outrun and outkick anybody in the League. I hope nothing's held him up this afternoon. I've got a new play I want him to run through.

DICK: Oh, stop worrying, Al. If Van said he'll be here, he'll be here all right.

MAC: (PUNCHING PEEWEE) Say, Peewee. Who's the new boy?

PEEWEE: (LIFTING HIS HEAD) What new boy? (TURNS ON SIDE, PROPS HEAD ON ARM)

MAC: (GESTURING WITH HEAD TOWARDS MARK) That one. The one in the green sweater, sittin' by himself over there.

PEEWEE: Oh, he just moved here. Name's O'Donald. Van told him to come by for a tryout.

MAC: (RISING TO HIS FEET) Well, that's no way to treat a new fellow, leavin' him off there by himself. Let's go talk to him.

VINCENT: (WAVING HIM BACK DOWN) Aw, keep your seat, Mac. You don't wanta make friends with *that* guy. (MAC REGARDS VINCENT UNCERTAINLY FOR A MOMENT, THEN SHRUGS, RESUMES HIS SEAT)

AL: (TO THE GROUP) Look, y'all. There's no use waiting for Van before we get started. We've got more than enough men here for a good scrimmage. And we need all the practice we can get before that game with the Indians Saturday.

VINCENT: Why scrimmage, Al? We've got enough here to choose up sides and play a regular game. Why don't we do that?

DICK: Sure, Al. It's more fun playing a regular game.

AL: OK. Suppose you and Vincent choose up sides... (TO OTHERS) Come on, everybody. Dick and Vincent are gonna choose up sides. (BOYS RISE, COME FORWARD, FORM SEMI-CIRCLE IN BACK OF DICK AND VINCENT.)

DICK: Who's gotta coin? (AL PULLS OUT A COIN) OK, call it, Vincent.

VINCENT: Heads.

(AL FLIPS THE COIN.)

AL: Tails. Your first choice, Dick.

DICK: (LOOKING OVER GANG INTENTLY) All right, I'll take Al.

(FROM HERE ON, EACH BOY COMES FORWARD AS HIS NAME IS CALLED AND TAKES A STAND NEXT TO DICK OR VINCENT, WHICHEVER ONE OF THE TWO HAS CHOSEN HIM.)

VINCENT: Ralph.

DICK: Roger.

VINCENT: Billy.

DICK: Les.

VINCENT: Carrroll.

DICK: Jerry.

VINCENT: Frank.

DICK: Ed.

VINCENT: John.

DICK: Jim.

VINCENT: Art.

DICK: George.

(VINCENT PAUSES, TRYING TO DECIDE WHOM TO CHOOSE OF THOSE REMAINING. HIS EYES LIGHT ON MARK O'DONALD. HE REFLECTS A MOMENT, THEN BECKONS TO DICK, MOVING FORWARD TO MEET HIM IN CENTER OF STAGE.)

VINCENT: (IN STAGE WHISPER) We don't want this new kid on our team, do we?

DICK: (CURIOUS) Why not? He's a friend of Van's, isn't he?

VINCENT: (SCOFFING) Naw. You know how Van is. Always a sucker for strangers. I tell you this guy's no good.

DICK: (SUSPICIOUS) Why? What's wrong with him, Vincent?

VINCENT: (SNEERING) He lives in East Side!

DICK: (INCREDULOUS) What's wrong with that?

VINCENT: You know the type — those people over there. Never saw a one of them who didn't try to run things. We let this guy on our team and pretty soon he'll be telling everybody what to do.

DICK: (TAKING A QUICK GLANCE AT O'DONALD) I dunno.

DICK: He looks like he might make a pretty good end. He's plenty tall and Van says he's pretty fast.

VINCENT: I'm telling you, Dick, we'd be making a mistake. I know his kind. You can't trust 'em.

DICK: Can't trust 'em?

VINCENT: That's right, you can't trust 'em. Give 'em an inch and they take a mile. Those guys in East Side — (SHAKES HIS HEAD) — they're nothin' but a bunch of trouble-makers. Look — who was it started that fight in the yard yesterday? Joe Saunders, wasn't it? And where does Joe Saunders live? — East Side. See?

DICK: (WEAKENING) Well, maybe you're right.

VINCENT: Sure I'm right. Besides that, his father wasn't even born in this country. We don't want an East Side foreigner playin' with us. He's not our kind.

DICK: (SHRUGGING) OK. But what'll we tell him?

VINCENT: Oh, tell him we already got an even number of men on each side, that he's the odd man. He'll take the hint.

DICK: All right. (THEY SEPARATE AND RESUME THEIR FORMER POSITIONS.) It's your go.

VINCENT: Mac.

DICK: Bob. (THEY CONTINUE TO CHOOSE MEN FOR THEIR SIDES, UNTIL ALL HAVE BEEN CHOSEN BUT PEEWEE AND MARK O'DONALD. PEEWEE, BEING LITTLE MORE THAN A MASCOT, DOESN'T EXPECT TO BE CHOSEN; O'DONALD STANDS ILL AT EASE.)

VINCENT: (IN TONE OF FINALITY) All right — Peewee.

PEEWEE: (SURPRISED AND HAPPY) Me? You mean me?

VINCENT: Yeah, you can fill in the backfield till Van shows up.

DICK: All right, gang. That does it. Everybody out. (GROUP STARTS

TROTTING OFF STAGE, LEFT, LAUGHING AND TALKING) Since I got to choose sides first, Vincent, you can choose the kickoff.

VINCENT: All right, I think I'll —

MARK: Hey!

(DICK AND VINCENT PAUSE, TURN TO MARK, WHO COMES UP TO THEM.)

VINCENT: (UNFRIENDLY) Yeah? Whatta you want?

MARK: (EMBARRASSED TO HAVE TO ASK) What about me?

VINCENT: (UNFRIENDLY) What about you?

MARK: I mean . . . I'd like to play, too.

VINCENT: (SHAKING HIS HEAD) We have all the men we need. Sorry. (TURNS AND STARTS TO WALK AWAY.)

MARK: But what about later? You might need a substitute later on.

VINCENT: (STOPPING AND REGARDING MARK COLDLY) We've got to do some serious practice this afternoon. We haven't time to break in a new man.

MARK: (PROTESTING) But Van said you were *looking* for a new man — a new man to play end. He said. . . .

VINCENT: (CUTTING HIM SHORT, STERNLY) We don't have any place for you on our team — this afternoon or any afternoon. You might as well go on home. (WITH A SNEER) Go on back to East Side, where you belong. (TURNS, STARTS TO WALK AWAY AGAIN) Come on, Dick. (EXIT DICK AND VINCENT, STAGE LEFT)

MARK: (CLENCHING HIS FISTS IN ANGER, STEPPING FORWARD IMPULSIVELY AS IF TO RUN AFTER VINCENT AND PULL HIM BACK) Why, you — (HALTS, STANDS RIGID A MOMENT, SLOWLY UNCLENCHES HIS FIST, SHRUGS) Oh, what's the use? (HE SITS DOWN ON THE STAGE, FACES THE FOOTBALL FIELD, AND HALF-HEARTEDLY WATCHES THE BOYS PLAYING. OFFSTAGE SOUND OF RUNNING, PUNTING, EXCITED VOICES, ETC. IN A FEW SECONDS **VAN** ENTERS, STAGE RIGHT. HE IS DRESSED IN CORDUROY TROUSERS, A RED

STRIPED JERSEY, AND WEARS SHOULDER PADS. HE CARRIES A FOOTBALL HELMET IN HIS RIGHT HAND. HE HAS BEEN RUNNING AND HE IS PANTING SLIGHTLY.)

VAN: (WAVING TO GANG OFFSTAGE) Hey, y'all! Wait a minute, hear? Be there in a second. (HE KNEELS TO TIE A SHOESTRING, THEN NOTICES MARK.) Oh, hello. Why aren't you out there?

MARK: (SHRUGGING) They said they didn't need me.

VAN: We don't need you! The dickens we don't! What's the matter with those guys, anyway? Did you tell 'em I told you to come?

MARK: (RISING TO HIS FEET, DISCONSOLATELY) They knew that.

VAN: Who was it? Who told you we didn't need you?

MARK: I dunno. One of the guys who was choosing up sides. Either Dick or Vincent. I think that's what they said their names were.

VAN: (NODDING) I thought so. It's just like Vincent. What else did he tell you?

MARK: Not much. He said that they wouldn't have any place on their team for me — not this afternoon or *any* afternoon.

VAN: That doesn't make sense. Surely there must have been another reason.

MARK: Sure. (WRYLY) There was another reason — well, a sort of a reason.

VAN: What sort of a reason?

MARK: I live on the wrong side of the tracks. He said I ought to get back to East Side where I belong.

VAN: (DUMBFOUNDED) Of all the — (GETTING MAD) What in the world has that got to do with it? What difference does it make *where* you live?

MARK: Well, maybe you oughta tell Vincent that. (BEGINS TO MOVE TOWARD EXIT AT STAGE RIGHT) I'll see you in school tomorrow, Van.

VAN: (DISTRESSED) Wait a minute. Don't go, Mark, I'll —

MARK: (SMILING SADLY) I'll be around, Van. (TURNS, WALKS QUICKLY OFF STAGE RIGHT.)

(VAN STANDS, STARING MOODILY AT MARK'S RETREATING BACK. OFFSTAGE COMES A CRY: "HEY, VAN, COME ON. WE'RE WAITING FOR YOU, VAN." HE IGNORES IT. HE RUNS HIS FINGERS THROUGH HIS HAIR, SCRATCHES HIS HEAD. RUNNING FOOTSTEPS SOUND CLOSE OFF STAGE. ENTER AL, STAGE LEFT, SPEAKING AS HE RUNS.)

AL: What's the matter with you, Van? Didn't you hear me call you? We're waiting for you.

(VAN TURNS SLOWLY, SPEAKS SERIOUSLY.)

VAN: I heard you, Al.

AL: Then come on. Let's get started.

VAN: I'm not sure I want to play on this team anymore, Al.

AL: (ASTONISHED) Not play anymore! You gone crazy?

VAN: (GRIMLY) Why didn't you all let Mark O'Donald play this afternoon?

AL: Mark O'Donald?

VAN: You know O'Donald. The new boy.

AL: Oh, sure I know him. Why? Isn't he playing? I though he was. He was here a while ago.

VAN: No, he's not playing. Somebody — Vincent, I think — told him we didn't need him, that we had too many people already.

AL: Well, gosh, Van, I don't know. I guess in the excitement I just didn't pay any attention. Dick and Vincent chose sides, and when they finished, I figured everybody had been chosen, one side or the other . . . Come on now, I got a new play I want you to run through.

VAN: I want to talk to Vincent, first. (CUPS HIS HANDS, YELLS) Hey, Vincent! Will you and Dick come here a minute, please? (TO AL) I want to get this thing settled now, Al. Right now.

AL: (CURIOUS) Get *what* settled?

VAN: You'll see. (ENTER STAGE LEFT, DICK AND VINCENT.)

DICK: What's up, Van?

VINCENT: Something wrong?

(THEY ARE FOLLOWED DOWNSTAGE BY PEEWEE AND MAC. BEFORE VAN HAS FINISHED THE NEXT SPEECH, MOST OF THE GANG HAS REASSEMBLED AROUND HIM.)

VAN: (WITH RESTRAINED EXCITEMENT) There's a new boy in town named Mark O'Donald. He's in my history class. He told me the other day he's played football at whatever school it was he went to before, so I asked him down here this afternoon to try out for the team. Now Mark's our age, and he doesn't weigh more than 135 pounds, so according to the rules we all set up when we started this team, he's eligible to try out. He ought to be given a chance. But somebody told Mark we didn't need him. Somebody told him we had all the players we need, and that we wouldn't need him *this* afternoon, or any afternoon. (PAUSE) . . . Now you all know that's silly. We've been begging for a good end all season, and Mark might make a fine one.

CROWD: (AD LIB) Sure . . . We sure do need a decent end . . . What happened to O'Donald anyway? . . . He was here ten minutes ago. Who told him that?

VAN: Vincent, was it you who told Mark we didn't want him?

VINCENT: (SWAGGERING) Sure, I told him. I don't want to play with any dirty little — (HE SEES VAN CLENCHING HIS FIST AND ADVANCING TOWARD HIM. ALARMED, HE DROPS HIS SWAGGER, STEPS BACK, DOES NOT FINISH HIS SENTENCE. VAN STOPS, STARES AT HIM LOATHINGLY FOR A MOMENT, SLOWLY UNCLENCHES HIS FIST, THEN QUIETLY BUT FIRMLY RESUMES TALKING.)

VAN: (TO GROUP) That's brains for you, fellows! Have you ever heard of a coach picking an All-American team because every player lived on the same side of town or went to the same church, or spoke with the same accent? Look at the All-Star line-up — Sid Luckman, a Jew, quarterback; Charlie Trippi, an immigrant's son, and Buddy Young, a Negro, halfbacks; Frank Sinkwich, fullback — just to name a few.

If we left it to Vincent we'd have the worst team in the League. When Vincent took it on himself to tell Mark O'Donald we didn't want him playing with us, did he take a vote? Did he ask for anybody else's opinion?

GROUP: (AD LIB) I didn't know anything about it... He didn't take any vote... He didn't ask me.

DICK: He asked me, Van.

VAN: (STUDYING HIM) And you agreed?

DICK: (HANGING HEAD) Un-huh. Vincent said he'd make a lot of trouble for us, that —

VINCENT: (INTERRUPTING) Oh, you know how those people are, Van. Always think they're so smart — bossing everybody all the time. You know how they are.

VAN: (TO VINCENT) *Those* people? What do you mean, Vincent — *those* people?

VINCENT: Oh, you know. Those people over in East Side.

VAN: (WITH FEELING) No, Vincent, *I don't* know about *those* people. I know about *people*. I know that some people are loud and noisy, that some are quiet; that some are smart, and others not so smart; that some are kind and generous, that others are selfish. I know that there are all kinds of people, and that no two people are alike. I know, too, that you can't tell about a person 'til you get to know him, and that what section of town he lives in, or what church he goes to, or the race he belongs to, or where he was born, or what his father does for a living — I know that those things don't have anything at all to do with whether he's a good guy or a bad egg — whether he's a good football player or not. (WALKS NEARER VINCENT, WITH FISTS CLENCHED AGAIN, MENACINGLY) I know something else, too.

VINCENT: (RETREATING) Yeah?

VAN: I know that you're a snob. You've been a snob as long as I can remember. *You're* the one who's *always* bringing up this East Side business, or whispering about a person's religion or where his father was born. If it weren't for you, and a few others like you, we'd soon forget about such things. (PAUSE) Where do you live, Vincent?

VINCENT: You know where I live, Van.

VAN: In North Side, don't you? And you're a snob, aren't you? (SEVERAL IN THE GROUP NOD IN AGREEMENT.) Okay, therefore all North Siders are snobs. (SNORTING) That doesn't make sense, does it?

VINCENT: No-oo-oo-oo.

VAN: Then it doesn't make any sense that all the people who live in East Side are whatever it is you think they are, does it?

VINCENT: But, Van —

VAN: You're a bully, Vincent. The way you treated Mark O'Donald this afternoon — you condemned him before you even knew him. You acted like a great big bully. If I were you, I'd —

VINCENT: But, Van —

VAN: (GESTURING IMPATIENTLY) You've got a lot of nerve, saying East Siders are bossy. Who do you think was bossy this afternoon? . . . (TO OTHERS) This guy (JERKING HIS THUMB AT VINCENT) bossed all of you this afternoon. He made up your minds for you, and then told Mark you didn't want him. . . . Who do you think was being bossy this afternoon?

VINCENT: But he's a —

VAN: (DISGUSTED) Aw, you make me sick . . . (PACES EXCITEDLY BACK AND FORTH) All right, gang. I think we oughta put this to a vote. How many of us are in favor of asking Mark O'Donald back here this afternoon, and letting him try out for end?

(THE GROUP IS SILENT FOR A MOMENT, THEN BEGINS A QUIET MURMUR. AD LIB OVERTONES: "After all, he *does* live over there." . . . "Golly, I don't know." . . . "I never liked those East Siders. Take too much for granted," etc., etc.)

VAN: (IMPATIENTLY) Well, what are you waiting for?

PEEWEE: I'm with you, Van. If O'Donald wants to play with us, I think we ought to give him a chance. I don't know him very well, and he may turn out to be a no-good guy. But if he does, it won't be because he lives in East Side. People over there have less money than people in North Side, and I guess if there's any difference at all between us and them, that's

the reason . . . (LAUGHS) Suppose he does turn out to be a lemon? What'll that prove? East Siders have just as much right to have lemons as we have. After all, we got Vincent.

(LAUGHTER. GROUP AD LIBS: "Peewee's right." "Count on me, too, Van." "You can count on Van to stick up for what's right" . . . etc . . . (GENERAL CHORUS OF ASSENT.)

VAN: Good! Peewee, will you see if you can catch Mark and tell him we want him to come back and play with us?

PEEWEE: (STARTING TO EXIT STAGE RIGHT) I'll have him back in a flash.

VINCENT: (ANGRILY) Just a minute, Peewee.

(PEEWEE STOPS, OBSERVES VINCENT CURIOUSLY.)

VINCENT: (TO VAN AND GROUP) I just want you to know that if you let this O'Donald play on our team, then I'm quitting. You can just find yourselves another halfback, that's what.

VAN: (VERY QUICKLY, STERNLY) And if you *don't* give him a chance to play on our team, *I'm* quitting . . . (TO GROUP) I don't know, maybe I had this team wrong. I thought, the kind of team it was, anybody who's eligible would be given a chance to try out. Anybody who was good enough to make the team and turned out to be a right guy — I mean right guy, period — could play with us. That's the kind of team I thought we had, and if it isn't, then I don't care about playing on it anymore . . . . Now, how about it? Are we going to play fair and give this new guy a chance?

GROUP: (AD LIB) "If that's the way Vincent feels, let him go." "Let's be fair about it." . . . "For gosh sakes, Vincent, what you wanta act like this for?" . . . etc.

VAN: (SMILING) Go ahead, Peewee. We'll show Mark democracy isn't just something you read about in history books; it's a spirit of fair play that makes players work together to be the winning team!

(PEEWEE TROTS OFF STAGE RIGHT.)

AL: Come on, gang. Let's pick up where we left off. (RUNS OFF STAGE LEFT, FOLLOWED BY EVERYBODY BUT VINCENT AND VAN. VAN HAS MOVED TO FOLLOW HIM, BUT PAUSES JUST AT EXIT. HE TURNS AND SPEAKS TO VINCENT.)

VAN: Nobody's asking you to quit, you know, Vincent. It's up to you.

VINCENT: (WAVING HIM AWAY. HIS VOICE IS BITTER, BUT IT IS A BITTERNESS THAT COMES FROM BEING ON THE DEFENSIVE) Go on and leave me alone. I don't wanta hear any more sermons from you.

(VAN SHRUGS, TROTS OFFSTAGE LEFT, ADJUSTING HIS HELMET AS HE RUNS. ALONE, VINCENT POUNDS HIS RIGHT FIST INTO THE PALM OF HIS LEFT HAND ANGRILY, MUTTERS SOMETHING TO HIMSELF. WORRIED AND FEELING REJECTED, HE KEEPS SHAKING HIS HEAD AND MUMBLING TO HIMSELF AS HE GOES SLOWLY DOWNSTAGE, STOOPS AND PICKS UP A SWEATSHIRT, WHICH HE PROCEEDS TO PULL ON OVER HIS HEAD. THE EXCITED SOUNDS OF THE BOYS AT PLAY COME TO HIM FROM OFFSTAGE: "Throw it to me, Dick. Here, Dick . . . to me." . . . "Oh, you muffed it." . . . "All right, gang, let's let 'em have it this time . . . hut, two, three, hip." SOUND OF HANDS SLAPPING AGAINST BALL, RUNNING FEET, ETC. . . . VINCENT LOOKS WISTFULLY OFFSTAGE, IN THE DIRECTION OF THESE SOUNDS, FOR A MOMENT. HIS HANDS GO DOWN TO HIS WAIST, AS IF HE IS ABOUT TO PULL OFF THE SWEATSHIRT; HE TAKES AN IMPULSIVE STEP FORWARD, AS IF HE INTENDS TO RUN ONTO THE FIELD AND JOIN THE GANG. BUT HE CHANGES HIS MIND, WHEELS AROUND, AND WALKS QUICKLY ACROSS THE STAGE. JUST BEFORE EXIT AT STAGE RIGHT, HE STOPS ABRUPTLY, STANDS MOTIONLESS IN INDECISION. THEN HE KICKS THE EARTH WITH HIS RIGHT FOOT, TURNS HIMSELF AROUND, AND AS HE BEGINS TO TROT BACK ACROSS THE STAGE, HE PULLS OFF HIS SWEATSHIRT IN ONE QUICK MOVEMENT. THEN HE PICKS UP SPEED AND YELLS, HIS VOICE CONTINUING OFFSTAGE LEFT: Hey, y'all! Wait for me. Wait for me, y'all. I wanta play, too.

(CURTAIN)

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

ADL, the educational arm of B'nai B'rith (America's oldest and largest Jewish Service organization) is a creative organization seeking to build in the lives of all Americans those basic attitudes on which good human relations are founded. It is an action organization aiming for the continual expansion of the democratic way of life. Its program is based on the realization that bigotry directed against any single group in this country hurts all Americans.

In furtherance of such a program, the Anti-Defamation League cooperates with all groups working toward this ideal of bettering human relations. Among these are church people of all denominations, educators, civic clubs, youth groups, veterans, businessmen and labor groups and many other organizations and individuals. A broad, educational program has been developed utilizing:

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SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

11 Pryor St., S. W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

MARY SMITH

MEETS

MR. PEOPLE

AN ORIGINAL PLAY

Prepared by the Staff of Southern Regional Office

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith

11 Pryor Street • Atlanta 3, Georgia

HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS

for using

"MARY SMITH MEETS MR. PEOPLE"

There are so many valuable lessons of effective citizenship to be derived from MARY SMITH MEETS MR. PEOPLE that you will doubtlessly wish to emphasize further these democratic concepts to your group. In many classrooms, this play has served as a point of departure for discussion and activity programs. Here are several suggestions which have been employed.....

Prepared by the Staff of the Southern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S.W. . Atlanta, Ga.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. The significance of Mr. People. Implied in this can be the universal brotherhood of man; man's common ancestry; the anthropological explanation for physical and racial differences.

   Younger children will enjoy identifying the national origin of items of his costume, suggesting which of these are today incorporated in American dress.

2. Our American concept which Mr. People makes so implicit: That each person is a distinct individual and should be accepted or rejected on his own merit without regard to religion, race, or national origin.

   The students may be guided to enlarge upon the qualities that should be sought in establishing personal friendships.

3. The essential likeness of all children the world over, such as physical characteristics (losing teeth at about the same age, general structure of the body); recreation patterns (playing the same kind of games, marbles, dolls, ball, tag, flying kites); holiday celebrations (religious observances, birthdays).

4. The universal character of our Thanksgiving Day celebration. In a discussion of the first Thanksgiving Day celebrated on American shores, the class may be guided to discuss and explore the similarities of harvest festivals in other lands and of other cultural origins.

5. The significance of "Americans All - Immigrants All." This topic may point up Chief

Tamiami's assertion that the Indians were the first Americans and that if we all went back to where we came from, the only people that would be left in America would be the Indians, waving goodbye to the last departing ships.

The class will very likely be interested in discussing the national origin of their own forebears; in gathering and sharing information as to why they came to America, where they settled, their early means of livelihood. This background material can be used to emphasize that people of all religions, races, and national origins have worked together to make America great.

Particular attention may be directed toward the class's having an understanding of American naturalized citizens (such as Anna Polowski's father).

6. The meaning of "America is a land of opportunity."

7. The discussion unit may conclude with a summary of the important lessons taught Mary by Mr. People. The class will wish to give special consideration to how these lessons may become a part of each student's everyday living. These precepts may emphasize:

   (1) The importance and dignity of each individual person.

   (2) The American concept that each person should be accepted or rejected according to his own personal worth.

   (3) The application of the Golden Rule -- that each person must be willing to accord to others the rights and respects he wishes for himself.

THINGS TO DO:

1. Write a short paper: "All children are different but alike."

2. Prepare skits on how and why the students' ancestors came to America.

3. Indicate on a world map the national origins of the students in the class.

4. Tie in with music--folk songs of various national origins.

5. See how much the class knows about the great men of music--composers, performers, conductors, of different national origins, religions and races, who have contributed to our enjoyment of music.

6. In physical education learn folk dances of different cultural origins.

7. Write letters to the director of the National Art Museum in Washington and to other art museums requesting prints of paintings by great artists of many different nations.

8. Build up a mural showing how people of many national backgrounds have worked together to make America great.

9. Make a mural showing how much fun and the many different friends Mary could have if she followed Mr. People's teachings.

10. Find as many English words as you can with different national origins.

MARY SMITH MEETS MR. PEOPLE

TIME: 20 minutes

CAST: Six characters

Mary Smith, through the exciting visit of Mr. People, learns the important lesson of the Golden Rule.

★

For additional copies of this play, write to:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 Pryor St., S. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

MARY SMITH MEETS MR. PEOPLE

★

CHARACTERS

MARY SMITH, a schoolgirl

MR. PEOPLE, a mythical character representing the peoples of the world

ANNA POLOWSKI, Mary's friend

SARA FRANKLIN, Mary's friend

CHIEF TAMIAMI, an Indian

MARCEL, a 17th century American carpenter, indentured servant

★

STAGE DIRECTIONS

The scene is Mary's room at home and it can be as simple or as elaborate as staging facilities will allow. All that's needed for the action of the play is a child's desk, a chair for Mary to sit in, and a vacant chair for Mr. People, who enters shortly after the scene opens. A few other properties might be added to suggest a little girl's bedroom — a small bureau, a flossy little bed, dolls, pink curtains, etc. — but even these can be eliminated without damaging the action of the play. In fact, the play can be presented just as easily in front of a normal-sized classroom as it can on a full stage. For this reason, no exact positions for doors, which might provide entrances and exits, are given here. If the front of a classroom is used as the staging area, the door into the classroom from the corridor will serve excellently.

Mary is not a bad child, but a spoiled one. It is important to the dramatic integrity of the play that in the opening scene, and in her initial reactions to Mr. People's criticism, she be represented as vain, wilful, or beguiling as the script demands.

(As the scene opens Mary is seated at her desk, her face toward the audience. She is studying geography. It is obvious that she doesn't like it. She has her head close to the pages of her book and she is grumbling to herself. She frowns and sighs and makes noisy little grunts. Finally she starts turning the pages, one fast after the other, looking at the pictures.)

MARY: Oh, Eskimos! Who cares about Eskimos! I'll never see an Eskimo in my life . . . (TURNS ANOTHER PAGE) . . . and Greeks! Uh! . . . (TURNS ANOTHER PAGE) . . . Italians! Look at 'em, picking grapes. Huh! Lot I care about Italians. I've seen enough picture shows to know that most of 'em are nothing but gangsters . . . (TURNS ANOTHER PAGE) I'm sure glad I don't live in China. Look at this silly picture. Wouldn't I look funny in a dress like that? (SHE PAUSES AND LOOKS AT HER OWN DRESS, PATS HER SHOULDERS AND SMILES, VERY PLEASED WITH HERSELF.)

(As Mary is talking, a strange little man appears quietly behind her. He is brown-skinned and he wears a ring in his nose. He wears a turban on his head and a slip-over shirt with a high ruffled collar, and no tie. His coat looks as if it might belong to the suit of an American businessman. Instead of trousers, he wears wide, full silk knee pants, after the fashion of Russian men. Bright red leggings cover his calves, and on his feet are soft felt slippers. He is Mr. People and he dresses in a costume that is the combination of the traditional national costumes of all the earth's people. The class may make suggestions for and bring to school suitable items of clothing. He carries a magic stick — an ordinary branch cut from a tree. He stands softly, listening to Mary with an expression of half-shock, half-amusement. Every now and then he shakes his head, as if distressed to hear her talk like this.)

MARY: (TURNING ANOTHER PAGE) . . . Indians again! I already know everything there is to know about Indians. I don't see why they want to teach me all about these foreigners anyway! . . . (SHE FLIPS OVER THREE MORE PAGES QUICKLY) . . . Ten pages in all. And all this reading! Why can't they use pictures and not make you read all this stuff? (IN A FIT OF TEMPER SHE SLAMS THE BOOK SHUT AND WHIRLS AROUND IN HER CHAIR) I could have learned more at the picture show! I ——

(She starts at the sight of Mr. People; her jaw drops and she tries to scream but can't. As she is struggling to say something, Mr. People smiles, bows, and moves softly toward her.)

MR. PEOPLE: (HE SPEAKS VERY GOOD ENGLISH). Don't be frightened, Mary, I know it's rude to pop in on you like this, but I received an emergency call from one of my workers this afternoon telling me I had better pay you a little visit before it's too late.

MARY: (FINDING HER VOICE, BUT STILL FRIGHTENED) Before it's too late! Too late for what? . . . Who . . . Who are you?

MR. PEOPLE: Do you mind if I sit down? I've had a long journey. (HE PULLS UP A CHAIR AND SITS DOWN. HE CROSSES HIS LEGS, PULLS OUT AN IMMENSE HANDKERCHIEF, AND WIPES HIS FOREHEAD. WHEN HE WIPES, HE WIPES OFF PART OF THE BROWN COLOR ON HIS FOREHEAD, SHOWING THE WHITE.)

MARY: (AGAIN STARTING) Are you an actor? Look, some of your make-up just came off.

MR. PEOPLE: (LAUGHING HEARTILY) Oh, no, indeed, I'm no actor. You see, I've just come from India where most of the people have brown skin, and now that I'm in your country where most of the people are white — why, it's only natural that my skin should turn white, isn't it?

MARY: (NODDING DESPITE HERSELF) Yes, I guess so.

MR. PEOPLE: After all, color is only skin deep.

MARY: (ALMOST CRYING) You mean if I were to go to India I'd turn brown?

MR. PEOPLE: (LAUGHING AGAIN) Oh, no, my dear. You might turn a little brown. (PAUSE) From the sun, you know. But if you were to stay in India, where the climate is so different, in a million years or so your great-great-great-great-goodness knows how many great-grandchildren might be brown.

MARY: (RECOILING) Oh, no!

MR. PEOPLE: Oh, yes. It's a fact. A scientific fact. At least that's what *did* happen. A million years ago people were all pretty much alike. Only some of them went to Africa, where for some reason they began to turn black. And some of them went to Europe, where they began to turn white. And still others went to the far east where after many, many years they began to turn yellow and their eyes began to draw tight at the corners. Oh, yes. Didn't you know that?

MARY: (SHAKING HER HEAD) But you? I don't understand about you. You've only been here a few minutes, and already your skin has begun to turn.

MR. PEOPLE: (SIGHING) Well, my dear, I'm somebody special. That is, I'm everybody special.

MARY: Everybody?

MR. PEOPLE: That's right. I'm all the people in the world. I'm Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Balinese. Italian, Greek and Eskimo. English, Dutch, Irish and Scotch. (RECITE WITH INCREASING SPEED) Welsh, French, Russian, Danish, Swiss, German, Mexican, Indian, Turk, and

goodness knows what else. I'm Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Hindu, Moslem — and yes, Buddhist. I'm all the nationalities, all the races, all the religions in the world rolled into one. I'm *people*. I'm called Mr. People.

MARY: Mr. People?

MR. PEOPLE: Yes. All the things that people do, I do, too. And all the things that happen to people also happen to me. Sometimes it gets pretty unpleasant. Very unpleasant indeed. (HE PULLS OUT HIS HANDKERCHIEF AGAIN AND WIPES OFF ALL THE BROWN FROM HIS FACE.) Some things it's taken a million years to do, I can do in the bat of a cat's eye — like changing the color of my skin, for instance, or talking a new language.

MARY: Oh, my, that must be exciting.

MR. PEOPLE: But it's sort of tiring. My job keeps me jumping, you know. Traveling all the time. (SMILE HAPPILY) It's worth it, though. I get to know so many different people. And I like people. People are pretty wonderful. They are the most important thing in the world, really. They are much more important than fine houses and good clothes and spending money.

MARY: Even more important than dolls or bicycles or ice cream sodas?

MR. PEOPLE: Even more important than movies!

MARY: (BLUSHING) Oh!

MARY: And the funny thing is that all the people in the world are kin to each other. Did you know that?

MARY: You mean I'm kin to Susie Little?

MR. PEOPLE: Yes, and to Johnny Brown, and to Joe Borneo, and Mee-Ling China, and to Jose Mexico, and millions more. You see, people began with the first men and women a million years ago.

MARY: My goodness! (PUZZLED) But why did you come here?

MR. PEOPLE: Well, now, Mary. (HE REACHES INTO HIS COAT POCKET AND TAKES OUT A LITTLE BLACK BOOK) I've had a report on you, my dear, and it's not so good. (HE STUDIES A PAGE IN THE BOOK, SHAKES HIS HEAD SADLY, AND GOES TSK TSK TSK WITH HIS TONGUE.)

MARY: A report on me, Mr. People? What kind of report?

MR. PEOPLE: One written by my personal representative in the western hemisphere. "Mary Smith," it says. That's your name, isn't it?

MARY: (NODDING) Yes.

MR. PEOPLE: Well, Mary, listen to this. "Disposition: Mary Smith used to be a sweet-tempered child, bnt when she entered the —— grade, she started being snooty. She demands to have her own way too much of the time, and she seems to think she's too good to play with some of her classmates."

MARY: (BEGUILINGLY) Oh, that can't be me, Mr. People. I play with Alice Green and Margaret Webb and ——

MR. PEOPLE: Yes, Mary, but what happened with Anna Polowski? Let's use my magic stick and take you back to that afternoon in October. (WAVES STICK. MARY MOVES FORWARD TO JOIN ANNA POLOWSKI, WHO, SKIPPING ROPE, HAS APPEARED THROUGH DOOR.)

MARY: (REACHING FOR JUMP ROPE) It's my turn, now.

ANNA: (STILL SKIPPING) But Mary! I've just begun.

MARY: I wanna jump. Gimme that rope!

ANNA: (STOPS, CLUTCHES ROPE BEHIND HER BACK) No. This is my rope and I want to jump some more.

MARY: (TRIES TO GRAB ROPE. SLIGHT TUSSLE) You give me that rope, Anna Polowski. (WHEN MARY IS UNABLE TO TAKE ROPE AWAY FROM ANNA, GETS IN A TEMPER, SHOVES HER AWAY, AND STAMPS HER FOOT) All right for you, Anna Polowski. (IN UGLIER TONE) Just get out of my yard and don't ever come back, hear? I don't want to play with you anyway. I don't wanta play with any little old foreigner.

ANNA: (ON THE VERGE OF TEARS, RUNS OFF STAGE, AND MARY RETURNS TO ORIGINAL POSITION.)

MR. PEOPLE: My, my, Mary, was that a way to act with a playmate?

MARY: (POUTING) Well, Anna is a little old foreigner!

MR. PEOPLE: (SHAKING HIS HEAD) No, Mary. Anna was born right here in (NAME OF TOWN), just as you were. Her father is a naturalized citizen, and they're both just as American as you are. (RETURNS TO THE REPORT ON MARY) Now, my representative next reports that he overheard you arguing with Sara Franklin last Thanksgiving Day, like this: (WAVES STICK AGAIN AND MARY MOVES TOWARD SARA FRANKLIN WHO ENTERS STAGE RIGHT.)

SARA: (EXCITEDLY) Mary, I just saw the turkey we're going to have for dinner. It's all brown and this big! (MEASURING WITH HANDS)

MARY: (DISDAINFULLY) *Your* turkey, huh! *Our* turkey's twice that big. (GESTURING EXAGGERATEDLY WITH HER HANDS TO MEASURE ENORMOUS TURKEY. LIFTING HER HEAD AND POSING PROUDLY) Whatta you know about Thanksgiving, anyway? After all, *my* great-great-great-grandfather came over on the Mayflower! My family's been celebrating Thanksgiving for over a hundred years. Has yours? We're better Americans than you are, that's what! (SARA MOVES OFF STAGE, RATHER DOWNCAST, AND MARY MOVES BACK TO DESK.)

MR. PEOPLE: (SHAKING HIS HEAD AND LOOKING AT MARY SADLY) Mary, you know that isn't true!

MARY: (POUTING) Well, that was a fib, I guess, but my family's been here a long, long time. Longer than Sara Franklin's. Mother says so.

MR. PEOPLE: But, Mary, *all* Americans share equally in celebrating Thanksgiving Day. Besides, if you like only the children whose grandfathers have been in America for hundreds of years, why didn't you invite little Isaac Levin to your birthday party the other day? Do you know that his great-great-great grandfather came to America with General Oglethorpe to help settle and build Georgia? My report (TURNING THE PAGES) says that Isaac was very hurt when he was the only boy on your street not asked to your party.

MARY: Well, uh . . . you see, Mr. People, he doesn't go to the same church as we do.

MR. PEOPLE: In your country, Mary, it is a very dear right for each man to worship God as he chooses. The founders of the United States were so concerned about guarding this right that it is part of your Constitution. (TURNS PAGE IN LITTLE BOOK — CONTINUES TO READ SHAKING HIS HEAD SADLY) This next report is *quite* bad. (CONTINUES READING) "Thelma Jones, the maid in Mary's house is very fond of Mary. She likes to make fudge and cookies to please Mary and always takes real pride in Mary's clothes being neat and fresh and pretty. But occasionally Thelma has to scold Mary when she has been particularly naughty. Just the other day, when Thelma repeatedly urged Mary, 'Drink your milk, it's good for you,' Mary answered angrily, 'Don't you tell me what to do. I'm a white lady and you're nothing but a nigger. Your ancestors were slaves.' " (PAUSES, AGAIN SHAKING HIS HEAD SADLY) Oh, Mary, how you hurt Thelma! My report states, too, that your mother has told you many times how wrong it is to speak that way to Thelma.

MARY: (ANGRILY) But she *is* a nigger.

MR. PEOPLE: (VERY FIRMLY) *Negro,* Mary, *Negro.*

MARY: (MOCKING MR. PEOPLE) *Negro,* Mary, *Negro.* (MEAN AND NASTY) Who do you think *you* are, telling *me* what to say?

MR. PEOPLE: (RAISING HIS MAGIC STICK MENACINGLY OVER MARY'S HEAD. SPEAKING FORCEFULLY) Mary, I have much magic in this stick. With a few twists of my wrist I can turn you into the person to whom you've been ugly just long enough for you to learn how she feels. Sometimes, with very stubborn pupils, I have to do that. (PAUSE) Now, are you going to continue to be stubborn? (WAVING HIS STICK)

MARY: (DRAWING BACK IN FRIGHT) No! No! No! Don't! Please don't... I'll do anything you say.

MR. PEOPLE: (LOWERING HIS STICK) Well, that's better. You're not really a bad girl, are you, Mary? I believe you just haven't stopped to consider how Anna and Sara and Isaac and Thelma feel.

MARY: (HALTINGLY) I guess — I guess so. I just haven't shown them the friendship I would want them to show me.

MR. PEOPLE: (WALKING BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE ROOM, SCRATCHING THE BACK OF HIS NECK IN THOUGHT) Mary, I don't know exactly what to do with you. You must be taught that each one of us is a person just as you are. In your country, it is traditional to like each person for himself, without regard for race, color or religion or the country he may be born in.

MARY: You use such big words. Say that again, please.

MR. PEOPLE: Well, think of it this way. Anna Polowski is a girl. She may be pretty or ugly, smart or stupid, mean or sweet natured. Or maybe she's just in-between. You must think of Anna as what she *is* or *isn't* and then decide for yourself if you like to play with her. You're losing a good playmate when you decide right off that because her daddy came from Poland you won't have anything to do with her. Why, if you leave your mind open, you might find that Anna is the nicest of all the girls you know.

MARY: Really? (PAUSE) (REFLECTIVELY) She is a lot of fun . . .

MR. PEOPLE: Let's see now. What's the best way I can teach you the importance of liking people for themselves? I could take you on a trip around the world, but I don't want to worry your mother and daddy and I might not be able to get you back by breakfast.

MARY: I wouldn't like that. Couldn't you just talk to me?

MR. PEOPLE: No, that's the least best way. (PACES AND THINKS SOME MORE) It seems to me, Mary, that you just need a little information. Somehow or other, you have some fancy ideas about your own importance and the importance of your ancestors. You think you're more American than anyone else because your ancestors came here when there were very few people here, do you? Let's see about that. (GOES TO RIGHT STAGE WING, IF PLAY IS BEING PRODUCED ON STAGE, OR TO RIGHT EDGE OF PLAYING AREA IF PLAY IS BEING PRODUCED IN CLASSROOM, AND CALLS) Chief Tamiami! Oh, Chief Tamiami! Would you come here for a moment, please? (CHIEF TAMIAMI, IN FULL INDIAN DRESS, APPEARS, ARMS CROSSED, AND STANDS SILENTLY LOOKING AT MARY.)

MARY: (SURPRISED) Oh, where did you come from?

MR. PEOPLE: He's just one of my helpers, Mary. (TURNS TO CHIEF TAMIAMI) Chief, Mary here believes she's more American than anybody else because her great-great-great-great-grandparents came to America among the first settlers.

CHIEF TAMIAMI: (DISPLEASED) Ugh. (TURNS TO MR. PEOPLE) May I talk English, please?

MR. PEOPLE: Please.

CHIEF TAMIAMI: *My* people, Mary, were the first Americans. My ancestors came to this country so long ago, nobody remembers when. It was a long, long time ago, when there were no men at all on this whole continent. Nobody knows exactly how they came, either. Most of them, we think, came from the northeastern part of Asia, now known as Siberia. You can look that up in your geography book there. They came over to Alaska and then spread out. Some of them went north, and made their homes there. They're what you call Eskimos. Some of them came on down into what is now the United States. Others wandered further south down into Central and South America. They became what Columbus called the Indians. (PAUSES) *They* were the first Americans. Your great-great-grandmother and grandfather came here much, much later.

MARY: You mean it was your country first? Before it was ours?

CHIEF TAMIAMI: That's just what I mean. If I want to call names as you do — I could call you a foreigner. You're a foreigner, Mary, and so is everybody in America except us Indians. We Americans are proud that our country has always been looked upon as a land of opportunity, and

that people from many foreign countries have come here to live and have contributed to the greatness of America.

MARY: Oh, dear, I wonder if my mother knows about this.

CHIEF TAMIAMI: May I go now, Mr. People?

MR. PEOPLE: Yes, but on your way out, send in Marcel. (EXIT CHIEF TAMIAMI, ENTER MARCEL. MARCEL IS A BIG, HANDSOME YOUNG MAN WHO COMES IN SMILING AND STANDS AWKWARDLY, LOOKING FIRST AT MARY, THEN AT MR. PEOPLE, WAITING FOR INSTRUCTIONS. HE IS DRESSED AS AN AMERICAN COLONIAL OF THE EARLY 1700's) Mary, I want you to meet Marcel. What do you think of him, Mary?

MARY: He's nice looking all right.

MR. PEOPLE: Think he looks anything like you?

MARY: No-oooo. (QUESTIONINGLY) He does look a little like my daddy.

MR. PEOPLE: Marcel is your great-great-great-great grandfather, Mary. He came to America in 1690 from France. Landed in South Carolina, didn't you, Marcel? Tell Mary about yourself.

MARCEL: (TO MARY) I came to this country as a slave, you know.

MARY: (ASTOUNDED) A slave? Oh, no.

MARCEL: Yes, I came to America as a slave. I met some Englishmen and gave myself to them if they would bring me to America, just so I could get enough food to eat and a place to live. I was known as an indentured servant and had to do whatever my English masters told me to do. Twice I was sold to other men, and had to do what *they* said. Yes, (SHAKING HIS HEAD SADLY) Mary, I worked in the rice fields in South Carolina for many years as a slave.

MARY: But you're white! How could you have been a slave?

MARCEL: The first slaves in America *were* white. It was only when the big planters couldn't buy enough indentured servants that they started bringing in Negroes as slaves.

MARY: If you were a slave, were all your children slaves, too?

MARCEL: No, Mary, one day I ran away to Virginia and became a carpenter's helper and began to live as a free man. Men don't like to be slaves. A man wants to be free — free to choose whether he wants to be a farmer, a carpenter, a lawyer or a teacher.

MARY: Is that what we mean by American freedom?

MR. PEOPLE: That's exactly right. (TURNS TO MARCEL) You can run along now, Marcel. But hang around. I may want you on my next trip. (EXIT MARCEL) . . . Now, how's about it, Mary? Are you beginning to get the point?

MARY: I think so. If being a good American means just that your family's been over here longer than most people, then the Indians are the best Americans of all!

MR. PEOPLE: Well, that's partly it.

MARY: And ancestors don't count at all, do they?

MR. PEOPLE: Well, of course, they count for something. (LAUGHING) But everybody's got just as many ancestors as everybody else.

MARY: And I learned from Chief Tamiami that people coming from countries all over the world have worked together to make America a wonderful place to live.

MR. PEOPLE: Yes, my dear. And the most important thing to remember is that each of us is a person just as you are. In schools all over the world children are taught the Golden Rule — to love their neighbor and that all men are brothers. If all the people in the world practiced these lessons, what a happier place this would be!

MARY: (WITH GREAT FEELING) Thank you so much for coming to see me, Mr. People. I'll remember all the lessons you've taught me.

MR. PEOPLE: Well, I must be running along. I'll be watching the reports on you, Mary. Won't you make them good ones?

MARY: Oh, I *will* make them good, Mr. People. Just watch me. (MR. PEOPLE STARTS TO MOVE AWAY, STOPS JUST AT THE EXIT WHEN MARY CALLS) Where are you going now?

MR. PEOPLE: (SMILING) To China. There's a little boy over there who's being naughty to Americans. He thinks he's better than you are because his country is so much older than yours. (LAUGHS AND SHAKES HIS HEAD) He was very naughty this afternoon to the son of a missionary. (PAUSE) You see, my little Chinese friend thinks all white people smell bad.

(CURTAIN)

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THE TROUBLE WITH JOHNNY

A PLAY IN TWO SCENES

Prepared by the Staff of Southern Office

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith

11 Pryor Street, S. W. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE TROUBLE WITH JOHNNY

TIME: 20 minutes
CAST: 6 or more characters

★

Through Johnny's bitter experience, a school group learns that it is each student's responsibility to practice democracy in daily living.

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
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"THE TROUBLE WITH JOHNNY"

★

A Play in Two Scenes

CAST:

JOHNNY

JOAN

BOB

GEORGE

MISS REYNOLDS
the principal

MISS SMITH
Miss Reynolds' secretary

FOUR GIRLS

FOUR BOYS

This play is designed for presentation either in an auditorium or in a classroom. Though two scenes are called for, they require only the simplest of properties and may be adapted easily for performance with the most limited stage facilities. A change of scene will, of course, offer no problem at all if the play is produced on the stage of the school auditorium. If presented in an ordinary classroom, however, the absence of a curtain may make the change an awkward business; continuity of the play will undoubtedly suffer if scenery has to be moved about in full view of the audience. To avoid this, it is suggested that, space permitting, both the front and rear of the classroom be utilized for playing space. The first scene can be played in the front of the classroom; when the scene changes, the audience can simply turn around in their desks and watch scene two enacted in the rear.

Scene One

A corner of the school lunchroom. Three tables, each designed to accommodate four persons. The two tables upstage (farthest from the audience) are occupied, each with two boys and two girls, all of whom are eating quietly. At the table downstage Bob and Joan are seated opposite each other. They are eating slowly and do not appear to be very happy. Offstage is the babble of voices and the clatter of dishes. The noise dies away as Joan speaks.

JOAN: (BANGING MILK GLASS DOWN ON TABLE; PEEVED) Well, I don't care what they say, Bob. George Kennedy couldn't help it if we lost the game!

(JOHNNY ENTERS STAGE RIGHT. HIS CLOTHES ARE CLEAN BUT SHABBY, AND THEY IMMEDIATELY STAMP HIM AS A BOY WHO COMES FROM A FAMILY WHERE EVERY PENNY COUNTS. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS CLOTHES AND THOSE OF BOB'S IS NOTICEABLE. JOHNNY IS CARRYING A TRAY OF FOOD, A BOWL OF SOUP, A SANDWICH, AND A GLASS OF MILK. HE LOOKS AROUND, SPIES BOB AND JOAN UP FRONT, CROSSES STAGE TO JOIN THEM.)

BOB: Of course he couldn't, Joan. And I don't think anybody blames him, really. We were just up against a tough team, that's all. Even the coach admitted that.

JOHNNY: (STANDING BESIDE TABLE, STILL HOLDING TRAY) Aw, what does that guy know. He's as dumb as the team.

BOB: (SARCASTICALLY) Well, well, look who's here. Big-mouth Canetto!

JOHNNY: Yeah. Mind if I sit here? (NOT WAITING FOR AN ANSWER, HE PUTS TRAY ON TABLE, TAKES SEAT BETWEEN THE TWO, HIS FACE TOWARD AUDIENCE.)

JOAN: (INDIGNANTLY) If I were you, Johnny Canetto, I'd be careful what I said about Coach Watson!

JOHNNY: (ABOUT TO PUT SPOONFUL OF SOUP IN MOUTH, CONTEMPTUOUSLY) Why should I? He's nothing to me! I don't run around licking his boots like mosta these fellows. I don't play on his team.

BOB: I'll say you don't. He wouldn't have ya.

JOAN: (NODDING HER HEAD EMPHATICALLY) You said it, Bob. The coach wouldn't stand for him.

JOHNNY: Oh, yeah? Why wouldn't he stand for me?

JOAN: Because you're a trouble-maker, that's why. Always getting into fights. Everybody in school knows what you are.

JOHNNY: (LAUGHING DISDAINFULLY) But I *win* the fights I get into. That's more than you can say for George Kennedy. The way he blew up yesterday and lost that game for us —

JOAN: (VERY ANGRY, SHAKING FORK AT JOHNNY) That's not true, and you know it. George did *not* blow up. He did his very best, and it was no fault of his we got beat.

JOHNNY: (SARCASTICALLY) Look who's talking. Of course *you'd* say that. *You* think everything George Kennedy does is wonderful — perfect.

JOAN: George Kennedy is a gentleman! That's more than I can say for you!

JOHNNY: Oh, so you think George Kennedy's better than I am. I'm not as good as George, huh? Is that what you think?

JOAN: I don't *think* it. I *know* it. You prove it every time you open your mouth!

JOHNNY: (DETERMINEDLY) Well, maybe I'll *show* you how good I am.

JOAN: (SUSPICIOUSLY) What do you mean?

JOHNNY: (VAGUELY, WITH A SWAGGERING GESTURE OF THE SHOULDERS) Oh . . . you'll find out.

BOB: (IMPATIENTLY) Oh, don't pay any attention to him, Joan. He just likes to hear himself talk!

JOAN: (TURNING BACK TO HER FOOD) I guess you're right. But Johnny makes me mad! (TO JOHNNY) Who do you think you are, anyway, talking about George Kennedy like that?

BOB: (HALF-RISING IN HIS CHAIR AND LOOKING OFFSTAGE RIGHT, AND LEFT) I wonder what's keeping George. He said he would join us for lunch.

JOAN: He will. He had to see Coach Watson first. Something about next week's game.

BOB: (SITTING DOWN AGAIN) Well, anyway, Joan, we certainly had a turnout yesterday. Can't say the team doesn't have the school behind it.

JOAN: How many you suppose were there?

BOB: Oh, 500 or more, all told.

JOHNNY: (DISDAINFULLY) I wasn't there. You didn't catch me there.

JOAN: You're never there! Don't you ever want to see the team play?

JOHNNY: (DISDAINFULLY) Those guys? Naw . . . I've got better things to do.

JOAN: (SHRUGGING, TO BOB) Miss Reynolds never misses a game. Have you noticed?

BOB: Yeah. Boy, she's *always* there, cheering with the rest of us.

JOAN: I think we're real lucky, having a person like Miss Reynolds for principal.

BOB: Yeah . . . (HE RISES IN HIS SEAT AGAIN AND LOOKS OFF-STAGE RIGHT, SEARCHING. SUDDENLY HIS FACE SMILES IN RECOGNITION. HE WAVES) There's George now. (CALLS) Oh, George!

GEORGE: (OFFSTAGE RIGHT) Be with you in a minute.

BOB: (SITTING BACK DOWN AND TURNING TO JOHNNY) Since you dislike George Kennedy so much, I don't suppose you'll be wanting to sit at the same table with him. Why don't you go eat someplace else?

JOHNNY: (RESENTFULLY) I know you want to get rid of me! But I'm staying, see?

JOAN: (SHRUGGING) Here comes George now.

BOB: (FOLLOWING HER GAZE) Golly, he's got enough food on that tray to feed an army.

GEORGE: (CLOSE OFFSTAGE) Gangway everybody! This tray is heavy. (ENTER GEORGE STAGE RIGHT. NEAT, WELL DRESSED BOY — THE SON OF A WELL-TO-DO, PRIVILEGED FAMILY. SMILING. HE COMES ON STAGE IN BACK OF JOHNNY, MOVING TOWARD TABLE)

BOB: Here, George, come around here. (GESTURING FOR GEORGE TO COME AROUND JOHNNY AND JOAN AND TAKE SEAT OPPOSITE JOHNNY. GEORGE STARTS TO DO AS BOB SUGGESTS, GETS HALFWAY AROUND THE TABLE WHEN HE TRIPS AND FALLS TO THE FLOOR. THERE IS THE CRASH OF BREAKING

DISHES, ETC. BOYS AND GIRLS AT OTHER TABLES TURN AROUND IN THEIR CHAIRS, COMMENT EXCITEDLY.)

BOYS AND GIRLS: (AD-LIBBING) What happened? Did you see that? He was tripped. I know he was. I saw him fall. Who is it? Who? George Kennedy? — etc., etc.

JOAN: (AS GEORGE RISES TO HIS FEET, DISTRESSED) Oh, George, did you hurt yourself? And just look at your shirt! (FOOD HAS SPILLED ALL OVER GEORGE'S SHIRT FRONT) It's ruined!

BOB: (HELPING GEORGE UP) What made you trip, George?

GEORGE: (BREATHLESS BUT ANGRY) You . . . wanta know . . . what made me trip? Well, I'll tell you. (POINTS TO JOHNNY) He . . . Johnny . . . that dirty rat tripped me. He deliberately stuck out his foot so I'd fall over it!

CROWD: (AD-LIB REMARKS) Johnny Canetto! That guy again! Won't he ever learn! What a dirty trick! Etc., etc.

JOHNNY: Could I help it if you don't know how to put one foot after the other?

GEORGE: (FURIOUS) Are you gonna sit there and tell me you didn't trip me? Why, you sorry . . . (MOVES MENACINGLY TOWARD JOHNNY. JOHNNY RISES) I'll knock your ugly teeth in — JOHNNY PUSHES BACK HIS CHAIR, COMES AROUND TO MEET GEORGE. GEORGE SWINGS, JOHNNY DUCKS. THEY TUSSLE, FALL TO THE FLOOR TOGETHER. CROWD FORMS AROUND THEM.)

JOAN: (ALARMED) Oh, Bob, make them stop!

BOB: Not yet. Let George get a good sock at him first.

JOAN: But I'm afraid George'll get hurt.

BOB: Don't worry. George can take care of himself. (SUDDENLY LOOKS OFFSTAGE LEFT, GROWS PANICKY, SUCKS IN BREATH QUICKLY) Uh-oh! Here comes Miss Reynolds.

MISS REYNOLDS: (AS SHE ENTERS STAGE LEFT) What in the world is going on here? (CROSSING STAGE QUICKLY) Get up off that floor this instant. The idea! (GEORGE AND JOHNNY GET TO THEIR FEET, PANTING AND SOMEWHAT SHAMEFACED)

JOHNNY: (DEFENSIVELY) George hit me first!

MISS R: (DISAPPOINTEDLY) Oh, Johnny Canetto! Again, Johnny? I thought, after the last time. . . .

JOHNNY: But I didn't start the fight, Miss Reynolds. George did!

GEORGE: Yes, Miss Reynolds. I started the fight . . . after he'd upset me with a tray full of food.

JOAN: That's right, Miss Reynolds! We saw it. George is right.

MISS R: Well, we'll get to the bottom of this in my office. Come along with me, Johnny! (MOVING OFFSTAGE RIGHT) I want you too, George.

And Joan . . . you and Bob better come along. I'll want to hear your side of the story, too. (SHE EXITS, FOLLOWED BY JOHNNY, GEORGE, BOB, AND JOAN. BOYS AND GIRLS RESUME SEATS AT LUNCHROOM TABLES, EXCITEDLY DISCUSSING INCIDENT, AS CURTAIN FALLS.)

★

SCENE TWO

Office of the principal, Miss Reynolds, a few moments later. A desk is just offstage center. Behind it is a chair, and beside it, to stage right, another chair. Three more chairs are arranged close to the desk, or against the wall, at stage left. On the desk are a 3 x 5 card file, assorted books, papers, etc. As curtain rises, door at stage right opens, enter Joan, followed by George, Bob, and Johnny. Miss Reynolds speaks behind them.

MISS R: You all find seats, please. (SHE ENTERS, CLOSES DOOR BEHIND HER, SITS IN CHAIR BEHIND DESK. JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE CROSS TO STAGE LEFT, MOVE CHAIRS ABOUT TO SUIT THEMSELVES, TAKE SEATS TO STAGE LEFT OF MISS REYNOLDS' DESK. AFTER THEY'RE SEATED, JOHNNY SITS IN THE LONE CHAIR AT STAGE RIGHT. IMPRESSION FROM STAGING IS THAT THE GROUP HAS CHOSEN UP SIDES—JOHNNY AGAINST THE OTHER THREE. MISS REYNOLDS' DESK SHOULD BE SLIGHTLY TO STAGE RIGHT SO AS TO PRESERVE BALANCE IN STAGE COMPOSITION. BEFORE SPEAKING, MISS REYNOLDS LOOKS FROM JOAN, BOB, AND

GEORGE ON HER LEFT, TO JOHNNY ON HER RIGHT. SHE REFLECTS A MOMENT, THEN SPEAKS)

MISS R: I don't do this very often. I usually like to talk to my *bad* (SMILES) boys individually. (TO JOHNNY) But I've talked to Johnny by himself before — several times. (SHE SHAKES HER HEAD DESPAIRINGLY) I thought it might be good this time for a few of us to talk it out together.

JOAN: (POUTING) I don't see *why*, Miss Reynolds. It wasn't *our* fault.

MISS R: (POINTEDLY) No? (PAUSE) Well, it's certainly no secret what a problem we've got here. Johnny, how many times have you been sent to my office since you entered this school?

JOHNNY: (SULLENLY) I dunno. A good many times I s'pose.

BOB: He's been nothing but a trouble-maker ever since he came here.

JOHNNY: (QUICKLY. TO BOB) Nobody has to *make* trouble around this school. Not with guys like you *asking* for trouble all the time.

MISS R: (SEVERELY) Let's not have that kind of talk. (SILENCING THEM WITH A LOOK. PAUSE) Now how shall we begin? First thing, maybe a look at the record would be of help. (SHE PULLS OPEN 3 x 5 CARD FILE, THUMBS THROUGH A NUMBER OF CARDS, PULLS OUT ONE AND EXAMINES IT) According to this, Johnny, you came here last September from New Orleans.

JOHNNY: That's right. We moved here when daddy got a job in the new mill.

MISS R: (STILL STUDYING CARD) Since you enrolled here, you've been reported for bad conduct on an average of twice a month. (READS) September 27 — starting fight in locker room — Octob —

GEORGE: (INTERRUPTING) I remember that fight. (TO MISS REYNOLDS) Some of the boys were getting dressed. Just talking together and minding their own business. When all of a sudden Johnny comes tearing out from the next row of lockers and lights into the whole pack of 'em.

JOHNNY: (ANGRILY) That's not true. Maybe if you'd been there, you'd know it's not true.

MISS R: What do you mean it's not true? You did have a fight in the locker room, didn't you?

JOHNNY: Sure, there was a fight, but — (SHRUGGING, SITTING BACK DISGUSTEDLY IN CHAIR) Oh, what's the use!

MISS R: (RESUMES READING) October 9 — breaking window in Miss Blake's room — October 24 — disturbance in assembly — November 4 — disorderly conduct at football game — November 20 — damaging apparatus in science room — December 6 — starting fight at club meeting — January 13 — (PAUSES, REGARDS JOHNNY REFLECTIVELY) Shall I go on?

JOHNNY: That's enough.

MISS R: Well, Johnny, if the record means anything, that makes you the worst boy in school.

JOHNNY: (DEFIANTLY) All right! So I'm the worst boy in school!

MISS R: It's nothing to brag about, Johnny. In some schools you'd be expelled for a record like that.

JOHNNY: Go on and expel me, why don't you? I hate this school anyway.

MISS R: (QUIETLY, WITH GREAT EFFORT TO BE PATIENT) I'm not going to expel you, Johnny. The other boys and girls get along in this school. You can too. Now, I think it's time we found out what the matter is. (PAUSE) Why do you think you get in so much trouble?

JOHNNY: (PROMPTLY) I lose my temper.

MISS R: Why, Johnny?

JOHNNY: They just make me mad, that's all.

MISS R: The other students make you mad? Do the other students say things you don't like?

JOHNNY: Sometimes they do.

MISS R: What sort of things, Johnny?

JOHNNY: Oh . . . lots of things. They call me names. (GETTING ANGRY;

GESTURING TOWARD BOB, JOAN AND GEORGE) Well, just look at 'em. They think they're better than I am. They say I'm not good enough for 'em.

JOAN: (INDIGNANT) Why, I've never said anything like that in my life!

JOHNNY: Oh, no? Well, you might as well have, the *way* you talk. It's very clear what you think of me.

BOB: Well, suppose it *is!* It's true. You're *not* as good as we are.

JOHNNY: (RISING MENACINGLY) I am, see. I'm as good as any of you. (CLENCHING FISTS AND TAKING STEP FORWARD) And I'll fight anybody who says I'm not!

MISS R: (RAPPING DESK LOUDLY WITH RULER) Boys! Boys! (THEY QUIET DOWN. SHE REGARDS THEM ATTENTIVELY FOR A MOMENT, AND THEN SPEAKS AFTER SOME DELIBERATION) Tell me, Johnny. How did you get along in school before you moved here?

JOHNNY: Fine. I got along swell. I had *lots* of friends in New Orleans. Mike Frazetti for instance. Mike and I used t'play on the baseball team together. He played second base and I played shortstop.

GEORGE: (INCREDULOUS) *You* played baseball? Why didn't you come out for the team here, then?

JOHNNY: (COLDLY) I *did* try out — (PAUSE) — *once.*

GEORGE: But why — ? (GIVES IT UP, SHAKES HIS HEAD, LOOKS TO MISS REYNOLDS)

MISS R: Excuse me a moment. (SPEAKS IN DIRECTION OF DOOR) Oh, Miss Smith.

(ENTER MISS SMITH STAGE RIGHT. SHE STANDS WITH DOOR AJAR.)

MISS SMITH: Yes, Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Bring me the transfer record on Johnny Canetto, will you, please?

MISS SMITH: Just a minute. (SHE EXITS, CLOSING DOOR AFTER HER)

JOHNNY: (MORE TO HIMSELF THAN TO ANYBODY IN THE ROOM) I had *lots* of friends in New Orleans.

MISS R: I seem to remember that you made fairly good grades in New Orleans, too.

JOHNNY: (SUDDENLY IMPATIENT) Oh, Miss Reynolds, this isn't doing us any good. Why don't you go ahead and do what you're going to do and get it over with?

MISS R: (WITH A FRIENDLY SMILE) It won't take long, Johnny . . . Tell me about your friends in New Orleans.

JOHNNY: There's not much to tell. We went to school together. Went to the same church, most of us. And we used to play together almost every afternoon.

MISS R: I suppose you miss them very much.

JOHNNY: I'll say I do.

(ENTER MISS SMITH)

MISS SMITH: (CROSSING STAGE TO PUT FILE FOLDER ON MISS REYNOLDS' DESK.) Here's the record on Canetto. Will that be all?

MISS R: (OPENING FOLDER AND BEGINNING TO SCAN CONTENTS) Yes, thank you.

(EXIT MISS SMITH. MISS REYNOLDS READS SILENTLY FOR A MOMENT, HER FACE GRADUALLY ASSUMING AN EXPRESSION OF SURPRISE AND INCREDULITY. AS SHE READS FURTHER, SHE SAYS "MY, MY" TO HERSELF EVERY NOW AND THEN. FINALLY, SHE LOOKS UP AND SHAKES HER HEAD IN WONDER. WHILE THIS IS GOING ON, JOHNNY SITS RESENTFULLY IN HIS CHAIR; JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE EXCHANGE EXPRESSIONS OF CURIOSITY.)

MISS R: I think you'll be interested in this. It's the report the school in New Orleans sent on Johnny when he transferred here last fall.

JOAN: (SARCASTICALLY) Does that include a report on his manners?

MISS R: No, Joan. But if I were keeping a record on *your* manners, *you* wouldn't look very good today.

JOAN: (BLUSHING) Excuse me.

MISS R: (DROPS HER EYES TO THE FILE FOLDER, BEGINS TO READ FROM RECORD) Johnny averaged excellent in all his studies. Excellent in general science, excellent in Latin, excellent in French, excellent in algebra, very good in English —

JOAN: (TAKEN ABACK) Why, Miss Reynolds, Johnny's hardly passing those same subjects here.

BOB: I bet that school in New Orleans was easier.

MISS R: (SHAKING HER HEAD) No. If anything, the schools in New Orleans are harder.

GEORGE: I don't understand. (TO JOHNNY) Why were you so smart in New Orleans but so — so dumb here?

MISS R: Johnny not only made good grades, George. Listen to this. (RESUMES READING) "He was president of the chemistry club, secretary of the student body, shortstop on the baseball team, and he won a gold medal for debating. His home room teacher has written this comment, "Johnny has been a splendid student and a most cooperative citizen of our school." (LOOKS UP FROM JOHNNY'S TRANSFER RECORD, STUDIES THE THREE BEFORE HER. PAUSE) . . . Well, what do you think of that?

GEORGE: (ASTONISHED) I don't know what to think. That doesn't sound like the Johnny Canetto who tripped me a half hour ago.

JOAN: (WONDERING) I can't believe it.

GEORGE: It's not the same boy, that's all. (TO JOHNNY) What's happened to you, Johnny? Why've you changed so?

JOAN: Are you sick, Johnny? Have you been sick since you moved here? Sometimes people get sick and —

GEORGE: (RUBBING HIS JAW AND SMILING RUEFULLY) He doesn't fight like a sick man.

JOHNNY: (ANGRY AGAIN) There's nothing wrong with *me*. It's *y'all*. (SNEER) You all think you're so smart.

MISS R: Well, obviously, Johnny, you're not very happy here. You *were* happy in New Orleans, though, and that must account for your excellent record there. Johnny, I really want to help. (PAUSE) Try to tell me why you're not happy here.

JOHNNY: (EMBARRASSED SLIGHTLY) I don't know. I guess I just don't feel like I belong here. They treat me like dirt.

MISS R: How, Johnny? What do you mean?

JOHNNY: It's the way they talk about me. (TURNING TO JOAN, BOB, AND GEORGE) Don't think I haven't heard you.

MISS R: What do they say about you, Johnny?

JOHNNY: Oh, they say I'm not worth bothering with. They say my father is a dirty, sneaking foreigner and we oughta go back where we came from.

MISS R: (ASTONISHED) They *do!* (TO BOB, JOAN, AND GEORGE) Is this true?

GEORGE: (EMBARRASSED) You know how people talk, Miss Reynolds. Sure, some of 'em have been talking like that about him.

MISS R: (FIRMLY) Have you?

GEORGE: Well —

MISS R: (SADLY) How terrible! George, how could you —

BOB: But golly, Miss Reynolds. What'd you expect us to say after the way Johnny's been acting?

JOHNNY: Whatta you mean — *after?* Miss Reynolds, they started talking about me like that the first week I came here. I didn't do a thing. I wanted to be friends but they wouldn't let me. . . Look . . . I, oh what's the use. I'll *never* get along in this school.

MISS R: (WITH GREAT SYMPATHY) What were you going to tell us, Johnny? Something happened during the first week you were here?

JOHNNY: That's right. That fight in the locker room. (TO GEORGE) Just listen now; this is how it *really* happened, if you want to know. (TO MISS REYNOLDS) It was about me joining the Science Club. I wanted to join, but the members had to vote on me. They were talking about me one afternoon in the locker room. They couldn't see me — I was over dressing in the next row of lockers — but I could hear everything they said. One guy was repeating my name . . . (SNEERINGLY) "Johnny Canetto" — like that. "Johnny Canetto," he says. "Sounds like a foreigner to me. Where'd he come from anyway?" And then another boy says, "Out of some gutter. Have you seen the kind of clothes he wears? They look like he picked 'em up off some garbage heap." And then this third boy says, "Oh, I — "

JOAN: (INTERRUPTING) Your clothes never made any difference to me. The reason I didn't like you was you were always getting in fights, and it looked to me as if they were all your fault.

JOHNNY: Well, that's what these guys were saying about me. This third boy, he —

MISS R: (INTERRUPTING) Just a minute Johnny. Who were these boys?

JOHNNY: (EMBARRASSED) Oh, just some of the crowd. . . Nobody in *this* room. You don't want me to tattle, do you, Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: No, Johnny. Never mind. Go on.

JOHNNY: Well, then, another guy said, "Oh, I know about him. His old man works in the thread mill. My daddy hired him last week. Runs a loom or something." "Well," says this first boy, "I don't know what you think, but I'm not voting him into our club. I don't like greasy foreigners." "Me neither," says another one. "There's something sort of sneaky about 'em. Besides, whatta we know about Johnny Canetto? Anybody with a name like that!"

MISS R: (TOUCHED) That was the way that they were talking about you, was it?

JOHNNY: Almost word for word. I stood there listening to them, getting madder all the time, and finally I couldn't stand it any longer. I went over and told 'em what I thought. That's how the fight started.

GEORGE: (CONTRITE) Gee, I didn't know that, Johnny.

BOB: Me either. I always thought —

JOHNNY: Well, that's how it was, Miss Reynolds — right from the beginning. Even before they knew me, they were saying I was no good. I had a foreign sounding name, I had just moved to town, and my daddy works in a factory. So right off the bat, they decided I was beneath them.

MISS R: I'm ashamed, really ashamed. I didn't think my children *could* behave like that.

JOAN: It doesn't make sense, when you come to think of it. To judge a person by the sound of his name, or by what his father does for a living. Oh Johnny, I'm so sorry.

BOB: I'm sorry, too. Maybe if we hadn't fallen for all that junk about your being a foreigner — maybe if we'd given you a chance — we'd have a decent shortstop.

GEORGE: (TO JOHNNY) Is that why you never came back for another tryout?

JOHNNY: Sure. They made it pretty clear I wasn't wanted. You think I wanted to hang around and be insulted?

MISS R: About today, Johnny. Did you trip George? Or did he merely stumble over your feet?

JOHNNY: I tripped him.

MISS R: Why?

JOHNNY: The same old business. Joan and Bob kept talking about how wonderful George was, and how no account I was. George is so handsome, George is so perfect. Joan kept saying how wonderful George is till I couldn't take it any more.

JOAN: I never realized —

MISS R: So you decided to show George up? Make him look silly?

JOHNNY: (NODDING) Something like that.

MISS R: I know how you must have felt, Johnny. But do you think you were helping the situation by acting like that?

JOHNNY: How do you think I should have acted?

MISS R: Johnny, they have treated you very badly. There's no doubt about that. But fights don't help. That one in the locker room — that fight didn't make you feel any better, did it? You've gone around with a chip on your shoulder ever since — daring people to knock it off. You got into more and more fights and made more and more enemies.

JOHNNY: (BITTERLY) It's easy for you to talk, Miss Reynolds. You don't know what it is to move to a new town and be lonesome and want to make friends in school. You can't understand how it feels not even to be given a chance — to have people call you names and say you're no good.

MISS R: I know. I know. But don't you see — you made things worse instead of better by getting into trouble all the time? You made people believe you really were good-for-nothing by the way you acted.

JOHNNY: What would you have done, Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Well, I hope I'd have said to myself, "These people are being stupid and unfair. But I'll show them I'm just as good as they are. I'll *prove* it by getting good marks and volunteering for school activities and by keeping a good conduct record." . . . If you'd done that, actually you would have proved yourself *better* than they. Because you'd have been behaving like an intelligent adult while they were acting like bad-mannered, not-too-bright children.

JOHNNY: You think if I'd have done that, they would've learned to like me?

MISS R: I'm sure of it.

JOHNNY: (DOWNCAST) Well, I guess it's too late now.

GEORGE: (RISING AND WALKING ACROSS STAGE TO THE RIGHT OF JOHNNY'S CHAIR. ADDRESSING JOHNNY) No it isn't, Johnny. Not for you, it isn't. . . Look, I'm sorry those guys in the locker room gave you such a raw deal, and got you started off here that way. I'm sorry I didn't have any better sense than to go along with the things they said about you. I'm just as sorry as I can be.

JOHNNY: I'm sorry, too. I'm sorry I tripped you.

GEORGE: Look Johnny — I know I don't deserve it, but will you forgive me? Will you forgive us all? Will you give us another chance?

JOHNNY: What do you mean?

GEORGE: I mean another chance to be friends with you.

JOHNNY: (BEWILDERED) Sure, I —

GEORGE: I know you have every good reason not to want to be friends with us now, but — John, Bob, and I — we know how silly and unfair we've been — and we're going to see to it that everybody else in this school realizes what a bad mistake they've made. . . I'll, I'll — I know what I'll do. I'll see that you're elected to the Science Club. I'll submit your name at the next meeting and tell everybody how awful we've behaved, and if they won't let you in then, I'll resign. I don't want to be in any Science Club that judges people so unscientifically.

BOB: And I'll resign with you, George.

JOHNNY: No . . . don't do that. I don't want the guys to think I'm a — (PAUSES, CONSIDERING) On the other hand, Miss Reynolds, maybe that would be a good place to start, huh? If I got in the Science Club and worked hard, maybe I could begin to make people change their minds about me.

MISS R: (SMILING) That's an excellent idea.

JOHNNY: (SMILING) Gee, thanks, George. Thanks a lot.

JOAN: (CALLING QUIETLY) Johnny?

JOHNNY: Yes?

JOAN: The girls' Home Ec Club is having a party next week. You'll come, won't you, Johnny?

JOHNNY: You want me to come? (JOAN NODS; JOHNNY BLUSHES) Sure, I'll be there. (SMILES HAPPILY)

MISS R: (LOOKING AT WRIST WATCH) It's almost time for your next class, you all. . . I think we know what's been causing Johnny's trouble — and I think we know what to do about it. . . You can go now. (JOHNNY, BOB, AND JOAN RISE, MOVE TOWARD THE DOOR WITH GEORGE)

JOHNNY: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

BOB: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

GEORGE: Thank you, Miss Reynolds.

(MISS REYNOLDS NODS TO EACH AS HE EXITS. JOAN PAUSES AT DOOR, TURNS, COMES BACK HALFWAY TO MISS REYNOLDS' DESK)

JOAN: Miss Reynolds?

MISS R: Yes, Joan.

JOAN: (HALTINGLY) This taught me a lesson — all this. I feel so awfully ashamed. . . You know, I really didn't know how Johnny's trouble got started. . . I didn't realize how mean we were being to him — (SHUDDERS) We've been dreadful! Why, we condemned him even before we got a chance to know him — all because his skin was dark and he has a foreign-sounding name. . . What silly reasons!

MISS R: Yes, they are silly, Joan. But some people are judging other people in just that fashion all the time. Nobody knows how much heartsickness — how much hatred — they must cause.

JOAN: (WITH DECISION) Well, I've learned *my* lesson. Hereafter, I'm going to take people one by one, just as they come. And I'm going to judge 'em for themselves. I'm going to like 'em or dislike 'em for what they *are* — not for what their parents might be, or what their religion is, or anything like that. (PAUSE) I'm going to remember that each human being is a very special individual.

MISS R: (SMILING VERY WARMLY) You've got the right idea. Just remember that part of our American heritage is respect for individual worth.

JOAN: What about Johnny, Miss Reynolds? Do you think he *will* change for the better now?

MISS R: Change, Joan? I'm sure of it. He'll change — and he'll change faster as the group warms up toward him. . . I think in no time at all Johnny Canetto will be the same splendid, cooperative person he was in New Orleans — especially if you and Bob and George do all you say you're

going to do. (PAUSE) I think years from now, when people ask me about Johnny, I'll be able to say, "Johnny Canetto? Why, he was one of the *best* boys in school."

(CURTAIN)

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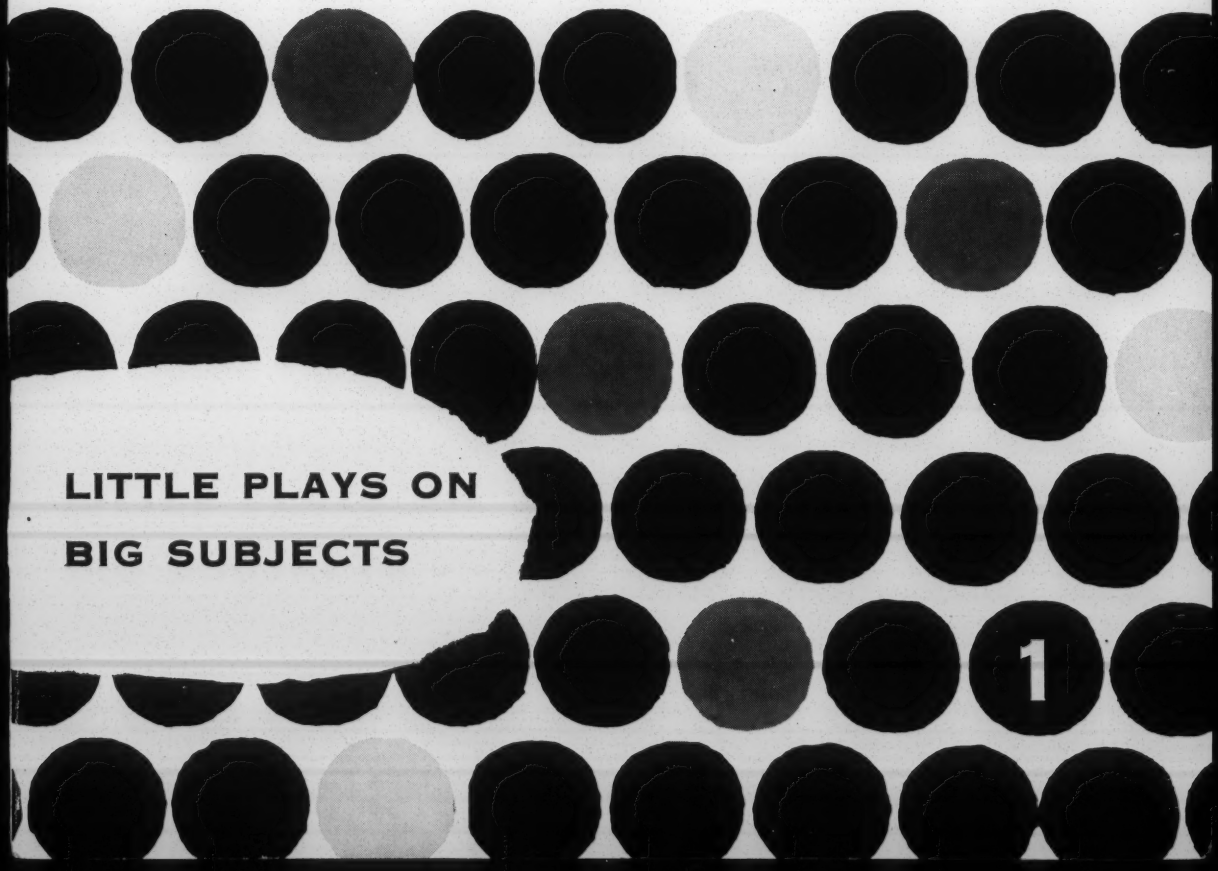
MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

A PLAY FOR YOUNG TEEN-AGERS

BY GLADYS BAKER BOND



LITTLE PLAYS ON BIG SUBJECTS

MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

A PLAY FOR YOUNG TEEN-AGERS

BY GLADYS BAKER BOND

published by the

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

(This play may be produced without fee. The publisher requests notification, however, of the time and place of performance).

CHARACTERS:

Beth	Mary	Lois
Ann	Helen	Peggy
Mother	Florence	Alice
Barbara	Ruth	Laura
Dotty	Olive	

(This is a typical group of 14-year-old girls, plus Beth's mother)

SCENE I: Beth Burns' living room, simple and in good taste, with doors at left and right. A davenport grouping with coffee table on right towards front stage; center stage, near back wall, a large chair, an end table and a telephone.

TIME: After school

SCENE II: Same room, that night

SCENE III: Same room, Saturday afternoon

NOTE: For school or club production, a much simpler setting can be arranged by lining up chairs for davenport, etc. The telephone is the only essential, and it can be a toy telephone, or one contrived by any capable child.

PROPERTIES: Scene I — eleven addressed envelopes, 1 invitation, 1 invitation's envelope, list of names, pencil. Scene II — the same unfinished invitation and envelope and telephone. Scene III — the same unfinished invitation and envelope, telephone and 3 costume boxes (these need not contain complete costumes).

COSTUMES: Indicated where necessary.

NOTE: This One Act play in three scenes in the same living room setting is gay enough to engage the attention of girls from the sixth through the ninth grades for assembly or Service Club use. At the same time, it carries a worthwhile message without overloading.

Since boys of this age group are stage shy, this play makes use of 14 girls. It gives leeway for amusing antics and costumes. Should some change of costume from the gymnasium outfits indicated be preferred, it is a simple matter to change script reading to fit. The "punch" of the play depends upon exaggeration of the sameness of both movement and costuming in the 3rd scene. This is a type of pageantry sub-teens enjoy.

NOTE: Any other minority group member can be substituted for Rachel, who is here indicated to be a Jew.

SCENE I

AS CURTAIN RISES: (Beth and Alice are seated on davenport. The coffee table is littered with envelopes and writing materials. One invitation remains to be placed in an envelope)

Beth is discovered gathering envelopes into a neat stack, while Ann lounges with hands behind head, with feet stretched into room.

ANN: Whillikers, Bethie. You're a pal to help me out. I never would have finished all those invitations in time to put them into the mail.

BETH: *(taps stack on coffee table to even edges)* You're welcome, Ann. *(flourishes hands)* Oh! *(sits erect with a jerk)* Where's your list? We forgot somebody!

ANN: We couldn't have.

BETH: But we must have. See? *(snatches the open invitation from the coffee table and flutters it towards Ann)* Here it is!

ANN: *(groans)* Ohhhhh! Now we'll have to check everybody. Just when I thought we had finished the job.

BETH: Well, let's get busy. I'm on kitchen duty tonight. Mother will show up any minute with a panful of potatoes for me to peel.

ANN: *(curls feet under herself)* Do *you* PEEL POTATOES?

BETH: Naturally. Don't you? I like to eat.

ANN: Whillikers, no! My mother would die of surprise if I stepped inside the kitchen.

BETH: Oh, well, maybe you set the table, or wash dishes. I have a younger sister who does that while I do home work.

ANN: Nope! Don't do that either. *I* don't even do *home* work!

BETH: *(soberly looking Ann up and down)* Don't you do ANYTHING by yourself?

ANN: *(flippantly)* Not if I can help it!

BETH: *(shrugs)* I'd go crazy if I weren't busy. Where's your list?

ANN: Oh, what's your hurry?

BETH: It's YOUR birthday party, you know. If you want to hurt somebody's feelings, that's up to you. But everybody knows I am helping you. If somebody gets left out they will think I had something to do with it. And I DON'T like to hurt people.

ANN: Oh, all right. *(tosses her head)* All we have to do is read the roll of the girls in our room. Huh! Guess what — I'll be fourteen years old and there are fourteen girls.

BETH: Well, check! *(She picks up envelopes, shuffles through, calling off names quickly in a sing-song voice)* Alice, Dotty, Peg, Lois —

ANN: *(checking off names on list with pencil as Beth reads each name)* Hey, what's your hurry? I haven't even found Alice's name yet!

BETH: *(impatiently pushes envelopes forward)* Here! You read envelopes and I'll check.

ANN: Well, sure, if you want to be like that. *(takes stack)* Alice, Dotty, Peg, Lois — *(waits)*

BETH: *(looks up impatiently)* I have them. Go ahead!

ANN: Well, you don't have to get cross about it! *(reads)* Olive, Barbara — *(finishes with a rush)* Florence, Ruth, Helen, Laura AND Mary. There!

BETH: *(puzzled)* That's the whole list, and there is still an *(points at invitation)* extra invitation. I KNOW there are fourteen girls in our room. I'll count. One, two, three *(mumbles and moves her pencil rapidly down the list)* — twelve, thirteen! That can't be right!

ANN: Oh, why be an old fuss budget?

BETH: There's somebody else, I know there is! *(clasps hands over ears and concentrates)* I have it! You left RACHEL off your list.

ANN: Well, sure. I knew THAT all the time.

BETH: *(gasping)* You did? But why did you leave her off?

ANN: *(surprised)* She's a Jew, isn't she?

BETH: *(shocked)* What on earth does that have to do with inviting Rachel to a birthday party?

ANN: *(shrugs and reaches for the pack of envelopes)* Everything. She's different. She doesn't belong. I want a good old red-white-and-blue American birthday party — soooo — *(tips chin pertly)* she's out!

BETH: Ann, how can you be such a snob?

ANN: Who says I'm snobbish? *(flicks aside unfinished invitation)* Thanks for helping me.

BETH: *(bitterly)* Helping you! *I* did most of the work, and you know it, Ann Taylor!

ANN: *(pouting)* Whillikers, Bethie, I don't know why you're so cross.

BETH: *(flaring)* You never do anything by yourself! You don't even THINK FOR YOURSELF. I can just hear your father saying 'good old red-white-and-blue-American.'

ANN: *(angrily)* You just leave my father out of this. If I want to use his words, I can. And what's WRONG with being American, even if you're sky-blue-pink and polka-dotted?

(both girls jump to feet and stand in center stage, with faces close together, facing)

BETH: NOTHING is wrong with being American, no matter what color you are. But leaving people out for no good reason *isn't* American!

ANN: Whose birthday is this? *(stamps foot)* Tell me that?

BETH: *(stands silently for a brief moment, then pleads)* But, Ann, just think how left out *you* would feel if the tables were turned and *you* were the one left out.

ANN: But they're not.

BETH: The girls will talk about their invitations. Rachel will know she is left out.

ANN: What of it? *(moves towards door at right)*

BETH: You won't change your mind? *(follows)*

ANN: *(stiffly)* I'm no missionary. I'm just a girl having a birthday party. That's one time in the year when I should be allowed to do as I please, and I DON'T PLEASE to have a Jew at my birthday party. Goodbye, Beth. Just go — go peel your potatoes! *(flounces out the door, carrying sealed invitations. Leaves unfinished one on the coffee table, in view of audience)*

BETH: *(moves slowly across the room, picks up the invitation and stares at it)*

MOTHER: *(left, off-stage)* Bethie? Did I hear the door slam?

BETH: You probably did, Mother. Ann just left, cross as an old bear.

MOTHER: *(entering left door, wiping hands on a towel. She wears an apron)* Oh, dear. What was wrong?

BETH: Oh, I was helping address her birthday party invitations, and there was one left over.

Mother, Ann left Rachel's name off the list on purpose. Every other girl in the room is invited — but not Rachel.

MOTHER: Oh? *(moves about room, putting small things in better order)*

BETH: Mother, it isn't fair! What's wrong with being born a Jew?

MOTHER: *(quietly)* So that's it.

BETH: Yes, that's *it.* Ann doesn't want her because she's different.

MOTHER: Rachel eats three meals a day, sleeps at night, and has a healthy, inquiring mind, hasn't she?

BETH: Yes.

MOTHER: Then how is she different?

BETH: *(wails)* Religion. Race. Oh, I don't know, Mother. That is Ann's idea, and I think she got it from her father. She doesn't do anything for herself. She can't even think for herself.

MOTHER: Discrimination is a serious matter, Bethie.

BETH: I know it is, Mother, but what can I do about it? Like Ann says, it's HER birthday party, and if she doesn't want to invite Rachel, she doesn't have to.

MOTHER: I think you have the clue, dear, if you would just give it some thought.

BETH: *(surprised)* I have?

MOTHER: If she lets somebody else think for her, suppose *you* find some way to make her think for herself!

BETH: Mother! *(smiling, then sober)* That's a wonderful idea, but how do I make it work?

MOTHER: *(laying arm across Beth's shoulder and squeezing)* If I know my Bethie, and I'm sure I do, there will be an answer. Come, dear. The potatoes aren't peeled and the salad isn't chopped. We have work to do! *(they move across stage towards door at left)*

CURTAIN

SCENE II

Same room: after dinner.

AS CURTAIN RISES: (Beth is discovered at the telephone. She lounges in the big chair and plays with the telephone cord while she talks)

BETH: *(eagerly)* I need you, Barbara! We have a real problem to work out. It's an emergency. *(listens briefly)* That's right. You ask Olive to come with you and get here as fast as you can. *(turns head)*

(OFF-STAGE: *knock is heard at right door)*

BETH: Oh, oh, Barbara! Somebody is here already. I have to answer the door. Be seeing you! *(replaces phone in cradle and rushes across stage to answer door)* Mary! Laura! Ruth. Come on in. We've got a lot to do. *(Leads way in to room as she talks)*

(The three newcomers remove wraps and toss them on the backs of chairs and davenport, making themselves at home)

MARY: Now, what's this about, Bethie? We have homework to do, so we can't stay very long.

BETH: This is more important than homework. We can always make up school work — but we can't mend a broken heart.

LAURA: *(near center stage, turns towards Beth with surprise)* Whose heart is broken?

RUTH: Yes, Beth, what's wrong?

BETH: I'll tell you when everybody gets here. *(knock is heard)* There's the door again. *(rushes to right door.)* Hurry, everybody!

(ENTER: Florence, Helen, Alice and Dotty, removing jackets and sweaters as they cross the stage. There is a flurry of "Hi, there!" "Hello!" "Hurry, slowpokes!" etc. from the girls already present)

BETH: Sit down, girls. And if there isn't room on the furniture, there is always space on the floor! *(girls laugh, settle themselves. Another knock, Beth starts towards the door, the telephone rings, and she turns back toward it)* You answer the door, please, Mary, and I'll get the 'phone.

MARY: Gee, is it Grand Central Station here? *(lets in Peg and Lois. Helps Lois with wraps and motions for them to be seated, with exaggeration of gestures indicating Beth at telephone)*

BETH: *(into 'phone)* Barbara? What's the matter? *(listens)* Well, never mind. I'll talk to you and to the girls at the same time, so you can pretend you're here. *(turns back to girls in room, still holding receiver, but loosely, naturally)* It's Barbara, girls. She says she can't come. Olive is at her house, and whatever we decide is all right with them.

MARY: Decide about what?

RUTH: What's the mystery, Bethie?

LOIS: *(quickly, leaning forward)* We're dying of curiosity.

BETH: *(holding 'phone in front of her and speaking to girls in room)* It's about Ann's birthday party.

PEGGY: Isn't she going to have one?

FLORENCE: Aren't we invited?

BETH: Sure, we're invited. But it's about somebody else who's left out. *(into 'phone)* NO, Barbara. You're not left out. Neither is Olive.

DOTTY: Then tell us who is.

(whole group leans forward in varying poses of interest)

BETH: It's Rachel!

(group is silent. Girls look at each other, move uncertainly)

BETH: Well, doesn't anybody have anything to say?

LAURA: What is there to say? If Ann doesn't *want* her —

BETH: *(impatiently)* Oh, I know! If Ann doesn't want her — what can we do about it? *(into phone)* NO, Barbara, I'm not mad at YOU. No. Not at OLIVE, either! *(to girls)* Can't you see, it isn't fair to leave Rachel out?

RUTH: *(quietly)* But, WHY is Rachel left out?

BETH: Knowing Ann, what do you think?

LOIS: Can't tell, but I'll bet she didn't think it up for herself!

BETH: That's just it, girls. Ann thinks because Rachel is a Jew, she isn't like the rest of us. *(into 'phone)* That's it, Barbara. It's Rachel we're worried about. She's going to have her feelings hurt.

DOTTY: *We* can't invite Ann's birthday party guests for her.

BETH: *(leaning forward)* No. BUT we can CHANGE HER THINKING.

CHORUS: *(Helen, Lois and Peg speak together from different parts of room)* How?

BETH: I don't just know. We'll have to put our ideas together. You see, she thinks Rachel is *different*. She doesn't seem to know or care how much Rachel is going to be hurt.

FLORENCE: *(thoughtfully)* There ought to be some way to make Ann see —

BETH: *(eagerly)* Yes?

FLORENCE: Well, it's just a glimmer of an idea. But if we can figure out some way to put *Ann* in the position of being the one who is *different*, she *might* change her mind.

ALICE: It will have to really be good to wake Ann up.

MARY: I don't know —

FLORENCE: *(suspiciously)* Mary, do *you* agree with Ann?

MARY: A lot of people say —

ALICE: What do you care what a lot of people say? What do YOU say?

MARY: Well, I LIKE Rachel, but I've never invited her to my house. *(defensively)* She's never invited me to her house either!

DOTTY: We do our Arithmetic together.

BETH: *(into 'phone)* We're still here, Barbara. We're just trying to decide if Rachel is human!

MARY: Oh, now, Bethie! That isn't *fair!* I didn't say anything like that.

BETH: *(into 'phone)* Barbara, ask Olive where Rachel was born. *(waits momentarily, turns to group with air of triumph)* Rachel was born in Kansas City, right in the middle of the United States, so she has as much right to be here as any of us!

MARY: Oh, sure, but —

HELEN: My dad says Rachel's father is a pretty shrewd business man. He has a lot of power in this little town. He kind of worries about that, sometimes.

DOTTY: Your dad and Rachel's dad both have shoe stores, haven't they, Helen?

HELEN: Dotty, *everybody* knows *that!* But my dad says this town is too small to support two shoe stores.

DOTTY: So, I suppose YOUR dad is going to move?

HELEN: *(shocked)* Of course not! We BELONG here.

PEGGY: If MY DAD bought a shoe store and was your father's competitor, would WE have to move?

HELEN: No. — *(claps hands over ears)* You're getting me confused, but I certainly see what you mean. What our fathers do to make a living for us hasn't anything to do with belonging, not if it's honest work.

MARY: But RACHEL IS DIFFERENT. She went to a Jewish retreat during the summer.

LAURA: And *I* went to a *Catholic* camp, so I suppose that makes *me* different?

FLORENCE: *My* camp was *Methodist!*

RUTH: I went to *Camp Fire Girls* camp. We sang *Indian* songs. Does that make ME different?

MARY: I give up! In this town there are so many churches, and people have so many different NATIONALITY backgrounds, EVERYBODY is different!

BETH: Then, what have we decided about Rachel? How many think she should be invited? Hold up your hands! *(all hands are raised, Mary is first to put hers up)* How *(into 'phone)* do you and Olive vote, Barbara? You vote for Rachel? Swell! So does everybody here! I'll call you back when we decide what we're going to do! *(hangs up)*

PEGGY: Now what?

FLORENCE: While everybody has been talking, I've been thinking. To break through Ann's shell, we will have to find a weak spot.

CHORUS: She's lazy!

FLORENCE: There's something else. She's a follower, not a leader. Now, if we could just put her in the spotlight —

LAURA: We *can't* hurt her feelings. If we're trying to keep from hurting *Rachel,* we can't do it by hurting *Ann.* We *can* make her UNCOMFORTABLE.

PEGGY: That's right. *(stir among girls, agreeing)*

FLORENCE: Could we make it look like a joke?

BETH: *(clapping hands together)* I have it! She likes red-white-and-blue Americans. She SAID so. So, that's what we will be!

PEGGY: How?

BETH: *(planning)* What do we all have that *is* exactly alike? (girls examine *each other)*

DOTTY: *(giggling)* Ten toes, ten fingers —

BETH: Silly! I mean clothes!

PEGGY: That's a tough one.

RUTH: We're all different sizes —

LOIS: And shapes! *(laughter)*

BETH: I have it! Our gym suits!

CHORUS: Why didn't we think of that? Sure! etc.

DOTTY: We don't *really* look alike, even in our gym suits.

BETH: But we can if we try. We'll all comb our hair the same. I know! We'll part it in the middle.

LOIS: I'll look like a freak.

BETH: Nobody will notice how we look. We'll all look alike.

PEGGY: We can wear one red sock, and one blue one!

BETH: We ought to have one crowning touch. Something really silly.

DOTTY: What about mittens on our left hands? Nobody could miss that!

CHORUS: That's silly enough. This is fun! etc.

BETH: All in favor hold up your hands! *(all hands raised, waved, etc.)* Good! Now when can we pull this stunt?

PEGGY: How about tomorrow afternoon? That will give us time to get ready.

LOIS: But not enough time to let the cat out of the bag. *(several girls giggle)*

RUTH: But what about *Ann?* How is *she* going to dress?

BETH: *(with a look of exaggerated innocence)* In her very best clothes, of course. I'll see to that. Shall I 'phone her? *(girls giggle and agree, noisily)*

BETH: *(dials, or gives number, depending on type of telephone used)* May I speak to Ann? Oh, hello, Ann! I thought I had your mother on the 'phone. Ann, some of the girls are here *(giggles are heard from girls, and Beth waves hand for silence)* and we have decided to have a party tomorrow afternoon. Yes. Tomorrow afternoon, here at my house. To meet someone I think you would like if you knew her. *(puts hand over receiver and says to group)* She wants to know what you're going to wear?

DOTTY: Tell her I'm wearing something VERY SPECIAL.

PEGGY: And I'm having my hair done in a new way!

BETH: *(straightening face with effort)* Ann, Dotty is wearing something unusual, I think, and I don't know how Peg is going to look. She is changing her hairdo! *(listens)* Your best dress? The one like Barbara's? I think that's perfect. I'll ask Peg. *(pretends to turn and Peg nods head violently, clapping hand over mouth to smother giggles)* Peg says you will be a sensation. Now remember, tomorrow afternoon, and be on time! *(turns to group)* Now I'll call Barbara! Ann just gave me an idea, and Barbara will really go for it!

PEGGY: I'd hate to be in Ann's shoes!

CURTAIN

SCENE III

Same room, Saturday afternoon.

AS CURTAIN RISES: *(Mother is discovered letting Ann in door at right)*

ANN: *(looking around room)* Oh, am I early, Mrs. Burns? I thought Beth said —

MOTHER: You're not early, Ann. The other girls are late. I wonder what can be keeping them?

ANN: But where's Beth?

MOTHER: She ran next door to help Laura with her hair. Laura wanted it to be just right.

ANN: That's strange. *(follows Mother's gesture towards the chair at the telephone)*

MOTHER: *(standing near center stage)* Oh?

ANN: I mean, usually it is Laura who helps with Beth's hair.

MOTHER: I know, Ann. But this time Laura had some strange idea about being afraid she would be DIFFERENT in some way from the other girls. *(reseats herself on davenport)*

ANN: *(flouncing her skirts and rearranging them for effect) Barbara* said that very SAME thing, just this morning, Mrs. Burns.

MOTHER: Really, Ann?

ANN: She came over to see what I was going to wear this afternoon. She wanted to know EXACTLY — even about my shoes, and the color of my stockings, and my necklace. *(leans forward towards Mrs. Burns)* Now isn't that ODD? Barbara doesn't usually pay much attention to clothes.

MOTHER: Are you sure she was really interested in clothing?

ANN: *(moving uncomfortably)* Wellllll — she did say something about wanting to be *sure* she was on the right side. Now, what do you suppose she meant?

(ENTER: Beth through door at right, rushing forward, wearing costume planned in Scene II)

BETH: *(panting)* Oh, hello, Ann. Sorry I'm late!

ANN: *(rising from chair to stare at Beth)* Beth, for goodness sake, what do you have on?

MOTHER: *(mildly, seeming not to notice Beth's costume)* Is Laura happy about her hair?

BETH: *(patting her hair, parted in middle)* Oh, not exactly. She looks like a clown, but it is exactly like mine, so she doesn't mind.

ANN: *(choking and pointing)* That's — THAT'S what I mean, Beth. Your *hair!* Your *clothes!* Are you going to let everybody see you like *that?*

(knock on door at right: Beth jumps up to let Barbara in and Barbara is dressed in every detail exactly like Ann. From this point she apes Ann's actions, wherever possible)

BETH: Come in, Barbara. Ann is already here, so you don't have to break the ice. *(draws Barbara to center of stage)*

BARBARA: *(pretending uneasiness)* Oh, dear! What kind of a party is this, Beth? Shall I go home and change? I have a gym suit, too. *(turns towards Ann)* Oh, Ann! I'm so relieved. As long as there are only three of us and I am in step with one of you, I guess I won't feel too much out of place. *(crosses stage to squeeze Ann's arm, flouncing her skirts to show audience the duplication of costume)*

ANN: *(coldly)* You're not in step with me, Barbara. You're practically stepping on my heels! You didn't have to dress EXACTLY the same.

BARBARA: *(winking at Beth in full view of audience)* No? But I thought — *(flutters hands towards Beth)* Wherever did I get the idea that ANN was doing the thinking for the rest of us?

(knock is heard: Ann snubs Barbara, with her nose in the air, but Barbara is careful to duplicate Ann's actions, smilingly, with a look of innocence)

(ENTER: all the girls, dressed exactly alike and walking Indian file, with similar motions and expressions. The last three girls carry costume boxes and stack them on the davenport as they pass. They arrange themselves in blocks, like a chorus, on either side of the stage, so that Ann, Barbara and Beth make a central grouping near the telephone. Mother leaves room, left door)

CHORUS: How do you do?

ANN: *(angrily, with hands on hips, stamps foot)* What is this, Beth Burns? What kind of a silly stunt are you pulling? *(turns furiously, facing Barbara, who is smilingly duplicating her motions)* What do you think YOU'RE doing? Copycatting everything I do, even every teeny-tiny speck of clothes I have on! *(to Beth, still angrily)* And your company? Who's coming? What will she *think* of us? She will think we are a bunch of dopes who have never gone to a party before!

BETH: *(cheerfully)* You know, I think that is exactly what she *will* think. She'll be here as soon as I call her!

BARBARA: *(throwing out hands)* What shall *I* do? It looks like I guessed wrong about what to wear.

ANN: *(moving nearer center stage)* You can do exactly what I'm going to do. I'm going home!

BETH: *(calmly, but forcefully)* Then you don't LIKE to be different?

BARBARA: *(quickly)* But she isn't completely different, Bethie. She matches *me.*

ANN: *(stamping foot)* Oh, you!

BETH: *(strongly)* Then you don't APPROVE of Barbara's letting you do her thinking for her?

ANN: *(loudly)* No, I don't approve. I think it is the silliest thing I ever heard of.

OLIVE: *(pointing at clock)* Watch your time, Beth. Isn't it time to call our guest?

ANN: You can't *do* this to me! Let me out of here!

BETH: *(reaching for telephone)* Not 'til I call Rachel, please, Ann.

ANN: *(raising hands to lips, startled)* Rachel? Is SHE the guest we're all supposed to meet?

BETH: *(calling number)* The rest of us thought Rachel ought to be invited to at least *one* party.

ANN: *(grabbing Beth's arm)* Hang up, Bethie! Hang up right this minute! You're not going to let her see *me* like this, are you? You won't let her know you're pulling a prank on me?

BETH: Why not? You were willing to discriminate against HER.

ANN: But, honestly, Bethie — girls, *(throws out hands in gesture of pleading)* I didn't know it felt like this to be discriminated against. I mean — nobody smiles *(wooden faces of group)* or looks friendly, *(group stares)* and everybody looks at you. *(throws hands over face)* Stop *looking* at me!

(girls all dressed exactly alike continue in wooden poses, directing attention towards Ann)

BETH: *(hesitating with telephone)* Then you really think it is more fun when we are all ourselves? When we aren't carbon copies of each other?

ANN: Oh, I do, Beth, I do! and I'm *not* just saying this to get out of an uncomfortable spot.

BETH: Then you will admit it *is* uncomfortable to be put in a spot?

BARBARA: You're forgetting about me, Ann. I'm in this with you.

ANN: *(turning on Barbara with impatience)* Oh, you! You're just exactly like *me!* Letting somebody else do your thinking for you!

BETH: *(putting down 'phone and throwing arms around Ann)* Oh, Ann, we *wanted* you to say that. We're sorry we had to get a little rough with you, but we *had* to make you understand. *Rachel* is just another girl, like the rest of us. Of course, in some ways she is different — but *none* of us is exactly like any other person. It's variety that makes life interesting. Now — shall I call Rachel?

ANN: But she will know! *(indicates costumed girls)*

BETH: *(laughing)* Break it up, girls! Mission accomplished. Now we can have fun!

(immediately girls giggle, chatter, scramble for seating space, etc.)

OLIVE: *(advancing)* We're sorry, Ann, honestly we are! But it isn't going to be as bad as you think.

RUTH: Yes, guess what's in these boxes? *(pats one of the costume boxes)*

ANN: *(excited about being socially acceptable again)* A gym suit, maybe?

DOTTY: Good guess. *(begins opening boxes, rustling tissue paper)*

ANN: *(reaching for socks, one red, one blue)* Oh! *(giggles)* Who ever thought of anything so crazy? *(pulls out mitten, looks to see which hand girls have covered, and draws it on)*

BETH: *(reaching for the 'phone, calls loudly over the chatter that is going on in all corners)* Just a minute, girls, I can't hear myself think! *(girls whisper)*

(Ann and Barbara are letting other girls part their hair in the middle, put on mittens, etc., so they will be dressed like the rest of the group)

BETH: *(speaking into telephone, but facing audience)* Hello, Rachel? This is Beth. We're having a costume party at my house this afternoon, and we want you to come. *(brief pause)* Oh, it doesn't matter what you wear. We already have your costume here. Ann and Barbara are changing into theirs, right this minute, so hurry! We'll pop corn and make fudge and have a lot of fun. Be seeing you! *(replaces receiver and turns towards group, smiling)*

ANN: *(expression of urgency)* Bethie! Where is that invitation? I simply have to get that addressed before she gets here!

DOTTY: Here it is on the coffee table.

BETH: This is going to be a red-white-and-blue American birthday party without anybody left out!

(curtain drops as she stretches out her hand for the open invitation. Girls are in amusing poses in groups around the room, helping Ann and Barbara get ready for the party)

CURTAIN

THE END

Additional copies of this play
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4-54

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

INTEGRATION OF WASHINGTON SCHOOLS

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Foreword

In the span of a few years, the city of Washington has begun to make itself over. Where once we set aside a place for white and a place for colored, we are now removing the signs of exclusion and opening doors to all to come in.

- **Our neighborhoods are becoming increasingly interracial.**
- **Concert hall and legitimate stage, movie houses, and restaurants are welcoming patrons without regard to race.**
- **Playgrounds are being integrated.**
- **A recent order of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia declares a policy of non-discrimination for the city government.**

As it takes such steps, Washington is becoming a more democratic city, reaching toward the quality of community living which befits the capital of a vigorous nation with high moral aspiration.

The next important step for Washington is that of changing from racially segregated schools to a single school system. The community is giving growing recognition to the rightness and the benefits of such a change. School officials and citizens are thinking and asking about how the transition should be carried out. What steps should be taken? What can we anticipate and plan for? What are the problems? How can we do the best job?

THESE PAGES are devoted to a consideration of the questions most often asked about the process of integration. They are offered to lend help in the job ahead, and could appropriately be dedicated to the children whose lives are shaped by the educational process.

Getting Started

Q. What has happened when schools have integrated in other communities?

A. There is a nation-wide trend toward integration of schools. A variety of patterns have been followed. The one indispensable element for success has been affirmative action with a clearly established policy by an administration seriously interested in doing the job.

The nation-wide trend toward school integration is particularly evident in border areas, where major policy changes have been made in school systems in Kansas, and the southern areas of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and New Jersey. In southern states, integration has already begun in colleges and universities, parochial schools, Army schools, and in public schools in Arizona, New Mexico, and Delaware. Our neighboring city of Baltimore has taken the first step by integration of Baltimore Polytechnic Institute.

The story of what has happened when school systems have made the change is an interesting one. Different systems have been used to combine two schools, to make teacher assignments, to provide in-service training, or to confer with the public. The specific technique seems to make little difference, as integration is successfully achieved regardless of the specific. A field supervisor in New Jersey makes the following comment:

> *"Numerous school officials, when asked, seemed to think that while the technique used in their community helped solve their problem, they were not positive that some other method or technique, or no device at all might have solved the situation just as well."*
>
> BARNES, WILLIAM W.—*"Eliminating Segregation in New Jersey Public Schools", p. 7.*

Q. What are the steps in establishing integration?

A. Experience with school integration shows that clear definition and public announcement of policy is an essential first step. Establishment of policy and basic administrative reorganization are best accomplished as a single step, effective immediately, and applying equally to all levels of the school system. Following this, school personnel have responsibility in implementing the policy.

Citizens rightly look to the Board of Education to make the declaration of policy, one which removes doubt and confusion and lays a basis for constructive building by teachers, principals, and school officers all over

the city who will be involved in the changes. With this sound basis of policy and administrative action, integration at deeper levels can be carried out as the whole community works together day-by-day to meet the challenges of its integrated school system.

3 Q. What is the basic working principle of an integrated school system?

A. The essential feature is the principle that school affairs should be conducted without regard to race. This principle should be the overriding consideration in all questions posed and should apply without exception.

A policy based on such a principle acts as a guarantee of fairness and impartiality for everyone concerned. It provides the best possible assurance that the individual will be judged on his own merits. Children can then be educated on the basis of individual needs; personnel handling can be on the basis of merit and fitness. The policy does not mean that all are treated alike, but that race is eliminated as a factor in the way people are treated.

4 Q. Has there been adequate preparation for integration?

A. School authorities have been studying the question of school integration since the school cases were first heard by the Supreme Court in December 1952. The Superintendent made clear that school authorities would not be unprepared for the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Board of Education has sought the advice of citizens and organized groups on the best means of establishing an integrated system. The Superintendent and his staff have met repeatedly to do the necessary administrative planning for school zoning and assignment of teachers. Administrative and educational specialists who have had experience in making the transition elsewhere have served as consultants for the administration and Board. Workshops in intergroup education have been provided for principals and other field officers. Teacher organizations and citizen groups have given serious study to the question of integration.

The constructive steps needed to implement a policy of non-discrimination can be taken without further delay. It is important that we do not prolong the period of confusion and doubt. It is recognized that a period of delay can have boomerang effects. The greatest fear, thus the greatest danger, lies in not knowing. The best reassurance we can give to everyone is a reality they can understand by living in it.

5 Q. How do school authorities meet parent complaints?

A. A careful explanation of the principle involved is the best possible answer an administrator can make to the parent who objects to the non-discrimination policy. Dis-

cussion can make clear the impartiality and fairness of the policy. A policy which is intrinsically moral and democratic can be stated without defensiveness or apology or equivocation.

If some complaints are made at first, it will be a mistake to think that they are the beginning of an avalanche. Experience shows otherwise. Both in school systems and in business and other institutions, complaints occur most often in the beginning, with opposition lessening as the new situation becomes established. The administration does best to expect a certain number of complaints, but not to overestimate them. It will be obvious that no child should be given special treatment or allowed exceptional assignment simply because his parents make complaint. Citizens can have a feeling of confidence in their school administration only if policies are given substantial and consistent backing.

There may be some complaints of violation of the non-discriminatory policy. Parents may complain that their children are victims of prejudice or discrimination. Such complaints should be given serious consideration and investigation. If the charge is without foundation the situation should be thoroughly discussed with the parent. If there is any basis for the charge, the situation should be remedied. Experience in other cities has shown that a demonstrated willingness to deal with violations convinces the public of the sincerity of school authorities in carrying out the non-discrimination policy. The effect is to increase morale and to guarantee a relatively small number of such complaints.

Children go to school

6 Q. On what basis should children be assigned to schools?

A. The simplest and most effective basis for assigning children to schools is that of residence, or geographic nearness to the school.

Washington schools have a long established guide that an elementary school child should travel no more than a half mile to school, a junior high school child a maximum of 1 mile, and a senior high school child a maximum of 1½ miles. With artificial restrictions often imposed under the dual system these standards have frequently not been met. Under the integrated system it will be possible to do a far better job in meeting standards of school zoning.

Since neighborhoods vary in density of population and adequacy of school housing, we often find some of our schools overcrowded while others have excess space. School assignments should aim toward class size as nearly equal as possible in different schools. We come nearest to meeting sound standards if no artificial criterion, such as race, is used as a basis of assignment.

Some cities have resorted to the practice of gerrymandering. This means drawing lines of school zones in such a way as to conform to the

racial distribution in housing and so establish segregated schools by subterfuge. This practice fails to meet the best standards of school zoning and represents a gross breach of the non-discrimination policy. The school administration and the Board of Education should avoid gerrymandering and citizens will surely be alert to prevent such a system being established. Any attempt to by-pass the basic principle of integration leads to increased tension and friction and makes the policy meaningless.

Q. Should parents be allowed to choose the school their children attend?

A. The only fair and practical way to make school assignments is on the basis of city-wide planning and with consideration of the problems of space and availability of facilities. Voluntary selection would make such considerations impossible.

Some people believe that voluntary choice of school can be used as a device to avoid complaints and dissatisfaction. In practice, it has quite the opposite effect. All parents in an area may choose the only new and attractive building. Some schools may be overloaded while others are being under-used. Some people may use voluntary choice as a means to by-pass integration and set up segregated schools. Such confusions as these will lead to conflict among parent groups about the right to use the school. Then, no matter what the administration does to solve the situation, there will be controversy and feelings of abuse and resentment.

After a long history of neighborhood quarrels over school transfers under the dual system, Washington has need for an end of controversy. If competition for the school is permitted to continue under integration, the result can only be loss of respect for school authorities, cynicism regarding the new policy, and a lowering of public morale. The administration is on firm ground only if assignments are made for everyone at the outset.

Q. Will Washington schools remain segregated because of segregated housing patterns?

A. Looking at the city as a whole, we can expect to find wide variety in the composition of various schools. When assignments are made on a purely residential basis, most high schools and a large number of elementary schools will be mixed.

In recent years, Washington's neighborhoods have become increasingly interracial. There are now large areas, particularly in the central city, where both white and Negro families live. Interracial neighborhoods now make up most of southwest Washington and large areas of the southeast

and northeast (extending outward to the border of the city) and are increasing in the central northwest. This trend has been accelerated by integration of housing projects under the National Capital Housing Authority, in which establishment of an open occupancy policy is virtually complete. In these many mixed areas, schools will surely have mixed student bodies.

There are, of course, some residential areas which remain all white or all Negro, and many where one race is a tiny minority. Schools in these areas will reflect the pattern of housing.

Those who teach

9 Q. Will teaching staffs be integrated?

A. Under an integrated system there should be no emphasis on the race of the teacher, just as there should be no emphasis on the race of the student. The best handling of school personnel is on the basis of the qualification of the individual teacher for a particular job, the same personnel principles already well established in Civil Service. When such a policy is followed, many schools will have mixed faculties.

A policy of employment on merit means that teachers and other personnel are to be hired, assigned, and promoted on the basis of qualification alone, without regard to race. Such a policy, emphasizing the right person for the right job, promotes efficiency of the total staff and provides the greatest opportunity for professional satisfaction for the individual.

There need be no limitation on the use of an interracial staff even where students may be of only one race. If a given teacher is properly placed in a job which she can do well, students and other teachers come to respect her for her personal and professional qualifications. Indeed, the school which remains all white or all Negro for residential reasons may profit greatly by having a mixed staff, since this gives an opportunity for participating in an interracial school which would otherwise be denied.

There may be instances where it would be helpful to make a deliberate plan for the use of an interracial staff, particularly during the transition period. For example, where Negro children enter as a minority in a formerly white school, a mixed staff will be important to help establish a relationship between the school and the community and to give a feeling of security to all children. Conversely, a school which was formerly a Negro school may still have a majority of Negro students. It will be important that this school not be racially labeled. A mixed staff will help everyone concerned think of the school without racial designation.

Q. What is the experience with interracial staffs in other areas?

A. When school administrators comment on their experience with interracial placing, they are universal in reporting success.

There are many cities over the country where teachers of both races are placed in the same school. An inquiry by the American Friends Service Committee located 55 cities, by no means an exhaustive list, where interracial staffs have been successfully used. The school situations in these cities vary greatly. There are mixed staffs serving interracial student bodies and there are interracial faculties serving all white or all Negro student bodies. There are instances in which a Negro teacher has been very happily placed in an all white neighborhood. There are Negro teachers serving under white principals and white teachers serving under Negro principals. Almost every conceivable situation is represented.

When objections are raised by some parents, the usual experience is that objection subsides when the policy is explained and given a chance for a try-out. One superintendent reports, "When we started staffing our schools interracially . . . there were some slight objections, but pupils and their parents have learned to accept the teachers upon evidence of ability and not because of racial background". A midwestern school superintendent makes a succinct statement regarding the interracial policy:

> *"There are many superior individuals regardless of race, and given comparable education advantages, these individuals will naturally come to the top. So long as such individuals are recognized because of merit the position of a school administrator is entirely defensible. Any other position will lead to endless controversy in our opinion."*

Q. Should the teachers who go to an interracial staff be selected on a volunteer basis?

A. Assignment of teachers is an administrative matter for which the school officers are solely responsible. The administration has both the right and the obligation to make selections for particular jobs on the basis of their best judgment of personnel.

Assignment to a mixed school should not be treated as in any way exceptional or in need of special personnel procedures. Administrators will take many factors into account in making placements, including the attitudes of the teachers. Certainly they will wish to make especially careful assignments in areas where some racial tension has been felt or where a school will experience a radical change in the character of its student body. Such considerations require no special rules; they are part and parcel of the essential job of finding the best person possible for a given assignment.

Q. Can we be sure of having good teachers?

A. Using race as a factor in the selection of employees has placed an inevitable limitation on employment of the best candidate. Well-qualified Negro and white teachers alike have suffered because of the dual system. The effect of integration will be to raise the level of personnel for the entire system.

For a number of years the white elementary schools have been unable to fill all positions with teachers who have passed the regular examination. Consequently, positions have been filled from time to time with people who fail in some respect to meet qualifications. The basic reason for this is a shortage of white teachers which is felt over the entire nation. At the same time there are qualified Negro teachers living in Washington who have not found employment in the dual system. Since these teachers will be available for jobs anywhere within the single system, we can do a better job of meeting established standards.

The dual system has also imposed artificial restrictions at the secondary school level. For several years, there have been no jobs available in the white schools. Consequently, well-qualified white teachers could not be employed even when a need existed in the Negro schools. In an integrated system, every available job will be open to the best qualified person.

Q. Should Negro teachers be fearful about their status in an integrated system?

A. Only under an integrated system can both white and Negro teachers obtain full dignity as professional people. In the last analysis, segregation always restricts the opportunities of Negroes; there is always a group of jobs "for whites only". No staff member can have genuine security about his own ability until he can compete for any job against any other candidate.

Teachers presently employed need have no fear of loss of jobs. Tenure of teachers is protected by law, and there is and will continue to be a need for at least as many teachers as are now employed. In Washington, Negro teachers as a group have the training and experience necessary to hold their own in a situation of unrestricted competition.

Some people wonder if Negroes will have less opportunity for advancement, or if some discrimination will be shown in future hiring. We can expect the community to be alert to any tendencies toward favoritism. Where basic policy establishes the principle of employment on merit, citizens' groups can be active in insuring its enforcement.

Q. Do Washington teachers have the necessary background for work with interracial classes?

14

A. Washington teachers, well qualified by training and experience, have many skills and resources already developed which will stand them in good stead in integrated classes. Essentially their job remains the same regardless of the racial composition of the classes.

A skilled teacher has developed techniques for helping children who may be rejected by the group, children who fight or quarrel with each other, and for dealing with the great variety of inter-personal situations which may arise in a group. They will continue to be able to perform their basic job, which is not fundamentally changed by integration.

Some teachers may need assistance in gaining perspective about the racial situation. If racial differences are a source of confusion or anxiety for the teacher herself, she may profit by some assistance in understanding herself and her role with the children. Most teachers can profit by learning more about materials in the field of intergroup education.

15

Q. How do teachers increase their effectiveness in the field of human relations?

A. The regular in-service training program within the school system affords opportunity for orientation to integrated classes. A number of teachers have had extensive experience with interracial situations; others have attended summer workshops at the university level or shorter conferences given by private agencies. Every effort should be made to expand such opportunities as these for growth in effectiveness.

During the past two years the American Friends Service Committee has conducted a regular program of seminars for Washington teachers, designed to help them understand their role in an integrated system. These seminars have been attended by school administrators, principals, supervisors, counselors, librarians, and classroom teachers, always on an interracial basis. Participants have been able to gain insight through group-shared discussion and assistance from consultants.

Making it work

Q. Will there be more tension in mixed schools than in separate schools?

16

A. *Segregation does not prevent the formation of negative attitudes and consequent tension; on the contrary it fosters*

prejudice and hostility. Artificial barriers open the way for the formation of false and unrealistic views, with no chance to correct such errors. An interracial situation, on the other hand, will provide an opportunity for developing more realistic attitudes and gaining new understanding of others. Analysis of the geography of racial tensions casts some light on this question. Severe difficulties occur at the margin between segregated neighborhoods; mixed neighborhoods are not prone to racial troubles.

17

Q. Will parents of different races be able to work together?

A. ***Negro and white parents have a common interest in a good school program and in the welfare of their children.*** A particularly effective way to improve intergroup attitudes is through working together on projects of common interests which in themselves have nothing to do with race. Given the opportunity for cooperative work, parents will find that they have much in common in the constructive work of building a better school and establishing deep ties between school and community. Parent-Teacher Associations will provide a natural framework for these efforts.

Q. What will happen if some children have poorer educational preparation than others?

18

A. ***In any classroom, the teacher is dealing with a range of differences in ability and achievement.*** There is no reason to expect that integrated classes will present an unusual degree of variation. Levels of ability will not follow racial lines, since the superior, the average, and the slow are found in all groups. The school will have no need to deal with children as racial groups, but should deal with particular children on the basis of individual need. The responsibility of the school is the basic educational job of having flexibility of program and the resources for individual attention.

19

Q. Will integration be more difficult at some school levels than others?

A. ***There is no evidence that any school level is more easily integrated than another.*** Experience across the nation shows that integration is successful at all levels, with the age of the child in no way a limiting factor. Some people think of secondary schools as most difficult, but the facts do not support the belief. Indeed, there are many

school systems which have maintained integrated high schools for many years while elementary schools remain segregated.

Q. Will there be ample opportunity for all children to participate in extra-curricular activities?

A. ***With the relief of administrative problems and shortages which result from a dual school system, Washington schools should be far better equipped than at present to meet the individual needs of their students.*** Furthermore teachers and counselors recognize that extra-curricular activities are an excellent opportunity for helping people adjust to a new school and each other and will make use of such activities to bring groups together. The school should protect open membership for every organization and selection on merit for special work. The children themselves will do the rest. Interest, leadership, and talent are independent of race, and young people will respond to individual achievement and the fun of sharing creative activity.

Q. Do children have prejudices toward each other?

A. ***Children have a willingness to relate to each other as people, often ignoring racial lines in their spontaneous play.*** At the same time, they often show stereotyped ideas and negative feelings at an early age, as a consequence of the community pattern in which they have lived. The school will have a job to do, but one which can be based on the children's positive qualities of spontaneity, curiosity, and flexibility.

Q. How can the school have a positive influence on children's attitudes?

A. ***The major responsibility of the school is to establish an atmosphere in which each child is secure in knowing that he will be judged on his merit as an individual.*** The teacher should be matter-of-fact about race and able to speak of it without fear when the subject arises naturally. At the same time, the teacher should avoid calling attention to race unduly or labelling as "racial" occurences which would be normal among any group of children. Care should be taken not to over-protect or place too many demands on children through over-concern with their racial identity. A healthy school environment will give children an opportunity to work out spontaneous, genuine relationships. They learn more by living and doing than through preachment or formal lessons.

23

Q. Are children's attitudes really so important?

A. Ours is not a provincial world in which small, restricted groups live only to themselves. Today's children will emerge as adults in a complex world made up of many national and cultural groups, diverse religions, and countless variations among people in background, interest and habit. Young people can make an adequate adjustment in such a world only if they have opportunity for understanding beyond the confines of the limited spheres into which they are born.

Adults have an obligation to refrain from imposing on children prejudices which render them unsuited to the world of today. White children who have been segregated have been injured. We have subtly taught them an unrealistic view of themselves. They have learned to expect and receive some special advantage irrespective of their own actions or of individual merit. Real security lies not in unearned superiority, but in social arrangements which are just.

Negro children who have been segregated have also been injured. Having learned that the world values them less, they tend to value themselves less. Having experienced rejection, they suffer feelings of humiliation, chronic defeat, and often persecution. Psychiatric evidence indicates that such feelings interfere with real personal development.

The statement of philosophy adopted by the District Board of Education in 1940 affirms the central value of the development of the individual.

> ***"We should hold as the ultimate aim an individual who is physically sound, with wholesome recreational interest; who is emotionally stable and spiritually conscious; who is capable of independent, discerning, and critical thinking; who is socially competent and economically sufficient; who as a responsible citizen is ready for the enjoyments and duties of home, family, and community life, with an understanding and an appreciation of American ideals, principles, and purposes that will promote the progress of our own democracy and carry over into world citizenship."***

Q. Are we facing a lot of trouble in doing this job?

24

A. The evidence is overwhelming that integration is a feasible, practical and constructive step. The voices of doom which foretell of destruction or failure in the wake of change have been proven wrong so many times over that they can no longer be taken seriously. Collapse of the whole college system was predicted if southern institutions admitted Negroes; yet, southern colleges and universities have been opening their doors with every success and with no loss to any school involved. Chaos was predicted if Jim Crow seating should be abandoned in transportation, yet the court decisions prohibiting segregation in interstate travel were followed by no such dire consequences. Many warned that Washington restaurants and theaters would go out of business if they admitted Negroes; yet, the Thompson decision accomplished an open policy in restaurants in a single, simple step, while movie houses changed policy some months before the community even became aware of it.

No step is taken without a word from the viewers-with-alarm. In point of fact, people have capacities for rising to the occasion often unsuspected even by themselves. The transition in our schools will be made by the people of our city. Within the schools, it will be carried out by administrators and teachers who have been selected and employed because they are well qualified for their jobs. There is every reason for us to have confidence in them as professional people. Parents come into the school situation through their children; their real concern for those they love most makes a powerful appeal to the best that is in them. Ultimately, integration at the deepest levels will be accomplished by the children themselves. We may well have faith in them and in ourselves.

AFSC Programs in Washington, D. C.

The Community Relations Program works with the community toward the end of eliminating segregation in the nation's capital. Efforts have been directed to establishment of an integrated school system and interracial programs in public recreation and private child-serving agencies. AFSC has offered seminars for public school teachers on the role of the teacher in an integrated school system, and a human relations seminar for members of public and private Boards. The staff consults with officials and community leaders, serves as an information center, and gives aid to local groups in program planning. A special project in the field of public accommodations provided counselling for management to assist in establishing non-discriminatory policies in restaurants, theaters, and hotels.

Work Camps have brought young people for summer work in Washington for four years. Work camps have helped establish interracial programs on public playgrounds and have worked with tenants to repair homes in the southwest. The Joint Social Order Committee of Washington Friends Meetings has co-sponsored these camps and has carried on weekend work camps in cooperation with the Southwest Neighborhood Council.

International Student House is a student residence and an international center for young people from many nations.

Davis House is an international guest house to help visitors from out of the country feel at home in the United States.

Seminars for High School and College Age Young People have brought students from Washington, other parts of the country and the world together to discuss critical national and international problems.

The Washington Seminar on International Affairs brings together small groups of people in positions of public responsibility for mutual exploration of new knowledge and research in the social sciences and humanities and their application to United States international programs.

The American Friends Service Committee, representing The Religious Society of Friends, attempts to relieve human suffering wherever it is found and to ease tensions between individuals, groups, or nations. At the base of all the Service Committee's programs is the belief that God lives in every person and that love in action can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear. The Committee works in Europe, Asia, Mexico, and the United States. All areas of its work are open to all people, regardless of race, religion, or nationality.

Reporter, v. 11 (Dec. 30, 1954), 12–15

Washington, 'A Model For the Rest of the Nation'

DOUGLASS CATER

SPOTTSWOOD THOMAS BOLLING, JR., a shy fifteen-year-old Negro boy, has been cast in the role of a modern Moses. His name will go down in history books as the plaintiff in *Bolling* vs. *Sharpe*, one of the school segregation cases decided last May by the Supreme Court. Young Bolling, by accident of residence, is this year attending an all-Negro high school in Washington, D. C. But all about him he can behold the promised land which, after a four-year journey through the Federal courts, his people have finally reached. Of Washington's eleven public high schools, only his and two others did not have students of both races when classes began in September. Ninety-eight of the District's elementary and junior high schools now have mixed enrollment. Already more than 54,000 of the 106,000 students in the public-school system are participating in an "integrated" school program.

Washington's experience in mass desegregation has confounded some of the pet dogmas of the race-relations experts. One, long held to be cardinal, is that the larger the proportion of the minority race involved, the greater the degree of difficulty in effecting desegregation. And yet, in Washington Negro students constitute a majority, approximately sixty per cent of the total public-school enrollment. A second dogma is that a gradual approach to desegregation creates less friction than an abrupt one. But the change-over in this Southern city is being accomplished in a swift series of giant steps to be completed by next September.

What is most astounding about the change-over—even provoking one member of the Board of Education to speak of "miracles"—is that it is being accomplished without a serious hitch so far. In early October there were a few days of trouble, but only four of the schools and a small fraction of their students were involved. Even then—and again contrary to expert theory—the trouble was concentrated mainly in a school with a small Negro enrollment, whereas schools with far heavier numbers were unaffected.

OF COURSE many explanations have been offered. "Shadow of the Capital, the President's leadership, and all that," one educator has put it. Washington, for all its Southern tradition, is a city apart. In a purely negative way, the absence of self-government in the District made the formal act of abolishing the dual school system considerably easier than it might have been otherwise, since local resistance groups could not generate effective pressures. But there is more to the story than that. As I made the rounds of various schools, I found not simply grudging acceptance of an edict handed down from on high; in instance after instance, I found a conviction that the new program was working. In some cases the conviction was expressed as a sense of relief that things weren't as bad as had been expected, in others as a genuine elation over the progress that was being made toward fulfilling the democratic ideals of public education.

> **"The international reason for acting to secure our civil rights now is not to win the approval of our totalitarian critics. We would not expect it if our record were spotless; to them our civil rights record is only a convenient weapon with which to attack us. Certainly we would like to deprive them of that weapon. But we are more concerned with the good opinion of the peoples of the world. . . . We are convinced that our way of life —the free way of life — holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still greater achievements will do it.**
>
> **"The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."**
> ***—Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947.***

But despite the relevancy of Washington's experience, especially for other cities that still have the transition ahead of them, most of the press has been indifferent to the story. There were a few feature stories on the opening day of school. And there were quite a few sensational headlines during the October troubles. But except for Washington's own newspapers, the story of what was happening to the 54,000 youngsters, their parents, and their teachers has been largely ignored.

Ironically, even some of the participants, conditioned to the traditional concepts of news, don't seem to realize how big the story actually is. As Miss Mildred Green, principal of the Raymond Elementary School, with 390 Negro and 140 white students, has insisted, "There is no news—there's nothing to tell. From the very first day of school we have been so busy with education that we haven't had time to think of what has happened." She reports that the very young, as might be expected, have adapted to the change easily. They seem, in fact, to be almost unaware of racial differences. One teacher reports that one day a little Negro girl was chosen by her classmates to be Goldilocks in a classroom play.

The parents, too, have made their adjustments. Gilbert Adamson, credit manager for a jewelry store and president of the Raymond Parent-Teachers Association, has nothing but praise for the way things have

gone. "As far as the hard work of running the PTA is concerned," he told me, "the Negro parents have participated just as actively as our white parents." Another white parent, more reserved, expressed herself as "neither elated nor anguished." Her only worry was that as a by-product of the change some classes might get too large for adequate teaching. Last year, the all-white Raymond was only partially filled, with six empty classrooms. This year, by relieving the nearby Park View School from overcrowding, it is approaching the District attendance norms, which this parent feels are too high. "Thirty or more kids to a class is more than one teacher can manage," she protested.

Jefferson Junior High

Jefferson Junior High, which is located in the heart of the southwest Washington slum area, now has 333 white and 230 Negro students. In a sense, being brought together was not a particularly novel experience for the youngsters, since they have been living in close proximity in many of the overcrowded blocks of that region. The neighborhood has produced more than its proportionate share of the so-called "atypical" students who have trouble keeping up with their school work. Yet despite the depressing day-to-day problems, Hugh S. Smith, Jefferson's enthusiastic, hard-working principal, has been systematically cultivating good "intercultural" understanding in the neighborhood for many years. Partly as a result of his efforts, Jefferson has made the transition easily.

At a school assembly I watched students of both races performing for the entertainment of their schoolmates. A thirteen-year-old Negro boy, with stilted diction, recited Emma Lazarus' "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . ." The applause was enthusiastic.

The first afternoon of the student strikes in October, a group from another school paraded over to Jefferson to urge its students to walk out. Mr. Smith calmly put on a Western movie in the school auditorium, and not a student left.

But this superficial success, he points out, should not blind anyone to the deeper problems that have been piled in Jefferson's lap. For one thing, he and his teachers had not anticipated the true extent of the educational gap between white and Negro schools in southwest Washington. Perennial overcrowding combined with teacher shortages in the Negro schools produced poor attendance and study habits that cannot be overcome in a hurry. Mr. Smith continues to maintain high standards for the more able students by his regular practice of grouping students according to ability within each school grade. It has resulted this year in practically all whites in the top sections and all Negroes in the bottom with varying mixtures in between. To compensate, Mr. Smith has deliberately mixed the students in their homerooms.

Even more basic to the problems at Jefferson are the welfare needs of the children. There are students in the school who do not have enough to eat or wear, and many also come from divided, problem-ridden homes. The school's ability to meet these needs is limited. The Police Boys' Club in the neighborhood continues to maintain the color bar. Welfare services are woefully inadequate.

McKinley High

McKinley High, which concentrates on technical courses, received a blanket transfer of Negro students from the nearby outmoded Armstrong School and now has 562 white students and 404 Negroes. Its progress was interrupted by a brief outbreak of rebellion last October. But Dr. Charles E. Bish, the astute and energetic principal, says that he feels better off than those school heads who have not had to come to grips with the inevitable change this year.

"It cannot be intellectualized," he argues. "You can talk about it in sociology class but you cannot fashion behavior pattern anew there. One's attitudes develop as he becomes involved in real experiences. Some of these schools are not going to solve their problems until they actually get Negroes in."

Dr. Bish has faced some of the same difficulties that Mr. Smith mentioned, although they have had to be handled differently in senior high. "I made the decision," Dr. Bish said, "that we can't have segregation within the school. We can't have two academic standards for students. If there are a greater number of failures at first, that's the price that must be paid."

A visitor to McKinley is impressed by the casualness of the students' acceptance of the new situation. In the labs and handicraft shops, Negro and white students work side by side. In the locker room after basketball practice, the usual horseplay goes on among the boys without regard to the color of their skins. In the cafeteria, one does notice that the small groups around the tables are usually of the same race, although the room as a whole is thoroughly intermixed. "It is possible to be friendly without necessarily being friends," one teacher commented.

After careful consideration, it was finally decided not to hold the traditional Christmas dance this year. Although the student leaders thought it would work out all right, the school authorities, including Principal Bish, concluded that the risk might be too great.

Trouble in October

McKinley was one of the four schools at which a student strike took place, after word of rebellion had come over from Milford, Delaware, and Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Bish suspects systematic agitation by a group of troublemakers who

spread rumors by telephone over the weekend following the outbreak of violence at Southern High School in Baltimore. Two or three minor incidents that had occurred at McKinley during the preceding week provided tinder.

On Monday, October 4, approximately 150 of McKinley's students went out on strike. There were certainly strong feelings involved, but it has been noted that unusually fine Indian summer weather contributed to the holiday spirit.

But the students were not immune to reason. Dr. Bish was quickly able to get them into a meeting for a discussion of their problems. By Wednesday, a large assembly was convened in the school auditorium, the problems were freely discussed, and a biracial student grievance committee was appointed. The storm had subsided, but there was still the problem of how to end the assembly without risking a further walkout. Dr. Bish was suddenly inspired to turn the meeting into a pep rally for the next weekend's football game. To the stirring strains of "On McKinley," the students marched singing from the auditorium and back to their classrooms. No order had been given.

Anacostia High

The most serious outbreak of trouble occurred at Anacostia High School, which is located on the flats across the Anacostia River from the main body of the District. Unlike other parts of the District, Anacostia has until recently isolated Negroes in tight little communities that have existed since the Civil War. Anacostia has been largely a middle-class, homeowning community, although in the past few years there has been a mushrooming of large-scale housing and apartment developments. Racial tension has been particularly strong, with a bad flare-up a few years ago when the local swimming pool was thrown open to both races.

In the high school itself resentment had already been expressed against the encroachment of Negroes. Four years ago Mrs. Opal Corkery, then the principal, refused to permit a performance of the Washington Sesquicentennial play, "Faith of Our Fathers," in the school auditorium because one of the cast was a Negro. She argued that her ruling was necessary to prevent a riot. After the new program was announced last June, she retired and is now teaching in a white Virginia school.

Only forty-four Negro students entered Anacostia High this September. To all outward appearances they were soon assimilated into the school life, joining the band, the cadet corps, and the basketball team. But on Monday, October 4, about five hundred white students—nearly half of the student body—staged a strike.

Surprisingly enough, there was not much racial animosity to be observed in the affair at Anacostia. Roving, shouting bands of youngsters blew off steam at educational authorities, not at the Negroes; one Negro student was found marching along enthusiastically with the rest. Unlike the situation at McKinley, however, appeals to reason were not successful. The acting principal tried in vain to set up a grievance procedure. An outdoor assembly to discuss the matter broke up in pandemonium. Police were obliged to prevent the picketers from marching across the bridge to seek recruits from other schools.

Late on Wednesday afternoon, the authorities cracked down. School Superintendent Hobart M. Corning announced that after Thursday absences would be marked as unexcused, thus disqualifying students from athletic, band, and other honor activities. Police Chief Robert V. Murray warned that disorderly students might be arrested and acquire a police record. All the responsible voices of the community—including even the Federation of Citizens Association, which has opposed the integration program—spoke out against the strike. By Friday, attendance was back to normal at Anacostia and elsewhere.

John Koontz, who has since been appointed principal at Anacostia, realizes the difficulty of the job that faces him. Having grown up in the neighborhood, he understands the deeply felt concern of many white parents who feel that their stake in the school is being taken away from them. But he is equally committed to the task of making the new program work. "My job is to assure the parents that this is going to continue to be a fine school academically—one which will prepare their children for college. They can feel security in the knowledge that their children are not going to suffer educationally because it is a mixed school."

A distressed representative of one of the neighborhood citizens' associations called on Mr. Koontz while I was in his office. "I'm trying to do everything I can to eliminate friction and you should help me," said Mr. Koontz. "You know as well as I do that kids don't learn as much when they are disturbed."

Perhaps the most substantial and widespread criticism of the integration program is that it has been operated with too little regard for particular conditions that are peculiar to certain neighborhoods. In its zeal to do away with all barriers, the Board of Education voted at first to keep no record of a student's race. The rule has been temporarily suspended so that there can be some record of the progress that is being made.

But this complete disregard of the racial factor has resulted in situations in which one or two white children were dropped into an all-Negro school, and vice versa. A biracial "review" committee set up by the Superintendent of Education to hear complaints was expressly instructed to refuse requests for transfers from one school to another made simply for racial reasons. Some, including members of the Board of Education, wonder if this isn't turning a sound principle into a fetish.

Is the environment of the so-called fringe school, in which one race overwhelmingly outnumbers the other, a healthy or necessary part of racial equality? So far the Washington experience furnishes arguments but no definite answer.

The review committee, however,

has heard more than seven hundred requests and has been able to comply with a majority of them. Miss Margaret Pepper, the superintendent's executive assistant, feels that in this way the real cases of maladjustments have been taken care of adequately.

How They Got Ready

In assessing the factors that have made the program a success, its sponsors point proudly to their foresight. Two years ago, School Superintendent Corning, at the direction of the Board of Education, requested interested citizens' groups to suggest ways and means to knock down the racial barriers if ordered to by the Supreme Court. Seminars were held with outside experts to guide teachers and administrators. A handbook, "Intergroup Education," was prepared. Two days after the Supreme Court handed down its decision on May 17, the Board of Education set up a special committee to draft guiding principles for the change-over. Less than a week later, the Commission issued a sweeping mandate for merging both students and teaching staffs, and Superintendent Corning outlined a plan of action. Briefly, Dr. Corning's plan establishes new school boundaries without regard to race that will apply to successively broader categories of students until the program is completed in September, 1955.

In late June, Dr. Corning announced the list of schools that would be affected in the fall. There was none of the uncertainty and indecisiveness that aggravated the situation in Milford, Delaware. Families unwilling to face the prospect had time to make arrangements for private schooling or to move elsewhere.

Walter N. Tobriner, a member of the Board of Education who was chairman of the special committee to draft the desegregation principles, argues that speed and decisiveness were essential to success. "It was like taking a piece of adhesive plaster off," he says. "People adjust better to a situation in which they find themselves than toward a situation lying before them."

PERHAPS the most important factor of all, however, has been the unreserved co-operation of the teachers. No one has reported a single instance in which a teacher's behavior has undermined student confidence. When the teachers experienced qualms, as many of them undoubtedly did at times, they kept it to themselves.

This commitment to the program by those in responsible positions applied all the way up to the President, who on the day after the Supreme Court decision expressed his hope that Washington would move swiftly to carry out the verdict, serving as a model for the rest of the nation. Since then, he has publicly announced his pleasure at the way the program has succeeded. In contrast, an isolated instance of irresponsibility occurred last October when a few of the striking students called on Representative James C. Davis (D., Georgia), who will be a ranking member of the House District Committee next January. Representative Davis later announced, "I told them I regarded this Supreme Court decision as being rank usurpation of authority by the Court . . . I told them if they carry on their protest and stay out of school, school officials will have a hard time holding school without pupils. I said I was on their side and I hope they win."

OF COURSE there has been plenty of friction, and even tightly fought contests within the Board of Education itself. Its members range in attitude from Robert R. Faulkner, who has called for a three-school system—one white, one Negro, one mixed—to Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, who is also a representative of the N.A.A.C.P. and who has bitterly denounced Superintendent Corning's plan as "gradualism."

Though the overt attempts to interfere have subsided, there are still dire forebodings. Some white people point to the falling off of white registration in schools that were particularly affected last fall, and say gloomily that school desegregation will accelerate the migration of Negroes into the heart of Washington and whites into the outlying suburban areas of Maryland and Virginia.

But Mr. Tobriner has argued that these problems lie beyond the schools' responsibility. "We simply make it difficult for ourselves by diagnosing trends that we are powerless to prevent. The problem of who lives in Washington belongs to someone higher up than the Board of Education."

The Next Step

Integration is uncovering problems of health and welfare as well as those of direct educational shortages which were long half-concealed behind the curtain of segregation. It is bringing increased recognition of the needs for slum clearance, urban redevelopment, and other long-range city planning that must be attended to if Washington is not to share the destiny of other metropolitan centers where only the very poor and the very rich continue to live in the heart of the city.

Paradoxically, the very lack of self-government that speeded desegregation in the District is also making it difficult to meet these urgent conditions. It means that a man like Representative Davis has a strangle hold over the District's plans and purse strings even though District citizens have long paid their own way in taxes. It means that on the House District Committee, which has absolute control over local affairs, nine of the twelve members come from Southern states that are vigorously opposed to removal of any racial barriers.

Integration of Washington schools has so far been a notable success story, a true model for the nation. But unless the people of Washington win their long-sought home rule, the very success could bring on a gradual debasement of education, a general decline in civic conditions, and perhaps a form of continued segregation within the schools because of the further spreading of slum areas in the center of the city.

It would be tragic indeed if this major forward step in democracy should be frustrated by Federal restraints that prevent Washington's citizens from governing themselves democratically.

On the day the Adams School opened, mothers were requested to stay near their children for an hour or so till everyone felt comfortabl

The Washington Story: ONE

These Negro and white children take each other for granted as school opens in Washington, D. C.

BY ANNA W. M. WOLF

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SUZANNE SZASZ

THESE quiet pictures of children at school mark the beginni of a new chapter in American life. Last May the Supre Court of the United States declared that the segregation of Ne students in all-Negro schools is a violation of the right to eq opportunities. Though the Court postponed issuing a directive to when and how the change must be accomplished, the decision was clear that hereafter in public schools and colleges, Negro a white students would go to school together.

This fall, all over the country, thousands of colored and wh children sat down at their desks in the same classroom. In sp of varying feelings about the change, the usual doings of openi day in most places went off quietly. For the majority of youn sters this was just the beginning of another school year. Yet "n since Lincoln's proclamation which freed the slaves in 1863," s Dean Francis B. Sayre, Jr., of the National Cathedral in Washi

JOYCE'S FIRST DAY AT SCHOOL

Joyce Johnson enrolls as a first-grader in a school only a block from her home. Last year she would have had to go a long distance to a segregated school

Registration: Joyce sticks close to Mother, eyes the principal anxiously.

She tries to be good but when you f strange it's often hard to pay attenti

e requested to st[illegible] s a kindergarten teacher who loves children and loves singing e felt comfortabl[illegible] qualities that break many old barriers to human fellowship.

At recess, scrimmages and roughhouse play are mostly friendly. There'll be the usual quota of quarrels too.

Elbow room at last. In this school crowding and tension has lessened, teachers can do a better job.

ONE MORE STEP

ark the beginni[illegible], "has the Negro's right to move ahead as a free and dignified [illegible]zen won such a victory. At the same time, the America we all [illegible]e took yet another step toward that greatest of mankind's [illegible]ams—the brotherhood of man."

May the Supre[illegible] Well in advance, the Washington School Board worked out a [illegible]n which they hoped would be a pilot project for other com-[illegible]nities. All children entering a Washington public school for [illegible] first time will now attend the school in the district where they [illegible] Since Washington housing is less segregated than in many [illegible]s, this means that the schools for the most part will eventually [illegible] both colored and white children. Those who are already in [illegible] upper grades could choose whether they wanted to continue in [illegible] old schools or go instead to an unsegregated one.

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The best hope for peaceful integration, the Washington [illegible]ol Board believes, lies in a realistic appraisal of problems that [illegible] arise and cool-headed plans for handling them.

It's not all clear sailing; there are problems too. This little girl is the only white child in her class and it's not easy to be "different." Her home is in a district where families are nearly all colored. Authorities, aware that some hardship is the price of all social change, regret these defects, expect the problem to work out as lines between exclusively "white" and "colored" neighborhoods gradually disappear.

Two friends who love children; Bernice Brown, principal of the Morgan School, and Penelope Wright, president of the Adams School PTA. Awhile ago gang fights broke out between the then colored Morgan School and the then white Adams School. These two women conferred and took constructive steps toward improvement. They've worked together ever since for their common purpose—a democratic way of life for Washington's children.

but when you fe[illegible] "[illegible]nder if she'll like me," Joyce is thinking. Per-[illegible] to pay attentio[illegible] [illegible]her neighbor has the same thoughts about Joyce.

Joyce is limbering up. She has definite notions about Stevie's drawings, and she isn't backward about expressing them.

This morning's shyness seems a long time ago. Joyce feels at home. The teachers are nice. Best of all, she has a friend.

From Dallas Johnson
AD 4-8842, OL 5-4136

PRESS RELEASE FOR SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 29th

Gerhard van Arkel, Chairman of the Washington Committee on the Public Schools, today released hitherto unpublished statistics submitted to his Committee by the Bureau of Social Science Research, which show, he said, that "despite the seeming efforts of the Davis Subcommittee to besmirch the D. C. school integration experience, the majority of Washington white adult citizens consider that desegregation is going well."

The Bureau's statistics, which were accumulated in August, 1955, after the first full year of school integration experience, reveal that 51% of the Washington area white adult population thought that desegregation is either going "very well" or "fairly well." Only 7% thought it was going "badly" and 14% thought it was going "not so well." Twenty-eight percent of Washington area citizens had no opinion.

Other statistics supplied by the Bureau indicate that those living within the boundaries of the District of Columbia registered a higher proportion than those in suburban areas in believing that integration was proceeding well. In addition, the data reveal that 65% of the white adult citizens of the District who have children under 18 years of age believe that desegregation was going well. Van Arkel commented that "the last two statistics show that those having a more direct experience with integration consider it in a far more favorable light than those having little experience with it."

Van Arkel further stated: "Since this data was accumulated at a time when integration was completing its initial year - a year of trying difficulties requiring great adjustments - it can be assumed that today, after two years' experience, an even higher proportion of the white population would subscribe to the view that desegregation is working well."

In releasing the statistics to the Washington Committee, Dr. Bower, sociologist and Director of the Bureau, stated that "the data are extremely significant in that an earlier survey had revealed that the majority of white citizens in the District of Columbia had looked with disfavor on the Supreme Court decision. In other words, although the white citizenry by and large was not originally sympathetic to the Court decision, having a respect for law and democratic institutions and after a year of experience with integrated schools, they came to regard the implementation of that decision favorably." Dr. Bower went on to say that the Negro population was overwhelmingly in favor of the Supreme Court decision and also felt that the integration process was going well.

In releasing the figures of the Bureau, van Arkel stated: "This opinion survey is important because the general impression being created by the school hearings is that Washington citizenry on the whole believes integration to be a failure. We believe that the information elicited from witnesses has been decidedly onesided, which is not unexpected in view of the fact that the Chairman of the Committee, Representative Davis, at the start of school integration in October, 1954, actually appealed to lawlessness by 'advising' some student demonstrators to disobey local authorities by staying out of schools."

"The Washington Committee on the Public Schools," he said, "will continue to release information to set the facts and record straight."

Education, Desegregation, 1956-57
File Wash D.C.

From Dallas Johnson
AD 4-8842, OL 5-4136

PRESS RELEASE FOR SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

The Washington Committee on the Public Schools yesterday called on President Eisenhower "to appoint an impartial and unprejudiced Commission of distinguished educators and social scientists to evaluate the situation before and after school integration in the District of Columbia." In a letter to the President, Gerhard van Arkel, Chairman of the newly formed committee of leading Washington citizens said:

"As you are aware, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia took prompt action in 1954, after the decision of the Supreme Court, to integrate local schools. It is the conviction of most thoughtful residents of the District that this step was long over-due, and that its consequences to date have been a more efficient and economical use of school facilities and personnel, a decided narrowing of the gap between the education offered white and Negro children, the elimination of a constant source of bickering concerning allocation of school buildings, and a good start toward the American goal of equal citizenship and opportunity. Integration has demonstrated that weaknesses existed in our school system, a fact previously concealed under the blanket of segregation.

"The Davis House District Subcommittee has been recently holding hearings, the tenor of which might make the unthinking believe that all school problems began with integration. School children were not all angels before 1954, and they have not become juvenile delinquents since. Rather clearly, the District is not going to return to a segregated system. But it is evident that the Davis Subcommittee will seize on every school failure, every playground ruckus, and every infraction by any school child to make it appear that integration here has been a failure in order to hamper similar efforts elsewhere and to forestall compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

"We think the country is entitled to the true facts about the Washington situation. We, therefore, propose that you appoint an impartial and unprejudiced Commission of distinguished educators and social scientists to evaluate the situation before and after integration in the District schools. Our experience here has a national importance, since it demonstrates that with good will, intelligence and determination this job can be done. Such an unbiased study would, we feel, point the way for other communities faced with similar problems, and would be an effective counter-check to the misleading propaganda concerning the District schools which is being, and almost certainly will continue to be, disseminated.

"Your administration has gone on record in urging the establishment in Washington of a model educational system, and, further, has taken steps to implement that advice. Undoubtedly, the administration cannot forego the responsibility of defending its objectives when efforts are being made to castigate unwarrantedly the significant progress accomplished."

In releasing the letter to the press, van Arkel commented: "In spite of this predisposition on the part of the Davis Subcommittee to make the Washington integration experience look as bad as possible, it is apparent that there is much to be said in terms of positive achievement in the past two years, that is not being said. Testimony to this effect is slipping through in spite of, not because of, the explorations of the Subcommittee and its Counsel. The statement that Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen insisted on making at the end of his testimony on Thursday never would have emerged as a result of the questions he was being asked. Yet Dr. Hansen, an important witness to the overall situation, blamed the District's previous system of segregation for the current ills, and described the achievements of the past two years "as a miracle of social adjustment." Dr. Hansen is to be commended for his courage in making his statement in the face of a hostile committee. Time

and again, teachers testifying have tried, without any encouragement from the Committee, to evaluate the isolated data they were being asked to supply, in terms of the overall situation, and in the positive terms of growth and achievement. But the Committee's reaction has been negative."

Education, Desegregation
Wash., D.C. 1956-57

Dallas Johnson
ADams 4-8842, OL 4-6594

FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1956

In a statement made today, Gerhard van Arkel, Chairman of the Washington Committee for the Public Schools, composed of 32 civic, educational and church leaders in the District of Columbia, said:

"Our Committee is interested not only in the past but in the future of the Washington schools. If we have learned anything from the Davis Committee's hearings on school integration, it is that the District of Columbia needs to spend more, not less, on its schools.

"Today the District Commissioners start their hearings on the 1957-58 school budget. There is an obvious need for more instructors to meet the demands of increased enrollment. The reinforcement of teachers' efforts by the creation of more special remedial classes for children who are way behind in reading and arithmetic is clearly indicated. There is also a need for more assistant principals to give guidance on overall problems.

[redacted]

"We not only have the overall problem of equalizing and improving potentialities for attainment among the native white and Negro children of the District, but as Dr. Corning said in his testimony we have the added and tremendous burden of absorbing a continuing influx of several thousands of Negro students coming to us every year from the Southern states.

"Last week we heard from Mr. Gerber that his home town of Memphis had a 'pretty good school system' at a daily cost per pupil in attendance of 77¢. He did not break this down by white and Negro pupils, nor did he define what he meant by a 'pretty good school system.' Suffice it to say that of the 88 public school systems in cities with a population of 100,000 or more, the 26 southern school systems spent on the average of 44 cents less per child per day than the rest of the country. The city of Memphis was at the bottom of the list, spending more than 90¢ less. We suspect that the quality of instruction even in Memphis is strained by a salary range of from $2,795 to $4,435 for teachers with a Masters Degree, with even lower salaries for a Bachelor of Arts.

"One of our big problems, here in the District, is the kind of education being given in Memphis and other Southern communities. Last year there was an increase of nearly 5,000 Negro children in the Washington schools. It is estimated that more than half of these came from the Southeastern states. In the last six years Negro students in the D.C. school system have increased by nearly 21,000, bringing the total Negro school population up to 68,877 at the close of the last school year. It is estimated that at least 1 out of every 5 Negro students in the D. C. schools today has come to us from the South.

"Unfortunately, a 'pretty good school system' by Mr. Gerber's standards, is not up to par for the course of study in Washington, D. C. In 1948 when the impact of the swelling tide of new arrivals from the Southern states had already begun to be felt, a study made by the Research Division of the Board of Education revealed that the difference in the educational levels of the Southern children was so great that it would take on the average of 8 years in the Washington schools to bring them up even to the levels of the Washington segregated schools. This confirmed similar studies made earlier (1931-32) in the New York City schools. A study of 1,700 12-year old Negro school children in Harlem

showed that Southern Negro children who had attended New York City schools one year or less made on the average of 20 points lower on I.Q. scores, and if they came from rural sections there was a 50 point difference. They were retarded on the average of two grades in school. The longer they stayed in New York the closer they came to the norm for New York children, until at the end of 7 years there was no difference in their I.Q., and after 9 years their grade level was the same. The study concluded that a large part, if not all, of the retardation of Negro children in New York City schools was due to the pressure among them of a large number of newcomers from the South.

"In the opinion of the Washington Committee on the Public Schools, 77¢ a day is a high price to pay for a quality of education that is from 7 to 9 years behind its Northern counterpart. It is the old story of the illiteracy tests given inductees in both World Wars. In World War II almost 60 per cent of the Negro inductees in the Fourth Service Command--the Southeastern part of the United States from which most of our Southern students are coming--were classed as Grade 5 or illiterate, as against 15 per cent of Negro inductees as classed illiterate from the First Service Command, which was New England. In fact, in such key Southeastern states as Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina the rejection rate for white inductees was higher than the rates for Negro inductees from a host of Northern states including Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, California - and 2 borderline states of Kentucky and West Virginia.

"The job the D. C. school system faces today is to offer all of its children, who were created equal, equal opportunity in education. This is something that is going to cost time and money, and a great deal of effort on the part of teachers as well as students.

"Last year the District of Columbia budgeted $308.46 for each child in average daily attendance. This was well below the median for communities with the

big city problems inherent in populations of 500,000 or more. Of the 18 cities in this category, Washington was 13th on the list. Only 5 large cities spent less—including the newly integrated cities of Baltimore and St. Louis, and the only two large cities that still have segregated systems, New Orleans and Houston. The Washington Committee for the Public Schools believes that as the Nation's Capital, we can and should do better than this, and we urge the Commissioners to find the means of improving this situation in its coming hearings."

Education, Desegregation 1953-57
Wash. D.C.

F I

From Marjorie Ware
RE 7-0367

PRESS RELEASE FOR THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4th 1956

Gerhard van Arkel, Chairman of the Washington Committee on the Public Schools, a group of distinguished civic, education and church leaders, today released the following letter, sent by him to Dr. Hobart M. Corning, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Washington.

"Dear Dr. Corning:

The Washington Committee on the Public Schools was most heartened by the testimony you so ably gave before the Davis Subcommittee. We are certain that your appraisal of the past and present problems of our school system is shared by the great majority of District residents, and that many of our present problems are in large measure attributable to the many years of segregation in the District schools. With you, we look forward to a solution of these problems in the near future, and trust that the appropriate authorities will make available the means for overcoming them."

PAMPHLET TO AID IN D. C. PUBLIC SCHOOLS PUBLISHED

Star News 4-30-54

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A 16-page pamphlet designed to aid the successful integration of the Washington public school system has just been issued by the American Friend Service Committee, it was announced today by Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary of the Quaker organization.

The pamphlet, which is titled "Working Together: Integration of Washington School," will be distributed by the organization's Community Relations Program in Washington, 104 C Street, N. E. The pamphlet poses 24 questions most often asked about the integration of Washington schools and gives answers based on the experience of the American Friends Service Committee and of school systems which have integrated in recent years.

Among the questions asked and answered in the pamphlet are: "What has happened when schools have integrated in other communities?" "What are the steps in establishing integration?" Has there been adequate preparation for integration?" "On what basis should children be assigned to schools?" "Will teaching staffs be integrated?" And "are we facing a lot of trouble in doing this job?"

The pamphlet grows out of the concern of the Service Committee that educational systems need to reflect a belief in the essential worth of each human being and equality of all men in the sight of God. For two years the Quaker organization has conducted a program in Washington working toward integration of the public school syttem.

Seminars for teachers and school administrators have been an important part of this program. Seven interracial seminars have been held, with 182 teachers and administrators attending. They met with Intergroup Education consultants and personnel from school systems which have experienced integration.

"Out of this experience, the Service Committee has become aware of teacher interest in meeting the challenge of a more democratic school program. "The questions raised by these teachers have us greatly in preparing our pamphlet, which we hope will be of help to them in the job ahead," she continued.

"The Washington community, the nation, and the world await the Supreme Court decision on school segregation," Miss Osborne said. We feel confident that integration of the school system here is inevitable as the community and the nation continues to work toward a greater realization of democratic ideals."

The American Friends Service Committee's activities in Washington include working toward the integration of public recreation facilities and private child-serving agencies. A short term program was conducted in the field of public accommodations. Quaker work camps have also brought young people to Washington for four summers, to help establish interracial programs on public playgrounds and to work with tenants to repair homes in the southwest. The Joint Social Order Committee of the Washington Friends Meetings has co-sponsored these camps and carried on weekend work camps in cooperation with the Southwest Neighborhood Council.

International Student House, a student residence and international center for young people from many nations, is also a part of the Service Committee's program. Davis House, an international guest house, helps people from other countries feel at home in the United States.

Seminars for high school and college age young people conducted by the Service Committee have brought young people from many parts of the country and the world together to discuss critical national and international problems.

These Washington activities are carried out in a framework of national and international activities of the Quaker organization, which is perhaps best known for its work of relief and rehabilitation.

FAST INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS URGED

This Would Lessen Chance to Evade Court Ban, 19 Race Relations Experts Say

NYT 5-9-54

By MURRAY ILLSON

The quicker the United States Supreme Court ban on segregated schols is put into effect the less chance there will be to evade it, according to a committee of nineteen race relations experts.

The committee's conclusions were made public yesteday at a special conference held in conjunction with the American Psychological Association's sixty-second annual meeting in the Statler Hotel. Among those taking part was Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Marshall, who argued before the Supreme Court in support of the ban on segregation, said he had not seen the committee's report and would not comment until he had had a chance to study it. The court is scheduled to hear arguments this fall on whether its ruling should be effected forthwith or gradually and whether it should issue detailed or general instructions on desegregation policy.

Report Based on 81 Studies

Three members of the committee were present at yesterday's meeting. They were Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate Professor of Psychology at City College; Dr. John P. Dean, associate Professor of Sociology at Cornell University, and Dr. Isador Chein, Professor of Psychology at New York University.

They said that the committee represented educational institutions in all parts of the country and included a number of members who were Southerners. The committee's report, they declared, was based on eighty-one studies in the field of race relations.

Observing that "the threat of violence has often been used as device to postpone or prevent desegregation," the report said:

"Violence can be perpetrated by a small minority of frustrated and disgruntled individuals whose basic motivations are not necessarily directly related to race.

"Though rare, violence has been found under conditions of ambiguous, inconsistent or dilatory desegregation policy on the part of authorities; ineffective, weak and at times conspiratorial police action, and as a reflection of the

Continued on Page 36, Column 2

THE

Fast School Desegregation Urged To Lessen Time for Evading Ban

Continued From Page 1

type of inconsistency which is associated with conflicting and competing governmental agencies and authorities."

The report asserted that studies of violent acts in areas where desegregation had occurred indicated that such acts were "more likely to occur in those communities in which there is a tradition of general lawlessness, political corruption and criminal contamination of the police power."

'Techniques' of Delay Cited

Various "techniques" for delaying or evading desegregation were cited in the report. Among them were the establishment of "voluntary" desegregation policies, gerrymandering or other manipulation of school district lines to insure that schools in effect would remain segregated, "prolonged periods of public education," and token admissions of Negroes to "desegregated" schools.

An effective desegregation policy in the public schools, the report said, should include the following points:

¶All children should be assigned to the available school facilities without regard to race.

¶The only delay permitted should be that time required by specified and necessary administrative adjustments. There is no available evidence to suggest that this time need be any longer than a school year.

Mr. Marshall observed that white and Negro children traditionally played together in the South and that "the only time they are segregated is in school and in church." He added that "from the earliest days of slavery, Negroes have been teachers of white childen—spanking them, wet-nursing them and teaching the manners."

PTA ASKED TO AID WITH INTEGRATION

N. Y. Times 5-24-54

Board Calls Upon Southern State Groups to Decide How They Can Help

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., May 23 (AP) — The National Congress of Parents and Teachers said today it will be up to each state PTA in the South to decide how to help public schools make the changeover from racial segregation to nonsegregation of pupils.

In a policy statement issued on the eve of the national PTA convention, the group's board of managers urged members "to study and pursue effective means in working toward integrated education for all children."

An estimated 3,000 delegates representing 8,822,694 PTA members are expected here for the convention's opening session tomorrow morning.

"The U.S. Supreme Court, in finding segregated public schools unconstitutional, has focused attention upon social change which has been in process for a long time," the board said.

"Realization of the constitutional guarantee of citizenship requires the integration of all peoples.

"The program of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has been and will be to promote the welfare of all children and youth in home, school, church and community. Attainment of these objectives is the responsibility of each state congress.

"Educational integration of different races is proceeding rapidly in some communities — it will require a longer transition period in others."

The 95-member board is headed by the national PTA president, Mrs. Newton P. Leonard of Providence, R.I.

Group Plans South-wide Meeting For Integration

Palmetto Leader N, 7-3-54.

Atlanta— (ANP)-- A South-wide conference to speed compliance with the Supreme court decision outlawing schoo segregation was proposed here last weekend.

Eighteen distinguished southern liberals announnced this project at a meeting of the board of the Southern Conference Educatioal Fund, Inc.

Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Ala., publisher who heads the fund presided at the gathering which icluded Mrs. Mary McLeod Betthune; John Wesley Dobbs, Rpublican nationnal committeeman from Georgia; Mrs. Lula White, NAA-Houston, Tex., and the Rt. Rev. S. L. Green, president of the council of Bishops, A.M.E. church of Atlanta, Ga.

Plans for the regional assembly call for a meetting early this fall in a southern city, to which will be invited all individuals and organizations "who believe that quick compliance with the ruling is fesable, just, and mutually advantageous to all citizens."

The board pointed out that for the past decade it had devoted its efforts to combatting racial segregation and discrimination. It pledged to continue its endeavor to secure, integration in the public schools, in medical facilities, and in housing, as well as to seek FEPC legislation.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund has an interracial board of 63 professional people and civic leaders residing in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

St. Louis High Schools Set To Integrate Sports

Atl. World 7-14-54

ST. LOUIS — (ANP) — When school opens in September, St. Louis high schools will embark on an integrated sports program, it was announced last week.

The St. Louis Public High School league has invited the city's three Negro high schools, Sumner, Vashon and Wasington Technical, to compete in league activities "so far as the present schedules will permit."

Because football and basketball schedules already have been completed these sports will not be included until 1955. According to the league announcement:

"All other sports will be open to full participation by all public high schools immediately.

"Plans further provide that the first semester of the coming school year be used to reorganize the present league to include all public high schools and to work out details of the new organization. By September 1955 the reorganized league should be in full operation."

Sports to be integrated at once include tennis, swimming and cross country races.

N, 7-15-54

ROSWELL, (NEW MEXICO) DAILY RECORD

Segregation End in Artesia Schools Presents Problems

ARTESIA—Segregation in Artesia schools officially ended Monday night with action by the city school board. The board declared the city's only Negro school, Carver Elementary School, as part of the Roselawn School District, and gave the school the official designation as "Roselawn Annex."

Roselawn is a white elementary school in the same school zone as Carver school. The board also declared that Carver school's two Negro teachers would be assigned to the best advantage of the district. The possibility was suggested the two teachers might be assigned to other schools. However, the board took no action on teacher assignments, they are to be made later this summer.

Discussion on the de-segregation lasted over an hour. Attending the open meeting were three members of the Artesia Negro Civic League, President, Mrs. Ruby Young, and League members, Albert Young and the Rev. J. H. Horton. The minister told the board the Artesia Negro group had "every confidence the board would work to the best interests of everyone concerned.

However his group was not satisfied with three classes in each of Carver's two rooms. Horton also said the Negro organization wanted all children to attend school in the particular district they lived, rather than bypass certain schools.

The president of the Artesia Negro Civic League, Mrs. Ruby Young, disclaimed any connection of the Artesia Negro Civic League with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Hobart Legrone, state president of the NAACP, had threatened petitions preparatory to lawsuits if Artesia's School Board had not brought about de-segregation before school this fall.

Mrs. Young praised the work of the NAACP, but said the people whom she represented had full confidence the segregation problem would be handled in the manner they wanted it done. She said there was a representative of NAACP in Artesia but there was no contact with her group.

Mrs. Young said she was "extremely well pleased" with the action of the board. "It was just what we expected them to do," she said.

Superintendent Vernon Mills said the board could not afford to close Carver school because of the need for classrooms. He said it would be easy to absorb the approximately 35 children in the upper five grades into other schools, but that it would be a problem to add the twenty some students in the first grade.

Members of the board expressed worry that if all the students in the Negro district where Carver is located chose to return there next year it might be construed as segregation. Another problem, facing the board, he said, was assignment of white students to attend Carver school. This would have to be done to fill up the classrooms if they were to be maintained on a one-class-to-a-room schedule instead of the present three.

Roswell, N. Mex.
June 16 - 54.

Mrs M. E. Tilly,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

As per your request will answer U.C.W. has made no statement regarding the Supreme Court decision v Schools. I presume you refer to non-segregation. The eastern part of New Mexico in which Roswell is located has pretty much the same attitude as expressed in enclosed clipping. We are the only section in which there is an appreciable colored population.

There is some resentment toward the N.A.A.C.P. where they seem to be forcing an immediate integration where various adjustments are necessary - but on the whole the public is most co-operative.

In Roswell we have had

non-segregation in the High School for several years with apparently good relations.

There is no N. Mex. State Council of Churches to make a statement.

New Mexico has gradually been working toward non-segregation for a number of years. The organized colored people would probably rate a greater confidence if the public was sure N.A.A.C.P. was not Communist inspired.

Sincerely,

Ruth B. Knorr

Mrs. John W. Knorr, Pres.
W.C.W. of N. Mex.
Roswell, N. Mex.
Box 125 a

(Will be interested in discussion reports from Kansas City.)

PANEL TO DISCUSS SCHOOL INTEGRATION

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — While five educational experts from Maryland and Washington were discussing before a prominent national Negro organization "techniques in school integration," last week a local white group was charging the D. C. Board of Education with allowing subversives to influence it to immediately begin integration.

The integration panel was sponsored by the Frontiers of America during its 13th annual convention meeting here last week. It was composed of such prominent educators as Dr. Margaret J. Butcher, a member of the D. C. Board of Education; Dr. John H. Foscher, Superintendent of Public Education of Baltimore; Elmer Henderson, director of the American Council on Human Rights; William S. Schmidt, Superintendent of schools in Prince Georges County, Md.; and Furman Tompleton, executive director of the Baltimore Urban League.

SCHOOL BOARD

The subversion charges were made Thursday night by the lily-white Federation of Citizens' Associations. This group claimed that it had called upon the FBI and Congressional investigators to look into the School Board's integration proposals to determine whether they were not the result of influence brought about by subversive individuals and groups rather than by loyal District Citizens.

Mrs. Henry A. Barlett, president of the Federation, said she was not charging those individuals and organizations as being Communists, but "more un-American than Communist."

CURRENT PLANS

In spite of the Federation's announcement that it has retained an attorney to file suit for an injunction against the board and superintendent, to prohibit them from putting into effect current plans for partial integration this fall, the D. C. and Maryland school administrators went right on with their discussion Friday morning on ways and means of carrying out the Supreme Court's de-segregation decision.

Dr. Butcher criticized District school officials for what she called their "gradual" steps toward integration. The officials should make up their minds what they are going to do, she said, make a clean cut statement on their policy.

Integration can be carried out by making four decisive steps, she added. They are:

GIVE AND TAKE

(1) Insist on the child going to the school nearest his home;

(2) Allow no options;

(3) Prohibit "special" cases; and

(4) See that integration works both ways. This should be a give-and-take process, she added, with white children entering what were formerly Negro schools, as well as Negro children entering schools which were formerly white.

Fischer explained that his school system would drop all racial bars in September. He said that Baltimore had never had any rigid school boundaries. That students would be permitted to go to any school they wish, this fall with

(Continued on Page 8 Column 3)

Panel To

(Continued From Page One)

the exception of cases where buildings are overcrowded.

Schmidt, who heads the Superintendents' committee on segregation in Maryland, said his group is currently gathering information to be used in the brief which the State's attorney will submit to the Supreme Court in October.

He pointed out that integration presents different problems, mostly financial, in the rural districts of Maryland than in the cities. Concerted communities action is needed, he said, if integration is to work.

Templeton said integration does not mean mixing; it is only "a positive thing in which opportunity is limited only by ability or qualification."

13-POINT PROGRAM

He claimed that the greatest need at this time is a responsible group which will make the facts known to the community.

Henderson outlined the 13-point program which the ACHR has recently published in a brochure on "Integrating Our Schools." This booklet, which has been sent to all local ACHR Councils and other organizations, is important in helping communities effect a rapid transition from segregated to integrated schools. Community groups must take the responsibility of seeing that the Supreme Court's decision is implemented stated Henderson.

Courier Poll: 8-7-54

U. S. Teachers Vote 'Yes' On Integration

FFFF

***EDITOR'S NOTE:** America knows that school integration is the law of the land! It became so at 12:51 P. M. on the afternoon of Monday, May 17, 1954 . . . when Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Earl Warren read his now famous unanimous opinion, outlawing the practice.*

How do Negro teachers in the South feel? The following poll story gives the "lie" to the Talmadge-Byrnes contention that Negroes . . . and Negro teachers . . . don't want integration.

Alex Rivera, an expert in this field, tells the story "told to him" in this remarkable article.

By A. M. RIVERA JR.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The American Teachers Association began its second half-century here last week with a future as bright as the face of a first-grader on his first day in school.

The ATA adopted resolutions urging its membership to comply actively with and seek the immediate implementation of the May 17, U. S. Supreme Court decision.

Replying to the basic question of a Courier three-query questionnaire, "Do you favor integration?" 182 of the 300 assembled teachers participated in the survey. Of those voting, 173 voted in favor of integration, three or 1.6 per cent voted against it and three were undecided whether they wanted it or not.

* * *

Thus 95.1 per cent of the assembled teachers, representing 16,500 teachers from

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 6)

On Int

(Continued from Page 1)

seventeen Southern and border states, made false the prosegregationists' assertion that Negroes don't want integrated schools.

Response to the second question, "Do you feel that the U. S. Supreme Court's decision jeopardizes the Negro teacher's job," was both significant and revealing. Of the 182 who filled out the questionnaire, four did not answer this question, seven were undecided and ten were of the opinion that the decision did jeopardize the jobs of the Negro teacher. Contrary to the sputterings of Southern politicians 161 or 85.5 per cent of the voting teachers expressed no concern about prospective loss of jobs in the face of impending integration.

In reply to the third question, "Do you think that Negro children will be unhappy in integrated schools?" It was shown that whereas 82.4 per cent of the respondents felt that Negro children would not be unhappy in schools with white children, the feeling was that the bigger adjustment would have to be made at the high school level. This is believed to reflect the result of parental indoctrination and feelings about peer culture.

* * *

MRS. LILLIAN R. JOHNSON, of Clarksdale, Miss., newly elected president of the ATA, said in an interview, "Competent Negro teachers will find jobs where school systems are integrated . . . however, Negro teachers place the welfare of colored people above their jobs."

Quite mindful that practical considerations influence that in which a man believes and that for which a man stands, Mrs. Johnson expressed the belief that "If our teachers were faced with the choice of losing jobs in integrated systems they would place the advancement of the race above their self-interest."

Sensing the fact that perhaps the greatest human story of a race of people is mixed up in the varying and contradictory reports that are being published about the attitude of Negroes toward this threshold of a new and different life, the Courier is interested in learning the true feeling of a representative cross-section of Negroes.

There are many questions that in the past few weeks have been passed

3:00 P. M.
FOR A
ONE SHOW
BLUES
BALLADS
BOOGIE
BOUNCE
BOP and
BARREL-
HOUSE

advancement of the race above their self-interest."

Sensing the fact that perhaps the greatest human story of a race of people is mixed up in the varying and contradictory reports that are being published about the attitude of Negroes toward this threshold of a new and different life, the Courier is interested in learning the true feeling of a representative cross-section of Negroes.

There are many questions that in the past few weeks have been passed across the fence by neighbors, by workmen on their jobs, in taverns, on street cars and on street corners, civic clubs, by families around the dinner table, in churches and by just plain people across the width and breadth of this nation.

* * *

MOST OFTEN asked questions, however, involve: (1) the student, and (2) the teacher. Politicians declared even before the decision was announced that the Negro wanted to go to "his own school" and that the "Negro teacher does not want integration," and further that "Negro teachers will lose their jobs in an integrated system."

The Courier prepared a questionnaire which did not require the respondent to give his name, but required him to give his state and such pertinent information which would give educational researchers an insight into factors which might be influential in making a decision.

The poll, which was tacitly approved by the ATA, was not officially sanctioned by the group, but was conducted independently by the Courier.

Some of the participants in the poll, who took time to enlarge upon their views, expressed the general feeling that a period of adjustment will be necessary. One woman answered, "Children will not be unhappy unless the parents or teachers make

* * *

State .....

Grade level of teaching: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8. High school, 1-2-3-4.
Professional degree: RB, BS, MA, above.
Age range: (20-30), (31-40), (41-50), above.

Sex ..... Married ..... Single ..... Number of children ..... Ages .....

(1) DO YOU FAVOR INTEGRATION? Yes ..... No ..... Uncertain .....

(2) DO YOU FEEL that the U. S. Supreme Court's decision jeopardizes the Negro teacher's job? Yes ..... No .....

(3) DO YOU FEEL that Negro children will feel unhappy in schools with white children? Yes ..... No ..... Uncertain .....

Elementary? Yes ..... No ..... Uncertain .....

High school? Yes ..... No ..... Uncertain .....

IF YOU are a school teacher . . . and want to participate in the nation-wide poll now being conducted by the Courier . . . kindly fill out the blank printed above, and mail IMMEDIATELY to Poll Editor, the Courier, Box 1828, Pittsburgh, Pa.

IF YOU sign your name, the signature will be kept in strictest confidence. Your name is our sacred trust . . . and we will not violate your confidence in us!

Atl. Wor H 8-8-54

REVIEWING THE NEWS

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The Negro Teacher And Integration

The telephone rang and the voice at the other end of the line echoed in desperation:

"What about the Negro teachers and the Supreme Court decision? Will we lose our jobs when integration becomes a reality?

There was a pause and I could hear the person at the other end of the line doing a bit of throat-clearing. There was also a quaver in the voice as the person tried to calm the emotions.

"Well, I just wanted to know," the voice said and quietly hung up the receiver.

It was obvious that the person was frightened . . . frightened because she thought her job was at stake with this new ruling being in effect. No doubt, she had been told all along that Negro teachers should work to maintain a dual school system, because economically, they would be the first to feel the adverse affects.

What many teachers don't know is that this is only one side of the story and the wrong side at that. Economically, the Negro teacher will not be hurt through integration. Opponents to integration would like for it to happen this way, and usually they are the ones who control the channels of propaganda. And one has only to observe some of our main networks of communications to see how effective this can be.

What teachers should do is sit down and trace a little of the history they have been studying and teaching and draw their own conclusions.

First of all, the American populaiton is definitely on the increase. The National Association of Manufacturers predicts that by 1975 our population will have jumped to near two hundred million souls. This figure represents a lot of babies.

These babies will need homes, clothes, food and naturally school buildings and teachers. There will be millions of jobs for qualified people in the fields of their choice. But the effects of social change often have deeper implications and that which affects the present period is not much different from any other in our history. Deep-rooted factions always argue that changes bring about instability, the consequences of which disturb the status of employment.

The same story was told at the advent of the automobile. The blacksmith, the stable boys and innkeepers were disturbed by the coming of the horseless carriage, believing that their skills would be replaced by auto and electrical mechanics. That may have been true, but today we have far more people employed, making automobiles, digging the iron ore out of the ground, running service stations and managing food shops than perhaps all the industries combined during this period.

There was also a howl when the tractor came on the scene and subsequently the cotton picker. What would the poor Negro farm hands do in the wake of all this mechanization? The answer is clear. Since 1940 more than a million Negroes have migrated from the farms to the cities. And they have not been idle in doing so. They have acquired jobs. Their income and living standards have been higher than at any other time in history of the country.

The tractor and the cotton picker emancipated the Negro farm hand. And the result has been good. Instead of following the line of the shiftless underpaid farm hand, the Negro is gradually becoming a skilled workman with good pay, better housing and better educational opportunities for his children.

For the Negro teacher, there is no reason for fear. Like the Negro farm hand, the future points to better economic status for all and fuller integration into industry at large. For every Negro teacher replaced by integration there will be three jobs available in industry. With the going of segregation goes a disease . . . a disease which has long plagued its victims with the stigma of second-class methods and second-class training. Neither has any place in a democratic society.

you can get one.

SCHOOL ANTI-BIAS MOVE

New Rochelle High Asks Four From South to Visit It

10-13-54 N1

Special to The New York Times.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., Oct. 11—Four Southern high schools with nonsegregation problems were invited today by the New Rochelle High School to send students here to see how an integrated school operates.

Twenty per cent of the 1,600 students at New Rochelle High are Negroes, according to the principal, Willis Thomson.

The local students would contribute funds and conduct cake sales to pay for transportation of the guests from the South and that sixty-five families had volunteered to provide rooms and meals, he said this evening. The visitors, four from each school, were urged to stay for a week.

Invitations were sent to the Anacostia and the Eastern High Schools of Washington, the Southern High School of Baltimore and the Milford (Del.) High School. The letters were signed by Mr. Thomson and Robinson Brown, president of the Undergraduates' General Organization.

SOUTHWEST

WASH TIMES 10/19/54 N1

SOUTHERN PUPILS VISIT THE NORTH

Students From Washington, Baltimore See Integrated School in New York

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y., Oct. 18 (AP)—Six Washington (D.C.) and four Baltimore white high school students attended a nonsegregated school today to see for themselves how it works.

Their hectic, confusing day, interlarded with news conferences, included a visit to a Negro teacher's classroom.

The Baltimore group arrived yesterday to spend the rest of the week; the Washingtonians flew in this morning and must leave Thursday to take an exam back home.

All are guests of families whose children attend New Rochelle High.

The Baltimore pupils opened the day by blaming professional agitators for the demonstrations against integration at their school, Southern High.

Robert E. Rodgers, a 23-year-old veteran of the Korean War, called the demonstrations "subversive" and said they were "too well organized" and "planned for mass confusion" to have been staged by students themselves.

"I have seen such agitation in Japan but I never believed it could happen in America," he said.

His schoolmates, Carole Peters, 16; Betty Manalansan, 18, and Wayne Woolford, 17, told of "false rumors" and "vicious lies" that spread uncertainty among students and parents alike.

All turned out to be untrue, they said.

Miss Peters said she believed "professional rioters" aided by grownups who have no children in the school turned a peaceful month of successful integration into a series of disturbances.

The Washington visitors are Richard Caulk and Alan Cross, of McKinley High; Betty Harris and Lack Linden, of Anacostia, and Ann Hooten and Robert Hunt, of Eastern.

Miss Harris wanted to find out how New Rochelle managed to make its integration program work.

There never was any "ntegration," Thomson explained, because there never was any segregation in the school.

The local high school keeps no racial data on its students, but about a quarte rof its 1,611 pupils are estimated to be Negroes.

Segregated School In N. J. Closes

Atl. World 1/21/55

TRENTON, N. J.—(SNS)— The state of New Jersey Friday ordered the closing of the all-Negro State Manual Training and Industrial School for Youths at Bordentown because it was unable to induce white students to enroll at the institution.

Gov. Robert B. Mayner made the announcement on behalf of the State Board of Education. The board declared that the failure of white students to enroll there makes the school a violation of the spirit of the constitutional provision against segregation.

As a direct result of the closing, 500 pupils will be transferred to other New Jersey schools in nearby counties, and the faculty of 60 will be dismissed. Many of the pupils will have to travel 20 or 30 miles daily to continue their studies.

Defending the board's action, Gov. Meyner said "despite efforts to integrate pupils at the school there has in fact remained a separation of Negro children." Therefore, "the institution is a segregated school in its practical operation," he added.

The Governor pointed out that the Supreme Court had emphasized that such separation tends to retard the development of the children. Moreover, it deprives them of some of the benefits that could be received in an integrated system.

Gov. Meyner said the Bordentown school is the only segregated public institution in the state. The State Board of Education's contemplated action would be sought from the legislature.

Agricultural Agent, W...

Slaps Talmadge

Ike Names Ga. Negro To Confab On Education

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—President Eisenhower Thursday slapped directly at Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia by appointing Lorimer D. Milton of Atlanta to the Committee for the White House Conference on Education. Mr. Milton is president of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta and a member of the Board of Trustees of Howard University.

The question of the participation of colored persons in the White House Conference on Education was raised when Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, United States Commissioner of Education, addressed the Conference of Land-Grant College Presidents in October.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and other college presidents reminded Mr. Brownell that Talmadge in 1951 had refused to name any colored persons as delegates from Georgia to a White House conference on youth and President Truman had to intervene to have colored persons from Georgia attend the conference.

Dr. Brownell assured the land-grant college president that colored educators and laymen would participate in the White House Conference on Education, to be held in 1955, and apparently the first move toward that end was made with the appointment of Mr. Milton as one of the thirty-three persons who comprise the full committee.

The conference will "consider and report to the President on significant and pressing problems in the field of education."

In letters to the governors of all states and territories, President Eisenhower has stressed that "the primary responsibility for meeting these problems lie with the states and local communities" and that "The Federal Goverrment should strengthen and not interfere with state administration of education.

Each state will hold its own conference on education prior to the White House conference to discuss its own problems, make appropriate recommendations, and name delegates to the White House conference.

Congress appropiated $700,000 to assist the states in holding these conferences. The share allotted to Georgia is $14,456.

Buy U. S. Saving Bonds

Southern Whites Tell How Negroes Entered Schools

Ohio Union World 12/10/54

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (ANP) — Three white Southern educators told a conference here last week how Negroes were admitted to their respective schools.

The unrevealed story of how Negroes were first admitted to the University of Louisville, University of Kentucky and Louisiana State University was given to two separate conferences of educators meeting here.

President Troy H. Middleton, Louisiana State University and President Phillip Davidson, University of Louisville told their stories to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Dr. Frank Dickey, dean, University of Kentucky School of Education, told of his school's progress to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

"This was our approach—to oppose with dignity (their admittance) in the courts," Middleton said. "You can well understand the reluctance in that part of the country to admit Negroes to a white institution."

He also told the group that not all LSU schools are open to Negroes.

"We will continue to admit them by court order only, at least for the time being."

92 NEGRO STUDENTS

However, he admitted that 368 Negroes have been admitted to the school since 1950. Last summer 232 Negroes, mostly teachers in Louisiana public schools—attended the graduate summer school. The school now has 92 Negro students in graduate schools.

The only Negro ever admitted as an undergraduate entered in September, 1953, after a court fight. The decision, Middleton said, was overthrown by a higher court on a technicality and the student went elsewhere.

In sharp contrast to Middleton's story was that of President Davidson. He told how all U of L schools and divisions were voluntarily opened to Negroes in 1951. This came after an amendment to the Day

(Continued On Page Eight)

Southern Whites

(Continued From Page One)

law which prohibited Negroes from attending the same classroom.

FIRST ADMITTED

"We are not trying to promote racial equality, or social reform, but we are trying to operate a first-class educational institution in every way," he declared.

Immediately after Negro students were first admitted, "a lot of white students leaned over backwards to have a Negro student on every committee, and things of that sort," he observed.

Now, student committees are picked on the basis of "who's the best man for the job," he said.

Davidson admitted he has been "troubled" by the fact that integration of the old Louisville Municipal College (Negro) with the U of L meant "we were unable to take on many able people" who formerly taught at the Negro institution.

He said there are at least 200 Negroes in the school but he was unable to tell the exact number since no record was kept of the number in attendance. He concluded:

TREAT FATAL

SAN PEDRO, Cal. — As a special favor to his four-year-old sister, Mary Lou, Joseph Del Fuente, 8, took the little girl along to play in a cave the neighborhood boys had dug. The cave roof collapsed and Mary Lou was buried alive. Joseph dug frantically and finally dug the little out, but a Fire Department rescue squad could not survive her.

N,

NYT

24, 1954. 15

12-24-L54

RACIAL UNITY SET FOR CITY SCHOOLS

Board to Create Commission for a Study to Develop an 'Integrated' System

PRAISED BY NEGRO CRITIC

3 Supervisory Executives Are Elected, but Choice of Vice President Is Put Off

The Board of Education authorized yesterday the creation of a special commission to examine the racial composition of the city's schools. The purpose is to provide "effective democratic education for all of the children."

Among the commission's specific responsibilities will be the problem of "segregated schools" in some sections of the city and the development of "racially integrated" schools. The commission will be composed of representatives of the school board, the school staff and the community.

The action was taken at the school board's last meeting of the year, a meeting noteworthy not only for what happened but also for what did not happen.

The board unanimously elected two associate superintendents and an assistant superintendent—items on which action had been postponed since June.

But it delayed the election of a new vice president and withdrew—until the next meeting—an item giving the position of the Corporation Counsel on whether the board could legally compel employes who are former Communists to identify former party associates.

On Wednesday the item dealing with the election of a new president was dropped from the meeting calendar after Arthur Levitt said he would continue as president for a little while longer. He must resign his membership on the board before the end of the year to become State Controller.

Objectives of the Inquiry

In a statement on the special commission the board took note of last spring's Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in the schools to be unconstitutional, and asserted:

"In seeking to provide effective democratic education for all

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In a statement on the special commission the board took note of last spring's Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in the schools to be unconstitutional, and asserted:

"In seeking to provide effective democratic education for all of the children of this city, the members of the board * * * are faced with many real obstacles in the form of complex social and community problems.

"Among these problems are the existence of residential segregation, which leads to schools predominantly of one race on the elementary and junior high school levels. In addition, prevailing racial attitudes and misinformation of some white and Negro parents reflect outworn patterns of segregation as well as limited educational and vocational horizons which make it difficult for them to accept school procedures contrary to their attitudes."

The commission, the board said, will be asked to recommend "whatever further action is necessary to come closer to the ideal, viz., the racially integrated school." Facts will be obtained from community groups, such as parent-teacher organizations.

Hailed by Negro Complainant

The board's action drew praise from Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a Negro psychologist, who last summer accused the school system of permitting "Jim Crow" practices in some schools. His charges prompted the board at that time to ask the Public Education Association to make an independent study of the situation. That study is still under way. Mr. Levitt said that the commission would cover a broader field.

The two new associate superintendents are John F. Conroy and Edward J. Bernath, who will fill the respective vacancies created by the death of George F. Piggott Jr., and the retirement of Dr. Elias Lieberman. Mr. Conroy has served for six years as administrative assistant to the Superintendent of Schools and Mr. Bernath has been an assistant superintendent in charge of school districts in Manhattan.

Philip Becker was chosen assistant superintendent. A high school principal, he will take the post made vacant by the retirement of Morris Siegel.

Tributes to Mr. Levitt were expressed by Charles H. Silver and Charles J. Bensley, who are regarded as the leading candidates for the presidency of the board, and by Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools.

The board's next meeting will be Jan. 13.

AIN — Memorial honoring the Seventh R
nue in move to make way for new walk

Says Carlsbad Is Dedicated to Non-Segregation

CARLSBAD (AP)—"We are dedicated to a non-segregated policy in the Carlsbad schools," Tom Hansen, new city school superintendent, said today as a controversy boiled anew over plans by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end all racial segregation in New Mexico schools by September.

Hansen was reached for comment at New Mexico A&M College where he is taking summer graduate work.

Non-segregation, Hansen said, has been a "long range policy" of the Carlsbad board of education, a "voluntary program planned many years ago." He estimated the phased policy is about "three-fourths completed." He said non-segregation has not reached the elementary level yet.

Based on the availability of classrooms and personnel, the phased de-segregation policy in Carlsbad will continue at its present pace, Hansen said.

Clovis Seeks to Comply with Law On Segregation

CLOVIS (AP)— The Clovis municipal school board has taken steps to comply with the federal law which ends segregation in the schools, Travis Stovall, superintendent, has stated.

Clovis school district zoning was completed last week which permits Negro children to attend Clovis junior and senior high schools, Stovall said.

All junior and senior high school students in the Clovis school district will now attend the local junior and senior high schools, he explained. Formerly Negro children attended Lincoln - Jackson school.

Negro children of elementary school age will have the choice of attending either Lincoln-Jackson Negro or La Casita grade school. Both schools are located in the zone in which most of Clovis' Negro population live.

"TRY SALLY ANN BREAD"
7-8t2c

Government Submits Five-Point Desegregation Plan To Court

Supreme Court To Maintain Jurisdiction

BY DARRELL GARWOOD

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The government urged the Supreme Court Wednesday to adopt a five point program to bring about desegregation in the public schools "at the earliest practicable date."

A brief submitted by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., contained little tract of the decentralized plan that President Eisenhower said Tuesday was under consideration for consolidating white and Negro schools.

Brownell recommended that the High Court retain jurisdiction for the purpose of issuing further orders if necessary, after taking

(Continued on Page 7 Column 6)

"There are doctors too who have no interest in learning beyond meeting the qualifications for getting a practitioner's license."

Rev. Branch said many able students go into medicine. He asked why are there not more Drews, Wrights, Hintons, Murays?

The professor of religion charged that a proper regard for learning and things of the mind is necessary both for humanity and to democracy. He added that though Thanksgiving and freedom are bound up together, no democracy is possible without them.

Supreme Court

(Continued From Page One)

these steps:

1. By decree of the Supreme Court, the lower courts would require the Boards of Education in the five test cases to submit within 90 days "a plan for ending, as soon as feasible, racial segregation in public schools subject to their authority and control."

2. Unless a satisfactory plan is submitted to and approved by the lower courts, "it shall forewith enter appropriate orders, by way of injunctions or otherwise," directing admission of the Negro plaintiffs "and other children similarly situated" to non-segregated public schools at the beginning of the next school term.

LOWER COURT HEARINGS

3. The lower courts would be directed to hold hearings on whether the plans submitted provide for transition to nonsegregated schools "as expeditiously as the circumstances permit."

Boards asking for a delay would have "the burden of proof on the question of whether, and how long, an interval of time was necessary to carry out full desegregation."

4. During any periods of time allowed for the transition, the defendant Boards of Education would be required to "submit detailed periodic reports showing the progress made in any segregation."

5. The lower courts would be authorized to "enter such further orders as may be required from time to time in order to insure against unnecessary delay in the execution of the program."

In addition, the lower courts would be required to submit reports to the Supreme Court at specified intervals "showing in detail the actions taken to bring about compliance with the requirements of the Constitution." The Supreme Court could issue "such further orders, if any, as may become necessary for carrying out its mandate."

Southeast Empire

4-F The Atlanta Journal AND CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1954

Top Mississippi Officials Plan Way to Bypass Schools Ruling

Ed-Miss-54

Leaders Vow Duel System To Continue on Some Level

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau Chief, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., June 5—Top state officials are blueprinting plans Mississippi will use in an effort to bypass the United States Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools.

They insist even though the plans fail to meet the test, Mississippi's dual system "will continue" on some level.

Chief architect in the program drafting is Chief Justice Harvey McGeHee of the Mississippi Supreme Court. He drew the assignment from a 25-member Educational Legal Advisory Committee setup at the 1954 legislative session for the purpose of devising means of meeting the then anticipated adverse court ruling.

The committee, headed by Gov. Hugh White, met this week for its organization. As vice chairman, it elected House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, an advocate of public education abolition, if that is necessary to prevent mixing the races in the classrooms.

Would Assign Pupils

Secretary of the group is Repr. Ney Gore of Quitman County, author of a 1954 law for "assignment" of students which is expected to serve as a legal buffer for years against a breakdown in school segregation. The Gore Act requires students to apply for admission to school, and then authorizes school boards to "assign" them on a basis of the general welfare, social and otherwise.

Taking the lead in formulation of the committee course was Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel, opponent of U.S. Sen. James O. Eastland in the summer campaign. He insisted that the committee state definitely its ac- [illegible] will be eye-single to main-

er Sillers said segregation can not be maintained if the constitutional provision for public education remains in effect. However, he said that might be accomplished through use of the state's police powers in enforcing segregation.

Local Option

Attorney General J. P. Coleman voiced opposition to state level abolition of public education. He favors a local option statute to permit a county or municipal separate school district to vote on whether to continue public schools and its use as a "threat" in event Negroes seek integration.

Either plan would leave the way open for the legislature to vote funds directly to the students for attendance at private schools.

At the 1954 legislative session, Speaker Sillers gained House adoption of a proposed amendment which would have authorized the legislature to abolish

MISSISSIPPI

public education. It was defeated in the Senate where leaders termed it "premature" in advance of the court's ruling.

Governor White, one of those branding the Sillers proposal "premature," told the committee "we are now faced with one of our most serious problems" which finds "all of us in the same boat."

Voluntary Approach

Although he heads the constitutional amendment drafting subCommittee, Chief Justice McGeHee feels that the problem can be solved through "voluntary" agreements with Negro leaders. He said 95 per cent of the Negroes favor continuance of segregation, provided their schools are equalized with the whites.

With no assurance as to how long that 95 per cent will favor segregation, and whether the chief justice's estimate is too high, state officials have little hope that the legislature will vote funds for new Negro buildings and then face a deluge of suits attacking the separate but equal operations.

Chief Justice McGeHee also feels that when "it dawns" on Negroes that integration would almost "completely eliminate the Negro teaching profession," they will not seek a change. He said that would come about by the all-white school boards refusing to hire Negro teachers for mixed classes.

Education - Miss - 56

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Taking the lead in formulation of the committee course was Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel, opponent of U.S. Sen. James O. Eastland in the summer campaign. He insisted that the committee state definitely its actions will be eye single to maintenance of segregation, the Supreme Court decision notwithstanding.

A terse, but definite, one sentence statement of policy was unanimously adopted by the group of state officials, legislators, constitutional lawyers, school authorities and business leaders, It states:

"The committee conceives its duty to be to devise the means and methods by which separate schools for the races shall be maintained in this state and to submit such plan to the legislature for its action thereon."

With that course charted, the committee then set up sub-groups to work the various angles. However, it instructed the "constitutional amendment" group immediately to draft proposed changes and have them ready for full committee action June 22.

Special Election

At that time, Governor White is to decide just how soon he will call a special legislative session to consider the proposals for submission to the voters for ratification. To gain adoption of whatever amendments are adopted, the plan is to have them voted on in a special election when no other issues are on the ballot.

That was decided since their inclusion on the November general election ticket could see them gain a majority vote of those voting on them, yet lack a majority of those voting on all issues on the ballot. Failure to vote on an amendment, while checking off other items, such as candidates for office, is a vote against.

A major difference of opinion, however, was registered among the members on the public education abolition proposal. Speaker [illegible] state's police powers in enforcing segregation.

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At the 1954 legislative session, Speaker Sillers gained House adoption of a proposed amendment which would have authorized the legislature to abolish

MISSISSIPPI

public education. It was defeated in the Senate where leaders termed it "premature" in advance of the court's ruling.

Governor White, one of those branding the Sillers proposal "premature," told the committee "we are now faced with one of our most serious problems" which finds "all of us in the same boat."

Voluntary Approach

Although he heads the constitutional amendment drafting subCommittee, Chief Justice McGeHee feels that the problem can be solved through "voluntary" agreements with Negro [illegible] almost completely eliminate the Negro teaching profession," they will not seek a change. He said that would come about by the all-white school boards refusing to hire Negro teachers for mixed classes.

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Mississippi

Under Capitol Dome

Students Hurl Editorial Broadsides at Those Who Advocate Censorship of College Speakers, Like Rev. Alvin Kershaw

By PHIL STROUPE
Daily News Staff Writer

Proponents of academic freedom and expression of thought hurled back editorial broadsides this week to legislators who advocate censorship of college speakers.

Student publications at the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State College and Mississippi Southern College declared their "intelligence has been insulted" by a move to cancel a scheduled speaking engagement of an Ohio Episcopal minister, the Rev. Alvin Kershaw.

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw was invited to address Ole Miss students at Religious Emphasis Week on the Oxford campus next February. The invitation was extended "early last summer" before Kershaw exhibited his amazing knowledge of modern jazz music to win $32,000 on the fabulous television quiz show, "The $64,000 Question."

After Kershaw's big winnings, he declared he would contribute part of the money to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Rep. Jimmy Morrow of Rankin county urged that Kershaw's speaking engagement be cancelled and that he be publicly rebuked for his intention to support the NAACP.

Sen.-elect Lamar Moss of Smith and Rankin counties joined Morrow in opposition to Kershaw's visit. Moss declared in a letter to University Chancellor John D. Williams:

"Inviting one into our midst who is openly supporting the NAACP is committing suicide with our own cause."

"The Mississippian," student publication at the University, took issue with Morrow's objection and urged that Kershaw be permitted to fill the speaking engagement.

"The Reflector," publication at Mississippi State College, voiced its support of Kershaw's appearance in an editorial in the Nov. 15 issue.

Quoting from the famed France writer Voltaire, the two student newspapers declared:

"I may disagree with what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say it."

The Reflector wrote: "We agree with the Mississippian. Certainly it would be un-American and un-Christian to snatch the rug out from under the Rev. Mr. Kershaw because he happens to be hoodwinked by the NAACP."

In further defense of the Ole Miss student body, the "Reflector" editorial said, "Ole Miss students are intelligent men and women who can do their own thinking. Nothing the Rev. Kershaw could say is going to dupe them or plant radical ideas in their minds . . . . The demands that the minister's invitation be revoked for fear he'll warp their thinking are something of an insult to the intelligence of Ole Miss students."

James Ellis, editor of the "Student Printz" at Mississippi Southern, said in a telephone interview:

"We do not agree with the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's support of the NAACP but we believe that his speech should not be canceled because some disagree with his views."

Removal of Mississippi institutions of higher learning from the era of political control during the Bilbo administration was followed by the creation of the Board of Trustees as a constitutional board in 1944.

It took education out of politics, or politics out of education.

But that same board of trustees last February adopted a resolution requiring college presidents to "investigate" speakers before they are invited to address the student bodies of the various state institutions.

Did that take freedom of academic expression out of college curricula?

On the minutes of the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning is the resolution proposed by Martin Miller of Meridian and seconded by Tom Tubb of West Point. It was adopted and is now what Dr. E. R. Jobe, executive secretary of the board, called "the formal policy of the board."

The resolution states: "All speakers invited to the campus of any of the State Institutions of Higher Learning must first be investigated and approved by the head of the institution involved, and when invited the names of such speakers must be filed with the executive secretary of the board of trustees."

A Senate Concurrent Resolution, adopted by the Special Session of the Mississippi Legislature on March 1, 1955, also called for "careful investigation." of speakers who are members of organizations dedicated to the overthrow of the spirit and intent of the laws of the State of Mississippi.

Such speakers, the Senate resolution said, should not be invited to state-supported institutions, and governing authorities of institutions were requested to "apprise themselves of the concensus of the legislature" on that matter.

College presidents are complying with the resolution adopted by the board of trustees, Dr. Jobe said.

Miller said in Jackson Thursday that the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's background was investigated after he had been recommended as a speaker by a committee of 175 Ole Miss students.

The Student Senate at Ole Miss Friday urged Chancellor Williams not to cancel the scheduled speech of the Ohio minister. He is a graduate of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., and has a wide appeal as a public speaker because of the dramatic manner in which he portrays religion.

Miller said, "If the preacher comes he will speak on religion, not segregation," but Miller said he did not know what would come of the incident.

Chancellor Williams was out of the state on an education mission to Europe for the U. S. State Department, and his assistant, Dean W. Alton Bryant, who was in Jackson Thursday for the meeting of college trustees, declared simply, "The University has no comment on the matter at this time."

Freedom of thought and expression is a constitutional right which if tampered with may become a right without a constitutional guarantee.

7/27/55

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THE CHATTANOOG

SEGREGATION HIT IN JACKSON, MISS.

Petitions to School Board There, in Natchez Urge Integration Start

JACKSON, Miss., July 26 (AP)—A petition signed by 42 Negro parents asking an immediate end to public segregation in Jackson "started something they will never finish," a Citizens Council spokesman declared.

Negro parents petitioned Jackson and Natchez school boards today. They asked the boards to obey the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

Ellis Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens Council, said the goal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is eventual intermarriage with whites.

"If the NAACP thinks that we have the slightest idea of surrendering our Southland to a mulatto race, the NAACP had better think again," Wright declared.

"For this reason alone, if for no other and there are many, we now tell the NAACP that they have started something they will never finish."

The Citizens Councils were organized to keep segregation in all walks of life.

Some 100 parents signed the petition received by the Natchez school board.

In Jackson, 42 parents signed the petition mailed today to the Jackson school board. Another 10 parents filed a similar petition with the Hinds County school board, said he received the petition and the board will not take action on it until its Aug. 11 regular meeting.

Kirby Walker, superintendent of Jackson schools, said his group will "just bide our time" until the petition is received.

The three petitions followed the form of the Vicksburg petition filed last week.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People expects the school boards to reject the petitions. The Vicksburg school board ignored its petition.

The petitions apparently will form the foundation for legal action.

Atlanta Constitution 9/29/55

2 Reportedly Pushing Integration Asked To Leave Mississippi County

TCHULA, Miss., Sept. 28 (AP)—An angry mass meeting of white men last night asked two white men to leave Holmes County because of alleged advocation of racial integration.

The two men are Dr. D. R. Minter and E. C. Cox. They are directors of a co-operative farm in Providence community and do medical and missionary work among the Negroes.

The mass meeting, which overflowed from the Tchula High School gymnasium, passed a resolution asking Dr. Minter and Cox to move "in the best interests of the county."

J. P. Love, newly elected member of the state House of Representatives, who presided at the four-hour mass meeting, said a "representative group of citizens" wanted to investigate reports that Dr. Minter and Cox had been teaching theories against the Southern "way of life."

Dr. Minter and Cox said they have no immediate plans of moving.

The main "evidence" produced at the rally was a two-hour tape recording of seven Negroes. Four were arrested last week for allegedly talking obscenely before a teen-aged white girl.

In the tape recording, the Negroes reportedly told of the two races swimming together at the co-operative farm established in 1936 and Dr. Minter and Cox preaching racial integration at Sunday meetings for whites and Negroes.

The Negroes apparently do not live in Providence community, seven miles from Tchula.

Love said he did not know who made the tape recording but it was done by "a representative group" from the county.

Dr. Minter and Cox, who attended the protest meeting against them, denied they preached racial integration.

Both agreed their personal opinions on racial relations don't agree with opinions of most Holmes County white citizens. Both added they generally keep their opinions to themselves.

At the rally which asked them to leave, Dr. Minter said today in a telephone interview, he and Cox told the meeting:

". . . I categorically denied that mixed swimming, to my knowledge, had ever taken place at Providence. That is the truth.

"I also stated that I had not, in the past or present, ever advocated integration of the schools of Holmes County."

Cox commented: "I challenge anyone to prove that I have ever said Negroes should go to white schools. I am a Southerner and I know the situation.

"Despite the fact that I differ with people on some points, I try to do my work and follow the customs of the segregated system."

Intermediate (1955)

Miss. Ed Chattanooga 1956

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ABSENTEES BLOCK MISSISSIPPI BILLS

Segregation Action Put Off Until the Return of Legislative Chiefs

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 23 (AP)—Mississippi's House, hamstrung by the absence of legislative leaders, today postponed action on major segregation bills and adjourned quickly.

In the House, Rep. Joe Hopkins of Coahoma County, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, asked postponement of the five bills until the leaders return.

The Senate, though lacking segregation bills on its calendar, adjourned after 20 minutes.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County and Senate President Pro Tempore Earl Evans of Canton left early today for Richmond, Va., and a governors' conference on segregation.

The conference was called by Virginia Gov. Thomas Stanley to discuss segregation problems. He called those governors whose legislatures are in regular session. They included Coleman, Stanley, Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and Gov. George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina.

Mississippi's delegation, all members of the Legal Education Advisory Committee (LEAC), were scheduled to return "as quickly as possible." But Coleman said he was prepared to stay as long as necessary.

The LEAC proposed several prosegregation bills to the 1956 Legislature.

One, a bill to strengthen libel and slander laws, was returned to the House Judiciary Committee for additional study.

The Senate adopted a House concurrent resolution commending Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss) for his fight against communism and un-American activity.

The Senate adjourned until 10 a.m. (CST) tomorrow.

Lawmakers voted to ask Miss America of 1956, Miss Sharon Kay Ritchie of Denver, Colo., to address the House at 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Ed. Miss (1956)

Gov. Coleman Defies U.S. to Force Racial Integration in Miss.

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 21—Mississippi added two new steel-strong supports this week to its legal-girded foundation for the preservation of racial segregation at all levels.

One was the inauguration of a new governor on a "no-budge" position of segregation, yet tempered with an assurance of "sympathetic consideration to the problems" of "loyal Negroes unwilling to be made the victims of propaganda from professional agitators."

The other was the introduction of bills in the current general assembly to give Gov. J. P. Coleman new supporting laws to back his declaration that "the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a state of law and not violence."

Gov. Coleman challenged the "loyal" Negroes to accept this opportunity with an assurance "it will mean better days for all of us."

"If you reject it," he warned, "the responsibility is yours."

The 42-year-old former Choctaw County "plowboy," who during the past five years has served as Mississippi's attorney general, reminded Negroes that "there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another."

"And," he added significantly in his inaugural message Tuesday, "with all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi, nor any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done."

As for Mississippi, he said, "the sentiment is unanimous — so we have nothing to fear unless it be 'fear itself.'" In that connection, he admonished the people to "keep cool heads and calm judgment," because, "even the United States Supreme Court did not undertake to say how or when its decision of May 17, 1954, could or would be enforced."

Gov. Coleman's strong stand on segregation was "good news" to pro-segregation groups which had waited for its disclosure in view of his campaign last summer in which he not once used the word "Negro."

MISSISSIPPI

It was apparent he did not want an appearance of a divided people as was interpreted when he labelled a proposed "nullification" effort by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) as "legal poppycock." However, he said to newsmen he still feels that way about "nullification," but is willing to consider whatever steps necessary that will harmonize with those of other southern states.

As a sort of "olive branch," Gov. Coleman said in his message: "Unity must be preserved at all costs, and I urge the assistance and cooperation of all persons and groups to the end that we may present a united front in this all important cause."

That was interpreted as a willingness to recognize the Mississippi Citizens Councils "dedicated to the preservation of segregation" so long as their course is charted along legal avenues, devoid of any sort of violence.

Gov. Coleman said "the great overwhelming majority of the white people of Mississippi are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of murder, violence or any other wrongdoing toward anyone."

"We are unalterably determined as a matter of right and justice that the necessary rules of society shall be maintained, but we do not approve of violence and lawlessness," he said. "Despite all the propaganda which has been fired at us, the country can be assured that the white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers."

Pointing out that only six Negroes were killed by whites in 1954, while 182 Negroes were killed by members of their own race, Gov. Coleman inferred that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People might give attention to the latter, rather than centering on the former.

On the legislative side, seven bills to strengthen the state's efforts to maintain segregation in public schools, and five to keep the customs in other fields, were introduced simultaneously with Mr. Coleman's succession to the office vacated by Gov. Hugh White.

Stirred by the Interstate Commerce Commission order to end segregation in all forms of transportation, a group of members headed by House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, have proposed laws to test whether a federal agency order supersedes a state law. They are designed to back recent municipal ordinances in Mississippi using the police power to retain segregation in transportation, notwithstanding the ICC mandate.

Briefly, the bills propose:

A $1,000-a-day fine on any railroad or bus company which fails to keep segregated waiting room for intrastate passengers; subject passengers who refuse to wait in rooms marked for their race to a fine of $1,000 and/or one-year jail sentence, and subject to arrest those who attempt to use waiting rooms or toilet facilities marked for those of the other race.

Another bill is aimed at maintaining segregation in restaurants, stores, hotels and all public businesses. Any person refusing to "vacate a public place when ordered so to do by the owner or an employe" would be subject to arrest as a trespasser, and fined accordingly. The maximum fine is $500 and/or six months in jail.

Aimed at preventing the printing of libel statements in connection with the race situation, or using obscene or indecent words by telephone or other oral communication, a companion measure tightens Mississippi laws on criminel libel.

Atlanta Constitution Jan 27, 1956

Clarion Ledger 9/1

to Tuition...

Do Mixed Schools Lower Standards In Classrooms?

"Do Mixed Schools Lower Classroom Standards?"

This is the title of a research-backed article, copyrighted by the United States News and World Report, a weekly magazine published at Washington, D. C.

The qualified answer given in the article is "Yes."

Some remedial measures to some degree "involve a return to what might be called segregated classes, if not of schools," says the magazine in a report on the de-segregated Washington public schools.

A number of questions are asked and some are answered by the story, which provides much food for thought in the South and indeed, across the nation.

The report begins with the statement:

"A close look at what has happened to schools in the nation's capital, after nearly two years of mixed classrooms, shows this:

"Since Negro and white children were integrated, pupils' test averages have run below the national average.

"Costly new measures are being taken now to maintain standards and to help lagging pupils. . ."

The report adds:

"The question now being asked is this: When schools are desegregated, does the average educational level become lower than it was in the formerly all-white schools?

"The tests in Washington indicate that the answer is 'yes.' Both Negro and white teachers agree on that answer. The educational attainments of Negro children as a whole, on the basis of these tests, are far below those of the whites.

"In Washington, where 64 per cent of all public-school children now are Negro, the resulting problem is described as a big one. . ."

Regarding the "low score of Negroes," the article states that none of the interviewed white and Negro officials and principals "thought that the Negro pupils had any less native intelligence than white children," that "they attribute the Negroes' low educational status primarily to low economic conditions in a large proportion of Negro homes, along with inferior educational opportunities."

Placing some of the blame on the rural South, the article states:

"Besides all that, the Negro children have been handicapped by the kind of schooling they have been given.

"Large numbers of them have immigrated to Washington from rural Southern areas. Teachers say that the education of most of these has been badly neglected. Those who come from Southern city schools, they add, usually are better prepared. . ."

Discussing steps made or planned by school authorities "to meet the new problems posed by integration," the article lists a request that the number of "special teachers" for lagging and handicapped pupils in Washington be increased from 106 to 229, and that 180 be added annually for three years to the number of regular teachers for elementary schools.

Discussing the new form of segregation, the division of the brighter pupils from the dull ones to prevent the brighter children from being held back, the article states: "This kind of division has been a practice for many years in schools all over the country. Integration has only brought a greater need for it."

Discussing a "new method of dividing senior high schools" being prepared, calling for the giving of a "terminal diploma" to subnormal students who complete a special course, the article also quotes Dr. Rowland F. Kirks, of the Washington board of education, as contending: "Integration now makes this more necessary than ever. You've got more of the slow learners to take care of. . . .Negroes would be in the large majority in the new curriculum for slow learners. It would, in effect, produce a new segregation of the races by use of educational standards. . ."

The article's next-to-last paragraph adds what may be a prophecy: "Dr. Walter E. Hager, president of the District of Columbia Teachers College, believes that within 10 years Washington pupils will be able to equal the national average in achievement tests. But many other Washington educators, both Negro and white, are not so optimistic."

We believe that thinking over this report carefully will make many Mississippians think. . .and ask questions.

Jane: Mrs.

ning, February 3, 1956 VOL. CXVII NO. 287 Clarion Ledger Full AP and INS Reports

Ole Miss Withdraws Bid For Kershaw Appearance

Ed. Mis

Action Follows Letter's Receipt

Minister Admits NAACP Membership

Ole Miss Chancellor J. D. Williams Thursday revealed he has written to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, requesting that the controversial minister not appear on the program of Religious Emphasis Week at the state university.

The chancellor's action followed receipt of two letters from Kershaw, one addressed to him and the other to Wallace Sherwood, editor of The Mississippian, the campus paper.

Previous to receipt of the letters, McComb editor Oliver Emmerich, member of the Board of State Institutions of Higher Learning, had talked with Kershaw via telephone and reported to the board that the minister had denied having NAACP affiliations.

On the basis of this report, the board indicated that Rev. Kershaw might be acceptable as a speaker, and left the decision in the hands of Chancellor Williams.

At the time of the board's Jan. 19 report, State Rep. James Morrow of Brandon, who had strongly opposed Kershaw's appearance, withdrew his opposition and apologized for any "embarrassment" his earlier attitude may have caused the minister.

Kershaw's letter to Sherwood was written in response to a request from the student editor that the minister make clear his views on the race question for the benefit of the student body.

Chancellor Williams' message to the Rev. Mr. Kershaw follows:

"Your message directed to the student body, to be released in The Mississippian, will appear tomorrow. Your letter of January 28 to me reveals information not given to Mr. Emmerich of the board of trustees that became the basis for the statement of the board. Your statement to the press and your letter to me will provoke additional controversy inconsistent with the purpose of the invitation for you to come.

"I have failed repeatedly to get you today by telephone to suggest that we agree that under the present conditions it would be unwise for you to appear on our program this year.

"After considering your letter of January 28 and the communication which you have released for publication, I have concluded that it will

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"After considering your letter of January 28 and the communication which you have released for publication, I have concluded that it will be unwise for you to participate in our program this year."

Kershaw became a controversial figure when he won $32,000 on a television quiz show and allegedly said he planned to give part of the money to the National

Kershaw---

(Continued From Page One)

Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Gov J. P. Coleman said he would not interfere in the matter. "I will back the college board and the university to the limit," he said.

Rep. Morrow, in a statement to the press, said he withdrew his apology to Rev. Kershaw.

Full test of Rev. Kershaw's letter follows: To the members of the Student Body University of Mississippi:

I am grateful indeed that the editor of The Mississippian has invited me to comment on the recent controversy regarding by February speaking engagement on your campus and on what seems to be the resolution of the conflict. I was scheduled to come to your campus a year ago, but illness necessitated the cancellation of that intended visit. During last fall, I was again invited by your Committee of One Hundred and since I have for many years enjoyed discussing with students the pentrative insight of drama, poetry, and art, I was delighted to accept the invitation. Thus, I particularly appreciate this opportunity to speak directly with you, since in the confusion of second and third hand information my position has become muddied; for I feel you have the right to know clearly and first hand where I stand on the issue of segregation so that you can responsibily make you own judgements, whatever they might be. Since I have not received a full account of Mr. Morrow's statement I can only comment on the statements attributed to him by the press. Your Chancellor, Dr. Williams, has sent me a copy of the full resolution passed by the Board of Trustees on Thursday, Jan. 19.

It is true technically that I was misquoted by some of the press following my appearance on "The $32,000 Question" program. But the statement attributed by the Associated Press to Mr. Morrow on Jan. 24, that I had been "tricked by leading questions" of journalists into making a statement endorsing the NAACP, is unfortunate. I was interrogated concerning my plans, but not concerning my convictions and attitudes.

During my last appearance on the program I made the statement that, although I did not appear on the program for money, that $32,000 that had now inadvertently and unexpectedly come to us gave Doris (Mrs. Kershaw) and me an opportunity to support some of the agencies that are laboring for justice and brotherhood in the world, agencies embodying concerns that were deep in our own conviction and interest. After the program a number of reporters asked me what these agencies were. In effect, I told them that because of heavy schedule Doris and I had not had time to discuss the disposition of that money—that, in fact, we hadn't thought of having any until the moment the check was actually given to us. I said that I supposed we would use it to support more generously those movements which we were already supporting in a meager way because of our limited salary. When the reporters asked me what these movements were, I replied that we were greatly interested in the CARE food program, the Share Our Surplus program, the UNICEF program of the United Nations; that our parish was engaged in resettlement of refugee families, and that, as southerners, Doris and I felt a deep responsiblity in the de-segregation work of one of the advisory committees of the NAACP. The Oxford Branch of the NAACP meets in the parish house of our church.

I was misquoted by the press in parts of the nation, in that some of the accounts said: (a) I had definitely committed $32,000, or half of it to the NAACP, and (b) I had embarrassed Mississippi by talking of my support of the NAACP over television to some 60 million viewers. I did neither of these. But to conclude that I had been "tricked" or misquoted in regard to my concern for desegregation is an unfortunate and untrue implication. I made this quite clear in a telephone conservation with one of the trustees on the day of the last trustee meeting; in fact, I have repeated three times that as a Christian clergyman, as a southerner, and as an American, I have been, am, and will continue to support legal and social action that labors to effect, protect, and ensure the equal status and estimation of all people.

The resolution of the trustee of the University rightly pointed out that I am to speak on the religious insights of contemporary literature and not on the Supreme Court's judgement on segregation. I anticipate with pleasure my opportunity to discuss with some of you my contention that some of the most sensitive insights in our time can be found in the arts. However, if I am asked or engaged in discussion I must in the candor that any honest question deserves speak from my convictions on segregation or any other subject not precisely arriving from the contest of literature, and it must be said that contemporary literature certainly is concerned with the spiritual pathology issuing in our rejection and dissmisal of other human beings as inferior and unworthy of respect and relationship. Because this controversy has arisen, it seems inconceivable that such discussion and questions would not be a natural part of student inquiry. Therefore, I am all the more anxious that you know clearly where I stand.

1. As a Christian I am convinced that at the core of the Faith is love of God and neighbor which has to do with all men's equal needs to be accepted and respected as of equal work as children of God: the barrier to any fulfillment of love, and thus to Christian attainment also is sin which the church interprets as the separation of man from man, and man from God, because of the pride and pretentions that exclude equal children of God from their rightful, equal acceptance, respect, and opportunity. This is the stated position of the National Episcopal Church as it is the stated position of the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

2. I have for years been an active member of the NAACP which I respect as an organization entirely loyal to the democratic traditions of the United States. Its action is in accordance with its respect for the Constitutional and legal structure of our Nation, as under law, it attempts to bring to realization what in ideal and in principle is consistent with democratic conviction. Since the program after due consideration, Doris and I have substantially contributed to the legal and educational fund of the NAACP along with contributing to other agencies and organizations. The bishop of this diocese in which I work is a member.

3. It came as a complete surprise that my casual remarks to reporters after the program could be interpreted as causing embarrassment to the people of Mississippi. It was this misstaken interpretation that I had intentionally get out to embarrass Mississippi that fired this tragic controversy, an interpretation that now thankfully is regretted by all of us.

4. I regret now that I didn't make a clarifying statement three months ago. I certainly wanted to do so, but felt that such a statement would only prolong a debate that I sincerely hope would end quickly in the general agreement among the people of Mississippi that a true University is the matrix of open academic discussion and free inquiry of responsible consideration of alternative positions in any issue.

5. As a southerner, I am well aware of the complexity and difficulty that attends the transition of social paterns. Consequently, what has troubled me the most is not the obvious fact that many in your state disagree with my convictions, but that the distressing climate has smothered the freedom necessary to all democratic thought: the freedom and candor, trust, and in the respect for the integrity of the individual to think responsibly his own thoughts; the freedom, as Americans, as human beings, as people with religious faith, to consider, discuss, ponder together issues such as this which have powerful impact upon our national and individual destiny. Therefore, I have been deeply impressed, according to my information about the student poll and the action of your campus Senate that you have been concerned to protect this guarantee American liberty so fundamental to the productive life of a free University. And so, anticipating mutual respect, affection and trust, I look forward to a profitable week among you.

Rev. A. L. Kershaw.

2/4/56 NYT - ED 14/18

Mississippi Talk Canceled

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 3 (AP)—An Ohio minister changed his mind about not discussing his anti-segregation views during a proposed address at the University of Mississippi. The school revoked his invitation.

Chancellor J. D. Williams said he notified the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford yesterday that it would be "unwise" for him to address students during religious emphasis week beginning Feb. 12. Mr. Williams said he had withdrawn the invitation after Mr. Kershaw had written the university that he was "an active member" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that he would discuss his views on segregation if the question arose.

MISSISSIPPI CANCELS SPEAKER'S INVITATION

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 2 (AP)—The University of Mississippi today withdrew its invitation for the Rev. Alvin Kershaw to address students during religious emphasis week because of his stand against racial segregation.

Reliable sources reported the Oxford, Ohio, minister wrote Chancellor J. D. Williams he would talk on all points of segregation should the question arise.

He was invited last spring to speak on "Religion and Drama" Feb. 12-15.

Williams wrote Kershaw that his invitation had been withdrawn because Kershaw's letter "reveals information not given to . . . the college board" when the board decided last month to let the invitation stand.

The chancellor's letter said Kershaw's statements "will provoke controversy inconsistent with the purpose of the invitation for you to come.

"It will be unwise for you to participate in our program this year." Cht. Times 2/3/56

Fickle Water

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Thursday, February 9, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

Academic Freedom Under Fire

Miss.-Educ.

OLE Miss has lost one highly competent professor. How many more will succumb to the pressure of "Big Brother's" watchful eyes in the tense days that lie ahead?

And as they begin to find jobs elsewhere, in more relaxed atmospheres, how long will Mississippi's university be able to remain on the accredited lists?

In Dr. Morton King's public statement concerning his resignation this week he indicated plainly that the segregation issue as such had nothing to do with his action. He resigned because "there are forces at work which would stifle academic freedom."

Just as prohibition cannot be enforced by law, segregation cannot be maintained by "book burning." The rabid element in the state, by prohibiting freedom of discussion on college campuses, are admitting their fear of the "enemy" and branding their children as irresponsible will-o-the-wisps who don't have enough sense to make a choice when all facts are presented.

In addition, they are causing strong resentment to build up in the minds of many students toward political leaders in the state who, some students believe, are trying to fashion their thought patterns.

Neither faculty nor students can understand how members of the legislature suddenly became qualified to dictate what should be taught in the state's institutions of higher learning.

It's another example of the shotgun blasts shallow thinking people are taking at the "integration threat." The blasts are so haphazard they hit more innocent bystanders than anything else.

Educ. Miss. 1956

2-9-56

MISS. COUNC
1104 LYNCH
JACKSON 3, M

Delta Democrat-Times

...ed of the Agriculture Com- ...enough. ...March 24.

May Hurt Scholastic Rating

Miss - Ed

Chancellor Explains Why Rev. Kershaw's Talk Canceled: Avoid 'Alabama Tragedy'

By JAY MILNER

UNIVERSITY — The Kershaw incident "probably will be bad" for the scholastic rating of Ole Miss, Chancellor J. D. Williams told members of the Campus Senate this week.

But the University head insisted that cancelling the Ohio Episcopal minister's speaking engagement "will not be as bad for our school as the inevitable furor which would have resulted from his appearance on the campus."

The Campus Senate is composed of student and faculty representatives from the school's various housing units and academic divisions. Chancellor Williams made the first official announcement of Dr. Morton King's resignation in his address to the Senate Tuesday night.

Kershaw Incident Protest

Dr. King, chairman of the Sociology Department at Ole Miss since 1946, resigned in protest of the recent cancellation of the Rev. Kershaw's scheduled speaking engagement during Religious Emphasis Week on the campus. Kershaw had admitted he belonged to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The strain of the past few days showed in Chancellor Williams' face as he spoke to the assembly of campus leaders. At one point he stopped speaking to wipe his eyes apparently overcome by emotion.

He told the group he believed his handling of the Kershaw situation averted an incident "similiar to the tragedy at the University of Alabama."

Alabama students and "outsiders" rioted earlier this week when a Negro girl tried to attend classes there.

Would Wreck Program

"If Rev. Kershaw had come here it would have wrecked the entire Religious Emphasis Week program," Chancellor Williams said. "Everybody would have gone to hear him. The campus would have been full of newspaper, radio and television reporters. There would have been a student demonstration of some kind and I am responsible for the welfare of this university."

Dr. King, a native of Tennessee and a graduate of Vanderbilt, plans to remain at his duties here until the end of the semester. He insists he is not a crusader but a teacher who resigned because of a professional principle involving academic freedom, not the segregation issue.

The Last Straw

He said the Kershaw incident was only "the last straw" in a series of happenings which have deeply concerned him during the past few years.

He is a member of the student-faculty committee which chose the speakers for Religious Emphasis Week and has encountered the state's "screening process" for college speakers on other occasions

He and other professors are under a constant tension, wondering if what they are saying in lectures will stir the wrath of members of the legislature.

"How can one teach sociology without discussing the segregation issue?" King asked.

Not Bitter

He has refused to talk about his resignation but said he is not "bitter" toward Chancellor Williams, whom he believes to be a "victim of circumstances and has the "best interests of the school at heart."

In his official public statement, made jointly with a statement by Williams, King said: "...I have slowly and reluctantly been convinced that the administration and the board (state college and university trustees) are no longer able to defend, ...the freedom of thought, inquiry and speech which are essential for higher education to flourish."

Meanwhile, the entire University faculty is disturbed about the Kershaw issue. There is much talk on the campus that other professors will resign as soon as they can

See—Chancellor Explains—Page 1

Chancellor Explains

(Continued from Page 1)

find other jobs.

One professor said he and three others "talked seriously of quitting this week. But we decided we can't afford it. We have families to consider."

Screening Procedure

The speaker screening requirement was put in effect about a year ago after members of the state legislature received protests from some parents about the background of one speaker on a program at Mississippi Southern College. At Ole Miss the screening process includes:

1. The name of the proposed speaker is given to Hugh Clegg, former FBI man who now is Chancellor Williams' assistant.

2. Clegg sends the name to the Americanism Committee of the American Legion in Washington, D. C. They check the name with their list of about 17,000 "suspect" organizations.

3. If the speaker has belonged or contributed to any of these groups on the American Legion list, at any time in his life, he is screened.

Two Choices

Few, if any, faculty members agree with the legislature's screening order. But one professor said: "We have two choices—abide by the legislature's order or resign. If we resign the legislature would have us replaced by radicals. The courageous thing for us to do is remain here and give as liberal an interpretation to the order as possible."

Episcopalians Reject Pro-Kershaw Gesture

A conference of Episcopal students Saturday rejected a resolution condemning the withdrawal of a bid to Rev. Alvin Kershaw by Ole Miss.

The Ohio minister was to have participated in Religious Emphasis Week but the invitation was withdrawn last week after Rev. Karshaw's letter linking him to the NAACP was made public.

The Canterbury Club took up the issue again at its statewide meeting in Jackson.

Vote was reportedly 22 to 14.

The resolution also blasted the screening of campus speakers — and that phase was rumored to be acceptable to most of the students.

But the mention of Mr. Kershaw led to the defeat of the entire resolution, one student said.

The resolution was introduced by Russell Viau, Flint, Mich., Lloyd Spivey, Canton, and Alfred Marvle, Vicksburg, all students at Ole Miss.

The meeting Saturday afternoon was held at St. Andrew's church.

A portion of the resolution read: " . . . Be it therefore resolved that this state conference of the Canterbury Club of Mississippi go on record as being strongly opposed to the recent withdrawal of the invitation extended to Rev. Alvin Kershaw for Religious Emphasis Week at the University of Mississippi and go on record as being in ardent disagreement to the ruling of the Mississippi legislature that all speakers coming to our campus be screened."

State Times Feb. 5-/56
Miss-Ed

A Peevish Professor Quits His Job

Ed. Miss

Jackson Daily

(An Editorial)

2/9/56

The resignation of Dr. Morton B. King Jr. as professor of sociology at the University was an act both foolish and childish and utterly unworthy of a supposedly well-educated man.

Dr. King tossed his conniption fit because Chancellor Williams withdrew the invitation to Dr. Alvin Kershaw, the jazz preacher, to take part in the Religious Emphasis Week at Ole Miss.

The professor says he quit because the Ole Miss administration is "no longer able to defend the freedom of thought, inquiry and speech which are essential for higher education to flourish."

And then more blah-blah to the same effect.

Up to this moment the University has not closed down and the student body has not been sent home because of Dr. King's resignation. Classes are being held as per usual.

In fact, it looks like things will continue this way until the June commencement exercises, and even now plans are being made for the 1956-57 session. The summer school program will be as per usual.

Just another case of a peevish professor pushing himself out of a job. If you feel sorry over the incident, calm yourself. The NAACP will doubtless help the professor attach himself to some other educational institution where he will be free to prattle about "freedom of thought," etc.

The people of Mississippi were profoundly surprised last week to learn that 238 members of the Ole Miss student body voted in favor of integration and wondered from what source they were being infiltrated with poisonous propaganda.

This newest incident may throw some light on the subject.

Educ. Miss. 1956

MISS. COUNCIL ON HUMAN REL
1104 LYNCH ST.
JACKSON 3, MISS.

The Delta Democrat-Times

8-1 HOME EDITION

ress (AP) United Press (UP) Greenville, Mississippi Friday, February 10, 1956 Price 5c No. 139

Another Prof Quits; Hits Attempt To 'Screen Thought'

(Ed Miss)

Gives 5 Reasons For Leaving State College

From The Wire Services

STARKVILLE, Miss.—Mississippi State College today lost an assistant government professor who quit in protest of a series of incidents designed, he charged, to "screen out thoughts."

President Ben Hilbun made the resignation of Dr. William Buchanan effective immediately, saying, "your attitude has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

The resignation came two days after Dr. Morton King resigned as head of the sociology department at the University of Mississippi in protest against the revoking of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, Oxford, Ohio, Episcopal minister, to address the student body during Religious Emphasis Week.

Kershaw became the center of a controversy because of his avowed membership in the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and his refusal to say he would not discuss segregation if the subject came up in a question period.

Gives Reasons

In tendering his resignation, Dr. Buchanan cited four other reasons:

1. The college board's order requiring screening of prospective speakers.

2. President Hilbun's refusal to permit Pulitzer-prize winning editor Hodding Carter of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times to address the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors.

3. A proposed bill in the Mississippi Legislature to forbid "teachers of government, or anyone else, to criticize any official or policy of state government." No action has been taken on the bill.

4. "The statement by (an unidentified college) trustee . . . to the effect that 'while everyone has a right to think what he pleases, we have the right to know what an employe thinks and the right not to hire him if we do not approve it.' "

Screen Thoughts

Buchanan said, "When ministers are prevented from speaking to students and editors from speaking to faculty members and when trustees feel they must screen not only our speakers but our thoughts, it appears to me that a college can not perform its functions as an institution."

The professor said he was getting out "before the law is passed which might make the expression of these sentiments a criminal act."

In reply, Hilbun said Dr. Buchan failed to distinguish between "the promulgation of the findings of scholarship and the promultation of opinion and personal bias."

The resignation, he told Buchanan, "is based upon the five particulars outlined in your letter your attitude toward which has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

(1956)
Education: Mississippi

JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1956

Education Mississippi

Who's Next?

State College Prof Resigns In Sympathy With Kershaw

STATE COLLEGE Miss. (AP) — Government professor William Buchanan was out of a job at Mississippi State College today after authorities promptly complied with his resignation in protest against the "Kershaw incident" and other actions of Mississippi's College Board.

Buchanan yesterday tendered his resignation, effective at the end of his current contract, but college President Ben Hilburn immediately relieved him of his duties, saying "your attitude . . . has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

The resignation came two days after Dr. Morton King resigned as head of the sociology department at the University of Mississippi in protest against the revoking of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, Oxford, Ohio, Episcopal minister, to address the student body during Religious Emphasis Week.

Kershaw became the center of a controversy because of his avowed membership in the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and his refusal to say he would not discuss segregation if the subject came up in a question period.

In tendering his resignation, Dr Buchanan cited four other reasons:

1. The college board's order requiring screening of prospective speakers.

2. President Hilbun's refusal to permit Pulitzer-prize winning editor Hodding Carter of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times to address the student body. Carter was condemned by the Mississippi House last year for his magazine article criticizing the pro-segregation white citizen councils.

3. A proposed bill in the Mississippi Legislature to forbid "teachers of government, or any one else, to criticize any official or policy of state government." No action has been taken on the bill.

4. "The statement by (an unidentified college) trustee . . . to the effect that while everyone has a right to think what he pleases, we have the right to know what an employe thinks and the right not to hire him if we do not approve it.' "

When such conditions are in effect Dr. Buchanan told Hilbun, "it appears to me, that a college cannot perform its functions as an institution of higher learning."

The professor said he was getting out "before the law is passed which might make the expression of these sentiments a criminal act."

In reply, Hilbun said Dr. Buchanan failed to distinguish between "the promulgation of the findings of scholarship and the promulgation of opinion and personal bias."

The resignation, he told Buchanan, "is based upon the five particulars outlined in your letter; your attitude toward which has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

Dr. Buchanan, 38, a native of Richmond, Va., received his BA and MA degrees from Washington and Lee University and his Ph. D. from Princeton University. During World War II, he served in the Navy in South America and Europe.

He has served as a reporter for the Lynchburg, Va., News and the Mobile, Ala., Press-Register. Co-author of "How Nations See Each Other," he was public relations director of the Washington and Lee Bicentennial from 1947 to 1949 and English instructor and public relations director at Roanoke College, Salem, Va., in 1946 and 1947.

He came to Mississippi State in 1953 from Princeton University where he had served as assistant in research in the psychology department. Dr. Buchanan is married to the former Vivien Landrum of Picayune and they have two sons.

2/11/56 Jackson

Let's Have A House Cleaning

Jackson Daily

(AN EDITORIAL) (Ed. Miss)

Another professor quits his job. This time it is Prof. William Buchanan, assistant professor of government at State College.

The Professor says he doesn't like the way government is being run in Mississippi, so he follows the example of Dr. Morton King Jr., at Ole Miss, and kicks his job right out from under his own precious self.

Ever and always, no matter who you are, if you don't like your job, quit it.

That goes for everybody, from ditch-digger to president.

Whiners, grumblers, complainers, dissenters, and malcontents generally, are darned nuisances and elements of danger, no matter where or by whom employed.

President Ben Hilbun promptly accepted the resignation of Prof. Buchanan "in the spirit in which it was submitted," and made it effective immediately, adding:

"Your attitude has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

That is exactly what should be said to that other peevish Professor, Dr. Morton King Jr., instead of allowing him to name May 31st as his date for quitting.

The usefulness of the Ole Miss sociology professor has likewise ended and his services should be brought to a close immediately. Any teaching he may do from now on will not be of much value to the student body at Mississippi because of the manner in which he has discredited himself.

If we have any more instructors of this sort in our higher institutions of learning they should follow the examples set by King and Buchanan.

If they are opposed to any policies or principles proclaimed by our governing bodies they should be summarily discharged, no matter what may be the terms of their contracts.

In Dr. King's case he should be paid his salary in full up to the 31st of May and told to leave the campus.

Strikingly illustrative of the mawkish minds of these professorial malcontents is this statement of Prof. Buchanan setting for one of his reasons for quitting:

"Chancellor Williams' apparently successful efforts to prevent a minister of the gospel from discussing music and religion with students at the University."

The facts of the Dr. Alvin Kershaw case are already known to the people of Mississippi, but apparently Prof. Buchanan has a mind too myopic to recognize facts. "Academic freedom" was not in any sense violated when the conclusion was reached that the minds of Ole Miss students would not be benefitted the least bit by the mouthings of a minister who wants to tell church choirs how to sing jazz music. Call it bigotry or intolerance, if you like, but the people of Mississippi do not want to hear whorehouse music sung from choir lofts, nor can they cherish respect for any member of the clergy who seeks to sponsor that sort of music. It bears no relation to religion or real melody.

Another objection offered by Prof. Buchanan is the alleged statement of an unnamed member of the board of trustees to this effect:

"We have a right to know what an employe thinks, and the right to fire him if we do not approve it."

That is exactly the way all real Mississippians think. We do not want to hire persons, no matter how many college degrees they hold, to pour poison into the minds of our young people.

The truth is that there should be a general housecleaning in the halls of learning in Mississippi. There are other rotten apples in the educational barrel that need to be tossed out.

Instructors who are not in thorough sympathy with the Southern way of life and the Southern way of thinking should be told to seek jobs elsewhere. The peurile prattle they are peddling is something we don't care to buy with our tax money.

3 CLERGYMEN CANCEL MISSISSIPPI SPEECHES

2/13/60 Chattanooga Times

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 12 (AP)—Three more ministers Friday canceled speeches at the University of Mississippi because the school banned an Ohio minister from talking on the campus.

The university withdrew an invitation extended to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, when it discovered he was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The three latest cancellations wiped out the entire slate of non-Mississippi clergymen who were scheduled to speak on the university's Religious Emphasis Week program, Feb. 19-22. Earlier this week, a Catholic priest from New Orleans said he would not appear.

The latest clergymen to cancel speaking engagements were the Rev. George Chauncey, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Monticello, Ark.; the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore of New York, former director of Methodist student work at the University of Mississippi, and Rabbi Milton Grafmon, Temple Emanuel, Birmingham, Ala.

Rev. Kershaw, an Episcopal minister, won fame recently by winning $32,000 on a television quiz show.

Miss - Ed

Lambasting Is Had By All

Marion Ledger 2/15/56

Coleman Flays Professors Who Sound Off For NAACP

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Professors in state-owned and operated institutions of higher learning who wish to act as a "sounding board" for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are not wanted, Gov. J. P. Coleman told newsmen here Tuesday.

The state's chief executive thus backed up the Mississippi legislature in its resolutions of "good riddance" of two college officials, Morton King, of the University of Mississippi and William Buchanan, of Mississippi State College, both of whom have resigned in protest against screening of speakers in the two institutions.

"They just staged a sympathy strike on behalf of the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, whom Ole Miss barred after he announced he belonged to the NAACP," Coleman declared.

Coleman told newsmen that "I worked hard to get Kershaw here, and then he wrote the silliest letter I ever read, announcing his NAACP stand.

"I really don't believe Kershaw wrote the letter he sent us," Coleman said. "It reads like it was NAACP-inspired."

Gov. Coleman reminded that the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State College are state-owned.

"They belong to the people, and the people of Mississippi have the right to demand that teachers expounding against our way of life be ousted," he said.

"There was no real substance to anything that King or Buchanan said," Coleman declared. "King had been at Ole Miss for 16 years. Nobody ever tried to influence his thinking. He just resigned as a sympathy strike."

As to three others who have broken their promises to speak at the Ole Miss religious rally, Coleman believes that "they are no friends of Mississippi, anyway."

"If they were looking for the good of our college youth, they would have come here and performed their Godly duties, if they be such," he said.

Gov. Coleman also took a slap at two potential Democratic candidates for president, Averill Harriman, New York and Sen. Estes Kefauver, Tennessee.

"Harriman has just advocated integration by brute force," he declared. "We in the South can't stomach a man like him. Kefauver even has a representative of the NAACP working in his office in Washington. We certainly look on him with utmost disfavor."

The governor did not discuss Adlai Stevenson Tuesday, but has made it clear he thinks Stevenson is our best bet for President.

The governor also mentioned the interposition question, telling newsmen that "we have actually been practicing interposition in this state ever since the May 17, 1954 supreme court decision."

He again reminded that he is opposed to nullification terming it as "practical as running the Mississippi River upstream."

"If the supreme court decision is null and void, why are we having troubles?" Coleman asked.

Ed. Miss

Miss. Ed. 2/12/56 Chatt Times

12

PROFESSOR QUITS MISSISSIPPI STATE

Asserts Conditions Prevent Proper Performance—Is Released at Once

STATE COLLEGE, Miss., Feb. 9 (AP)—Prof. William Buchanan today resigned from Mississippi State college in protest over what he called conditions that prevent state colleges from performing their functions.

Dr. Buchanan, professor of government, submitted his resignation to become effective at the end of his current contract. However, college President Ben Hilbun relieved him of his duties immediately and on grounds that "your attitude has gravely impaired your usefulness here."

Dr. Buchanan's resignation followed closely that of Dr. Morton King, head of the sociology department at the University of Mississippi.

Dr. King resigned Tuesday, effective May 31, because he said the university apparently would "no longer defend the freedom of thought, inquiry, or speech necessary for higher education to flourish."

Dr. Buchanan listed five reasons for his resignation:

1. The college board's order requiring prospective speakers to be screened.

2. Hilbun's refusal to permit Hodding Carter to address students. Carter, Pulitzer prize-winning editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, was condemned by the House of Representatives in 1955 for a magazine article in which he criticized Mississippi's white citizens' councils.

3. Introduction in the 1956 Legislature of a bill forbidding "teachers of government, or anyone else, to criticize any official or policy of state government." The bill has not been considered.

4. Revocation of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, to speak at the University of Misissippi during Religious Emphasis Week. Kershaw's invitation was withdrawn because of his avowed membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and because he changed his mind about not discussing his anti-segregation views on the campus.

5. "The statement by (an unidentified college) trustee, which we heard this morning, to the effect that 'while everyone has a right to think what he pleases, we have the right to know what an employe thinks and the right not to hire him if we do not approve of it.' "

1956 Miss.

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Ed. Miss

The Delta Democrat-Times

2/15/56 1

United Press (UP) Greenville, Mississippi Wednesday, February 15, 1956

Substitute 3 Days Of Prayer

5 State Ministers Nix Ole Miss Meet

OXFORD, Miss. (UP) — Ten speakers have now declined invitations to the University of Mississippi's controversial religious emphasis week program but students remained determined today to hold the annual event.

Five local ministers yesterday withdrew as alternates for five speakers who had declined earlier in protest against the university's cancellation of a speech by an anti-segregation minister.

"Atmosphere" Wrong

The local ministers in a resolution urged the university to call off the entire program because the controversy "would make it difficult to maintain an atmosphere in which real religious values could be given proper consideration."

Students and faculty members were determined not to call off the traditional program entirely, however, and decided to hold three days of prayer and meditation next week, with no speakers at all.

By ASSOCIATED PRESS

The controversy was touched off when university officials withdraw their speaking invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, Episcopal minister from Oxford, Ohio.

The Rev. Kershaw is a member of the National Assn. for the Advaneement of Colored People, which opposes Mississippi's intention of keeping the races segregated despite the U. S. Supreme Court decision.

He was to have discussed religious drama.

After his invitation was dropped, four out-of-state speakers, a Catholic priest, a rabbi and two Protestant ministers, decided to cancel their speaking engagements.

Joined Last Night

They were joined last night by five ministers from Oxford, Miss., where the campus is located.

Finding itself virtually without speakers, the 100-man executive committee in charge of the Feb. 20-22 program decided to do away with all activities and substitute 30-minutes of silent prayer and meditation on each of the three days.

Clergymen cancelling last night were the Rev. A. Emile Joffrion, rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church; the Rev. A. L. Meadows, pastor of Oxford University Methodist Church; the Rev. James Southerland, pastor of the First Baptist Church, the Rev. Murphy C. Wilds, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church and the Rev. Athol D. Cloud, extension Presbyterian.

Education: Miss

Ed. Miss
2/15/56

Rural School Heads Organize To Fight School Closings

Further Meeting Is Set

By WILLIAM E. KEITH
State Times Staff Writer

School superintendents opposing the state's long-range program to equalize public schools are making plans today to organize as the State Association of Rural Superintendents.

G. L. Tutor, superintendent of schools at Washington, Miss., said he will call the superintendents together in an organizational meeting in the "near future."

Tutor presided Tuesday at a meeting of county and rural superintendents and school board trustees at the Robert E. Lee hotel, called to protest the workings of the statewide program.

He lashed out at what he called "super consolidation" of the state's rural schools and said he and other rural superintendents are ready to put up a good fight "even if we are country boys."

Under the program, the state, through the Educational Finance Commission, expects to effect a number of consolidations which would result in elimination of a number of smaller schools.

Commission spokesmen have said such consolidation will mean more efficient school operations at less cost and is a necessary preliminary to more equal schools statewide.

Counties cannot get state funds accruing for equalization purposes without the approval of the Educational Finance Commission on consolidation plans for each county.

Some 300 school officials from all sections of the state authorized Tutor to call the organizational meeting following a two-and-a-half hour session Tuesday.

The meeting was addressed by H. B. Drane, chairman of the Adams county school board; W. A. Sojourner, Adams county superintendent of education, and six state legislators.

Legislators included representative Walter Hester, Adams; and senators R. E. L. Gentry, Mt. Olive; Kelly Hammond, Columbia;

would result in elimination of a number of smaller schools.

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Legislators included representative Walter Hester, Adams; and senators R. E. L. Gentry, Mt. Olive; Kelly Hammond, Columbia; Z. B. Whisenant, New Albany; L. C. Ladner, Kiln, and Amos Stricland, Laurel.

Drane and Sojourner reviewed the issues involved in the Adams county school board's appeal to a chancery court of the Educational Finance Commission's insistence that all Adams county schools be placed under the Natchez Municipal Separate School District. The county board wants separate districts for Natchez and the rest of the county.

Hester said the issue should be submitted to popular vote, because "I still rely upon the judgment of the good people of this state."

He said it was never the intention of the legislature "to authorize any separate school district to destroy or take over areas outside municipalities without the consent of the people affected."

Sen. Gentry said parts of the consolidation program were "enacted too hastily" and that the people of Mississippi are "not ready for super-consolidation," although he thinks some schools probably should be eliminated.

Sen. Hammond blasted the Educational Finance Commission as a "six-man oligarchy" and said the consolidation program as set up "smacks of totalitarianism."

Sen. Whisenant said the program as originally envisioned was a good one but that "this legislator would make this amendment and that one another and now the original program is hardly recognizable."

He said administrative power for school operations should be given back to the people.

Sen. Ladner said proponents of the statewide program as presently set up are "cramming things down our throat," and Sen. Strickland said the entire program should be abolished "and let's give the schools back to the people."

Jim C. Barnett, superintendent of schools at Meadville, suggested from the floor that the proposed organization of rural superintendents might duplicate the presently-functioning consolidated school division of the Mississippi Association of School Administrator of the Mississippi Education Asociation.

Tutor opened the meeting by reading excerpt from letters sent him by legislators and others opposed to "super consolidation" and then introduced those in attendance from each county. He urged all those present to call community meetings on the same subject when they return home because "our only chance is with the legilature and with informing the people back home."

2-17-56 Miss-Ed

Not A Single Negro Attends White Public School In State

Moves To Maintain Segregation Still Being Considered

By PHIL STROUPE
Daily News Staff Writer

Not a single Negro student has been admitted to a white public school in Mississippi since the U. S. Supreme Court outlawed racial segregation nearly two years ago.

The unwelcomed decision of the nine judges was branded by Sen. J. O. Eastland as political at the time it was handed down. Vice President Richard M. Nixon confirmed that last week with his praise of that "great Republican Chief Justice Earl Warren."

Mississippians took immediate steps following the decision to side step its enforcement. The state's nearly 600,000 white and Negro students are still attending separate schools, but schools are improving. New ones are being built and new school buses are in use. Teachers are better paid.

Largest Budget

The state's largest public education budget in history has been approved. Both branches of the legislature speedily placed an OK on the $78 million appropriation.

Negroes in some quarters have asked for an immediate end to segregation. Members of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Negro parents in five Mississippi towns filed petitions with school superintendents urging an end to separate classes.

The petitions were ignored in Jackson, Vicksburg, Clarksdale, Natchez and Yazoo City.

Unlike the Autherine Lucy case of Montgomery, Ala., a Mississippi Negro, Medgar Evers of Mound Bayou, applied for admission to the University of Mississippi shortly after the court decision, but his applicaton "was never completed."

Recommendations Asked

The Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning adopted an order that no person would be admitted to any state college unless his application is accompanied by letters of recommendation from five alumni of the institution.

Evers, unable to get the necessary letters for his application, came to Jackson and took a job as field secretary with the NAACP.

The Mississippi legislature, in joint assembly last Jan. 17, heard Gov. J. P. Coleman in his inaugural address vow that segregation will be maintained without violence.

Recommendations had already been made by Coleman to the Legal Education Advisory Committee on specific points to assure continued segregation.

Lawmakers went to work and enacted those recommendations. The bills are being studied by the young Governor at his Ackerman home this weekend before signing them into law.

Segregation Bills

The bills would: Prohibit agitation of lawsuits to end segregation, require school teachers to list organizations to which they belong, provide for separate facilities at bus and train stations, repeal the compulsory school attendance law, and give operators of restaurants, hotels and other places of business the right to chose their own customers.

The state had already amended its constitution to authorize the abolition of public schools as a last resort to prevent integration.

The state also has on its books the all-important pupil assignment law which Coleman has declared is "absolutely constitutional." It would apply in assigning students to schools — not on the basis of race or color—but on the basis of public health, welfare, safety and morals.

A bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives to create one University of Mississippi with "branch" campuses at the towns now having a state-supported institution of higher learning. This would provide Negro branches of the University at Jackson, Itta Bena and Alcorn, where Negro colleges are in existence.

Meanwhile, leaders of the legislative and executive departments plunged ahead on interposition, an old legal procedure by which a state could interpose its sovereign right against the federal court which had acted outside its province.

A 13-member committee, consisting of Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, House Speaker Walter Sillers, five senators and six members of the House of Representatives, is now engaged in drafting the resolution of interposition.

Coleman said he favors an appropriation to tell the Mississippi story to the rest of the nation on its fight to preserve Southern social traditions and racial patterns. It would be an answer to adverse publicity about Mississippi in the "Yankee" press.

Mississippi's action on the interposition course follows closely that of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and Alabama.

The South is beginning to act in unity; and once it forces are united, racial integration is expected to face ever-increasing odds.

Miss - Ed

Mississippi Governor Brands Nullification Legal Poppycock

11-Man Legislative Panel Named to Chart State's Course

Atl Const 2/19/56

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 18—Mississippi's course in "interposing" its sovereignty against enforcement of the integration decisions of the United States Supreme Court will be charted by a 11-member legislative committee.

There is one thing certain—the avenue will steer clear of any sort of "nullification" movement since Gov. J. P. Coleman says that is "legal poppycock" and void of enforcement, except by military force which he said is "out of the question."

"It's all right to interpose your strength and power in every legal way, but talk of nullification is about like ordering the Mississippi River to run upstream or turning the eagle atop the Capitol to face north," he said.

Gov. Coleman pointed out that Alabama and Georgia have adopted resolutions declaring the decisions "null and void," yet "look at what has happened in those states."

"The golf courses of Atlanta have been opened to Negroes, as has the University of Alabama," he said. "Declaring null and

MISSISSIPPI

void doesn't change a thing—the federal courts are still sitting in those states."

Gov. Coleman believes that Mississippi has numerous legal ways in which to interpose itself between the desegregation mandates. Fact is, he said a 1954 law for assignment of pupils on the basis of health, welfare, morals and community welfare is one avenue of interposition.

Strategy Meeting

The governor was one of the four chief executives who met recently at Richmond, Va., to adopt a segregation-strategy course. He said they agreed on the overall approach, but that some of the states planned more drastic actions than others—all with the same objective to preserve the Southern way of life.

It was on Gov. Coleman's return from the Virginia meeting that the current biennial session of the Legislature authorized appointment of a joint House and Senate committee to draft the interposition course.

That group met this week for organizational purposes and named Sen. Earl Evans Jr., of Canton, the president pro tem of the Senate, chairman, and Rep. George Payne Cossar of Tallahatchie County, vice chairman.

A subcommittee was delegated to draft the resolution of interposition. On it are Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel, House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, Sen. Hayden Campbell of Jackson and Rep. Thompson McClellan of Clay County.

Speaker Sillers said since Gov. Coleman "is the leader of our efforts to preserve segregation, we plan to confer with him."

"We just want to see if he is going along with us, or we're going along with him, which of course we will," he said.

In view of the governor's position on "nullification," Speaker Sillers explained that Mississippi will propose an "interposition resolution."

After the wording has been formulated and the whole committee agrees on the draft, Gov. Coleman is to go before the Legislature and speak for its adoption.

Legal Bypasses

Meanwhile, added legal bypasses to the integration decisions of the Supreme Court have been authorized by the Legislature. A series of bills designed to strengthen Mississippi's hold on segregation have been passed, almost unanimously.

Gov. Coleman looks on the bills, some of which he proposed, as interposition steps. At least, they are designed to present legal obstacles, which it may take years to clear, to any integration movements.

The bills were passed despite absence of any movement in Mississippi looking to integration in the public schools, senior colleges or public parks. Some of their opponents felt that the whites were "agitating" the situation, rather than the Negroes.

Some of the new bills presenting legal delays approved at the current legislative session are:

Prohibit out-of-state lawyers from "fomenting or agitating" lawsuits, and make it unlawful for anyone to solicit funds or donate money for the filing or prosecution of lawsuits.

Permit any public business, profession or trade to select its clientele and those it will serve, and subjecting those refusing to vacate such a place when asked to do so to prosecution as a trespasser.

Making it unlawful to create a disturbance or breach of the peace in any public place or business.

Safeguards the rights of Mississippians from interference by federal agents when they are acting in conformity with state laws or the state constitution. One senator complained that the FBI had been in his Bolivar County at least four times investigating charges he said were filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Tuesday, February 21, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

Clever Plan

Ed - Miss

IT IS STRANGE how the simpliest solutions to problems sometimes escape us. That was our immediate reaction Friday to the proposal by Rep. Stanford Young of Wayne County.

Mr. Young introduced a bill in the House that calls for one great big University of Mississippi, which would have branches at Oxford, Starkville, Hattiesburg, Cleveland, Columbus, Alcorn, Jackson and Itta Bena.

The latter three are, of course, sites of state-owned Negro colleges. As a part of the University of Mississippi, they could be the "attendance colleges" to which any Negro students seeking to enter the University would be sent.

The University of California is split up into several campuses this way. Other Universities have more than one campus. Why not Mississippi? It sounds like a perfectly sound and legal way to avoid the sort of thing that is today creating a havoc at the University of Alabama.

2/23/56
Ed
Miss
Chat

OGA TIMES: CHATTANOO

INTEGRATION SEEN CLOSING COLLEGES

Mississippi Governor Says State Wouldn't Support Mixed Schools

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 22 (AP) — Gov. J. P. Coleman said Tuesday it "is as inevitable as the sunrise" that Mississippi would close its institutions of higher learning if they were forced to accept Negro students.

He told his press conference state colleges must operate "with a decent regard for the people who support them."

"The people would not support integrated schools. To allow integration is to destroy schools."

"Right or wrong, it's an inescapable fact. It's impossible to get a Negro into a white school in Mississippi."

The Mississippi constitution already permits the Legislature to abolish white public elementary or high schools faced with accepting Negro students.

Would Cut Off Funds

Coleman said the Legislature would order closed any college faced with integration. Appropriations could be cut off, he added.

The governor charged the press with "making matters worse" by "continuing agitation of the (segregation) question."

He established a new press conference rule: "We will not discuss segregation unless there is a new development to justify it, because the more you agitate this old sore the worse it gets."

Then, he announced signing two more bills to help keep Negroes out of white society. He had sponsored the bills as a member of the legal education advisory committee last year.

They would permit choice of customers or clients and would require railroad and bus companies to provide separate waiting rooms for Negro and white passengers traveling within Mississippi.

ARISON GROUP TO GIVE

Mississippi Notebook

by TOM ETHRIDGE

Miss - Ed

Feb 1956

TWO OF A KIND

In New Orleans, a Loyola University professor has cancelled his speech at Ole Miss because of our University's stand on segregation and because jazz-loving Dr. Kershaw's invitation was withdrawn.

If the people of Mississippi had been consulted, neither of these ardent race mixers would have been invited here in the first place. Small wonder some leaders deem it necessary to screen campus speakers in our state.

JUST A RUMOR

An Illinois reverend and his attractive feminine "companion" have been found dead, suffocated by escaping gas in a North Mississippi tourist court.

There is no truth in the current rumor that he was en route to Ole Miss, to take part in Religious Emphasis Week.

"YEA, ALABAMA!!!"

Many Mississippians have a kindly feeling toward University of Alabama students for their rather vigorous protest against integration at the Tuscaloosa institution. Yet 'Bama students seem certain of denunciation by the nation's "liberal" press.

Oddly enough, the same "liberal" press had nothing but praise for rowdy Georgia Tech students who tore up Atlanta defending their "right" to play against a Negro in the Sugar Bowl. Sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander, in the case of Alabama.

Ed. Miss

Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss., Mon., Feb. 13, 1956

Ole Miss To Try To Salvage Religious Emphasis Week Today

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON, Miss. (UP) — The University of Mississippi today begins a salvage job on its 1956 religious emphasis program that has been wrecked by cross-fire over the segregation question.

A student - faculty committee planned to meet tonight at Oxford, Miss., to revamp the program because all the scheduled speakers have withdrawn, protesting what they called political interference with academic freedom.

The state Senate last year adopted a resolution urging heads of state institutions to screen speakers appearing on the campus, especially those advocating a breakdown in racial segregation.

The resolution was introduced after a clergyman suggested in a talk at Mississippi Southern College that there should be small groups everywhere to refuse to take up arms and fight for their country.

The State College Board, which governs all the institutions of higher learning except the junior colleges, secretly adopted a screening order.

The annual religious emphasis program, scheduled to be held on Feb. 19 this year, got involved last summer.

TV Quiz Winner

A group called the Committee of 100 at the University invited the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, to be one of five speakers. Later, Kershaw won $32,000 on a television program and suggested giving part of it to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Immediately there were protests against Kershaw's appearance before the students. The college board investigated Kershaw's background and pronounced him acceptable.

Later, however, Kershaw wrote to the student newspaper and to Chancellor J. D. Williams saying he was in fact a member of the NAACP. Williams cancelled his talk.

"If the Rev. Kershaw had come here it would have wrecked the entire Religious Emphasis Week Program," Williams said. "Every body would have gone to hear him. The campus would have been full of newspaper, radio and television reporters. There would have been a student demonstration of some kind, and I am responsible for the welfare of this university."

Dr. Norton King, chairman of the sociology department, resigned in protest.

"How can one teach sociology without discussing the segregation issue?" King asked. "I have been slowly and reluctantly convinced that the administration and the board are no longer able to defend the freedom of thought, inquiry and speech which are essential for higher education to flourish."

Resigns in Protest

Two days later Dr. William Buchanan, assistant professor of government at Mississippi State College, resigned on the same grounds. He added his protest to the board's screening order and introduction in the Legislature of bills that "would make it a crime for a teacher of government to criticize any official or policy of state government."

One by one all the scheduled speakers for the religious emphasis program pulled out.

Williams admitted the incident "probably will be bad" for the university's scholastic rating but "not as bad for our school as the inevitable furor which would have resulted from Kershaw's appearance."

Newspapers took up the controversy.

"Just as prohibition cannot be enforced by law, segregation cannot be maintained by book burning," the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times said. "It's another example of the shotgun blasts shallow-thinking people are taking at the 'integration threat.'"

But the Jackson Daily News said if the state has any more instructors "of this sort in our higher institutions of higher learning they should follow the examples set by King and Buchanan. . .The truth is there should be a general housecleaning in the halls of learning in Mississippi. There are other rotten apples in the educational barrel that need to be tossed out."

★ ★ ★ ★

Times

...spaper Owned By The People ★

...iss., Tuesday, February 14, 1956 | City Edition | Price 5 Cents — 16 Pages

The Weather Forecast

Mostly cloudy and mild today, tonight and Wednesday, with showers this morning. Showers or thundershowers this afternoon, tonight and Wednesday. High today, 72, low tonight, 52, high tomorrow, 66. Outlook for Thursday: partly cloudy and cooler.

Governor Declares Kershaw Weakling In Hands of NAACP

Says Uproar Did State 'No Harm'

By WILLIAM E. KEITH
State Times Staff Writer

Gov. J. P. Coleman said Tuesday he considers the Rev. Alvin Kershaw a "weakling" and thinks the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wrote the letter in which the Ohio Episcopalian rector announced that he is an active member of the NAACP.

Gov. Coleman had refrained from comment during the height of the Kershaw controversy, but he made some strong observations on the subject in his regular press conference Tuesday morning, now that the issue apparently has been resolved.

He put the "weakling" label on the controversial clergyman for his failure to tell the state college board (Board of Trustees, Institutions of Higher Learning) early in the game that he was an NAACP member.

The letter announcing this fact was written to the University of Mississippi campus publication after it appeared certain that the Rev. Kershaw would appear as a speaker at the university's annual "Religious Emphasis Week."

Gov. Coleman called the letter "the silliest, most inexcusable letter I ever heard of." It was after publication of this letter that Chancellor J. D. Williams changed his mind and revoked the invitation to the Rev. Kershaw.

Education

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Raps Others

As for other out-of-state speakers who cancelled plans to appear following revocation of the invitation, Gov. Coleman said "If they had been interested in doing something for the religious welfare of the children they would have appeared as scheduled."

He said he thinks the entire Kershaw controversy has been resolved "without ten per cent of the uproar some expected" and expressed his belief that "no material harm has come of it."

He added that there is "no real substance" to statements by two Mississippi professors who resigned following the Kershaw ban claiming that freedom of speech and freedom of thought had suffered a set-back.

"Neither of them," he said, "can point to any specific incidence in which their freedoms of thought or speech has been circumscribed. They just wanted to try to start a sympathy strike for Kershaw."

He added:

"The fact remains that the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State are state institutions and belong to the state. They are not private institutions. The people maintain them and support

Coleman . . .

them and are entitled to have their wishes considered."

Other subjects covered at the press conference:

NATIONAL POLITICS: Gov. Coleman said it was "utterly out of the question to begin with" that Mississippi would ever support either New York governor Averill Harriman or Tennessee senator Estes Kefauver for President and that Harriman's advocacy of "brute force" to back up the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation decrees "only confirms that fact," while Sen. Kefauver "has a member of the NAACP on his headquarters staff."

INSURANCE PREMIUM TAX: The governor said some insurance companies "have thrown up a lobby like we had for the surtax during the special session last year" to work against its enactment. He said it would "be a disappointment to me if the legislature let itself be pressured and influenced by lobbies." He expressed confidence that the tax will be enacted. It will raise an estimated $1 million per biennium.

UTILITY REGULATION: Gov. Coleman said the House public utilities committee is "tee-totally working" on this measure, reading the bill section by section and considering all proposed amendments. He said he thinks the bill will be reported out of committee later this week and "should pass as now written." He said he favors letting municipalities continue to have the right to acquire utility distribution systems.

NULLIFICATION: The governor, noting that Georgia has passed a resolution declaring U. S. Supreme Court anti-segregation rulings "null and void," said talk of nullification "is like suggesting the Mississippi river run uphill." He said regardless of legislative resolutions, "federal courts will be sitting right on" and added that insistence that a state can nullify a U. S. Supreme Court decision is "misleading the people. When you do that, your hand eventually gets called, and and ought to be."

Education

Gets Life

PAGE 1

Delta Democrat-Times
e, Miss., Mon., Feb. 20, 1956

Sees More Harm Than Good In Law On Negro Teachers

Ed-Times

HATTIESBURG, Miss. (UP) — N. R. Burger, president of the state Negro Teachers Assn., said today a proposed law requiring Negro teachers to list the organizations to which they belong is "frightening" and threatens to do more harm than good.

Burger, principal of the Royal Street Negro high school here, said the law threatens the "freedom of speech and peaceful assembly" when directed against a specific group.

It will tend, Burger said, to "force underground many such activities that would have been better dealt with openly."

Backers of the legislation offered the law to help keep check on teachers who belong to organizations favoring racial integration.

"Many of us belong to or have held membership in churches and other organizations that presently views in conflict with those now held by local white citizens of Mississippi," Burger said. "Such membership was accepted when questions now before us were not considered at all.

"Thus, many Negroes are exposed to dangers today for membership in organizations which but a few days ago would have brought them higher status and praise."

Burger said he felt the "best minds of both races" are ready to seek "peaceful solutions rather than pursuing courses leading to further confusion and bitterness."

★ ★ ★

JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1956

One University, Eight Campuses Proposed in Bill

Ed Times

A proposal to create a state university with eight campuses scattered over the state as an aid in maintenance of racial segregation was before the Legislature Friday.

Rep Stanford Young of Wayne County introduced the bill in the House Thursday. It calls for university "branches" at Oxford, Starkville, Hattiesburg, Cleveland and Columbus, present locations of state-supported white colleges; and at Alcorn, Jackson and Itta Bena, sites of three state Negro colleges.

University students would be assigned to "attendance colleges" of the university which would be under control of the state college board here.

Ed. Miss

Miss. Governor Says Schools Go If Mixing Comes

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 21—Gov. J. P. Coleman told his press conference Tuesday Mississippi would close any white public school or college forced to accept a Negro student.

"The people of Mississippi simply will not support these institutions on an integrated basis," the governor said.

"Right or wrong, it's an inescapable fact. It is impossible to get a Negro into a white school in Mississippi. To allow integration would destroy the schools."

The state constitution was amended in December, 1954, to authorize the Legislature to abolish public elementary and high schools as a last resort to prevent racial integration.

Educ. Mississippi

Clarion Ledger 2/19/56

Mississippi Negro Teachers Concerned At New Legislation

Ed Miss

Fear Laws May Slow Progress

Some Proposals Are 'Frightening'

Negro teachers of Mississippi are concerned that some of the legislation now aimed at their race will hamper good will and continued progress in the state, they said in a statement issued here Saturday.

Over the signature of Prof. N. R. Burger of Hattiesburg, president of the state teachers association, the Legislative Committee of the association said some of the proposals "are frightening to us."

They mentioned specifically, the proposal to require Negro teachers to list all organizations to which they have belonged for five years, — and suggested that it is possible that such memberships might have been "accepted when questions now before us were not considered at all."

Prof. Burger, principal of the Royal Street High School in Hattiesburg, is an honor graduate of Alcorn A&M College of Mississippi, and holds the master's degree from Cornell University of Ithaca, N. Y. He has taught for 20 years in Mississippi public schools.

Text of the statement:

"Most of the best thinking people of our state are vitally concerned with maintaining and promoting the good of all the citizens of Mississippi. We realize that men of good will find it difficult to agree always on given problems or the best methods of finding a workable answer to such problems when isolated. Yet, we feel that we must go on in our search for an answer in a spirit of good will. It is in this spirit that a few responsible Negro leaders wish to point out some of the things we feel will make it increasingly difficult for us to

(Continued on Page 12)

Negro Teachers - - -

(Continued from Page 1)

achieve our goal of continued good will and progress here in Mississippi.

"It is our humble opinion that laws are best for a people when they are few, just, simple to understand, and well administered. When laws create fears by being directed toward a specific group, such laws destroy those foundations upon which mutual understanding and co-operative action are based.

"As Negro leaders we fear that some of the laws now to be applied to us will hurt us more than they will help the cause of good relations and continued progress here in our great state. The law to require Negro teachers to list all organizations to which they have belonged for the past five years is frightening to most of us. If carried to ultimate conclusions, it could do serious harm to many without touching the problem it seeks to solve. Many of us belong to or have held membership in churches and other organizations, that presently hold views in conflict with those now held by local white citizens of Mississippi. Such membership was accepted when questions now before us were not considered at all. Thus, many Negroes are exposed to dangers today for membership in organizations which but a few days ago would have brought them higher status and praise.

"We feel that such laws as prescribe the freedom of speech and peaceful assembly, when directed against any specific group, create tensions and force underground many such activities that would have been better dealt with openly.

"Are we to assume that we have lost the right to assemble peacefully, to petition the proper authorities, and to use the press in seeking corrections for apparent wrongs affecting our people?

"We further feel that the future progress of Mississippi is of vital concern to all of us. We should seek to find ways of resolving our difference by other methods than passing laws that make such effort at friendly understanding increasingly more difficult. It is our humble belief that the best minds of both races stand ready to join hands in seeking peaceful solutions rather than pursuing courses leading to further confusion and bitterness. Such course is now within our reach; each hour's delay may be too late.

Ed. Miss

2/22/56

NEW YORK TIMES, WED

Mississippi Would Shut School Accepting Negro

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 21 (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman said today any Mississippi white public school including colleges forced to accept a Negro student would be abolished immediately.

"The people would not support integrated schools," he told his press conference. "To allow integration is to destroy schools."

He accused the press of "making matters worse" by "continued agitation of this question."

The Governor announced he had signed two bills he sponsored to help keep Negroes out of white society. They would permit choice of customers or clients and would require railroad and bus companies to provide separate waiting rooms for Negro and white passengers in intrastate travel.

No Funds for the Integrated

Ledger 2/22/56

Ed - Miss

State Would Close Schools If Negroes Enter—Coleman

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Gov. J. P. Coleman declared Tuesday that if a Negro succeeds in entering any institution of higher learning or any common school in Mississippi, the seat of learning would be immediately abolished.

"Not only would the legislature refuse to appropriate funds to operate an integrated institution," he cited, "but lawmakers would insist on immediate cessation of teaching activities there."

He said that the problem facing Mississippi is the building of adequate schools for both races and that he is directing his activites to that end.

Coleman said that proposals for making the state system of higher education or the university of Mississippi one big institution, including Negro colleges, is not a necessity now, but that it might become so in the future.

His statements were prompted by questioning of newsmen at his regular news conference Tuesday morning, in which the Kershaw incident and refusals of other preachers to speak at the Ole Miss religious emphasis week observance were taken up.

Coleman declared that the decision not to have Kershaw appear at Ole Miss came after the preacher himself wrote a letter to Chancellor J. D. Williams completely "changing his story of activities with the NAACP."

The governor denied that freedom of speech was abridged by the Kershaw refusal.

"He can speak anywhere in the state except at tax-operated institutions," Coleman said. "The people of Mississippi have a right to decide who shall speak in their institutions.

"Allowing men like Kershaw to spew their differences with the southern way of life would incur the wrath of our taxpayers and

Coleman---

(Continued from Page 1)

perhaps destroy our institutions," Coleman said. "We cannot have that."

He said that the statements of the Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr., at Mississippi State College a few days ago were entirely a different category from the Kershaw incident.

Coleman said he worked to get Kershaw a speech at Ole Miss, only to have the preacher throw a monkey-wrench in the whole affair.

"Kershaw was no friend of Mississippi or he would never have pulled the stunts he did by writing that letter to Chancellor Williams," Coleman said.

The governor disputed those who claim that segregation is "un-Christian."

"I have read the New Testament about as closely as most people," he said, holding up a copy for the press to see.

"Nowhere in this Bible do I find that Jesus Christ ever preached integration, and there were plenty of different races in his time.

"In fact, I believe that Jesus would have looked with disfavor upon intermingling of the races. When he talked of the brotherhood of man, he was discussing the spiritual matters and not the inherently corrupt flesh," Coleman declared.

"I am not going to sacrifice our institutions in favor of speakers who denounce our own people," he declared. "This is not a matter of freedom of speech, but a matter of our people running their institutions as they see fit. People not employed by the state or her institutions have decided they want to run them. We can't have that from any speaker."

Coleman said that he thinks that hereafter, the authorities at state institutions of higher learning will take better care whom they invite to speak to the students.

The governor, after lengthy discussion of the segregation issue, announced to the press that he is making a rule.

"Hereafter, I shall refuse to discuss segregation unless something new arises," he said. "You all know how I stand, and it is a waste of time to re-hash old issues. If something new arises, I will be glad to talk with you about it."

He said that he does not believe the legislature will override his veto of a bill having to do with curtailing investigations by the FBI of state balloting.

2/22/56

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948 R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR..... Manager T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. .. Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

Miss Ed

Fine Freedom at Ole Miss

Despite some rumors and charges inspired during controversy over a recent and regrettable incident, University of Mississippi students retain, cherish and use freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom to think—and freedom to pray and to worship as their minds and hearts move them as free individuals.

Thus many of the University's conscientious and sincere students are carrying out an impressive and potentially useful and fruitful substitute or revised form of the officially abandoned Religious Emphasis Week at the University.

One such student makes these things clear, directly and indirectly, in a short, fervent, persuasive note to The Clarion-Ledger.

That note, we believe, should be of interest, cheer and inspiration to many readers, many thoughtful citizens, especially many parents of University students. Read it slowly:

"Today at 10:00 o'clock three hundred sincere students filed in Fulton Chapel to worship God. Every student in that chapel this morning was thanking God for the privilege that we still have to pray and worship as free individuals. It made me realize the freedom we now have and what it would be if suddenly this privilege and freedom were stamped out.

We are having a Religious Emphasis Week here at Ole Miss, maybe not the way it was planned, but we students today were worshipping our God in a way that affected our hearts deeply."

Read it again, ladies and gentlemen!

We submit it as timely, cheering, mind-stirring and heart-touching reading for citizens of Mississippi, especially parents of students, who have faith and love and hope in the University and in the lives and freedoms of its present and coming generations of students, and who may have been worried by some recent developments and reports.

Editorial

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 27, 1956

Voice of the People

Letters to the Editor must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Dear Editor:

I wish to add my "two cents worth" to what Charlie Horner has written about using the "Christian Spirit" to help solve our racial problems.

It seems to me that our situation is this: We are trying to hold the front gate closed with one hand while at the same time trying to "tidy up" our back yard. If we could develop this Christian Spirit and the Negroes would have the proper patience, then we could leave the front gate. We could also conserve the energies which we now are using trying to convince other parts of the country that our "way of life" is best for the Southern people (white and black). Our elected leaders could then concentrate on helping the Negroes to have better segregated schools, and we all could help them continue their development as in the past.

If we deliberately place a BAD DOG at the front gate to "Bite", then we will develop hatreds between races, similar to the hatreds between peoples of Europe. However, with the "outside influences" trying to change our way of life, it seems that we need "latches" in the way of "States-Rights and "Interposition" to keep our gate closed until it can be left 'wide open" again.

A FAITHFUL READER
Jackson, Miss.,

2/26/56
Chat Ed.
Miss

4 SPEAKERS LEFT TO KEEP RESPECT

Withdrew From Mississippi State Program Because of Silence Request

AUSTIN, Tex., Feb. 25 (AP)—Dr. Blake Smith, University Baptist Church pastor, says he and three other scheduled speakers who withdraw from Mississippi State College's Religious Emphasis Week Program did so to maintain self-respect.

"We withdrew from the campus because we did not want to cause any embarrassment to a fine institution like Mississippi State," Dr. Smith said after returning home.

The ministers had been told they were not free to say publicly that "Christianity and segregation are incompatible."

"Texas has its problems, but thank God we can discuss them," Dr. Smith told a reporter.

The pastor said he believes the events causing his withdrawal from the program were precipitated by what he called an "irresponsible and inflammatory" Mississippi press and by political pressure exerted by the Citizens Council.

Dr. Smith described the spirit of the students and administration at Mississippi State College as "wonderful."

"On the first day, we discovered that the race question eclipsed every other issue," said Dr. Smith.

"The university administration requested us not to discuss the subject on or off the campus, even when the question was raised by students, and not to issue any statements to the press concerning our personal convictions on this subject, even after one of our team has been misrepresented by the press.

"Four of us felt we could not accede to this request and withdrew."

Established 1837

Clarion Ledger Ed Miss

Jury Claims Books In School Libraries Favor Integration

By ODELL McRAE

LAUREL, Miss.—An Ellisville circuit court grand jury report, released to the press Thursday charges that Jones county elementary school children are coming in contact with school library books which support integration of the races.

The sensational charges came to light in a final report from the grand jury following a three-day probe and pointed out that proponents of integration, through many book companies and publishing houses, are using books in the elementary schools and among children as a "Trojan Horse" to tear down the teachings and principles in the Southern way of life.

District Attorney Grover Doggette and County Prosecutor Leonard Melvin, Jr., who worked with the grand jury in its probe, said textbooks for the county elementary schools are screened but that school libraries do not follow a screening policy.

"This Ellisville grand jury discovery that proponents of integration and enemies of segregation are planting books in the school libraries for our children to poison their minds may be statewide and may stir up similar charges across the entire state and throughout the South", Doggette and Melvin predicted in a joint statement Thursday.

The grand jury reports said its investigation produced a book at one elementary school library used by sixth grade students that sought to spread the proproganda of integration and destroy the argument for segregation by playing up the social equalities among the races throughout the north and other sections of the nation. This book was a work of fiction, the report said.

"These books are camouflaged and made appealing to the eyes of our youth by using covers and pictures to attract their attention and thereby to encourage the reading of this camouflaged proproganda", the report charged.

The report did not name a book company or publishing house involved. Neither was an involved elementary school named. Nor did it give the title of any such book. But the grand jurors recommended that the State Superintendent of Education, County Superintendent of Education and superintendents of separate school districts give serious thought to the screening of all books, magazines and periodicals used in the school system and weed out those books that reflect criticism on the southern way of life.

The report said "the time has come when all must assert themselves in support of that which we know to be for our own best interests."

John M. Caughman, superintendent of the Laurel School System, said all textbooks and library books used in schools here are screened. He said a selection committee purchases library books only after they have been read and approved by the school principal or a qualified member of the faculty.

Bernard Powell, Jones County superintendent of education although not officially informed of the grand jury charges Thursday, said he will take immediate action toward adopting a screening policy at all county schools in the purchase of library books.

Powell has jurisdiction over 27 elementary schools and 14 high schools of Jones county. Schools here and at Ellisville, eight miles to the South, are not under his jurisdiction.

The sensational report was returned to Circuit Judge Lunsford Casey, who convened a two-weeks term at Ellisville Monday. Jones county has two judicial districts, one at Ellisville, the other at Laurel, and Judge Casey convenes a circuit court and grand jury here March 19.

JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1956

Library, Textbooks Hit In Segregation Dispute

Ed Miss

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The dispute over racial segregation has spread to Mississippi libraries.

Approved by the Mississippi House and sent to the Senate is a bill requiring the State Library Commission to buy books emphasizing white supremacy.

One Mississippi legislator, Rep. Walter Phillips, called it "thought control"—a phrase made famous by Japanese police action during World War II.

Gov. J. P. Coleman has declined comment on the two-year-old measure.

In south Mississippi, a Jones County grand jury called for statewide screening of school and library books to cull those critical of the Southern segregated way of life.

No action has been taken on the grand jury request.

Unknown to most Mississippians, Rep. Russell Fox of Claiborne County included in a $192,000 Library Commission appropriation for 1954-56 a stipulation that $5,000 must be spent for "books dealing with the subject of ethnology."

Then, according to commission records, Fox told the Purchasing Department what type books to buy. All uphold white supremacy.

The same bill — with minor changes — came up this week for re-enactment in the House. It passed. But, debate brought this statement by Rep. Phillips from the floor:

"You are legislating thought control. The United States fought Hitler during World War II because he advocated a master race and required his book 'Mein Kampf' to be in every library and school."

Hitler also burned books which disagreed with the Nazi way of life.

Ordinarily, the commission buys five or six copies of the same book "to make our meagre book budget ($38,000 a biennium) cover all subjects and materials for all ages."

The commission last year spent $200 for 25 copies of "Black Monday," 47 of "White America," 50 of "Unending Hate," 14 of "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night," 20 of "You and Segregation," and 10 each of "Cult Of Equality" and "Whither Solid South."

Commission records show few persons are reading them.

Because of that situation, Fox this week made a change in his 1954 $5,000 special ethnology fund to require $500 of it to be used to tell Mississippians how and where to get these white supremacy books.

Under current appropriations, the commission has less than $800 to spend for publicity to tell Mississippians about the other 70,000 books on its shelves.

Last year, the commission found it impossible to buy $5,000 worth of white supremacy books without ordering several hundred copies of each adn went to the dictionary for a complete meaning of "ethnology."

As a result, the commission bought $3,000 worth of books on the historical aspects of ethnology and anthropology.

Most of these books are highly technical and are used as reference by students.

Though considerably disturbed by all the publicity handed her library commission, Mrs. Lura Currier, the director, saw one bright light:

"At least this Legislature realizes the value of books. Previous Legislatures have hend appropriations to a minimum, arguing that children ought to be plowing, not wasting their time reading."

Education: Mississippi

Invited Clergymen. . . Ed. Miss 3/3/56

Refuse To Talk Religion At Second Miss. College

STARKVILLE, Miss. — (ANP) — The withdrawal of four ministers scheduled to speak during Mississippi State college's Religious Emphasis Week program has brought collapse of the event. A similar program at the University of Mississippi was cancelled after all the ministers withdrew. The segregation issue prompted the withdrawals.

The Rev. Duncan Gray Jr. of Cleveland, Miss., an Episcopal minister informed officials at Mississippi State that he could not appear because he would not be allowed to mention segregation in a talk on "The Changing South."

* * *

OTHER MINISTERS who gave the explanation "we feel that in good conscience we cannot meet our engagements for the rest of the week" are Dr. Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist Church, Austin, Tex.; Dr. John J. Compton, professor of philosophy at Vanderbilt university and Rev. Stewart Currio of Fulton, Mo., a graduate student of Emory university. Three persons who remained on the program are all Mississippians.

Dr. Gray said the issue came up after he told a group of Presbyterian students that "segregation is incompatible with the Christian faith."

He denied, however, that he had been asked by College President Ben Hilburn to withdraw from the program.

Miss. Drops Compulsory School Laws

JACKSON, Miss.—(A N P)—Mississippi state senators voted Monday to repeal the state's compulsory school attendance laws as another step toward keeping Negroes out of white schools.

The bill is part of the Legal Education Advisory Committee's six-bill program, aimed at getting around the Supreme Court's school anti-segregation decisions.

Other bills have been introduced without LEAC approval and all have passed without discussion as fast as they hit the senate floor.

Gov. J. P. Coleman has agreed to sign the six LEAC measures, although he has not acted on any of them as yet.

Ed. Miss 2/25/56 atl World

MONDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 20, 1956

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS.,

Religious Week Is Planned At State

Ed. Miss.

Withdrawals Fail To Affect Schedule

STATE COLLEGE — Religious Emphasis Week at Mississippi State College will proceed as scheduled February 19-24 despite the withdrawal of two of the expected participants, according to Earnest Price, YMCA secretary.

The two who have withdrawn are Father Josiah Chatham of St. Richard's Parish, Jackson, and Rabbi James A. Wax of Temple Israel, Memphis, Tenn.

"We regret that Father Chatham and Rabbi Wax have seen fit to withdraw," said YMCA Secretary Price. "In spite of this, we expect the students and faculty to have a good religious experience here next week. We have assurances that Dr. Blake Smith of Austin, Texas, and the other scheduled leaders will be here. We have already made the readjustments necessary to carry on the full schedule of Religious Emphasis Week."

The first REW meeting is scheduled in Lee hall auditorium at 7:30 Sunday evening. Dr. Blake Smith, pastor of the University Baptist church, Austin, Texas, will preach.

Daily convocations will be held at 11 a. m. in Lee Hall auditorium. The speaker will be Reverand Stuart Currie of Emory University, Atlanta, Monday and Tuesday; and Dr. Blake Smith will address the students and faculty Wednesday and Thursday.

Other discussions with students and faculty will be led by Dr. Smith and Mr. Currie, and by other religious leaders: Dr. Mary Louise Gehring of Mississippi Southern College, Dr. John Compton of Vanderbilt University, Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., of Cleveland, Rev. Bernard Mounger of Corinth, and Rev. John Sutphin of Jackson.

ning, February 25, 1956

Ed. Miss

Dulles Violent

Clarion Ledger

Governor Signs Attendance Bill

Moves To Protect School Segregation

By The Associated Press

Gov. J. P. Coleman signed a bill repealing the compulsory school attendance laws—a move to protect the state in integration cases.

The bill was proposed by the Legal Education Advisory Committee, set up to find ways to evade the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

Members argued last year the state would have firmer legal standing in integration cases if it did not require children—Negro and white—to attend school.

In addition, members said, the school attendance laws were not enforced in many counties.

Both the Senate and the House gave the bill overwhelming votes of approval.

Coleman also signed two other bills:

1. Repealing the absentee voting laws. Under the new law, only qualified voters in the Armed Forces may cast absentee ballots.

Coleman had reported "widespread abuse" of the absentee ballot during last summer's elections and promised to clean up the situation.

2. Levying a 1½ per cent tax on Blue Cross Hospitalization Insurance premiums. The tax would produce about $174,000 every two years.

Education: Miss

Clarion-Ledger 3/6/56 Cloudy

VOL. CXVII NO. 319 Full AP and INS Reports

Ed. Mess

Senators Approve Huge 'Budgetbuster' Measure On Schools

Legislators Cheer As Governor Signs Interposition Bill

By CHARLES M. HILL

The Mississippi House of Representatives late Monday cheered announcement by Speaker Walter Sillers, Bolivar, that the governor had signed the interposition resolution upon which this state and the South count heavily to forestall integration of schools.

Announcement of Gov. J. P. Coleman's action came a few minutes before the House adjourned at 4:45 p. m., until 2 o'clock Tuesday afternoon.

The resolution, unanimously adopted by both houses of the legislature last week, memorializes the Congress to stand between the U. S. Supreme Court and the states to protect the rights of the states to govern their school and prevents further juristic legislation which encroaches on the powers which the states retain for themselves.

In other actions of the day, the House voted 77 to 32 in favor of HB 155, a measure steered to passage by Rep. Gene Caldwell, Hinds, which limits practicing dentists in this state to those who are educated in the United States.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which HB 253, the act forcing tubercular patients to take treatment or be isolated, was tabled and the measure now goes to the Senate.

The House voted 107 to 10 in favor of HB 398, an act which raises the educational requirements to secure a license to practice optometry, the measure being steered to passage by its author, Spurgeon Eure, of Forrest with the aid of Rep. Chris Faser, Montgomery, chairman of the public health and quarantine committee.

Several wildlife bills drew exlosive debate in the House, as they were brought up by Rep. Pettis Walley, Perry, chairman of the Game, Fish and Wildlife committee.

Topping the list was an act, HB 392, which provides a $150 fine, 3 months in jail and confiscation of guns and vehicles owned by any person hunting deer by headlight.

The membership of the lower

(Continued On Page Four)

PAGE (s) MISSING

Ed Brian 3/12/56 Presbyterian Outlook

Leaders Withdraw from Miss. State Program

JACKSON, MISS. (RNS)—Six clergymen withdrew from the Religious Emphasis Week program at Mississippi State College in Starkville over the racial segregation issue.

Three of them acted after Duncan Gray, Jr., an Episcopalian of Cleveland, Miss., said he would not participate because he could not agree not to mention segregation in an address on "The Changing South." The other two said there was too much pressure on both sides of the segregation question.

The withdrawals left only three speakers on the program—all from Mississippi: Bernard V. Munger (Presbyterian), Corinth; John Sutphin (Methodist), Jackson; and Mary Lou Gehring, Mississippi Southern professor.

Josiah Chatham, pastor of St. Richard's Roman Catholic church here and Rabbi James Wax of Memphis, Tenn. withdrew because of the pressure problem.

The others are Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist church, Austin, Tex.; John J. Compton, professor of philosophy at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; and Stuart D. Currie, presently doing graduate work at Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

In a joint statement explaining their action, the latter three said:

"One of our team has felt obliged to withdraw. We have professed our willingness to proceed with Religious Emphasis Week in full observance of President Ben F. Hilbun's request to avoid discussion of segregation in our meetings on the campus. Since, however, we have not been made to feel free to announce our personal conviction in regard to Duncan Gray Jr.'s statement which was quoted in the press, we feel that in good conscience we cannot meet our engagements for the rest of the week."

In his statement, Mr. Gray said the issue had arisen after he told a Presbyterian Westminster Fellowship group in Starkville that "segregation is incompatible with the Christian faith."

As a result of that talk, he explained, President Hilbun requested speakers not to discuss segregation during Religious Emphasis Week "because of the inflammatory nature of the issue."

Mr. Gray said that President Hilbun did not ask him to retract his statement or withdraw from the program. But the clergyman said that he could not promise not to mention segregation in his Religious Emphasis Week talks and therefore was withdrawing.

Earlier, the Religious Emphasis Week program at the University of Mississippi was cancelled when both out-of-state and local clergymen withdrew over the cancellation of a talk by an Ohio minister who is said to favor racial integration.

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Plans to study the status of academic freedom in Southern colleges have been announced by a committee of the American Association of University Professors. The study was stimulated by the "Kershaw incident" at the University of Mississippi where a Religious Emphasis Week invitation was withdrawn because invited speakers would not pledge themselves not to discuss segregation.

Ed Miss
3/10/57
Chat

OOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOG

MISSISSIPPI'S AIM IS EQUAL SCHOOLS

House Defeats Attempt to Put Off Improvements in Negro Facilities

JACKSON, Miss., March 10 (AP) — Mississippi's representatives today showed their determination to put into effect as soon as possible the state's program to equalize Negro and white schools.

The program's opponents sought unsuccessfully to have referred to a favorable committee a bill postponing from July 1, 1957 to July 1, 1958 the effective date of the program.

Under present law, county schools must be reorganized into school districts by 1957 to qualify for state school construction funds.

Yesterday, education committee chairman James Baxter of Lauderdale County announced his group killed a bill calling for the same one-year delay.

Later, Rep. Lovie Gore of Oktibbeha County called up a similar bill by Rep. Luther Adams of Lee County and sought to have it referred to the rules committee where opposition to the program is strong.

But the House declined.

Had the Legislature passed the bill, there was some doubt whether the governor would have signed it. Gov. J. P. Coleman has told the press: "The state's school laws will remain on the books."

NEGROES WELCOMED BY TEXAS STUDENTS

AUSTIN, Tex., March 9 (AP)—A resolution "welcoming" Negroes to the University of Texas was adopted by the student assembly of the university last night.

The student resolution "welcoming the enrollment of all eligible students to the University of Texas without regard to race, creed or color" came shortly after university administrative officials announced that housing owned and operated by the university will continue a segregation policy.

Education

Miss - Ed

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 13, 1956

Eastland Praised By State's Solons

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland was Monday afternoon commended by the Mississippi legisture for his fight to preserve the rights of the state against U. S. Supreme Court encroachments.

The lower chamber unanimously adopted and sent to the state senate a resolution authored by Speaker Walter Sillers, Bolivar, which took cognizance of the high honor paid the senior senator from this state by the U. S. Senate in elevating him to the chairmanship of the powerful judiciary committee.

Text of the resolution as presented to the house personally by Speaker Sillers, and which was signed by practically every member and adopted unanimously is as follow:

"The Senate of the United States, by an overwhelming vote, has elevated to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Judiciary Honorable James O. Eastland, Senior Senator from the State of Mississippi.

'In so doing, that illustrious body has not only signally honored Senator Eastland, but has placed its emphatic stamp of approval upon his loyalty, ability, patriotism, zeal, integrity, and unswerving devotion to duty; and

In so honoring this able statesman the Senior Senator from Mississippi, the Senate of the United States has also cast luster upon the State of Mississippi and placed Senator Eastland where he rightfully belongs with that immortal galaxy of great Mississippians who have preceded him in the Senate of the United States and who so nobly served Mississippi and the Nation in the years that have passed.

'BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, THE SENATE CONCURING THEREIN, THAT:

"This Legislature extend to Senator Eastland our sincere gratulations upon his elevation to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Judiciary of the United States Senate, and commend the Senate for its action in elevating him to this position of high honor;

"This Legislature commend Senator Easltand for the strong, able, and courageous leadership he has given the United States Senate and the Nation, and for the statesmanship he has displayed in his outstanding fight to protect the reserved powers of all the States of the Union against the unlawful invasion and usurpation thereof by the Supreme Court and other branches of the Federal Government;

'We commend him for his firm stand against those who would repeal or modify the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and throw down the bars of restriction against immigration into the United States of Communists and other subversive aliens who would flood this country with hired agents and spies bent on destroying our form of government and setting up in its stead a Communistic - Socialistic dictatorship;

'We commend him fir his firm stand and aggressive leadership in support of segregation in the public schools, colleges, and other public institutions and activities, and his militant fight against integration in any form;

We commend him for his firm and aggressive leadership in exposing to the public and affiliation of some of the top NAACP leadership with communistic and subversive fronts and organizations;

"We commend and endorse the valiant efforts and the courageous fight he is making to protect this government from the onslaughts being made against it by enemies within, to the end that this nation of free people shall never perish, but shall live on forever.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States Senate, to Senator James O. Eastland, and to the press.

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march 13, 56

JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS

'If Segregation Is Lost, All Is Lost,' Group Says

Miss

The State Educational Finance Commission today warned its opponents not to lose sight of the objective of the equalization program and to realize that "if segregation is lost, all is lost."

A statement issued Monday after a special meeting restated the primary goal of the program to bring Negro and white schools on a par as "separation of the races in the public schools of this state."

The commission met apparently to answer critics who oppose what they call "super-consolidation" in the revamping of the state's county school districts.

The policy statement said further redistricting was cut off until public meetings have been held for the purpose of fully informing the people as to the details of the proposed reorganization." The commission said it plans to sponsor such meetings.

Objectors have said that in the rush to streamline the schools by the July 1, 1957, deadline, the people have not been allowed to know what is happening to the present county school systems.

Answering a charge that the commission is jamming too many children into single county districts, the group said it "does not intend to make a practice of approving municipal separate school districts to embrace an entire county except where unusual circumstances make it necessary."

Some foes claim that "superconsolidation" would deprive rural children of participating in extracurricular activities on an equal basis with city children, because they would be forced to take long rides on county school buses.

3-13-56

Says Segregation A School Necessity

The Education Finance Commission (EFC), charged with consolidating school districts, said today a segregated school system is the only way to operate public schools in Mississippi.

Referring to schools, the EFC said in a prepared statement, "if segregation is lost, all is lost."

The commission issued the statement in answer to "misinformation which seems to be circulating . . . with reference to the functions" of the commission.

The statement listed the intentions and policies of the commission, including:

1. The commission "will not consider any further re-organizations in any county until public meetings have been held for the purpose of fully informing the people as to the details of the proposed re-organization."

Under state law, county school districts must be consolidated to qualify for state school construction funds.

2. No child shall be required to ride a school bus longer than one hour per trip.

3. "The commission does not intend to make a practice of approving municipal separate school districts to embrace an entire county except where unusual circumstances make it mandatory."

Last year the EFC approved reorganization of Adams County into one municipal separate school district. The county objected and the case was dismissed by chancery court.

4. "The commission only passes upon plans that have previously been approved by county boards of education and boards of trustees of municipal separate school districts and has no authority to force . . . re-organization on any particular plan."

MISS. COUNCIL ON HUMA
1104 LYNCH ST.
JACKSON 3, MISS.

e Delta Democrat-Times

ssociated Press (AP) Greenville, Mississippi Tuesday, March 13, 1956 Price 5c

Cafe-Owner Faces Charges Of Assault With Intent To Kill

JACKSON (UP) — A 25-year-old white cafe owner today faced charges of murder and assault with intent to kill in the death of one Negro man and the serious wounding of another here last Friday night.

Willoughy Luther Lynch yesterday was held for a Hinds County grand jury for the murder of Jeffie White and the wounding of Isom Casse. Lynch shot the Negroes as they brawled in his cafe, claiming that one of them attempted to attack him.

Bond was set at $5,000 on each of the two charges.

House Debates White Supremacy Teaching

By DOUGLAS STARR

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—A proposal to teach white supremacy in elementary and high schools was sent back to an unfavorable Education Committee in the Mississippi Hou of Representatives.

And the Senate reduced by half a stipulation that the Library Commission use $5,000 of its $37,000 book fund for books "pointing up fundamental differences, in addition to physical differences, between the races."

Action on both issues yesterday marked a tentative defeat for Rep. Russell Fox of Claiborne County, author of both proposals and a state leader in the program to strengthen the barriers between Negroes and whites in all phases of Mississippi life.

See More Action

Further action is expected later.

Rep. James Baxter of Lauderdale County, chairman of the Education Committee, had called up for consideration an administration bill to require Mississippi history be taught in high schools.

But Fox successfully inserted an amendment to require elementary schools to teach white supremacy.

"All children, white and Negro, are entitled to know the fundamental differences, in addition to physcal differences, between the races," he said.

"And if no textbooks has been written, and there should have been one years ago, we can find somebody to write one real quick."

Rep. Stanford Young of Wayne County inserted an amendment to require high schools to teach "the value and principles of segregation."

All-Out Fight

"I thought this was an all-out fight between the forces of segregation and integration," he told the House. "It would be useless to teach anything if we don't teach this.

"We ought to teach the white students the value of segregation and it would be a great help to teach Negroes value and pride in their race."

But Rep. Z. P. Polk of Jefferson Davis County disagreed: "This teaching would be contrary to what Negroes believe. They wouldn't study it even if we required it."

As soon as the two amendments had been approved, the House sent the bill back to the Education Committee.

In the Senate, the Finance Committee cut to 2,500 the amount the Library Commission was directed to spend for segregation books.

But Sen. Flavous Lambert of Belmont held the bill on a motion to reconsider the passing vote, saying he would seek to remove the requirement.

Not Democratic

"It is not democratic to tell the commission what books it should buy," he said. "If it wants to buy the books, that is all right, but it should not be told what books to buy."

Last year, on order of the Legislature, the commission bought $200 worth of white supremacy books.

Ordinarily, the commission buys half a dozen copies of the same title. But Fox had suggested the commission buy extra copies of white supremacy books, including as many as 40 copies of "Unending Hate" and "White America."

Mississippi Yet to Fulfill 'Separate, Equal' Doctrine

By GLADWIN HILL
New York Times News Service

Chat. 3/14/56

(This is one of a series of reports by a team of New York Times reporters surveying the South for results of the Supreme Court's school integration decision.)

Of all the Southern states, Mississippi is probably the farthest from integration in both word and deed.

Its reaction to the Supreme Court's school integration decree has been the most intransigent. It has been tinged, in the words of one of Mississippi's own conservatives, with hysteria.

There has been no Negro integration. The state has declared officially over and over that there is not going to be any. Instead it has been engrossed in a frenzy of legislative proposals, some bizarre, designed to fend off integration "for 20 years—or more."

Traditionally Mississippi had given only partial recognition to the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities enunciated by the Supreme Court in 1896. Now it is evincing sudden enthusiasm for this repudiated concept, at least in the field of lower education.

Mississippi's distinctive racial attitudes customarily are ascribed to the fact that almost half its population is Negro—the highest ratio of any state. But this appears to be an oversimplification. There are areas elsewhere with higher ratios of Negroes where attitudes are more moderate. Mississippi's outlook can be explained only in terms of its character and background as a state.

Physically, it is about the size of New York, flat and gently rolling open country and forests. Politically, it is an aggregation of small, predominantly agricul-

See Page Four, Column Three

3/14/56

THE CHATTANOO

MISSISSIPPI SHORT ON EQUAL SCHOOLS

Rising Economic Status of Negro Is Factor as State Looks to the Inevitable

From Page One

tural communities—less than a score with as many as 10,000 inhabitants — island-like in their isolation. The white population is almost uniformly descended from Anglo-Saxon settlers from the Atlantic Seaboard for generations back.

Down the years Mississippi's largely agricultural economy, pegged on cotton, has yielded steadily decreasing revenue in relation to the growth and diversification of other states, leaving Mississippi the poorest state in the Union. There is little question that the restricted productivity of half its manpower —the Negro half—has been a sizable factor in this.

Recent decades have brought a succession of blows to the comfortable and once-lucrative socio-racial pattern inherited from slavery days. The New Deal, with its social legislation and exaltation of "the forgotten man," tended to put plantation-style paternalism, the keystone of the segregation system, out of business. The industrial boom of World War II gave Mississippi's Negroes, while they remained politically impotent, a degree of economic enfranchisement. The war also cracked Mississippi's isolation, taking young people of both races abroad and exposing them to new concepts.

But amid these buffets to their ancient mold, Mississippians, like other Southerners, adhered to the pattern they knew.

Today a good many Mississippians give tacit intimations — such as continual references to staving off integration "for twenty years"—of sensing that the ancient pattern to some degree is doomed.

But upon their intimate, unacknowledged soul-searching a regionally alien voice, from the nation's highest tribunal, suddenly intruded. It declared that Mississippi had been treating a large segment of its humanity unjustly. It compared Mississippi's standards unfavorably, by inference, with a Northern yardstick of purported racial equality that Mississippians consider hypocritical or fraudulent.

The majority reaction was the universal reaction of individuals who consider themselves unfairly rebuked for behavior long sanctioned: indignation, denial, intransgence.

Not 'Armed Camp'

The atmosphere at the Emmett Till murder trial last fall created a widespread impression that Mssisssippi was an armed camp. This is not true. A person can drive the length and breadth of Mississippi today and hardly know he is in a Southern state. Animus is directed at the

paternalism, the keystone of the segregation system, out of business. The industrial boom of World War II gave Mississippi's Negroes, while they remained politically impotent, a degree of economic enfranchisement. The war also cracked Mississippi's isolation, taking young people of both races abroad and exposing them to new concepts.

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There is tension in Mississippi. But it is a tension less of interracial animosity than one of engendered by paralled frustrations. The whites generally are bent on maintaining their "way of life"; the Negroes want something better. Neither group has, at this juncture, the power to secure its desires. Both groups are conscious that their destinies are being shaped by forces that transcend local and state boundaries and are to a great extent beyond their control.

This frustration on the part of whites in a few communities has erupted into attacks on a few individuals Negroes and pressures on non-conforming whites. But the incidents have not been typical of the general situation.

Mass action against Negroes, such as pressures to drive them wholesale from the state, has not materialized for one evident reason: the Negroes are economically important. Unlike twenty to thirty years ago, they now represent a sizable fraction of consumer purchasing power. And they constitute a big segment of the labor supply on which Mississippi is dependent in its effort to "balance agriculture with industry" and make economic headway.

Instead of reacting violently, white Mississippians have taken a position behind a wall of self-justification. This has consisted largely of reiterating the rationalizations of segregation with which the South has reassured itself for nearly a century. At one extreme these start with racial-superiority notions and continue through various stages of dilution down to the contention that integration is out of the question because "Negroes are dirty."

Because of Mississippi's heavy Negro population the commonest argument is that if Negroes received equal status "they would overwhelm us."

But integrationists say this presupposes the presence of military force as in the Reconstruction Era, which does not enter into the present situation. The evidence, they add, is that Negroes, whatever their ratio, are subject to the same political dynamics as whites—notably that their rise in public affairs and influence hinges primarily on capability.

No 'Overwhelming'

They point out that in Coahoma County, one of the few Mississippi districts where Negroes are relatively free to vote, only about 1,000 out of 40,000 have even registered; and that in predominantly Negro, free-voting counties elsewhere in the South, no "overwhelming" has occurred.

The white minority that opposes segregation does not speak loudly. A handful of small organizations dedicated to interracial understanding carry on their activities in obscurity and in some apprehension of being called "subversive."

There is liberal sentiment in colleges and in some church circles. The Catholic Church, against segregation in principle, son he can discuss his problems with."

But a Negro leader in the same town, and other Negro leaders in other towns, say that this kind of "Uncle Tom" relationship is not what they want. What is wanted is regular communication between representative groups of whites and Negroes — not necessarily to discuss integration but to discuss things as simple as a leaky school roof.

This lack of communication appears to a visitor as the most striking thing about Mississippi today. Standing in the way of white-Negro rapport is the psychological block, compounded of defensiveness and resentment.

Negroes know that school integration is something that with the best will could not possibly be effected tomorrow or next year. But they are becoming increasingly resentful of such discrepancies as racial separation rigidly enforced in trolley cars when it is disregarded in elevators, bank-window lines and in stores.

Negroes who pay substantial taxes also are becoming increasingly resentful of governmental expenditures in which even a pretense of separate-but-equal is ignored.

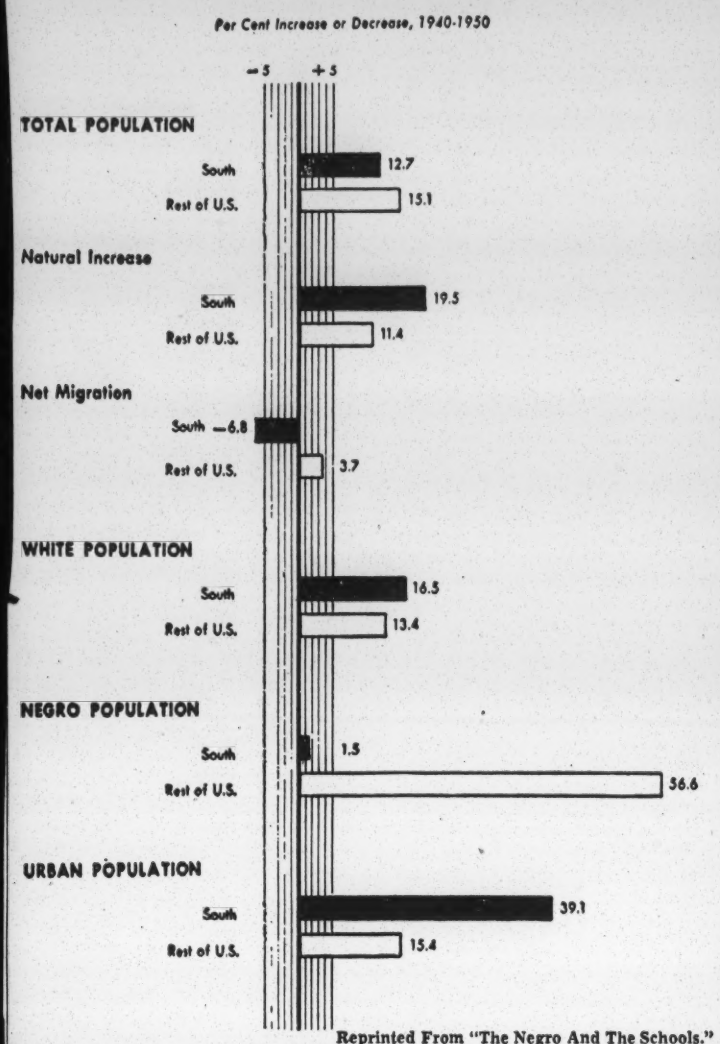
In Mississippi's present state of mind, local observers have commented, almost any legislation "with a segregation label will go through automatically."

A bill was formally proposed making it illegal to violate any state law or not to "conform with established traditions, customs and usages of our state." It was aimed at integration; but, critics pointed

3/14/56

OGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., WEDNESDAY

CHANGES IN SOUTH'S POPULATION



Reprinted From "The Negro And The Schools."

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The white minority that opposes segregation does not speak loudly. A handful of small organizations dedicated to interracial understanding carry on their activities in obscurity and in some apprehension of being called "subversive."

There is liberal sentiment in colleges and in some church circles. The Catholic Church, against segregation in principle, is small and has not undertaken to integrate its parochial schools. In Protestant churches there is considerable division of opinion.

Voices for Moderation

There are only two prominent white spokesmen for moderation and conciliation on the integration issue: Hodding Carter of Greenville, the editor, and William Faulkner of Oxford, the novelist. Both are regularly denounced.

The most conspicuous cleavage in opinion is that between age and youth. The older generation, having a vested responsibility in the existing system, is prone to defend it; young people tend to be more open-minded. Even within families, differences sometimes are so strong that discussion of "Topic A" is taboo.

Symptomatic, however, of the undercurrent of dissent were the recent resignations of two faculty members of the state university and college. Their action was in protest against the cancellation of a university talk by the Rev. Alvin Kershaw because he was an NAACP member.

Mississippi's most vocal segregationist, Sen. James O. Eastland, has termed the integration movement a product of Communist conspiracy and an invasion of states rights warranting "nullification." Mississippi's new governor, James P. Coleman, a segregationist but far more moderate, retorted that nullification was "legal poppycock."

Citizens Councils

The Citizens Councils in Mississippi, where the movement originated, encompass all shades of opinion, from a belief that segregation is God-ordained to a reliance on states rights.

Claiming 75,000 members in 57 of the state's 82 counties, the Mississippi organization includes community leaders as well as what are locally referred to as "hotheads." The typical local pattern is for some community leaders to be adherents, some abstainers and some outspoken critics of the Citizens Council movement.

Negroes generally are prevented from voting in Mississippi, on technicalities. There are only about 10,000 Negroes among 500,000 registered voters. No Negro has gone to a white public school or a white state college, and no suits have been filed to admit them—although some are planned. Some petitions for public-school admission were presented last fall and were rejected.

The current turn of affairs has found many Negroes inert or inarticulate. But the organized Negro leadership, represented chiefly in the NAACP,, is demanding eventual full realization of the federal decrees, and has no doubt that every Negro in Mississippi would welcome this.

More than school integration, though, more than the vote, more than even the elimination of small Jim Crow practices, what they are restive for is group recognition on the community level.

"Why," a kindly white businessman in a small town said, "every Negro here knows some white people who pay substantial taxes also are becoming increasingly resentful of governmental expenditures in which even a pretense of separate-but-equal is ignored.

In Mississippi's present state of mind, local observers have commented, almost any legislation "with a segregation label will go through automatically."

A bill was formally proposed making it illegal to violate any state law or not to "conform with established traditions, customs and usages of our state." It was aimed at integration; but, critics pointed out, it could apply also to someone who failed to eat hominy grits for breakfast. Only a gubernatorial veto blocked a law making agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation subject to arrest.

Legal Barricade

Measures taken to maintain the present system include:

A constitutional amendment making possible the dissolution of the state's school system and its re-establishment under ostensibly private or local auspices.

A ban on attending school with Negroes.

A law against conspiracy to violate segregation laws "by force or otherwise."

A voting registration law requiring applicants to "interpret" a constitutional passage.

The deputizing by the attorney general by mail of some 1,000 lawyers to defend school districts against integration suits.

A law reaffirming the terminal waiting-room and washroom segregation invalidated by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A law requiring school teachers to list affiliations (such as the NAACP) for five years back.

Mississippi's hastily erected legal barricade already is being buffeted. A pupil-assignment law similar to Mississippi's was invalidated by the federal district court in New Orleans Feb. 15.

In pursuance of the "separate but equal" idea, the state has set up a program of financial aid to local school districts designed to bring facilities, chiefly on the Negro side, up to par.

Mississippi is at the bottom of the national ladder educationally. It has about the same number of public school pupils as the city of Los Angeles, but spends less than half as much money on them. The number of white and Negro pupils is approximately the same; two dollars are spent on white instruction for every dollar spent on Negroes.

In Mississippi's present mood, any substantial integration is unlikely if not impossible.

The emotional pitch is such that it cannot be sustained indefinitely. Time also is shifting the reins of influence from the segregationist "old guard" to the more liberal younger generation.

The strongest immediate pressure for the achievement of a modus vivendi is economic. The state's economic future hinges critically on industrialization. Northern capital is not likely to choose Mississippi in preference to more stable parts of the South.

Mississippi's resistance — not just to integration itself, but to more dispassionate consideration of the subject — is primarily a psychological barrier that may yield to the passage of time and the pressure of forces already in play.

"Things are going to get worse before they get better," is a commonplace, usually followed by: "But what are you going to do about it?"

This outlook, while defeatist in tone, also has a positive implication. Forces transcending Mississippi are at work. Its destiny, whatever efforts are made to shape it unilaterally, is bound up ultimately with that of 47 other states.

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3-25-56

THE CLARION-LEDGER—JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS, SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 25, 1956

Barnett Belives Mississippi Safeguards Segregation

Police Powers, Assignment Act 'Are Sufficient'

Police powers of this state, along with a pupil assignment act adopted by the 1954 legislature are sufficient safeguard against integration of the schools in Mississippi, a twice-candidate and third-time prospect for governor declared here this week.

Ross R. Barnett, prominent local attorney, speaking before the Hinds County Women's Civic Club at the War Memorial Building, said that with proper administration the U. S. Supreme Court would be "compelled to uphold the constitutionality of Chapter 260, Laws of 1954, the pupil assignment act."

"The trustees of a school have a tremendous responsibility under this statute," Barnett cited.

"If they exercise their powers reasonably and can support their decisions by facts and circumstances showing a reasonable exercise of the powers and evidencing an earnest and sincere desire to advance the educational welfare of each and every child attending our schools, the U. S. Supreme Court should not be able to say that the trustees abused their discretionary powers. And, if this law can be so administered as to be throughly supported by reasonable conduct on the part of the trustees in the allocation of the children in their respective schools, then the Supreme Court of the United States would of necessity be compelled to realize the earnest desire of the state and the school trustees to promote the welfare of each child, and even though the races as a result would be segregated, nevertheless, the basis of the rule and the earnest consideration of the trustees would be manifest that segregation was only a collateral result that necessarily followed in the classification of all children according to their welfare and best interest.

"There is a vast difference between the vast majority of colored children and the vast majority of white children," Barnett said.

"Laying aside all questions of race and color and viewing the school question from the standpoint of the educational welfare of the children and of the public health of the state, the only reasonable conclusion that can be reached is that the State, since it is the one that bears all of the expense of the educational program, should so regulate and control the schools of the state as to secure the maximum benefit to each particular child for the money that the state expends.

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"This is no more than common sense and good judgment. In order to arrive at such a result it is fundamentally necessary that each child, whether white or colored, be placed in a school and in a class where the environment is suitable for his progress, where he will be encouraged to properly pursue his studies and will have a reasonable opportunity to do so with the result that he will not become the laggard of the class, with the consequent discouragement and disillusionment incident thereto, creating a hatred in his mind for those around him, as well as the whole program of school work. Such a result could only result in the student becoming discouraged and disgusted with school work and dropping out and forfeiting all of the benefits of education at the very earliest opportunity available to him. Accordingly, both Negro children and white children should be classified to such schools as in the light of their background and educational advancement and aptitude toward their work, the condition of their health and their ability to make progress will enable them to keep step with the class and not fall behind.

"We must, in the administration of this Act, administer it solely for the best interest of the children with regard only to their best interest and educational welfare. If we do this we, in my judgment, stand on solid ground and can meet the United States Supreme Court face to face and justify this Laws of 1954 as being a reasonable exercise of the Police Power of the State," Barnett concluded.

He was given a rising vote of thanks by the club membership.

Negro College Accreditation Is Postponed

31/15/56 (Co. Mag) Jackson

By JOHN NEWMAN
State Times Staff Writer

Action on a petition to accredit Utica Institute, a Negro junior college located at Utica, has been delayed until July 1.

At the same time Campbell colcollege, a Negro senior college in Jackson, has been accredited following its "correction of differences" during a probation period.

These actions were announced Thursday morning at the 35th annual meeting of the Mississippi Association of Colleges in the Crown room of the Edwards hotel.

Dr. W. H. Sumrall, president of the Council on Studies and Accreditation of Higher Education in Mississippi, gave the report following an earlier meeting of the council.

Dr. Sumrall is Dean of the Graduate School at Mississippi Southern college.

Library Problem

Commenting on the Utica Institute decision, Dr. Sumrall said the institution was denied accreditation last year because of the "library situation" there.

"That situation has since been corrected," Dr. Sumrall said, "but we now find deficiencies in regard to the faculty and we can not accredit the college at this time."

He said that the July 1 delayal of action could be considered placing the college on "probation" until deficiencies could be corrected.

As for the decision to accredit Campbell college, Dr. Sumrall stated that it came following the college's "survival of a probation period and correction of necessary deficiencies."

All Saints Episcopal college, a junior college for girls located at Vicksburg, still remains off the council's accredited list.

Dr. Sumrall said that the

College . . .

"has not had an opportunity to visit the college this year to determine if it has reached the standards for accreditation."

All Saints was expelled from the list of accredited colleges in Mississippi in 1952.

In other business at the Thursday morning meeting, Dr. J. F. Bozard, chairman of the Department of English at MSCW, gave a report of the English commission; Dr. Alton Bryant, Pervost, University of Mississippi, reported on the Mississippi Junior-Senior College conference, and Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, associate director for University Studies, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, presented an address on "Critical Issues in Higher Education."

Dr. Charles T. Morgan, president of Wood Jr. College at Mathiston, was named to the presidency of the association for the 1956-57 session, to succeed Dr. Ben F. Hilbun, president of Mississippi State college.

Other new officers elected at the session were Dr. Charles P. Hogarth, president of MSCW, vice president; and Miss Mildred Herrin, registrar at Hinds Jr. college, secretary-treasurer.

Sunday Cl Led - Jackson Daily

Negroes Denounce Legislative Act

3-25-56

By GENE WILLIAMS
Clarion Ledger Staff Writer

One of the state's new legislative acts which requires teachers to list organizations of which they are members or to which they belonged the preceding five years was denounced Saturday by the Mississippi Negro Teachers Association a "an instrument of fear."

The terse resolution was adopted at the final general assembly of the 50th annual state convention of Negro educators at Jackson College. Over 5,000 Negro teachers from throughout the state attended the three day meeting.

The resolution compared the requirement of the legislation in the same light as "to ask the criminal to carry out the mandate of the court and thus become his own executioner." The teachers contend this requirement "is testing democracy beyond its fullest extent."

"We are now required to also teach that it is right to circumvent the laws of our federal government," the resolution continued.

Gov. J. P. Coleman recently signed the "membership listing" bill into law. It was recommended by the defunct Legal Education Advisory Commission which was established to seek means of evading the Supreme Court's decision on integration of schools. Gov. Coleman, then attorney general, was a member of the commission. The legislation was intended to reduce the number of Mississippi's Negro teachers belonging to the NAACP.

According to the resolution, the teachers claim that if the law is carried out "under present tensions (it) will lead most teachers, as a matter of conscience and economic safety to go undergrbund."

"The requirement," the teachers said, "has become a disturbing morale factor. This is in conflict with what is right to do over against what should be done for our own best interest ...."

Blasting the "instrument of fear" the teachers declared that they have been "required to teach citizenship along the lines laid down by state authorities."

"In fairness to our own people they should be taught that in a democracy it is the duty of every citizen to abide by the law."

In other resolutions, the educators called for an increase in

(Continued On Page 6)

Negroes - - -

(Continued from Page 1)

state aid to Negro graduate students. Negro teachers now receive from $42 to $80 per summer session from the state for graduate work in out-of-state institutions. The teacher's association is asking the legislature to consider an increase to $250.

The convention also requested the legislature to give "serious consideration" for additional appropriations to improve state Negro colleges.

The fourth resolution called for a bi-racial committee to be appointed by the Governor "to deal with over all problems affecting the people." A recommendation was made for such a committee to study the feasibility of hiring Negroes "on all supervisory and policy making levels in all areas affecting all the people."

What Negroes REALLY Want---

Jackson Colored Schools Chief Says They Want To 'Feel Good' In Public As White People Do

(Editor's note: When the feature writer from "up North" asks the Director of Negro schools in Jackson for an interview, and the City Superintendent authorizes that director to, " go ahead and talk to him. Give him the answer to any question you feel qualified to answer,"—what is the result?

(Here is the result of the interview with Director James Gooden by a special writer from King Features Syndicate in New York, which is being printed in scores of newspapers over the nation with circulations running into the millions.)

(Copyright by King Features Syndicate, 1956)

JACKSON, Miss. — James Gooden has 30 years of work in the public school system of Jackson behind him. He is director of Negro schools in this state capital city. We came to talk to him about school segregation and integration questions. What do the Negroes themselves want,—we asked him.

Gooden lowered his head and smiled sadly at the green blotter. He said softly:

"It took a couple of hundred years for this problem to come up and now everybody wants an answer overnight. What do you want to know? How many children? How many schools? We have 8,000 children in 10 buildings in Jackson. Negro children, of course. There are maybe 400 children who should be in school and who aren't."

He talked on. A ballpoint pen danced over the pages of a notebook.

Negro Schools Bigger

Gooden knows his subject. Only twice did he refer to the files for figures. Negro school enrollment in this city is about 40 per cent of the total. The white board of education spends 40 cents out of every dollar on Negro schools.

Negro schools are bigger than white schools because Negro families live in congested areas and need bigger schools. Colored schools are newer and brighter than white schools because the white people didn't begin to take Negro education seriously until 20 years ago.

Negro teachers are paid 10 per cent less than white teachers in Jackson. Living expenses for the white teacher are higher. The average white teacher pays $50 a month for an apartment. The Negro schools. Even the city teacher, on less pay, has more purchasing power. All schoolbooks come from a common printer and are the same in the white and Negro schools. ven the city requisition blanks for rulers and inkwells and erasers are the same. The desks are the same.

going to tell him that, in the new school, if a white boy gets fresh with him, he must not hit back or answer back? What Supreme Court is going to make the white students take the colored children into their games at recess?"

Millions of Words

Funny. Millions of words, hot and cold, have been spoken and written about this matter and nobody asked the little girl with the cute black pigtails how she feels about it.

James Gooden smiled and slammed both hands on his desk. He said:

"You know what? There are nine million Negroes with 300 miles of where we're sitting. Know what they want? What they really want? They want to feel as good as you in public. That's all.

"Let us bring up our children in our own schools. But don't make us get off the sidewalk to let you pass; don't make us take a back seat in a bus; don't make us sit in a separate waiting room. You want the whole truth? There, you have it.

"The races have character. Each has his own. Every time my church tries to put on nice quiet services like the white people, the people don't come to the church any more. They go down to another church where they can shout and weep. What makes the colored boy laugh may not be funny to the white boy at all. Vice versa, too.

"But the only real trouble we have is the result of 200 years of bad treatment. Now we're neurotic. We need adjusting. Deep down we don't feel as good as the whites. That's why our men buy flashy clothes and flashy cars. The Negro is trying to convince himself that he's as good as anybody.

"If integration comes, who is going to teach the colored children how to get used to the whites getting around them? Do you know how cruel children can be to each other? Mister, there are more sides to this question than I can count."

Negro Women Agree

I talked to some Negro women. They agreed with Gooden. One said that, in the city of Jackson, there may be as many as 50 families out of 10,000, who would want to put their youngsters in white schools. They talked about status, and used the word several times. What, I asked, is status?

They grinned, wiped their hands on aprons, and all started to talk at once.

The best example of status, it seems. is the colored maid in the white household. She has status. She excites envy among the Negroes. She runs the white kitchen. She is trusted. They give her money to go shopping. They make a fuss over her cooking. When she goes to a movie with the white children, she sits in the white section.

Status. That's what the Negro wants.

At Sallie Reynolds Elementary School, the children have it. They also have it at the Jim Hill High School. These are modern structures, schools which look like sunlit bakeries.

There are 852 students in grades one to six. There are 26 rooms; about 33 students to a room. All of the teachers graduated from Negro colleges. Their salaries range from $2,200 a year to $3,200. The Sallie Reynolds School cost $360,000 to build in 1952. In a city of 135,000, it is one of seven elementary Negro schools. There are two junior high schools and two junior-senior high schools.

Here, they study chemistry and astronomy in the sixth grade. The children are gifted with good manners and rich laughter. The teacher said hello to the reporter.

Astronomy Lesson

"Which planet," she asked the class, "is the smallest?"

Hands went up. A dark boy got the nod. "Mercury," he said.

The teacher looked hurt. 'Well," he said, "Pluto is something the most."

The class laughed fit to kill. "Pluto," they said in a babbling chorus, "is farthest from the sun."

We left the school in silence and walked back down to Lynch. I said:

"I don't know, I just don't know."

My companion shook his head. He said:

"The story is running in the opposite direction. I came down here thinking that desegregation of schools was what the Negro wants."

Jackson Mississippi

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Shocks You Softly

Gooden does not alter the soft tone when he is about to shock you. He continues softly, almost prayerfully:

"No Negro parent has asked me to transfer a student to a white school. Most of my people are opposed to desegregation of schools."

He cups his hands behind his head.

"Very few people have stopped to think that we too have pride. Most children would rather be Negro students in a Negro school than be unwelcome in a white child's school. Go over and talk to the children at recess. Ask them.

"Speak to the mothers. They know real well. You tell them that their little boys and girls are going to go to the nice white school and watch how sad the faces get. You know why? I'll tell you why.

'Her little girl dresses as good as the colored children, but not as good as the white children. Her little boy is as good as any boy in his own school, but how is she

seat in a bus, don't make us sit in a separate waiting room. You want the whole truth? There, you have it.

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Lynch Mississippi

Delta Democrat-Times

ciated Press (AP) Greenville, Mississippi Monday, April 9, 1956

Gov. Coleman Tells Negro Vocational Audience Education Can't Stand In Divided Mississippi

ITTA BENA— "A House divided against itself cannot stand, and if we get divided in Mississippi, education cannot stand," Gov. J. P. Coleman told an audience of Negroes and whites here Sunday.

The Mississippi governor quoted and paraphrased Abraham Lincoln in a Founders Day address in the Mississippi Vocational College Auditorium.

He told how more money for public eduction was appropriated at the legislative session just ended than ever before. He cited the rapid growth of Mississippi Vocational College from a "cotton patch" to a $1.5 million educational institution for Negroes in only six years.

"With a few regretable exceptions" the two races in Mississippi still have a high regard for each other and we have been able to maintain the atmosphere of progress, he said.

"Yet from other places we are continually jabbed, provoked and prodded into trouble," he said.

"In the face of all this, are we going to be able to maintain institutions like these..what will it profit us if egged on by others we do like Samson and pull down the pillars of progress around us," he continued.

Referring to another biblical character he said, "better would it be for us to copy Joshua who had his people hold up his arms so that his armies would be triumphant—we should hold up each others arms," he said.

The governor was introduced by S. R. "Doc" Evans of Greenwood, a member of the Board of Trustees of Higher Learning and former Leland vocational agriculture teacher. Retiring president of the board, Dr. H. M. Ivey, spoke and was presented with gifts. He was introduced by Representative C. L. Partridge.

Citations were presented to 36 individuals and firms by Dr. J. H. White, president of the college, for outstanding service to the college.

Included from this area among those honored were Mayor George F. Archer of Greenville, Mayor W. T. Caraway of Leland, Mayor T. M. Pitts of Indianola, Mayor Paul Stowers of Itta Bena, Walter Beard of Tralake, and father Meinrad of Indianola, O. Fm.

Others on the program included the Rev. H. H. Humes, the Rev. B. H. Martin, Alvin J. McNeil, the Rev. Fred Matthews, the college band and the college choir. A color guard from Greenville Air Force Base led the academic procession.

Ed Miss

Education: Miss.

Commercial App

TUESDAY MORNING,

Memphis

By Dulles

4-10-56

NEGRO SCHOOLS AID URGED BY CHAMBER

Coahoma C. Of C. Unit Tells Needs In County

Special to The Commercial Appeal

CLARKSDALE, Miss., April 9. — A Coahoma County Chamber of Commerce committee, Monday reported its findings on the conditions of City Negro schools. Recommendations included a new building for Booker T. Washington School and alleviation of congestion in the Myrtle Hall School.

The full list of recommendations are:

1. Booker T. Washington School, additional properties to be acquired and new building constructed.
2. Myrtle Hall School, nevessary repairs be made.
3. Myrtle Hall, necessary temporary repairs with consideration for replacement when possible.
4. Myrtle Hall School (General), additional classrooms and extra facilities adding combination gymnasium-assembly hall.
5. Higgins High School, enlargement and provide sufficient instructional aids in classrooms and reference books.

Education: Mississippi

Miss. Council Seeks to Abolish Justice of the Peace System

Const 4/15/56

Launch Citizen-Education Move In Attempt to Bring Court Changes

By KENNETH TOLER

Ed Mus

Mississippi Bureau Chief, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., April 14—Unsuccessful in gaining legislative authority for modernization of the constitution of 1890, certain Mississippi groups are launching a citizen-education approach for piecemeal changes through amendments. None has any connection with legislative reapportionment, a matter scheduled for attack in the courts.

At the moment, the Mississippi Economic Council is spearheading a movement looking to abolition of the justice of the peace system which had its origin in England. The first such officials were appointees of the king and served largely in a ministerial capacity, with none of the functions of judges.

The system was brought to America by the English colonists and, although abandoned or substituted by judicially manned courts by many states, still holds sway in Mississippi. Thus far, the justices of the peace have managed to show sufficient strength to defeat efforts for their abolition.

Program of Education

A special study of the system has been made by the economic council, now in its seventh year as the "voice of organized leadership." It plans a program to educate the citizens to the need for abolition of those courts and the setting up of those more capable of handling the affairs of the people.

At present, the only prerequisite of a justice of the peace in Mississippi is the status of a qualified elector. No legal training is required and most of the justices measure up accordingly.

Mississippi has 410 beats in its 82 counties, and a justice of

MISSISSIPPI

the peace in each beat. However, some of the beats have two justices of the peace, depending upon the will of the County Board of Supervisors.

In a report to the economic council this week, C. S. Tindall, an attorney of Greenville, said with reference to the system based on a study by a special committee:

"It has long been a laughing matter that 'J. P.' means 'judgment for plaintiff' . . . The reasons for this situation are apparent since the justice of the peace must insure satisfaction of the plaintiff's demands or he is not likely to have much business."

Mr. Tindall also stated that "there are those instances in which there are two or more justices for the same beat, who, in a sense, are competitors for the business and the word gets around to the grocer or the merchant who wants accounts collected that one or the other gets the best results."

In that connection, one of the chief functions of the court is that of a collection agency. More times than otherwise, the costs assessed by the justice exceed the amount of the debt.

Advantages Are Gone

The study committee said the chief advantages of the justice of the peace court have now largely vanished with the automobile, good highways and shortened distance to the county seat.

"Moreover, the office has gradually decreased in prestige," the study showed. "Today, rarely is the justice a man of the standing in his community that for so many decades was the badge of the office."

Despite that, the survey disclosed that the occupants of the office deal with the property, lives and liberties of the citizens of the state.

The council recommendation, which it hopes to gain citizen support sufficient to prod the legislature into action, calls for:

1. A magistrate court for each county presided over by an elector licensed to practice law, on a full-time, salary-paid basis. The magistrate would be appointed by the circuit judge with jurisdiction covering all misdemeanors and as a committing court in case of felonies. The justices are elected.
2. Submission of a constitutional amendment to the voters for repeal of the justice of the peace court system. This would open the way for creation of the magistrate courts.

Up until the 1956 legislative session, just adjourned, the justice of the peace court was used as an "avenue" to delay final prosecution. There was no time limit on appeals, and in many cases appeals were delayed until just before convening of the circuit court, in which case trial was not possible in the higher tribunal.

Instances where final trials were delayed for years through the no time limit on appeals from justice of the peace courts were recited recently by Gov. J. P. Coleman.

It was largely through the governor's efforts that the legislature set the time limit on appeals in criminal cases from the justice of the peace courts at 40 days after conviction.

The economic council is not discouraged, admitting that reform and improvement take time.

Back Another Change

The council is also "drumbeating" for employment of a county unit system for building and maintaining roads.

The situation was summarized by S. R. Jeffers, director of research for the council, as follows:

"If you try to play pingpong with five balls, simultaneously, it would illustrate the problem facing all but a very few of Mississippi County supervisors. For in virtually all counties, the supervisors are having to juggle the affairs of five separate and independent road districts."

Mr. Jeffers said the "beat" system "in its pure form means that each of the five supervisors in each of the counties assumes individual responsibility for construction and maintenance of roads in the district from which he is elected."

EDGER, JACKSON, MISS., THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 26, 1956

Sounds Like a Fair Move To Protect Some Teachers

"The Colorado Board of Education has approved a plan under which charges of subversive activity made against teachers in the state's public schools would have to be submitted in writing and under oath to require action," Denver reports. "A 20-member citizens' committee suggested the procedures in dealing with such charges — aimed at eliminating 'hearsay' accusations submitted by faceless informers."

At this distance, that sounds like a fair, just, not dangerous, and probably effective move to give teachers at least some protection against imagined or manufactured charges shouted or whispered by irresponsible agitators lacking any evidence of guilt.

When any teacher, in Mississippi and most other states engages in genuine subversive activities, some intelligent, patriotic and courageous colleague or associate can likely learn enough about it to file and prove a responsible charge.

Gossip and other forms of "hearsay", however, could be harmful and dangerous anywhere if carelessly invited or tolerated.

Apr 27/56
Chat

OGA, TENN., FRIDAY, APR.

USE OF TAX FUNDS IN RACE FIGHT AIM

Eastland Says Such Action Legal—Says Segregation Foes Well Financed

Ed. Miss.

TUPELO, Miss., April 26 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss) today called for the use of public funds—"and we have a legal right to do so"—to fight integration.

Addressing the 1st Dist. convention of the Mississippi American Legion, Eastland said the South can no longer stay on the defensive.

"The opposition has several million dollars," he said. "We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South.

"The first duty of the state is to protect its sovereignty. We must bring to the attention of the people what integration will do to our school system."

The Mississippi Legislature recently voted $250,000 to finance the work of a newly created State Sovereignty Commission for the avowed purpose of resisting federal "encroachment" in any form.

The senator said the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People is "a front, an action group. Behind it is a more powerful group directing its every move."

'Group' Not Identified

He did not identify the directing group.

He said border states—those between the segregated South and the integrated North and Midwest—have "weak-kneed political leaders."

He said "if we can win the border states I am confident of the outcome. The determination of the South has caused the people of the North to stop and think. Now they say 'We had better go slowly.'

"The average man thinks exactly as we do. We are not going to permit NAACP agitators to take over and run our states."

The senator said segregation fights are being waged in the North "and the outcome there will be determined by what happens here."

Eastland said the last thing Mississippi will do is to permit the NAACP to play a political game at the expense of "our children."

"The first line of defense is the home," he said. "If we lose the minds of children there is no hope for the future."

Uranium, the essential metal for making the atom bomb, is the most sought after metal in the world today.

Ed. Ten.

Tennessee Trustees Switch, Postpone Wider Integration

MEMPHIS, April 25 (AP) — The start of gradual racial integration on the undergraduate level at the University of Tennessee has been postponed pending further study.

Trustees made the decision Tuesday — reversing themselves a few hours after they had decided to accept the state's stairstep college integration plan unchanged.

The stairstep plan commits colleges controlled by the State Board of Education to open senior classes to Negroes in September. Junior classes will be opened in the next September, and so on. All graduate schools were opened to Negroes last year.

Though it is not under jurisdiction of the state board, trustees approved the state plan six months ago, withholding the final "go" until a special committee could study the plan for possible modifications.

After hearing the committee report, the trustees first decided to accept the stairstep plan without change. Then, late in the long private conference, came the switch.

Not Worried, Coleman Says

MEMPHIS, April 25 (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi said Tuesday, "We will hold the line on segregation without fail but will not keep ourselves in a daily uproar over it."

Speaking before the Rotary Club, the governor said:

"The people of Mississippi are not worried and are not stampeded by the question of segregation that has been forced upon us from the

Suits to integrate Miss. schools set

By LEWIS E. LOMAX

JACKSON, Miss.—School integration suits in five Mississippi cities will be instituted by June 1. according to an announcement by NAACP officials here Tuesday. The cities are Clarksdale, Yazoo City, Natchez, Jackson, and Vicksburg.

The action is the result of many months of planning on the part of colored leaders and comes after white school boards have consistently refused to respond to petitions by colored students for admission to previously "all white schools."

Typical of this planned move on the part of the NAACP is the case in Clarksdale. The efforts began last fall when colored leaders petitioned the board of education and asked that colored children be allowed to attend schools near their homes.

* * *

THE BOARD ignored the petition and the White Citizens Council began to apply economic pressure to colored persons who had signed the petition. Two nurses at Coahoma County Hospital were fired because of their relationship to the petition.

R. L. Drew, Clarksdale businessman was denied a bank loan because he had signed the petition and was active in other civil rights areas.

In the wake of this, colored leaders began choosing children who were required to pass white schools on their way to colored schools in order to have grounds for protest under the Supreme Court decision.

* * *

THE LEADERS screened the families of these children and chose those whose parents were not vulnerable to the pressures of the White Citizens Council.

For the most part, the children are from families whose principal breadwinner receives his livlihood from the colored community and cannot be pressured.

It was also revealed that the White Citizens Council has been planning for a defense to the suits. Every lawyer in Mississippi reportedly has been pledged to give his service free to local school boards.

* * *

ANY LAWYER who accepts the colored case reportedly will face disbarment for life. "I knew they would try to get in," Peter Williams, leader of Clarksdale White Citizens Council, said when contacted.

"Old Thurgood Marshall said he had $300,000 to spend here in Mississippi but they will not get in.

Miss. Schools Near 'Equality'; Integration Could Ruin Setup

Entire Public System Faces Abolition If Court Decision Is Pushed in State

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., July 28—Mississippi is fast closing the gap in its segregated public school system. And barring efforts to integrate the system, the Negro and white segregated schools will soon be on the equal basis called for in the state constitution of 1890. However, the progress could be all for naught should efforts be pushed to carry out the United States Supreme Court decision, because the Legislature has "standby" authority to abolish the whole system if that is attempted.

That apparently is the main reason no suit has been filed in Mississippi to integrate the public schools. Another possible factor in slowing down efforts of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People to force integration may be the personal troubles of one of its Mississippi leaders. His son, a sophomore in a nearby Negro college, stands charged with raping a Negro waitress. Another factor is the NAACP-challenged statement that Mississippi Negroes are willing to accept voluntary segregation provided their schools are brought up to a par with those of the whites without further delay.

MISSISSIPPI

Possibly the most benefitted group under a 1953 legislative-enacted Negro - white public school equalization program are the Negro teachers. They are feeling it in their paychecks.

At the same time, Negro students are being given buildings and facilities equal to those of the whites and are now riding to school in state-paid-for buses. No longer are discarded white school buses with wooden bodies given to the Negroes. All buses now operated in Mississippi are all-steel.

Indicative of the adjustment in Negro school teachers' salaries is a recent report by State Supt. J. M. Tubb. In the 1945-46 session, Negro teachers averaged $398 a year. That compared to the $1,108 for whites for an over-all average annual teacher salary of $840. That schedule in the 1955-56 session shows the average Negro teacher's annual salary had moved up to $2,010. The whites last session advanced to $2,609 for an over-all average of $2,356.

Improvement in Training

Supt. Tubb also disclosed the improvement in the training of Negro teachers. In 1945-46, an estimated 1,376 Negro teachers, or 16 per cent of the total, had completed four years" college training. That compares with the record in the approaching 1956-57 session of holders of "A" certificate by 3,375 Negro teachers, or 49.4 per cent. On the white side for the 1945-46 session, the white average in that category was 68.7 per cent and for the approaching session is 72 per cent of the 6,097 classroom teachers.

A sharp reduction in the number of school districts has also taken place. In the 1945-46 period, Mississippi had 4,746 school districts of all types. Last year, the number had been cut to 869, with the new consolidation program which must be completed by next July expected to reduce the number to 200. In the 1945-46 school year, Mississippi spent $20,846,208 for public schools, or $46.96 per student, against $59,935,737 in the last year, or $135.39 per pupil.

There were 674 school buses in 1945-46, with very few Negroes transported. Now Mississippi has 4,600 all-steel bodied buses driven by trained drivers which last year transported 230,167 students, of which 91,047 were Negroes.

8-2

8-23-3

Ed - Miss - Year?

Gov. White Says He'll Use Force

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 2 (AP)—Gov. Hugh White declared today that Mississippi's "police power" will be used if necessary to keep Negroes out of white schools.

"I am going to see this thing through to make certain that Negroes never enter the white schools," he said.

He said the "police power" of a state, allowing it to preserve law and order, has never been touched by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"The people of this state now see what is before them. They are solidified as never before and we will maintain segregation."

The governor's statement followed the suggestion yesterday that he invoke "police powers" to prevent racial mixing in public schools. The suggestion was made by former Gov. Fielding Wright.

His stiffened attitude followed a meeting Friday with a group of 90 Negro leaders, who declared they would fight any attempt to dodge the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools. The governor and the Legal Educational Advisory Committee had hoped to get their cooperation in a plan of voluntary segregation in return for additional school buildings.

Aug. 5, 1957 Miss Ed makes provision for Prejudice

Sovereign Members Feel

Northern Criticism Of South Shows Signs Of Slacking Off

By PHIL STROUPE
Daily News Staff Writer

Northern criticism of Southern states on the segregation question "has very definitely slacked off in recent weeks."

That's the feeling of members of the 12-man State Sovereignty Commission created to maintain segregation "in all phases of public life."

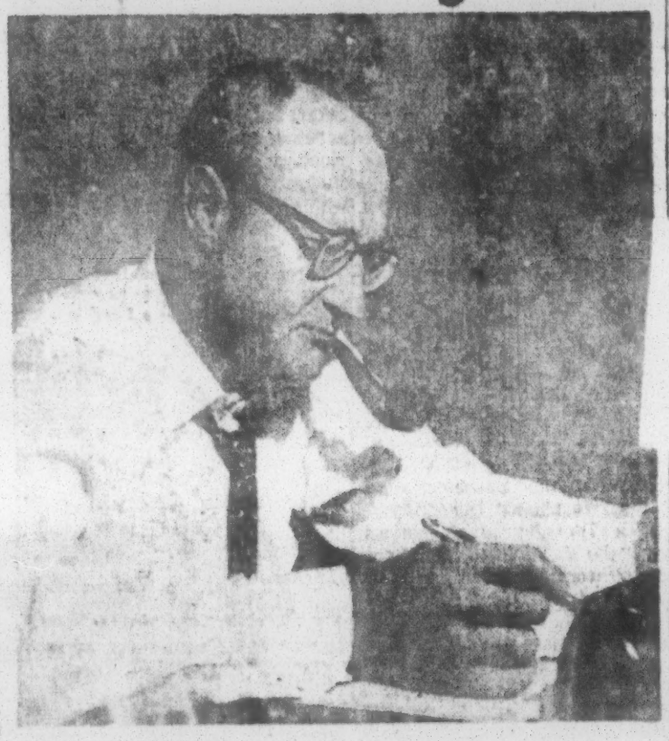
Rep. Ney Gore of Marks, executive director of the commission, said, the commission "is busy putting into effect several programs to accomplish the mission outlined for this agency by the legislature."

Sen. Bill Burgin of Columbus, a member of the Commission, said, "Northern people and the Northern press are more friendly to Mississippi nowadays. A realization has begun to creep into their minds that our position has merit, and is founded on reason and logic."

Hal DeCell, director of public relations for the commission, returned to Jackson Friday from a visit to New York with regard to various projects in which the Commission is interested.

"The New York trip," DeCell said, "was made principally on behalf of the Sovereignty Commission as a technical advisor to a national television program which is to be shown over a nationwide NBC setup. The date for the showing is tentatively set for Sunday Aug. 26."

DeCell said the film, entitled "Outlook," was not arranged by the Sovereignty Commission, "but I did what I could to put forth the true facts to avoid misrepresentation of the Mississippi side of things."



REP. NEY GORE OF MARKS, executive director of the State Sovereignty Commission, puffs on his big black crooked-stem pipe as he studies newspapers of the nation "to see what they're saying about Mississippi." He said, after a long search through the nation's dailies, "Northern criticism has slacked off." (Daily News photo by Phil Stroupe).

The film has a setting in the Clarksdale area.

Gore said the Commission is also "putting into effect" another program — that of mailing to a nationwide list of weekly and daily newspapers releases and stories of life in Mississippi.

"We are also engaged in maintaining close contact with legislatures in several other southern states who are dealing with this particular problem," he said.

He named Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina where special sessions of legislature in those states has been called to act on the question.

More specifically, Gore said the pupil assignment law which he drafted and steered to passage in the legislature in 1954 has been adopted "by every Southern state except Tennessee."

The assignment law vests in the board of education and the trustees of county and city schools the power to assign pupils to attendance centers on a basis of individual and community welfare and a ... review of those cases.

DeCell said the recent move by the Commission to get public relations people in other Southern states to work together as a cohesive group on the question of segregation "is meeting with enthusiastic support."

He said Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina have lined up in favor of the program.

While in New York, DeCell "advised with" a West Coast film producer who is doing a documentary film on race relations in Mississippi.

"The film," DeCell said, "will not be unfair to the South."

DeCell also talked with two publishing houses in New York about books expected to hit the market soon on the race question.

He also learned that Howard Keel Hollywood singing star, will sing a song at the National Democratic convention in Chicago written by Robert Colby, formerly of Rolling Fork, Miss.

The Commission is setup by a legislative act to maintain segregation in public schools, transportation facilities, hotels, public buildings, parks and other areas of public life.

Members of the Commission are: Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman; Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, vice chairman; House Speaker Walter Sillers of Rosedale, Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, Sen. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, Sen. Bill Burgin of Columbus, Rep. Joe Hopkins of Clarksdale, Rep. W. H. Johnson of Decatur, and Rep. George Payne Cossar of Charleston.

In addition, three businessmen or laymen on the commission are George J. Thornton of Kosciusko, W. S. Henley, Hazlehurst attorney, and Hugh Clayton of New Albany, Democratic national committeeman of Mississippi.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ed. Miss.

Page 10 Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss., Sunday July 22, 1956

Leland Lions Hear Judge Lee Analyse Court Decision

LELAND — Mississippi Supreme Court Justice Percy Lee this week described the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools as one reached in a method never before used in English or American courts and which defied previous legislative, executive and judicial history.

He spoke at the Lions Club here and was introduced by George Hurtig.

"The basis of the May 17 decision was that if you decline to let a colored child go to school with a white child it may inject in him a feeling of inferiority that may never be undone," Judge Lee began.

Three Branches

He then showed how Congress, actions of the Executive Branch of the Government and the courts had decided on previous segregation problems as follows:

Congress—the Constitution under the Tenth Amendment provided that education should remain within the powers of the state; the 14th amendment was adapted in 1865 from a part of the Massachusetts Constitution on which a Massachusetts Supreme Court decision in the case of Roberts vs. the City of Boston had ruled that segregation of whites and Negroes in separate school did not result in the Negro child being inferior to the white.

Executive Branch — operated Washington D. C. schools on a segregated basis for 86 years following adoption of the 14th amendment, opened schools for Negroes only under the Freedmens Bureau during Reconstruction, and as recently as 1946 recognized segregated schools in carrying out the school lunch bills' provisions.

The Courts

The courts—The U. S. Supreme Court in five previous decisions upheld segregation; two cases involved segregation in transportation in which the separate but equal doctrine was upheld and the other three allocated to the states the administration of education.

"Instead of basing their decision on these previous decisions the court turned to writings of sociologists and psychologists, and for the first time injected the ideas of authors into court records without subjecting the authors to cross examination," Judge Lee concluded.

Ed. Miss.

Televise Interracial Mississippi Meeting

CLARKSDALE, Miss. — A meeting of a Negro PTA group with the board of trustees of the Clarksdale municipal separate school district will be televised nationally by the National Broadcasting co.

The filmed proceedings will be shown on NBC's "Outlook" as an example of "interracial goodwill and cooperation" at the local level.

School segregation was not mentioned and the Negro group confined requests to petitions for improved school conditions. Charles C. Stringer, spokesman for the P. T. A. delegation, said:

"At this time it is not our purpose to attempt to solve the question of segregation or integration. Whatever complexion our school system takes in the future, it is certain we should have adequate classroom space, facilities and personnel."

The group asked for additional facilities, including buildings, equipment, instructional materials and supplies, band and athlectic equipment.

They also asked for elimination of dual curriculum standards and the hiring of "qualified teachers, properly trained in their fields, in order to be able to do the best job, and at tne same time qualify for top salaries."

In the matter of new schools, the PTA requested the board to "take under consideration the distance that elementary students have to travel to reach school."

It was stated that one of the chief purposes of the meeting was to "advance understanding, cooperation and goodwill between the racial groups of the city."

-1956 - Education; Miss.

Miss. Schools Near 'Equality'; Integration Could Ruin Setup

Entire Public System Faces Abolition If Court Decision Is Pushed in State

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

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MISS. COUNCIL ON HUMAN REL.
1104 LYNCH ST.
JACKSON 3, MISS. 8-16-56

Education - Miss

In Mississippi

Third School Enrollment Since Court Decision Likely To Be Most Peaceful; Radicals On Both Sides Moderating Efforts

Other side also

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 2 (UP) Negroes and whites, almost equally divided, are enrolling in Mississippi's public schools for a third year of total segregation since the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.

But much of the unrest and racial tension that sprang up across the state following the 1954 ruling has subsided. Extremists on both sides of the bitter struggle have taken on a degree of moderation.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has dropped its immediate threat of forcing integration through the courts. And there are signs that the NAACP may be switching its emphasis in this deep South state to more basic rights for Negroes like voting and job opportunities.

On ther other hand there have been fewer and fewer reports of Negroes being intimidated through economic and other pressures. While Mississippi in 1955 was the scene of a series of touchy racial incidents, including slayings, there have been virtually none this year. If there was racial violence it has been kept under cover.

Mississippi has never been sued by a Negro seeking admission to a white school, neither on the college nor common school level. Petitions for admission were filed with several school boards and these were expected to be followed by suits, in line with NAACP policy.

But no suit has been filed. Roy Wilkins executive secretary of the NAACP, was asked a few days ago what had happened.

"I don't know," he said. "But I think there are plans underway to file a suit in regard to intimidation of Negro voters."

C. R. Darden of Meridian, state president of the NAACP, was asked the same question.

"There is nothing definite being done or decided as to when or where the suits will be filed," he said. He, too, said a voter suit was "uner discussion."

Several sources close to the NAACP onfirmed there is sentiment witin the organization to press firs for equal voter rights and scho facilities.

Percy Greene, Negro editor of Jackson and outspoken enemy of the NAACP, said no school integration suit was filed because "they cant get a plaintiff."

"It's not that Negroes are afraid of being intimidated," he said. "They are beginning to realize that it's just not worth it to be involved in a long and troublesome suit. Some of the novelty has worn off since the 1954 decision and what Negroes want now is equal schools."

Despite the Supreme Courts decisions, the Mississippi legislature has built a legal defense of segregation — including abolition of public schools as a last report— that will take years to crack. Meantime, school construction is being speeded to bring Negro facilities up to that of whites.

WDDT
The New Sound
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RADIO
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"Center of dial"

The Delta Democrat-Times

SUNDAY EDITION

61st Year United Press (UP) Associated Press (AP) Greenville, Mississippi Sunday, September 2, 1956 Price 10c No. 97

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Clarion Ledger 9/13/54

Gov. Coleman Predicts No Try At Integration

Edwin Gross

Gov. J. P. Coleman said here late Tuesday that he does not anticipate any attempts to integrate the common schools of this state "now or at any time in the foreseeable future."

"Our firm policy of state government which has the backing of all of our people will forestall that," he said.

He said that the Negroes of Mississippi themselves have paid little attention to outside interests seeking to stir up racial hatreds, and that "they are to be complimented for that."

PRIVATE STATUS

Coleman also reminded that the school abolition act of 1954 which would allow the state to transfer its schools to private status is also a deterrent to any attempts at integration.

"Our Negro leaders know that to attempt to integrate would only cause their children to lose out on schooling altogether," the chief executive said.

"I think that our Negroes are glad to have the chance to have their own schools, and they should be," Coleman told newsmen. "Our school equalization program is developing swiftly and the colored children are going to have equal opportunities with white children all over the state. In many places they already have."

The governor answered a newsman's question:

"Do you think now that our schools have all opened the new term that there will be any attempts to crack the segregation barrier?"

"I definitely do not," the governor answered emphatically.

PEOPLE WILL DECIDE

"We will have segregation in Mississippi so long as our people want it," Coleman declared.

He reminded that there has been no agitation in this state and thereupon complimented the Negroes on that.

The governor refused comment on the rioting incident to attempts at integration in several other southern and border states.

"We will confine ourselves to our own state's business," he said.

He said that Mississippi has many ways of defending itself against any attempts at integration, but that he would not reveal them until such time as needed to be put into effect.

State Times 9/13/54

Segregation Here To Stay—Coleman

Edwin Moss

Mississippians were reassured today by Gov. J. P. Coleman they will have total school segregation "as long as the people want it."

The governor made the prediction at a press conference Tuesday and said he did not anticipate any efforts by Negroes to gain entrance to white schools this year. He outlined his reasons as:

1. "The firm policy adopted by the state government and endorsed by the people" against racial integration.

2. "The fact that the people of the state have paid no attention to outside agitators."

3. "The way the constitution was amended in 1954 (to permit abolition of public schools as a last resort means of maintaining segregation."

4. The fact that Negroes are taking justifiable pride in having their own institutions (which are being equalized with white schools)."

Coleman also said he knew any number of ways of avoiding enforcement of the Supreme Court's integration rulings in addition to the legal defenses the state has thrown up.

When asked if this meant segregation could be considered permanent in Mississippi, Coleman said: "So long as the people of Mississippi want it, they are going to have it."

The governor also announced two appointments to the State Board of Dental Examiners. They were Drs. A.H. Richter Jr., of Greenwood and Jack Tindall of Brookhaven who replaced Drs. M. L. Jones of Meridian and L.J. Smith of Biloxi.

'DOGFIGHT'

St Times 9-5-56

Patterson To 'Study' Integration

By WILLIAM E. KEITH
State Times Staff Writer

Attorney-general Joe T. Patterson will "study" questions involving racial integration policies in effect at federal facilities in Mississippi.

Serving with him will be state senator Earl Evans, of Canton, president pro tem of the Senate; and state representative William H. Johnson, of Decatur.

All three are members of the State Sovereignty Commission, Mississippi's official "watchdog" on segregation matters, and will serve as a sub-committee of the commission.

The three-man sub-group is to make recommendations to the full commission, based on its study, after completing the assignment, according to Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman.

Gov. Coleman announced organization of the study group following a two-hour session of the commission at the state capitol, which was closed to the press.

Asked if discussion of federal race integration policies consumed the entire two hours the commission was in session, the governor replied tersely: "It did!"

Asked if the decision to set up the study group was a unanimous one, the governor replied: "It was!"

Different Story

One person emerging from the meeting chamber, however, referred cryptically to proceedings inside as "a dogfight."

Gov. Coleman said the commission had discussed "At great length questions relating to integration at the Veterans Hospital at Jackson."

Later, however, when asked if the sub-committee's study would be confined to that institution, the governor said he wanted to make it clear that "no particular facility is being pinpointed" and that the study group would be concerned with "the general question of integration in federal facilities in Mississippi."

It was originally believed that the commission would hear reports from its executive director, Ney Gore, as well as publicity director Hal DeCell and L. C. Hicks, its investigator.

Gov. Coleman said no reports were made.

Asked what authority the state has regarding federal policies in federal institutions, Gov. Coleman said the study committee will "study all such questions."

Milner Bldg.

Clarion Ledger 9/8/56

AFFAIRS OF STATE

By CHARLES M. HILLS

An elderly lady called us at our home last night, greatly worried about the integration riots in other states, and inquiring if we thought Mississippi might be in for some of the same

Of course, we could do little save share her fears that we may indeed one of these days have the same troubles, only far worse, what with our greater Negro population.

If the whites in towns like Clinton and Sturgis with only eight or nine Negroes trying to enter white schools have riots, what do we have to expect here in Mississippi where often the Negroes far outnumber the whites

The lady then wanted to know how we would cope with such a situation

We expressed the hope that a solution might be found.

And then, the $64 question:

"Well, Mr. Hills... do you think our governor will send white national guardsmen with bayonets against our white people on behalf of Negroes as the governors of Tennessee and Kentucky have done?

What do you think?

STUDENT ASSIGNMENT

In the city of Jackson, the board of trustees of the separate school district has just purchased 20 acres of land on Livingston Road for a new Negro high school.

There has also just been authorized, a new elementary school for Negroes on Whitfield Mills Road, near the airbase.

Both are to be located in the heart of heavily populated Negro sections of the city.

Could it be that the board is looking strategically at the locations of the bulk of the Negro population areas with the view of utilizing to the fullest our legislatively - approved student assignment plan

We think so!

Takes Dim View Of Coleman Statement

Jackson, Miss.
Sept. 12, 1956

Dear Editor:

It is almost amusing to read Gov. Coleman's statement that he sees no threat of Negroes trying to enter Mississippi white schools in the foreseeable future. Certainly they will try, and it won't be very long. Admittedly, ours will possibly be the last state where it will be done, but it will, and most probably during Mr. Coleman's term. True, very few of our Negoes seem to want integration any more than the whites do. But it would be no hard task for the agitators to find a few who will be willing to start the ball rolling when they get ready to start on Mississippi.

We cannot help recalling Mr. Coleman's strong contentions that an acceptable platform and candidates would be adopted by the Democratic party. . . .and now we have anything but either. Daily, Mr. Stevenson blasts Eisenhower for his failure to enforce integration. So it is understandable that, if elected, Stevenson intends to promote stronger enforcement. And Mr. Kefauver is scheduled to appoint a Negro as a chief campaign worker. Yet, Mr. Coleman enthusiastically urges our unwavering support of these two men, and their platform, and urges their campaigning in Mississippi.

Certainly Negroes will attempt to enter Mississippi white schools in the near future. We wonder if Mr. Coleman then will feel obliged to call out the National Guard to assure their entrance. Such action would surely be called a "triumph for Gov. Coleman", as it has just been called for Gov. Clement of Tennessee.

"True Mississippian"
(Name Withheld by Request)
Jackson, Miss.

Clarion Ledger 9/19/56

Easiest Course Can Often Be The Worst

Mississippians by and large have been disturbed at the increasing extent of forced integration in public schools of some Southern states during recent days. While no thinking citizen condones mob violence, few white citizens of our state have much enthusiasm for compelling racially-mixed education at bayonet point, as is being done in Tennessee.

What is happening at Clinton High School has resulted from the policy of procrastination and inertia on the part of Tennessee's elected officials. While other Southern states have busily erected numerous legal barriers to integration, Governor Clement et al have been content to follow the line of least resistance.

NAACP leaders have promptly chosen to force the issue in Tennessee, knowing full well that few if any legal obstacles existed there. Thus is offered a painful but perfectly clear demonstration of the fact that only disaster can result when a state elects to imitate the ostrich and bury its head in the sands against grim reality.

Clarion Ledger - 9/15/56

1956 Education - Miss.

Clarion Ledger - 10-11-56

State Congressmen's Kids In Integrated Schools

Miss-Ed

WASHINGTON — The children of three Mississippi congressmen attended integrated Washington schools with Negro children last year, Superintendent Hobart M. Corning has informed a House District subcommittee.

Rep. John Bell Williams of Raymond, subcommittee member, had requested the list of District public school pupils whose parents were congressmen, supreme court justices, cabinet members, White House aides or district commissioners.

NAMES GIVEN

The three Mississippians whose children were included were Rep. Arthur Winstead of Philadelphia, Rep. Jamie Whitten of Charleston and Rep. Thomas Abernethy of Okolona.

Winstead's daughter, Betty, attended Alice Deal Junior High School, where five Negroes were enrolled. One of Abernethy's children, Thomas, also attended the same school. One of Abernethy's daughters, Gail, attended Woodrow Wilson High School, where there are a number of Negro children, and another daughter, Alice Kay, was enrolled at Lafayette School, where there were no Negroes. Whitten's daughter, Beverly, attended Horace Mann school, at which one Negro child was enrolled last year.

The Mann school also was attended by Vice-President Richard Nixon's daughters, Julie and Patricia, and Interior Secretary Frederick Seaton's son, Alfred. Other Horace Mann students last year included Gail, Diane and David Kefauver, children of Sen. Estes Kefauver (Dem, Tenn.).

By HAROLD TURNAGE
Clarion Ledger Staff Writer

Hinds Countains will decide October 9 whether to invest $1,000,000 in improving white and negro schools. They will vote that day on a special bond issue, and on their decision rides not only the future education of their children but also their long-range hopes for preserving their segregated school system.

The million dollars the County Board of Education is recommending that citizens invest will be matched with money from a state school building appropriation for Hinds County of $1,653,000 — for a total of $2,058,000 will be needed immediately.

The money will be used to solve two pressing problems. One of these is the phenomenal enrollment jump in schools in the Jackson suburbs — Forest Hill and Clinton.

USE BACK OF STORE

At Forest Hill children are attending school in the back of a store, in two churches, and in "temporary" barracks. The not-so-temporary barracks were war surplus from Camp Van Dorn. They were thrown up in 1946 to meet the first wave of swelling enrollment, and were to be disposed of so soon as the war babies made their way through the school. (Population experts predicted the wartime boom in babies would soon taper off.) However, no tapering off has appeared. In fact the "boom'" has become normal.

The other serious problem facing Hinds Countains is the schocking condition of the Negro schools.

Negroes throughout most of the nation have challenged school segregation. Thus far, Mississippi Negroes have shown a willingness to be patient while the state worked out its problem.

The state legislature has ordered that the Negroes be given better schools — that the citizens practice their preachments of separate but "equal".

In Hinds, the state's wealthiest county, the situation is better than in more rural areas.

MUCH IMAGINATION

Yet, in Hinds County, Negro children's "equal" facilities leave much to the imagination. At Curtis Ridge school near Utica, for example, a one-room shack houses 110 students and their two teachers. A drunken basketball backboard in the middle of the dusty yard is their playground equipment. The wooden foundations of the shack are rotting and the roof shows the signs of frequent patching.

The building itself is clad in rotting timbers, unpainted. There lighted. It compares favorably with any of the county's white schools. Yet, it is short of space and equipment already.

How will the money be spent? Approximately $761,000 is needed immediately in the white schools to meet the growing enrollment requirements. Approximately $1,297,000 is needed to bring the Negro schools up to standard.

SPECIFIC NEEDS

The specific needs as listed by Supt. J. E. Aldridge are as follows:

White — Byram, four classrooms, a vocational shop, $112,000; Clinton Boulevard, eight more classrooms, $112,000; Oak Forest, a 12-classroom school, and Van Winkle, eight additional classrooms, $220,000 and $112,000, respectively, to handle students now "temporarily" housed at Forest Hill; Raymond, 7 classrooms, vocational agriculture shop, home economics facilities, $175,000; Utica, school improvements, $30,000.

Negro — Sumner Hill, four classrooms and vocational shop, $75,000; Bolton, 10 classrooms, science laboratory, home economics facilities, library, $260,000; Edwards, nine classrooms, science, home economics, library, $250,000; Raymond, 8 classrooms, science, home economics, library, $240,000; Terry, four classrooms, science, home economics, library, $215,000; Utica, four classrooms, four renovated, science, home economics, library, $207,000; West Side High, two classrooms and toilet facilities, $50,000.

With this money the school board feels that it can offer Hinds Countians an adequate school system that will eventually repay the investment many times over, even in terms of dollars and cents.

Clarion Ledger 10-18-56

Negro Principals Could Achieve Much

With good intentions and full sincerity we congratulate Leroy Johnson, principal of Edwards Negro Junior High Schools, on his election as president of the newly organized Negro School Principals, and we wish him a successful and progressive term.

The new organization should be both able and eager to help advance the progress of the Negro schools and the progress and welfare of their teachers and principals.

As The Clarion - Ledger news item noted, the newly organized group, at the local meeting at which they elected officers, "discussed a county - wide course of study; tenure of service for teachers, better relations toward the school, community, teachers, and staff; and better competency for all."

It added that "they plan to do further study on school-community problems."

If they approach and study such matters in a friendly and intelligent attitude, they should be able to accomplish much that would contribute to the community's welfare and that of the Negro schools, and such a program and policy also would help promote friendly inter-racial attitudes reducing friction and ill feeling.

Educ - Miss

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The building itself is clad in rotting timbers, unpainted. There are no hard-surface play areas, and when it is wet the children play on the muddy, grassless ground or stay inside.

At Brown School, fifty students use a two-room building. The foundation has given way and the structure is propped up with rocks and scraps of concrete. Window panes are missing and the chimney has crumbled until it is little higher than the roof. However, the sheet tin roof is apparently sound. The playground, too, is muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry — as are most other Negro school playgrounds.

LACK FACILITIES

Throughout the county Negro schools lack libraries, home economics training equipment, science laboratories, and vocational training facilities.

These are only a few of the things that must be remedied. There are other and worse situations in the county's Negro schools.

Fortunately, the picture is not all bad. Citizens had already seen the problem and begun to take action. At Sumner Hill a modern school has been constructed that serves 1100 Negro students. Its classrooms are spacious and well

Clarion Ledger - Daily News
9-30-56
Miss Hall

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Educ - Miss

Delta Demo-Times
10-25-56

Educ - Miss

To Dedicate New Negro School In Greenville On Sunday Afternoon

Formal dedication ceremonies for the new Weddington Elementary School will be held at the school building Sunday afternoon, October 28, at 2:30.

The invocation will be given by Rev. L. S. Rounds, pastor of the Calvary Presbyterian Church; and the platform guests will be introduced by R. J. Koonce, superintendent of the Greenville Public Schools.

Harold Kaplan, architect for the Weddington School, will discuss the planning of the building. His talk will be followed by a musical number presented by the Coleman High Glee Club.

The featured speaker will be E. J. Bogen, president of the Greenville School Board, who will deliver an address entitled "Progress of the South."

Irene Weddington, for whom the school is named and who has now retired after 36 years of teaching in the Greenville schools, will make a brief talk.

The dedicatory remarks and presentation will be made by W. C. Keady, formerly president of the Greenville School Board.

Fulton Hill, principal of the Weddington Elementary School, will speak on the "Acceptance of Responsibility;" and the dedicatory prayer will be given by Rev. C. R. Haughton, pastor of the St. Mathew Methodist Church.

Platform guests for the occasion will include members of the Greenville School Board, former members of the School Board, members of the City Council, and special guests.

After the dedication ceremonies, the faculty of the Weddington School will entertain with an open house.

State Times 10-28-56

Schools Are Changing Our Living Pattern

By MABEL DONOVAN
Special To State Times

HATTIESBURG, Miss. — "The school reorganization program in Mississippi has started the state's economic ball rolling out of the cellar division," Dr. John E. Phay told members of the Mississippi Research Clearinghouse Thursday evening.

Dr. Phay, director of the Bureau of Educational Research at the University of Mississippi, was principal speaker at the opening session of the sixth annual seminar meeting of researchists at Mississippi Southern College Thursday and Friday.

"Better schools mean better educated people. The higher the education, the higher the standard of living," he said, "and reorganization will accelerate the whole economic pattern of this state."

"This social implications of the state's school reorganization program will mean greater acceleration to something that is already happening. People are leaving the country and coming to the towns. Too many times this migration leads right on out of the state. Reorganization will accelerate that.

"When the school closes, the country store will die. The storekeeper and his wife will have to seek livelihood elsewhere. The munity is tied up with the counmunity is tid up with the country school.

"With larger high schools and fewer districts, we are going to have a demand for better teachers, more adequate facilities, and the means toward higher education, which means a higher standard of living.

"With more intelligence we are going to produce more goods. With higher salaries we will have increased spending. Industries will have a large field from which to bid for labor.

Dr. Phay was presented by Dr. James Ferguson, dean of the college at Millsaps, who served as chairman. Welcome greetings were extended by Miss Edna Ruth Davis, administrative research analyst of Jackson, who is clearinghouse chairman. The meeting was opened officially by Dr. Ralph Owings, head of educational administration at Southern, and host to the group.

Following Dr. Phay's address, Dr. Ferguson conducted a panel discussion.

Questions and answers in this period covered such problems as the movement of Negroes out of the state (it is not yet known whether the more intelligent ones are leaving or remaining); the establishment of qualifications for school board members (Dr. Phay cannot see this. "The schools belong to the people around them," he said.); the need for larger curricula and more technical training for industry; the need for a balance in higher education and wider opportunities to keep young people in the state.

Educ - Miss

State Times

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Please Return

Brotherly Compassion Of Races Urged In Solution Of State School Problems

Now that FBI agents have been appointed schoolroom proctors, to punish errant white students of integrated schools, the Kremlin must be breathing a bit less heavy.

For it sees the United States, the cradle of liberty, adopting its own spy tactics, the kind of secret police methods which brought rebellion to Hungary.

Radio Moscow and *Pravda*, the Communist newspaper, can tell their readers how the Reds-chasing FBI has borrowed a note from the Russian secret police in order to compel racial integration at Clinton, Tenn.

It must be conceded, however, that orders for this Hitlerian, Stalinistic assignment of the FBI came from higher up, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, not from career officers of the police agency.

Never was it imagined that school room discipline, dealing with young boys and girls, would be removed, in final analysis, from teachers to the FBI, no matter what kind of race-mixing commands were issued. Agents must feel a bit ridiculous, if not hostile, toward the "big bully" role given them at Clinton, a role which, it is presumed, will be repeated wherever integration is attempted.

At best the sinister threat of FBI interrogation and federal punishment makes schooling uncomfortable for both races at Clinton. At worst, it could cause psychotic disturbances among these children in their formative years. And that, of course, would defeat the very psychological excuse given by the Supreme Court for its desegregation decision.

So as we of Mississippi sympathize with Clintonians, wisdom suggests no delay in the state's school equalization program. Negro systems should be brought up to par with every possible haste.

It's not wishful thinking to say that our Negro citizens prefer their own schools. They do. But they have every right to expect them to be equal to white schools, a goal to which 65 cents of every Mississippi tax dollar is now pledged.

Meantime, justice forbids ignition of racial discord on account of the Clinton incident, although it demands repudiation of tactics thrust upon the FBI. Let us continue the brotherly compassion of the races in Mississippi while working toward a just solution of our problems.

The spirit upon us at Christmas time, fostered year round, would see to it that the Clinton drama never had a repeat performance.

Educ. - Miss.

...OM READERS

St Times 12-15-56

Our Own Freedom

State Times,

During World War II, there was an expression, "It can't happen in America." Well, it has happened at Clinton, Tenn. Clinton, Tenn., now has come under a Gestapo form of government. This kind of government, which will be so much like the so-called "Reconstruction" era, will creep like a cancer, over the entire South. No southern community will be safe from the Gestapo unless there happens to be one that has no Negro population.

There are a number of Northern towns that have no Negroes. The inhabitants of these places are very smug over the fact that they know that their schools will never be integrated. They know that this entire mess over segregation is merely for the purpose of making a black belt of the South, and thus keeping the Negro out of the North.

The following quotation from an editorial in an Illinois paper would be funny if it did not smack so definitely of Russian technique. It is entitled, "Moderation At Clinton."

> "These injunctions do not directly force a community to comply with the desegregation decision, but they do make enforcement possible through the more oblique method of punishing those who interfere with the peaceful integration of a school."

No, the South is not being forced, but in case we do not follow the Supreme Court's decision, we will be punished. Just what else, pray, is force?

Lillian Smith (that "strange author" of Strange Fruit) says that we of the South are losing our freedom because we are doing nothing to end segregation. We are losing our freedom all right, but not for the reason she gives. It's just the opposite. It's because we are doing nothing to ensure segregation. Trace the South's actions down through history, and we will find that the average Southerner has to be slapped in the face with reality before he is ready to act, and then it is usually too late.

At present, while we are bestowing our sympathy on the "poor Hungarians" who are struggling for freedom, we Southerners are having our own taken away from us.

We have one alternative, that of following the tactics of the all white communities of the North. The only schools that can remain all white will be those in all white communities. Does Mississippi have any such, or any that are willing to become such in order to keep their children in all white schools?

Yours truly,
A Southerner

P.S. In case ~~you publish~~ my letter, please give the above signature instead of my own.

Miss - Ed

Clarion Ledger - Miss Nov 20, 1956

Promises To Enforce Our Segregation Laws

Miss Pol + Gov.

Mississippi's Attorney General Joe T. Patterson declared Monday that so long as the state's segregation laws stay on the books he will hold that they shall be enforced against integration in schools or on busses.

He labeled as a "veiled threat" to Mississippi officials a statement by U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell that state officials who interfere with orderly de-segregation on buses may be prosecuted.

Brownell has summoned U. S. attorneys of 14 Southern states to appear in Washington on Dec. 10 to map plans of action for enforcing de-segregation on busses and other public carriers.

Meantime, U. S. Attorney Robert Hauberg said in Jackson that he has not yet received a request to come to Washington to meet with the U. S. attorney general.

HAUBERG NOT NOTIFIED

"I probably will get a letter from Mr. Brownell in a day or so," Mr. Hauberg said. "Since I have not yet received a request to attend the conference, and also because I know nothing of what might transpire at the conference, I am not in a position to make any comment."

Mississippi's attorney general said that the steps to enforce desegregation ordered by the federal official is "just another example of federal encroachment on states rights."

Late Monday afternoon, no action had been taken by the State Sovereignty Commission toward an early meeting to cope with the new problem.

SITUATION SERIOUS

Hal DeCell, publicity director, said that his office had received no notice of the Brownell action. The Sovereignty Commission, created to keep Mississippi segregated, has not held a meeting in several weeks.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, nominal head of the commission, was not immediately available for comment.

Patterson said that he will take every step necessary to maintain segregation as applied by Mississippi law. He admitted that the situation may be serious.

Referring to U. S. Atty. Gen. Brownell's summons in Washington Monday for a meeting of U. S. attorneys from 14 Southern states on Monday to implement a U. S. Supreme Court decision which declared bus segregation in Montgomery, Ala., illegal, Patterson said:

"If the United States attorney general had any regard for states rights, he would also seek to confer in person with state officials who are responsible for state laws."

NO REGARD FOR STATES

Patterson said that Mississippi has "statutes on the books" which prohibit the mixing of races on busses and other public carriers and added:

"As far as I'm concerned, they will stay on the books."

He said:

"This (the high court ruling) is just another instance of the repeal of state laws by court decree without regard to the rights of a state as contained in the Tenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution."

News wire services Monday carried the statement of U. S. Attorney General Brownell from Washington that he has summoned the U. S. attorneys of 14 Southern states to map action for enforcing integration on busses and other carriers.

Brownell said the action was made necessary by the Supreme Court decision last Tuesday which struck down a city ordinance requiring segregation on city buses in Montgomery.

Brownell added: "It is now clear that any such law, statute, ordinance or regulation must be regarded as a dead letter."

CALLS 34 ATTORNEYS

The attorney general asked 34 U. S. Attorneys in 14 states "in which discriminatory state or local laws of this kind are unrepealed" to come to Washington.

He explained: "The purpose of the conference will be to consider and decide upon those measures most appropriate for the Department of Justice to take to secure observance of the United States Constitution and laws by the carriers and all others."

States to be represented at the conference will be Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Clarion Ledger
(Jackson, Miss)
November 20, 1956

~~August 3, 1954~~
Atlanta Constitution

Ed. Miss - 56

Speaks To Kiwanis Here

Waits 'Not So Certain' Schools To Be Segregated In Four Years

Reprinted from yesterday's late edition

Rep. Hilton Waits of Leland told Greenville Kiwanians today he's "not so certain" Mississippi public schools will still be segregated four years from now.

"The governor says we won't be integrated this four years," the veteran Washington county legislator said. "But I'm not so certain. We've already got all the courts on the other side."

He said it was with this thought in mind the Legal Education Advisory Committee, of which he is a member, sought to pass a number of laws to maintain segregation.

Reviews Laws

Among the LEAC laws passed during the recent legislative session reviewed by Waits were:

Repeal of compulsory school attendence—Now, in case the federal government forces schools to integrate, Waits pointed out, "white people won't have to send their children to school . . . We weren't enforcing the compulsory schools laws for the Negroes anyway."

Making common law marriages illegal — "They (Negroes) now don't want to be second class citizens anymore; so, this law will make them get married like first class citizens."

Passed laws making it illegal to mix two races in restaurants and other public places — "We found to our surprise that segregation is practiced in Mississippi because of custom and that there are no laws about it; so we made some."

More For Patrol

Increased the appropriations for the National Guard and state Highway Patrol — They are the only law enforcement agencies the state government has at its disposal, Waits explained, and the appropriation increase was made to make available a competent force for highway safety and "in case we have any race riots."

★ ★ ★

Waits said legalization of liquor is "getting closer" in Mississippi "although I don't know whether I'll live to see it."

"The people in the dry counties want every other county to be dry," he added.

He said this legislature exceeded the budget by only 1.7 percent "which is better than we've ever done."

Forceful Governor

He called Gov. Coleman "a very energetic, ambitions and forceful governor" who was "pretty successful with the legislature and I think he will be a progressive governor."

There is much misunderstanding about the net income of the state tax collector, Waits said, and explained that the office netted $23,000 last year "which was the best year and a lot less than the estimates you hear being made."

He said a proposed criminal liable law, which failed to pass, was not aimed at the press in general but at the "Eagle Eye," a mimeographed sheet distributed in Jackson by a Negro, and at abusive telephone calls.

Headache such FAST relief Get the BEST for LESS...get St. Joseph ASPIRIN A PLOUGH PRODUCT
WORLD'S LARGEST SELLER AT 10¢

George.

Dr. Duckett did this little survey on his own & reported his findings at our last SRC meeting. He let me have a copy to run off on the mimeograph.

You seemed to be a spring topic for this locality. Rock Hill's mayor, et als are reported on the verge of establishing a Committee on Human Relations to work, among other things, for appointment of Negroes to local governing & advisory bodies.

D

Responses of 100-Negro Citizens* of

Rock Hill, S.C. to 18 Questions Re-

lated to Desegregation—

March, 1954

Questions:	Responses: Number Yes	Number No	Percent Yes	Percent No
1. Do you feel that there can ever be equality in education as long as segregation exists?	15	79	16	84
2. Do you feel that segregation in education is a form of discrimination?	85	7	92	8
3. Are you against de-segregation because you think Negro teachers will lose their jobs?	10	86	11	89
4. Are you in favor of gradual integration? Explain.	67	28	70	30
5. Do you feel that the retention of jobs by teachers who are not prepared to teach children irrespective of color is more important than the full development of our youths' capacity?	4	91	4	96
6. Do you favor segregation because you feel that the Negro has a greater chance of development?	14	81	15	85
7. Are you satisfied with the showing that the majority of our race made on the Armed Services Examination?	0	97	0	100
8. Do you think that progress would have been better if you were not segregated?	94	1	99	1
9. Do you feel that Negro youth has the intellectual capacity that is possessed by white youth?	96	1	99	1
10. Do you feel that you have developed intellectually as much as you would have if there had not been segregation in education?	8	87	8	92
11. Would you favor having your child sit by, play with, and eat with white children?	96	1	99	1
12. Should segregation be abolished, and conflict arise between students and parents of both races?				
b. Would you favor settlement through forceful means?	0	100	0	100
1. Conference with Mayor				
2. Members of School Board	100	0	100	0
3. Parent-Teacher Association				
13. Should the Supreme Court rule in favor of segregation, are you in favor of another law suit to bring about de-segregation to the extent you would make a financial contribution?	100	0	100	0
14. Do you favor Negro membership on all public boards?	99	0	100	0
15. Are you prejudiced against a few white people or	80	19	81	19
a. Are you prejudiced toward the whole Caucasian race?	4	93	4	96
16. Have you earnestly tried not to be prejudiced toward white people?	66	31	68	32
17. Do you earnestly feel that their prejudices toward you justify your prejudice?	74	24	76	24
18. If segregation is eliminated are you willing to aid in the drive for better race relationship?	99	0	100	0

* Representing a cross section of occupations and income levels.

Education, S. C.

WHAT'S NEXT IN CLARENDON COUNTY?

In order for Negroes to be hired as teachers in Clarendon County 1955-56 the attached questionnaire must be filled out with stress being placed on question number 15.

It is said that teachers not holding college degrees are now being rehired; the reason given for such action is that they want local professional workers. Mr. J. T. McCain, former principal of the Scotts Branch High School 1954-55 was ousted without being given a reason, in spite of the fact that it is conceded that he is one of the best school men in the state. He was urged this past spring by the Summerton superintendent not to accept another position (offering him more money) in view of the fact that he had done such a fine job at Scotts Branch.

The combined PTA groups of Clarendon County have asked for a hearing before the local school board (at Summerton) in regards to the firing of Mr. McCain but, the board has not consented to meet with them.

DATE_____1955

1. NAME_____ FOR: Permanent Position_____
Substitute Work_____
2. Temporary Address:_____Telephone_____
3. Permanent Address:_____
4. Marital Status: Single____ Married____ Widowed____ Divorced_____
5. Number of Children_____Age of Youngest_____ Other Dependents_____
6. Physical Condition:_____Weight_____Height_____ft. _____inches
7. TRAINING:

	SCHOOL	PLACE	DEGREE
ELEMENTARY			
HIGH			
COLLEGE			
GRADUATE SCHOOL			
EXTENSION COURSES			

8. Total Semester Hours earned in Education: GRADUATE_____
9. Plans, if any, for further study_____
10. CERTIFICATE STATUE: S. C. Certificate:
Group_____ Class_____ Grade_____/ Time expires
Years of experience_____ subjects or area_____
11. Name subjects or grades applying for in order of preference_____
High School Grades:_____
Elementary Grades:_____
12. Date of Birth_____ Place of Birth_____
Age_____ Race_____ Church Affiliation_____
13. Teaching Experience:

PLACE	NATURE OF WORK	DATES

14. Of what professional organizations are you a member?_____
15. Are you a member of NAACP?_____ If so what chapter?_____
16. If we should request a personal interview when would it be possible for you to come to this office? _____
17. REFERENCES:

NAME	ADDRESS	POSITION

_____
Legal Signature

Husband's/Wife's occupation_____his/her residence

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1508 LADY STREET • COLUMBIA, S. C.

Fleming

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Turmoil in the Deep South

Education, Desegregation S.C.

By CHESTER C. TRAVELSTEAD[1]
Dean, College of Education, University of New Mexico

TENSION is running high in the deep South, and most observers agree that things will get considerably worse before they are better. One southern-born writer has said recently that the "Solid South has always been cracking from within: before the War Between the States, during the war, and ever since. Any system will crack if it opposes not only justice but also the ruling opinion of its time."[2]

In South Carolina the state political leaders are not only questioning the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the Federal government, but they are freely using such words as "nullification" and "interposition" with respect to the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court concerning segregation of the races in the public schools.

"Psychological secession" might be an appropriate term to describe what is happening in this state today. "We will be a part of the Union as long as—and in the ways in which—it suits our fancy! When the Constitution of the United States is interpreted by the highest court of our land so as to rule out 'our way of life' here in the South, then we will declare such interpretations null and void. We know we can do this with impunity because we have found the legal terms 'nullification' and 'interposition' which we think will protect us in this matter." So shouts the political leader, and so follows a group of people who refuse to accept the fact that much of the old South has "gone with the wind."

I came to South Carolina in the summer of 1953 to become dean of the School of Education at the state university in Columbia. Born and reared in southern Kentucky and having taught for many years in the public schools and universities in Kentucky, Virginia, and Georgia, I felt thoroughly acquainted with the laws, ideals, customs, and current practices in the southern states. All my life I have been a part of this paradoxical South.

In 1953, life in South Carolina was moving along quietly on a segregated basis. The state had undergone a wholesale reorganization and consolidation of its school districts. Previously, there had been more than 1,500 school districts; now there were only 103 of them. The South Carolina Educational Finance Commission was in the process of allocating large sums of money to be used in the construction of public-school buildings—still to be on a segregated basis. It was interesting for me to note that well over half the money being distributed was earmarked for Negro schools. This "new deal" for the Negroes had begun in 1951, when several of the state political leaders decided that if South Carolina was going to stand on the "separate-but-equal" policy (as accepted by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1896 in the Plessy v. Ferguson case), it would first have to make some effort toward improving the grossly inadequate Negro school facilities. For even the most ardent supporter of segregation in South Carolina knew that for more than 50 years this state had given only lip service to the "separate-but-equal" policy.

In 1953, these leaders and their newly elected colleagues were working desperately to beat the deadline. Somehow they hoped and believed that the Federal government would not tamper with the school-segregation policy if it was shown that definite efforts were being made to close the gap of difference between the white and Negro schools. Consequently, about 63% of the school-building money was put into buildings for Negro boys and girls during this period.

This line of thinking received a great shock on May 17, 1954, when the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its decision declaring unconstitutional the practice of segregation of races in the public schools. (This day is sometimes referred to as "Black Monday" in several of the southern states.) The shock was of a strange type, however. Instead of inciting belligerence and threats,

[1] Until Feb. 1, 1956, the author was dean, School of Education, University of South Carolina. He wrote this article in Dec., 1955-Jan., 1956, and submitted it to SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, Jan. 25.

[2] J. McB. Dabbs, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 55:33-40, Jan., 1956.

it was accompanied by calm and silence, perhaps numbness or dullness.

No "extra" editions of the papers appeared. No speeches or pronouncements were made by southern leaders in the papers or over the radio. The event was so serious that many people did not even discuss it. They wanted to think about it for a while, at least. Thus, a period of silence.

In the early summer of 1953, I discussed with Pres. Donald Russell of the University of South Carolina the possibility of Negroes being admitted to the university, and he said at the time that he fully expected Negroes to apply for admission and to be admitted in "two or three years." Having been a member of the faculty at the University of Georgia where a Negro had been denied admission to the Law School because of his race, I told Pres. Russell I felt keenly that such denials should not and could not continue in graduate schools of southern universities in the face of previous U. S. Supreme Court decisions to the contrary. He agreed—and three days later employed me as dean of the university's School of Education.

During the 1954-55 school year, I had the opportunity to talk with many educators and laymen concerning the Supreme Court decision. Many of these people expressed a willingness to help implement the decision. Others were violently opposed and said it could never be done in this generation. Some would say, "I don't object personally, but what about all these other people? They won't stand for it." Somehow I never have been able to identify definitely "all these other people," but I suppose that they do exist in large numbers—at least the political leaders claim that this is so. Regrettably one no longer hears in this state the opinions of those who advocate even a gradual process of desegregation. Their voices have been silenced. Those in positions of leadership not only condone but encourage declarations of defiance of the Supreme Court decision. No thought of compromise—much less agreement—with the Court is tolerated.

While James F. Byrnes was still governor, he appointed a legislative committee to look into the possibilities of preserving segregation of the races in the public schools of the state. The committee soon came to be known as the Gressette Committee, taking its name after its chairman, Marion Gressette, state senator from Calhoun County, S. C. This committee studied the matter during most of 1954 and then made some specific recommendations to the 1955 legislature concerning action to sustain the status quo. Here are some of the changes brought about by this 1955 legislature as a direct result of recommendations from the Gressette Committee:

1. The compulsory school-attendance law was repealed.

2. A law was passed which requires that all state funds be cut off from any school district which assigns Negro and white children to the same school. (This action, of course, precludes the possibility of any local community carrying out—even on a gradual basis—the Supreme Court decision. For in South Carolina about 75% of all money spent on public schools comes from the state level.)

3. All teachers in the state's public schools were taken off continuing contracts. If a teacher is not notified by March 31 that she is to be re-employed for the next year, then she is automatically without a position at the end of the current school year.

Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., in his inaugural address delivered in January, 1955, openly defied the U. S. Supreme Court decision by saying that the Court had exceeded its authority. He said in essence that it was a sociological decision by nine political appointees who had usurped powers reserved only for Congress. He also flatly denounced those persons who, for any reason, advocated even a gradual compliance with the decision. "It is cowardly to advocate gradualism in this matter of integration," he said. Later, in a major address before the South Carolina Education Association, the Governor again devoted a large part of his time to a denunciation of the Supreme Court decision.

All this time I was distressed to observe that only one side of this whole issue was being presented to the public. Concerning this question, one could only hear from the public platform, or on local and state radio and television programs, reasons for opposing, ignoring, or defying the Supreme Court decision. It was obvious that few, if any, persons were willing to discuss in public the possibility of compliance.

This line of action not only deprived almost half our citizenry of its right to first-class citizenship, but, even more important, we were fast developing an autocratic police state. When all sides of important issues cannot be freely discussed, when conformity of thought is demanded, we lose our birthright guaranteed by our forefathers.

With this in mind, I felt compelled to express my views on this matter in some way. Therefore, about two weeks after I heard Gov. Timmerman address the South Carolina Education Association in April, 1955, I wrote a letter to him, giving my opinions on several points included in his speech.

In this letter I tried to discuss objectively and in parliamentary language my viewpoints on some of these matters. Below are some excerpts from my letter to Gov. Timmerman, dated May 2, 1955:

I must say sincerely and respectfully that I disagree emphatically with several of your views on matters referred to in your recent speech and in others delivered during the current year. I will list below some of these views and my reasons for disagreement with them:

You have said: "The opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases uphold for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discrimination."

It is my considered judgment that it was not the intent of the Court to say, nor did it say, that "equality of treatment is discrimination." Rather did it say, in effect, that segregation is in and of itself discriminatory and therefore a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

You have sharply attacked the integrationist and have said that he is "seeking to abolish parental rights in education, utilizing men of talent and little character to bombard the public with a barrage of false propaganda designed to lynch the character of a fourth of our nation."

It is without evidence to say that those who, in 1955, for moral, civic, and legal reasons believe that segregation is outmoded and should therefore be abolished, are, as you say, men of "little character" attempting to "lynch the character of a fourth of our nation." It is my opinion that many men of great stature are sincerely convinced that the May 17 ruling of the Supreme Court was both timely and sound.

You have said: "No precedent, no parallel, can be found for compulsory integration. It is new. It is novel. It is contrary to the divine order of things. Only an evil mind can conceive it. Only a foolish mind can accept it."

It seems to me that there are many parallels and precedents. Every state that has enforced compulsory school attendance (for separate or integrated schools) has practiced compulsory integration. When we put together in the same school and in the same classes children who differ widely in educational, social, mental, emotional, physical, and cultural backgrounds and achievements, we are faced with extreme differences—whether within one race or among different races.

Schools are constantly striving for better ways of integrating these differences or of educating in spite of the differences. Compulsory integration does have parallel and precedent. Thirty-one states and the District of Columbia do have school systems in which the races are integrated. The other seventeen states, now practicing segregation of the races in their schools, still practice compulsory integration within each race by requiring that boys and girls of widely different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds go to the same schools in spite of these differences.

It is my opinion, therefore, that the phrases, "evil mind" and "foolish mind," quoted above, have been ill used and are without foundation.

One other point which might be quite pertinent. All peace-loving and law-abiding citizens believe that the laws of the state and of the nation should be respected and obeyed, in spite of the fact that every law seems unjust or unnecessary to some people. In the present case, the highest court of our land has said that the practice of segregation of races in the schools is unconstitutional.

As we maneuver and manipulate in order to circumvent these duly constituted agencies of law, how can we explain and justify this action to our children and to our children's children? Can we on Monday tell them to obey the law and have respect for the agencies of law and order, and then on Tuesday tell them they don't need to obey the law, that it is right to circumvent the law as long as they don't get caught?

I will appreciate your serious consideration of my views in this matter, and I will be delighted to discuss it with you at your convenience. I am not sending a copy of this letter to anyone else, in the hope that you will be kind enough to acknowledge it and send an answer at your convenience.

I did not receive from the Governor an answer to my letter; nor have I ever had any communication from him on this or any other matter. I was asked by Pres. Russell a few days later, however, if I had written the Governor a letter on segregation. I told him I had written such a letter and that I would be glad to let him see a copy. After he had read the letter on the following day, we discussed the matter for some time. He was not pleased that I had written the letter, but he did not direct or even suggest that I desist from writing about or discussing the matter of segregation. This was about June 1, 1955.

On August 2, I delivered on the university campus a speech which had been scheduled and advertised for more than two months in advance. It was the sixth in a series of seven summer lectures. About 400 summer-session students and university faculty members made up the audience.

In this lecture, titled "Today's Decisions for Tomorrow's Schools," I mentioned briefly eight major problems and issues facing us in education today in South Carolina. The last problem discussed was that of integration of the races in the public schools. Some excerpts from this speech are given below:

In the absence of such statements from the professional organizations we cannot know how the members of these organizations feel about this problem [segregation]. Perhaps one would say that silence indicates concurrence with action being taken, but of course this may or may not be true. Silence can in some cases indicate opposition, coupled with a great reluctance to speak one's views—reluctance because of fear of embarrassment, ridicule, or reprisal. Be that as it may, it seems imperative to me that this or any other issue of so great import deserves and demands public discussion.

It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis—and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as practicable. Even though, as a white southerner, I have, since my early childhood, taken for granted the practice of segregation, I can find now no justification for it. As I study the Judaic-Christian concept prevalent in western civilization; as I examine the bases of our own government—the Bill of Rights and all other pronouncements of our forefathers—I find nothing which requires, justifies, or even allows a notion of second-class citizenship for any group. I find no conclusive evidence that any one group of men is foreordained to be superior or inferior to other groups of men. I even find that this notion of race and national superiority came to a ruinous end in Nazi Germany. For races or nations of men to think and act upon the assumption that theirs is the superior race or nation and that all other groups are inferior is to invite disaster and downfall. None of the great religions dictates such a creed. Instead, all of them say, in essence, that each man and woman is judged according to his own beliefs and acts. The fact that we have practiced segregation on the assumption that it was right and just, does not *make* it right and just.

There comes to mind, of course, the question of what to do when parts of the state constitution are not in agreement with parts of the Federal constitution. If one looks at this situation as a citizen of the United States, he can give only one answer. He must support the Federal constitution.

Still another aspect of this question of segregation is that of its implications for international relations. Even if all white people were personally in favor of segregation; even if the practice of segregation had not been declared illegal; one should still be keenly aware of the significance of this problem as the United States is trying so valiantly to gain the support of such countries as India, Egypt, and many other nations in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America. In our grave struggle against communism as a world power, we gain or lose prestige according to our practices back home, rather than by our words said abroad. World travellers, both natives of the United States and of other countries, tell us seriously and emphatically that our continued practice of segregation of the races in this country is jeopardizing our position in world affairs. This possibility is worthy of our serious consideration.

On August 21, when I returned from a brief vacation, I found at my home a letter from the secretary of the board of trustees of the university, informing me that, "in the best interest of the University," I was being dismissed from my position as dean of the School of Education, to become effective June 30, 1956. Since I had no warning whatsoever that such action was even contemplated, this news was a great shock to me.

On August 23, I went to see Pres. Russell to get an explanation. He said in a somewhat vague manner that the executive committee of the board of trustees had felt that the university would be embarrassed before the legislature if representatives of the university faculty were suggesting implementation of the Supreme Court decision on integration of the races in the schools.

About the middle of November, I accepted the position as dean of the College of Education at the University of New Mexico. This acceptance had been preceded by several weeks of correspondence between the officials of that institution and me. Early in October, I had revealed to Pres. Tom L. Popejoy the entire story of events as they had developed here at the University of South Carolina. I sent him copies of the August 2 speech and of the letter of dismissal. After informing him of all developments here, I told him that, if he still wished to consider me for the deanship, I would be interested in discussing the matter further.

In a few days, I received an invitation to visit the University of New Mexico campus at Albuquerque for an interview in connection with the position. I made this trip about November 1 and two weeks later was offered the position. On November 18, I accepted, with the agreement that I would begin my work there on February 1, 1956.

The charitable and courageous stand taken by Pres. Popejoy and the University of New Mexico officials is most noteworthy. When asked by reporters if he knew about my dismissal at the University of South Carolina, Pres. Popejoy replied,

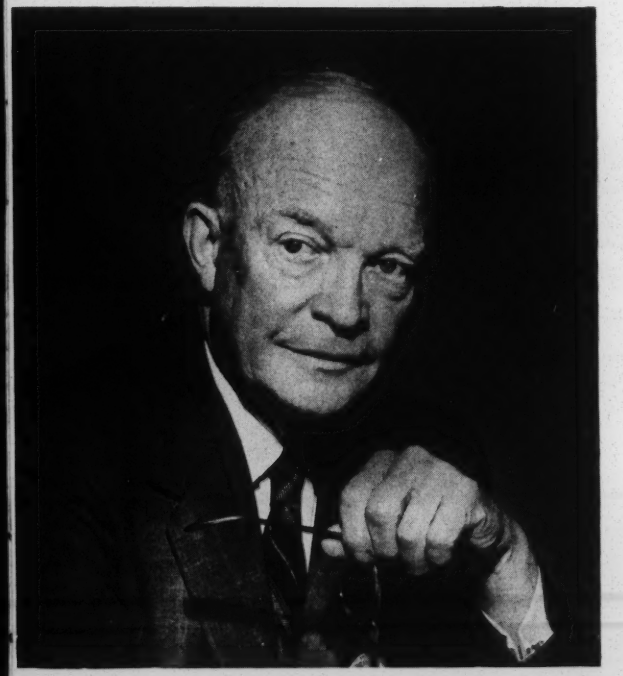
Dr. Travelstead's stand on segregation was more

of a recommendation than an indictment. . . . We made a thorough investigation of the speech Dr. Travelstead made in reference to segregation, and we found that it was in line with our point of view that segregation is contrary to our way of life. . . .

The University of New Mexico faculty unanimously adopted a resolution commending Pres. Popejoy on his action. The resolution read in part:

. . . this faculty wishes to associate itself with the action of President Popejoy and to warmly commend him for an act conforming to the best traditions of American democracy and to the noblest of education . . . by those acts President Popejoy has demonstrated an understanding of and a devotion to the finest principles of the democratic ideals. . . . In the climate of these times this statement of President Popejoy reflects real moral and political courage.

Equal job opportunity is good business



WASHINGTON, *June 29, 1954*

To the President's Committee on Government Contracts:

It is good that the Committee on Government Contracts has prepared this pamphlet describing its functions.

Quietly but persistently the members of this Committee have been at work, with heartening success, on employment problems which over the years have become charged with emotion and distorted by prejudice. Their efforts will, I am sure, continue to bring far-reaching results of enduring value. For notable achievement, the Committee has earned the appreciation and congratulations of the American people.

Because I believe that all who understand the Committee's efforts will wish to assist its progress, I urge everyone who receives this pamphlet to give its message sympathetic and thoughtful attention.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Foreword

This pamphlet has been prepared in order to bring to the attention of those employers who are performing Government contracts, other interested agencies, and the general public the purposes and functions of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Equality of opportunity in employment for all Americans is a cornerstone of the moral foundation on which this country was built. Further, it is a matter of urgent importance to the Nation for two very practical reasons.

First, the growing industrial might of this country requires the largest possible reserve of skilled manpower.

Second, in the world struggle for the minds of men, America's position of leadership makes it mandatory that we not be subject to the charge of racial prejudice which is being hurled at us every day by the Communists.

This Committee, through the application of the provisions of the so-called "contract clause," is seeking to eliminate all discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin by those contracting with the Government. Six million Government contracts

in 1953 totaling some forty billion dollars brought millions of Americans in every trade and occupation under direct protection of this contract clause.

Moreover, this Committee has made significant progress in bringing about equality of opportunity in the Nation's Capital.

These accomplishments are substantial.

The basic issue, however, goes far beyond the scope of Government. No one has spoken with greater wisdom on the responsibility of the individual American to insure equality of opportunity than President Eisenhower when he made the following statement on October 9, 1952:

"This problem and its solution are the job of all of us. Government can help and must help. But the final answer is up to you and me and must be achieved in the communities where we live. Every American who opposes inequality, every American who helps, in even the smallest way, to make equality of opportunity a living fact, is doing the business of America. He is strength, against its enemies, in the cause of freedom."

Richard Nixon

Chairman, President's Committee on Government Contracts

The President's Committee on Government Contracts

Chairman
THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON
Vice President of the United States

Vice Chairman
THE HONORABLE J. ERNEST WILKINS
Assistant Secretary of Labor

MR. GEORGE B. MCKIBBIN
Consultant to the Administrator
General Services Administration

THE HONORABLE JAMES P. MITCHELL
Secretary of Labor

MR. WILLIAM MITCHELL
General Counsel
Atomic Energy Commission

THE HONORABLE THOMAS P. PIKE
Assistant Secretary of Defense

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM P. ROGERS
Deputy Attorney General

THE HONORABLE JAMES C. WORTHY
Assistant Secretary of Commerce

MR. FRED LAZARUS, JR.
President
Federated Department Stores, Inc.
Cincinnati, Ohio

MR. GEORGE MEANY
President
The American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C.

MRS. HELEN ROGERS REID
Chairman of the Board
New York Herald Tribune
New York, N. Y.

MR. WALTER P. REUTHER
President
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Washington, D. C.

MR. JOHN ROOSEVELT
President
Lee Limited
New York, N. Y.

MR. IVAN L. WILLIS
Vice President
International Harvester Company
Chicago, Ill.

MR. JOHN MINOR WISDOM
Attorney
New Orleans, La.

DR. JACOB SEIDENBERG
Executive Director

Alternates: Mr. Boris Shishkin for Mr. George Meany—Mr. Victor Reuther and Mr. George L-P. Weaver for Mr. Walter Reuther

Every Government contract contains a clause which requires every contractor to give equal employment opportunity regardless of race, religion, color, or national origin. This clause has the same force as all other contract terms such as price, quality, quantity, and delivery.

THE CONTRACT CLAUSE

The clause, clarified and strengthened by The President's Committee on Government Contracts on April 20, 1954, reads as follows:

"In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay, or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees or applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

"The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials."

Functions of the Committee

The Committee is charged with the responsibility of insuring that each Government contracting agency takes appropriate steps to enforce the nondiscrimination clause.

The Committee also receives complaints of discrimination against Government contractors. These are transmitted to the appropriate contracting agency which reports back to the Committee its findings and actions on the complaints. The Committee reviews these findings and, where advisable, makes further recommendations.

The Committee also advises contracting agencies on measures for implementing the program to enforce the contract clause.

The Committee encourages educational programs by civic, religious, educational, labor, employer, and other voluntary nongovernmental groups to eliminate job discrimination.

The Committee cooperates with state, municipal, private, and voluntary agencies to effect nondiscrimination.

EVERYONE PROFITS FROM EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY

EVERY ELEMENT of our society gains through equal job opportunity. Nondiscrimination makes for a secure America; a unified country in which all people believe in our common ideals and respect one another. It lowers barriers and tensions between people. It reassures all groups. It means a stronger America.

This pamphlet places special emphasis on equal job opportunity for Negroes because they represent so large a part of the problem of discrimination. However, the facts in this presentation apply with equal force to all, regardless of race, religion, color, or national origin.

National Gains

Equal job opportunity increases our national wealth. It raises our standard of living by increasing the income of people who have been discriminated against. This expands demand and consumer and producer markets. The results are increased production and employment.

It has been estimated that the Nation's 16,000,000 Negroes now have an annual personal income exceeding $15,000,000,000. If equal opportunity were universal, billions of dollars in additional purchasing power would be created.

Community Gains

Communities are forced to expend large sums of tax money to counteract delinquency, crime, and other social maladjustments which can be traced to discrimination in employment.

Everybody pays this bill. Nondiscriminatory employment reduces this bill.

Business Gains

Companies that give employment on a basis of qualification alone are able to hire the person with the best training and experience available for the job. They increase their labor supply.

Through such a program, business has contributed to the social and economic welfare of the community and the country, resulting in building good will for itself and increasing its potential consumer market.

Workers Gain

All workers gain from equal job opportunities, not only those who have been subjected to discrimination.

Unions strengthen their economic position under uniform standards of pay, hiring, upgrading, promotion, and layoff for all workers. A divided work force is a weak work force.

On the International Front

Equal job opportunity improves our relations and strengthens our position among nations. Discrimination weakens the moral position of the United States in the World, gives Communists an opportunity to play up racial bigotry and create anti-American sentiment.

Our acts of discrimination hurt the United States wherever citizens belong to the same race as those who are discriminated against here. Two-thirds of the world's population is colored. Prejudice against nonwhites in the United States prejudices the nonwhite world against us.

Equal job opportunity is
democracy in action,
the most effective answer to
Communist propaganda.

WE'VE COME A LONG WAY

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court has banned segregation in public schools. This historic decision shows clearly the trend. Equality in job opportunity will be accelerated as a result. We have come a long way.

Changes have taken place in recent years smoothly and effectively. Voluntary programs of nondiscrimination are bringing about more friendly relations among groups which were formerly distrustful of each other.

Sixty million Americans already live under some kind of state or local equal employment legislation.

Twelve states since 1945 have passed laws barring discrimination by employers and labor unions because of race, color, religion, or national origin. These are usually administered by a commission and made effective through cooperation of business, labor, and community groups.

The City of Washington, D. C., now inserts the nondiscrimination clause in all the contracts it executes. This step followed the Committee's request for the insertion of such a clause. The District of Columbia executes annually approximately 1,000 con-

tracts, expending approximately 23 million dollars a year.

Thirty-one cities have local ordinances prohibiting job discrimination.

In the Armed Services

Integration is complete in the Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps and is almost complete in the Army.

There was integration of our combat forces in Korea. The integration program at the United States Air Force Base at San Antonio, Tex., of 26,000 white and Negro enlistees, was achieved without incident.

The Navy Department in December 1953 integrated its installations for civilian and military personnel at Charleston, S. C., and Norfolk, Va. Negroes and whites share the same cafeterias, locker rooms, washrooms, drinking fountains, and all other facilities.

In Training Opportunities

Negro students are enrolled on the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels in many colleges and universities, and in technical and trade schools in all parts of the country.

In Public Service

In government, Negroes hold important elective and appointive positions on the local, national, and international levels.

In Unions

In 1953, more than 2,000,000 Negroes were members of unions, as compared with 700,000 in 1938. Negroes hold top office in 23 national unions.

The Southern Regional Council estimates that of 1,750,000 trade unionists in the South, about 700,000 are Negroes.

In Industry

During World War I, thousands of Negroes entered industrial employment in urban areas. At the start of World War II, in 1941, only 2.5 percent of all war workers were Negroes. Between 1940–44, skilled and semiskilled Negroes increased from 500,000 to 1,500,000.

In the early 1940's, Negroes reached professional levels as chemists and engineers in such companies as International Harvester in Chicago; Western Electric in Kearny, N. J.; General Electric in Schenectady; Curtiss-Wright and Bell Aircraft in Buffalo; Lockheed in Los Angeles.

After World War II they retained most of their wartime gains and entered new fields.

BUSINESS AND UNIONS LEAD THE WAY

America's forward-looking businessmen and labor leaders believe that equal employment opportunity is good business. Trade unionists believe that equality of opportunity advances the standards of employment of all workers.

"General Cable Corporation has for many years followed the policy of equal economic opportunity. This policy provides employees and applicants for employment equal consideration on all phases of personnel policy. Of course, there is no segregation of employees in any of our plants."

A. LEON FERGENSON
Vice President
General Cable Corporation

"It is the policy of the Company to afford equal opportunity of employment to all job applicants regardless of their race, creed, color, or national origin and that employment with us shall be based solely on the selection of the best qualified candidates for the openings available. Our employees have been fully advised of this policy and no serious difficulties have been experienced with regard to it."

WILLARD G. HAMPTON
Vice President
New York Telephone Company

"The United Mine Workers of America practices complete equality of membership—it has no substandard memberships—and also complete job equality in accordance with its Constitution adopted in 1890. Its official seal carries the phrase 'One and indissoluble' and the United Mine Workers of America has lived by that doctrine for 64 years.

"The United Mine Workers of America recognizes that discrimination in any form operates to the detriment of organized workers, that it offers fertile ground for antiunion 'divide and conquer' tactics, and that it is contrary to our ideals of democracy.

"The United Mine Workers of America believes in and practices equality of opportunity and further believes that all Americans, regardless of race, creed or nationality, should be free to exercise those rights which are their heritage."

JOHN L. LEWIS
President
United Mine Workers of America

"We are in favor of workers being hired on the basis of their training and skill rather than their religion or color of their skins. Good Americans favor this policy. It makes good sense."

A. E. LYON
Secretary-Treasurer
Railway Labor Executives Association

"For many years International Harvester has followed a policy in our plants of employing the best qualified person available without regard to race, color, or creed. This same policy was followed when our plants at Memphis, Tenn., Louisville, Ky., Evansville, Ind., and Melrose Park, Ill., were placed in operation following World War II and has also led to the successful integration of minority groups in our work force in these newer operations.

"We believe that such a program is not only good business for the Company, but contrib-

utes to the economic welfare of each community in which our plants are located."

JOHN L. MCCAFFREY
President
International Harvester Company

"In America's struggle against world Communism our country is fighting for the dignity of man and his freedom. At the heart of this struggle is free and equal opportunity for all men to share in the fruits of production and in citizenship. Today, more than ever before, it is our Nation's duty not only to proclaim but to enforce this principle in the conduct of its government. Nondiscrimination in employment has been one of the foremost objectives of the American Federation of Labor since its inception. The work toward its full realization is urgent. In this work labor must and will do its part."

GEORGE MEANY
President
The American Federation of Labor

"The difficulties one expects to encounter in initiating a program of Negro employment materialize to the extent of about five percent of what was anticipated. Negroes, once they are established within an industry, are no longer identified as members of a group of outsiders to be feared collectively; instead, they become, in a very little time, people with names, identities, and personalities who are individually measured."

J. J. MORROW
Director of Personnel Relations
Pitney-Bowes Inc.

"We have integrated Negroes without incident into practically every department of the plant, including the skilled trades groups. Also, some measure of success has been experienced on salaried jobs, particularly in the field of engineering. We anticipate further progress in the future as the number of qualified Negro applicants increases, consistent with our employment requirements.

"We have only one policy for hiring, training, upgrading and promoting employees; that is, Qualification."

H. I. NEWSOME
Personnel Director
General Motors Corporation
Inland Manufacturing Division

"Discrimination in employment, because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is an evil which can and must be eradicated.

"There is neither reason nor excuse in a land where we believe all men are created equal for denying equality of opportunity to all our people.

"We must eliminate discrimination because it is morally indefensible as well as economically unsound. We cannot tolerate discrimination in employment, whether the practice is initiated by the employer, the labor union or the employment agency.

"It is intolerable and unthinkable that any government contract, calling for the expenditure of the taxpayers' money, should go to any concern which engages in such discriminatory practices.

"We believe this principle is above politics—that it is a nonpartisan objective to be sought by all parties. Accordingly, in this spirit of nonpartisanship, the CIO supports the principles underlying the President's Government Contract Committee.

"To do less, would be to make us unworthy of our great American heritage."

WALTER P. REUTHER
President
Congress of Industrial Organizations

"We at RCA believe that a policy of equality of employment opportunity without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin is both right and practical. Our experience has fully justified this belief.

"We have found there is no real ground for the fear that employment of minority groups on an equal basis will arouse resentment among the majority of workers or in the community.

"Not only does RCA experience excellent human and community relations as a result of offering equal employment opportunity for all, but our experience has also demonstrated that minority groups can contribute as much in the way of technical skills as any other part of the population. Nondiscrimination in employment is not only a matter of basic democratic principles; it is also a matter of good business."

DAVID SARNOFF
Chairman of the Board
Radio Corporation of America

IT CAN BE DONE

Some of the common objections and answers that business organizations have found useful.

1 I'm in business. I'm no social reformer.

Answer: Businessmen have learned that integration is good business. It is not social reform to use the training, skill and ambition of the entire labor force.

2 I can't move ahead of this community and its traditions.

Answer: Businessmen are leaders in their community. When they establish nondiscrimination in their plants, opposition folds up and anticipated difficulties do not arise.

3 We would hire Negroes, but they don't apply for work.

Answer: If your community knows you have a fair employment policy, qualified applicants will come to you, regardless of their religion or race.

4 Someday Negroes will be able to fill the kind of jobs we have but not yet.

Answer: Negroes who have equivalent training and skill are just as good workers as other people. Personnel records prove there is no difference in turnover, absenteeism, and punctuality between Negroes and other workers.

5 I am afraid our workers will object and walk out.

Answer: With positive leadership many companies have adopted nondiscriminatory employment practices and put them into effect without incident.

6 We believe in equal job opportunity and would like to go ahead, but we think we might offend some people.

Answer: People admire courage. Pioneers in nondiscrimination have made good friends all over this great country.

EIGHT STEPS TO EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY

Experience has shown that the following methods are practical in bringing about successful integration:

1 Develop a policy of integration and announce it to the entire organization.

2 Explain policy and methods for its introduction to all supervisors, personnel managers, foremen, interviewers, etc.

3 Explain policy to all workers and union officials.

4 Select carefully initial members of group to be integrated, making sure that they are competent and personable.

5 Place member of minority group in strategic position in personnel or industrial relations department.

6 Explain policy to all job applicants.

7 Enlist the cooperation of the community.

8 Handle all complaints promptly.

■ Top management has the main responsibility to assure equal job opportunity, but there must also be willing cooperation on the part of supervisors and foremen, other employees and the whole community. Equal opportunity is everybody's responsibility.

Principal Contracting Agencies

Department of Agriculture

Atomic Energy Commission

Central Intelligence Agency

Department of Commerce

Department of Defense

Defense Materials Procurement Agency

Federal Civil Defense Administration

Federal Communications Commission

Federal Power Commission

Federal Trade Commission

Foreign Operations Administration

General Accounting Office

General Services Administration

Government Printing Office

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Housing and Home Finance Agency

Department of the Interior

Department of Justice

Department of Labor

National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics

Panama Canal Company

Post Office Department

Railroad Retirement Board

Selective Service System

Department of State

Tennessee Valley Authority

Department of the Treasury

Veterans Administration

Correspondence may be addressed to—
The President's Committee on Government Contracts Washington 25, D. C.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1954—O-304612

EQUAL
job opportunity

Procedures for
filing complaints
under Executive Order
10479.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Washington 25, D. C.

EVERY *Federal contract involving the employment of labor, issued on or after December 2, 1954, contains the following provision:*

"In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay, or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials."

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT expects contractors to comply voluntarily with their contracts. The Government recognizes, however, that there will be complaints alleging violation of the nondiscrimination clause. The President has authorized the Committee on Government Contracts to receive such complaints.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Washington 25, D. C.

PROCEDURES FOR FILING COMPLAINTS

HOW *are complaints filed?*

Complaints may be filed by writing a letter to the President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D. C.

WHO *may file a complaint?*

Any person or organization with knowledge of the failure of a Federal contractor to comply with the nondiscrimination clause in the contract may file a complaint with the President's Committee.

WHAT *information should be included in the letter?*

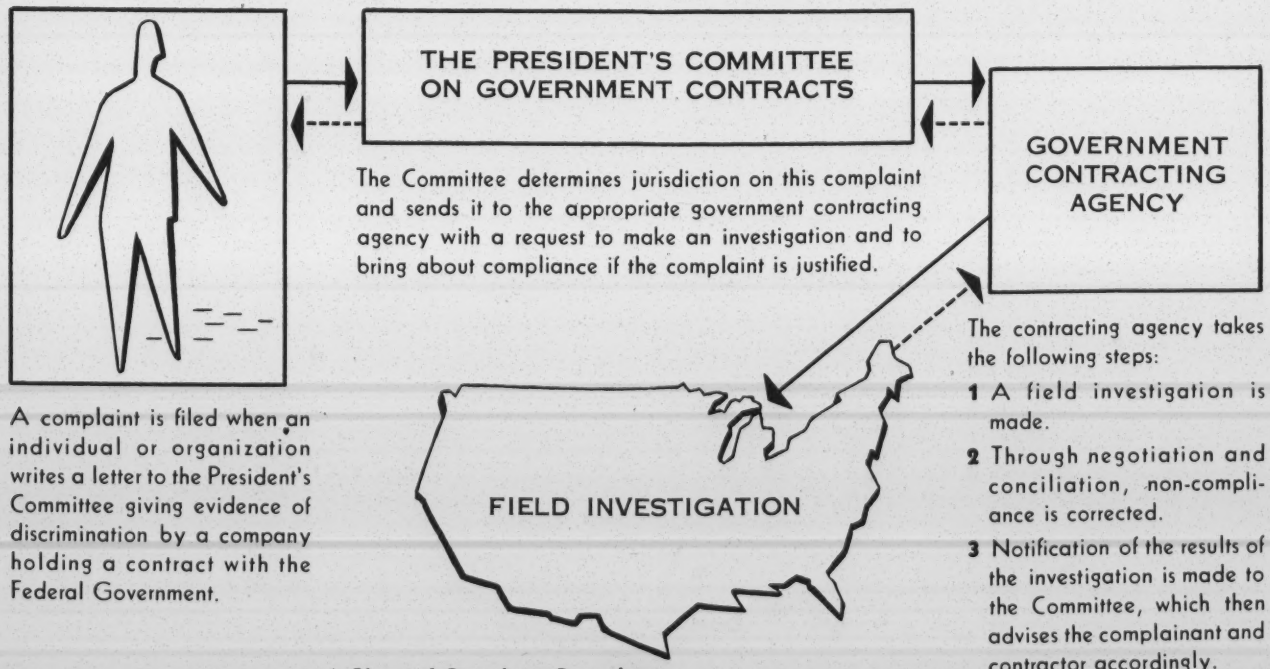
1 Name and address of complainant.

2 Name and address of employer (contractor or subcontractor).

3 Brief statement of what part of the nondiscrimination clause is alleged to be violated, i. e., employment, demotion, upgrading, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; selection for training including apprenticeship; layoff or termination.

4 Specific evidence supporting the allegation, giving names of persons involved and date of any instances of discrimination in addition to as detailed a description as possible of the circumstances of the case.

What happens to complaints when they are filed with the Committee?



A Chart of Complaint Procedure

Whose **RESPONSIBILITY** *is it to assure equal job opportunity on work done on Federal contracts?*

FIRST: *Contractors*

By signing the contract containing the nondiscrimination in employment clause, contractors agree to assume this responsibility.

SECOND: *Agencies of Government*

The President directed the contracting agencies of the Government to obtain compliance. By routine compliance checks, the investigation of complaints, and educational methods, the Government agencies bring about compliance.

THIRD: *The Public*

The public can help bring about compliance by supporting equal job opportunity for all qualified persons.

Equal Economic Opportunity

This employer has agreed to provide equal employment opportunities in connection with all work performed under contracts with the Federal Government in accordance with national policy.

This employer agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin in connection with:

- EMPLOYMENT, DEMOTION, UPGRADING, OR TRANSFER
- RECRUITMENT OR RECRUITMENT ADVERTISING
- RATES OF PAY OR OTHER FORMS OF COMPENSATION
- SELECTION FOR TRAINING INCLUDING APPRENTICESHIP
- LAYOFF OR TERMINATION

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS — EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Inquiries may be addressed to

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Washington 25, D. C.

Federal contracts require the posting of this notice at conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

President Eisenhower appointed the following Committee to assist in obtaining compliance with the nondiscrimination clause in Federal contracts.

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON, Chairman
Vice President of the United States

The Honorable JAMES P. MITCHELL, Vice Chairman
Secretary of Labor

PUBLIC MEMBERS:

FRED LAZARUS, Jr.
President, Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio

GEORGE MEANY
President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

JAMES M. NABRIT, Jr.
Secretary, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

MRS. HELEN ROGERS REID
Chairman of the Board, New York Herald Tribune, New York, N. Y.

WALTER P. REUTHER
President, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

JOHN A. ROOSEVELT
President, Lee Limited, New York, N. Y.

IVAN L. WILLIS
Vice President, International Harvester Co., Chicago, Ill.

JOHN MINOR WISDOM
Attorney, New Orleans, La.

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES:

GEORGE B. MCKIBBIN
Consultant to the Administrator, General Services Administration

WILLIAM MITCHELL
General Counsel, Atomic Energy Commission

The Honorable THOMAS P. PIKE
Assistant Secretary of Defense

The Honorable WILLIAM P. ROGERS
Deputy Attorney General

The Honorable JAMES C. WORTHY
Assistant Secretary of Commerce

MAXWELL M. RABB
Associate Counsel to the President, White House Liaison with Committee

JACOB SEIDENBERG
Executive Director

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1954—O—322333

FREEDOM AGENDA

T. V. Smith

The Bill of Rights and our Individual Liberties

A community adventure
in the discussion of freedom

Freedom Agenda

THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND OUR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

T. V. Smith

Published by the
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT MEMORIAL FUND, INC.
1954

FIRST REPORT

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

FIRST REPORT

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEPTEMBER 1954

Pages 23, 55 + 56 and 73-79

FIFTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES : 1930

Mr Raper

POPULATION BULLETIN

SECOND SERIES

UNITED STATES SUMMARY

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

WASHINGTON
1931

TOPICAL INDEX OF POPULATION CENSUS REPORTS

1900 - 1930

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATION No. 205

WASHINGTON, D.C. ★ JANUARY 1935

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

By

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Bureau of Home Economics, and Forest Service

In cooperation with the

Office of Education, United States Department of Interior
and the Agricultural Experiment Stations of
Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky

George Sinclair Mitchell

Southern Regional
Council
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

16TH CENSUS
OF THE UNITED STATES
1940

HOUSING

First Series

Data for Small Areas

United States Summary

Selected Housing Statistics for States; for Urban and Rural Areas; for Cities of 50,000 or More; and for Metropolitan Districts

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

JESSE H. JONES, SECRETARY

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

J. C. CAPT, DIRECTOR (Appointed May 22, 1941)

WILLIAM LANE AUSTIN, DIRECTOR (Retired January 31, 1941)

VERGIL D. REED, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

HOWARD H. McCLURE, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

16TH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES 1940

POPULATION

First Series

Number of Inhabitants

Georgia

Prepared under the supervision of

Dr. LEON E. TRUESDELL

Chief Statistician for Population

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE • WASHINGTON • 1941

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., Price 10 cents

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

JESSE H. JONES, SECRETARY

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

J. C. CAPT, DIRECTOR (Appointed May 22, 1941)

WILLIAM LANE AUSTIN, DIRECTOR (Retired January 31, 1941)

VERGIL D. REED, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

HOWARD H. McCLURE, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

16TH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES 1940

POPULATION

Second Series

Characteristics of the Population

Georgia

Prepared under the supervision of

Dr. LEON E. TRUESDELL

Chief Statistician for Population

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE • WASHINGTON • 1942

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., Price 40 cents

August 22, 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington

Sixteenth Census of the
United States: 1940

Series H-13, No. 2

HOUSING

HOME LIGHTING EQUIPMENT: 1940

(This advance release presents data on home lighting equipment in urban and rural areas in the United States and in the North, South, and West. Similar data for States are being issued in releases of Series H-9.)

More than three-fourths of all dwelling units in the United States have electric lights, according to data from the 1940 Census of Housing released today by Director J. C. Capt of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Electric lighting equipment was provided in 28,052,596 dwelling units, or 76.7 percent of the 36,557,913 units for which type of lighting equipment was reported. The percentages of urban and rural-nonfarm homes with electric lights were 92.5 and 77.8, respectively. The corresponding figure for rural-farm homes was 31.3 percent. Of the three regions, the West ranked first in proportion of homes with electric lighting, the percentages being 88.6 in the West, 85.4 in the North, and 54.5 in the South.

While the greatest contrast in the proportion of homes with electric lights occurs between urban and rural areas, especially between the nonfarm and farm residence groups, the census figures show important regional differences among these residence groups. Thus the proportion of rural-farm homes that were wired for electricity was 57.4 percent in the West, as compared with 44.3 percent in the North and 16.4 percent in the South. The percentage of urban homes with electric lights ranged from 84.7 in the South to 98.5 in the West.

Kerosene or gasoline lamps were reported as the principal type of lighting equipment for 7,638,257 dwelling units in the United States, or one out of every five. About 5,000,000 of these dwelling units were rural-farm, 3,000,000 being in the rural-farm areas of the South.

Gas lights were used in fewer than 500,000 homes, or 1.3 percent of all reporting units, and about an equal number used candles or some other means of lighting. Relatively more urban than rural homes used gas lights, the percentages being 1.4 for all urban dwelling units, 0.7 for the rural-nonfarm, and 1.3 for the rural-farm. The most frequent use of gas lighting occurred in urban places of the North, where it was reported for almost 300,000 dwelling units, or 2.0 percent of the total.

The extension of power lines into the rural areas between 1930 and 1940 has brought about substantial gains in the use of electricity by farm families. According to reports of the Census of Agriculture, 13.4 percent of all farm operators' dwellings were lighted by electricity in 1930. By 1940 31.3 percent of all rural-farm dwelling units reported the use of electricity for lighting. The actual increase between 1930 and 1940 may have been even greater than these figures indicate, because the data obtained in the Farm census are restricted to dwellings occupied by farm operators, whereas the 1940 figures cover all dwelling units on farms, including vacant units and homes of farm laborers and persons engaged in nonfarm occupations, as well as those occupied by farm operators.

The figures in the accompanying table were taken from the Second Series Housing bulletins which are being issued for each State by the Bureau of the Census. These bulletins also contain statistics relating to type of structure, year built, number of rooms, size of household, rent or value, and housing facilities and equipment. (over)

ALL DWELLING UNITS BY LIGHTING EQUIPMENT, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, URBAN AND RURAL: 1940

(Figures include both occupied and vacant units)

Area and lighting equipment	Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
UNITED STATES								
Total.....	37,325,470	-	21,616,352	-	8,066,837	-	7,642,281	-
Number reporting.....	36,557,913	100.0	21,094,463	100.0	7,950,653	100.0	7,512,797	100.0
Electric.....	28,052,596	76.7	19,516,516	92.5	6,185,034	77.8	2,351,046	31.3
Gas.....	458,831	1.3	304,798	1.4	54,622	0.7	99,411	1.3
Kerosene or gasoline	7,638,257	20.9	1,043,431	4.9	1,658,611	20.9	4,936,215	65.7
Other.....	408,229	1.1	229,718	1.1	52,386	0.7	126,125	1.7
Not reporting.....	767,557	-	521,889	-	116,184	-	129,484	-
THE NORTH								
Total.....	21,910,203	-	14,572,010	-	4,269,655	-	3,068,538	-
Number reporting.....	21,389,236	100.0	14,157,310	100.0	4,210,976	100.0	3,020,950	100.0
Electric.....	18,260,752	85.4	13,271,197	93.7	3,650,590	86.7	1,338,965	44.3
Gas.....	358,993	1.7	284,672	2.0	21,662	0.5	52,659	1.7
Kerosene or gasoline	2,507,995	11.7	392,754	2.8	520,640	12.4	1,594,601	52.8
Other.....	261,496	1.2	208,687	1.5	18,084	0.4	34,725	1.1
Not reporting.....	520,967	-	414,700	-	58,679	-	47,588	-
THE SOUTH								
Total.....	10,876,056	-	4,324,822	-	2,664,771	-	3,886,463	-
Number reporting.....	10,700,124	100.0	4,258,154	100.0	2,625,380	100.0	3,816,590	100.0
Electric.....	5,833,587	54.5	3,606,391	84.7	1,602,958	61.1	624,238	16.4
Gas.....	80,015	0.7	16,343	0.4	27,068	1.0	36,604	1.0
Kerosene or gasoline	4,670,345	43.6	619,007	14.5	970,615	37.0	3,080,723	80.7
Other.....	116,177	1.1	16,413	0.4	24,739	0.9	75,025	2.0
Not reporting.....	175,932	-	66,668	-	39,391	-	69,873	-
THE WEST								
Total.....	4,539,211	-	2,719,520	-	1,132,411	-	687,280	-
Number reporting.....	4,468,553	100.0	2,678,999	100.0	1,114,297	100.0	675,257	100.0
Electric.....	3,958,257	88.6	2,638,928	98.5	931,486	83.6	387,843	57.4
Gas.....	19,823	0.4	3,783	0.1	5,892	0.5	10,148	1.5
Kerosene or gasoline	459,917	10.3	31,670	1.2	167,356	15.0	260,891	38.6
Other.....	30,556	0.7	4,618	0.2	9,563	0.9	16,375	2.4
Not reporting.....	70,658	-	40,521	-	18,114	-	12,023	-

3-34871

September 9, 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington

Sixteenth Census of the
United States: 1940

Series H-13, No. 5

HOUSING

EQUIPMENT AND FUEL FOR HOME HEATING, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, DIVISIONS, AND STATES, URBAN AND RURAL: 1940

[This advance release presents summary data on heating equipment and heating fuel for urban and rural areas of the United States by regions, divisions, and States. The more detailed figures shown for the United States and the three major regions are being presented for States in release Series H-9. A release on the use of petroleum products as fuel for home heating also has been issued (H-13, No. 3).]

More than 14,000,000 homes in the United States have central heating equipment, according to data from the 1940 Census of Housing released today by Director J. C. Capt of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. The homes with central heating represented 42.0 percent of the 34,144,370 occupied dwelling units for which type of heating equipment was reported. Coal or coke was the principal fuel used for heating 54.2 percent of the occupied dwelling units, while wood was reported for 22.6 percent, gas for 11.2 percent, and fuel oil or other petroleum products for 9.9 percent. Almost two-thirds of the 3,396,212 dwelling units reporting the use of petroleum products as heating fuel were in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and South Atlantic States, where restrictions have recently been placed on the sale of these products.

Steam or hot water systems furnished heat for 7,424,844 occupied dwelling units, or about one-fifth of all homes, and piped warm air systems were reported for 5,725,273 occupied units, or one-sixth of the total. The number of central heating installations is considerably less than the number of dwelling units heated with such equipment because a majority of the dwelling units in multi-family structures are heated by one installation which serves the entire structure. Central heat from a pipeless warm air furnace was provided in 1,193,516 homes, or 3.5 percent. Almost 20 million homes were without central heating equipment, but most of these were reported as having "heating stoves." This category includes regular heating stoves, circulator heaters with flues, and nonportable electric or gas heaters.

In the North, 60.2 percent of the homes had central heating equipment, as compared with 27.1 percent in the West and 11.4 percent in the South. The steam or hot water system was the predominant type used in both the North and the South, but in the West the piped warm air system was reported more frequently than any other type. Pipeless warm air furnaces were somewhat more common in the West than in the other two regions, though the actual number of homes with this type of heating system was larger in the North than in the West.

Approximately 12,000,000 of the 14,000,000 homes with central heating were in urban places, and almost 10,000,000 of these were in urban places of the North. In each region the proportion of urban homes with central heat was considerably greater than the proportion of rural homes with this type of heating. In the North, 72.5 percent of all urban homes had central heating, as compared with 43.3 percent of the rural-nonfarm homes and 21.9 percent of the rural-farm. In the West, the percentages were 37.1 for urban areas, 13.6 for rural-nonfarm, and 6.4 for rural-farm; and in the South, 22.3 for urban, 8.0 for rural-nonfarm, and 1.3 for rural-farm.

Coal or coke was reported as the principal heating fuel for almost 15,000,000 homes in the North, or 72.5 percent of the number reporting; for 3,000,000 homes in the South, or 31.7 percent; and for about 750,000 in the West, or 18.7 percent. Almost two-thirds (63.5 percent) of the urban homes used coal or coke for heating, as compared with 53.3 percent of the rural-nonfarm and 28.3 percent of the rural-farm. More than half (58.8 percent) of the homes using coal or coke as heating fuel had central heating equipment.

Gas was reported as the principal heating fuel for almost 4,000,000 homes, 71.1 percent of which were without central heating. This fuel was used in 38.2 percent of the homes in

the West and in 15.3 percent of those in the South, but in only 3.8 percent of the homes in the North. Within each region the use of gas was confined for the most part to urban homes.

The 3,000,000 homes that relied on fuel oil for heating were concentrated in the North, especially in the Northern cities on the Eastern Seaboard. Nearly four-fifths (77.7 percent) of all dwelling units that used fuel oil for heating were in the North, and 47.8 percent were in the urban places of the New England and Middle Atlantic States. Of the 2,260,556 urban homes reporting the use of fuel oil for heating purposes, 1,428,194 (63.2 percent) had central heating equipment. In the rural areas, however, fuel oil was used more often as fuel for heating stoves than as fuel for central furnaces.

Wood was reported as the principal heating fuel in nearly 8,000,000 homes, practically all of which were without central heating equipment. Two-thirds of the rural-farm homes used wood for heating--46.5 percent of the rural-farm homes in the North, 83.7 percent of those in the South, and 60.5 percent of those in the West. For the rural-nonfarm homes the percentage using wood ranged from 13.9 in the North to 42.5 in the South. Fifteen and four-tenths percent of the urban homes in the West and 14.8 percent of those in the South used wood as the principal heating fuel, as contrasted with 1.5 percent of those in the North.

The statistics on heating equipment and heating fuel are summarized for the United States and the three major regions in Tables 1 and 2, and are shown in less detail for States in Tables 3 to 6. These figures were obtained from the Second Series Housing Bulletins for States now being published by the Bureau of the Census.

3-35158

TABLE 1. OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY HEATING EQUIPMENT, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, URBAN AND RURAL: 1940

Area and heating equipment	Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
All occupied units.....	34,854,532	-	20,596,500	-	7,151,473	-	7,106,559	-
Reporting heating equipment....	34,144,370	100.0	20,187,387	100.0	7,002,905	100.0	6,954,078	100.0
With central heating.....	14,343,633	42.0	11,746,736	58.2	1,892,797	27.0	704,100	10.1
Steam or hot water system..	7,424,844	21.7	6,616,433	32.8	669,185	9.6	139,226	2.0
Piped warm air system.....	5,725,273	16.8	4,472,656	22.2	877,856	12.5	374,761	5.4
Pipeless warm air furnace..	1,193,516	3.5	657,647	3.3	345,756	4.9	190,113	2.7
Without central heating.....	19,800,737	58.0	8,440,651	41.8	5,110,108	73.0	6,249,978	89.9
Heating stove.....	15,926,928	46.6	7,081,423	35.1	4,286,115	61.2	4,559,390	65.6
Other or none.....	3,873,809	11.3	1,359,228	6.7	823,993	11.8	1,690,588	24.3
Not reporting heating equipment	710,162	-	409,113	-	148,568	-	152,481	-
THE NORTH								
All occupied units.....	20,442,706	-	13,911,316	-	3,667,015	-	2,864,375	-
Reporting heating equipment....	20,142,334	100.0	13,692,606	100.0	3,621,712	100.0	2,828,016	100.0
With central heating.....	12,119,509	60.2	9,931,493	72.5	1,568,279	43.3	619,737	21.9
Steam or hot water system..	6,466,095	32.1	5,795,600	42.3	552,105	15.2	118,390	4.2
Piped warm air system.....	4,867,509	24.2	3,772,167	27.5	752,409	20.8	342,933	12.1
Pipeless warm air furnace..	785,905	3.9	363,726	2.7	263,765	7.3	158,414	5.6
Without central heating.....	8,022,825	39.8	3,761,113	27.5	2,053,433	56.7	2,208,279	78.1
Heating stove.....	7,779,998	38.6	3,596,394	26.3	2,003,137	55.3	2,180,467	77.1
Other or none.....	242,827	1.2	164,719	1.2	50,296	1.4	27,812	1.0
Not reporting heating equipment	300,372	-	218,710	-	45,303	-	36,359	-
THE SOUTH								
All occupied units.....	10,278,204	-	4,134,172	-	2,512,578	-	3,631,454	-
Reporting heating equipment....	9,975,381	100.0	4,003,548	100.0	2,439,123	100.0	3,532,710	100.0
With central heating.....	1,133,978	11.4	891,573	22.3	196,145	8.0	46,260	1.3
Steam or hot water system..	662,990	6.6	549,480	13.7	97,075	4.0	16,435	0.5
Piped warm air system.....	327,727	3.3	252,067	6.3	63,932	2.6	11,728	0.3
Pipeless warm air furnace..	143,261	1.4	90,026	2.2	35,138	1.4	18,097	0.5
Without central heating.....	8,841,403	88.6	3,111,975	77.7	2,242,978	92.0	3,486,450	98.7
Heating stove.....	5,845,519	58.6	2,357,722	58.9	1,605,960	65.8	1,881,837	53.3
Other or none.....	2,995,884	30.0	754,253	18.8	637,018	26.1	1,604,613	45.4
Not reporting heating equipment	302,823	-	130,624	-	73,455	-	98,744	-
THE WEST								
All occupied units.....	4,133,622	-	2,551,012	-	971,880	-	610,730	-
Reporting heating equipment....	4,026,655	100.0	2,491,233	100.0	942,070	100.0	593,352	100.0
With central heating.....	1,090,146	27.1	923,670	37.1	128,373	13.6	38,103	6.4
Steam or hot water system..	295,759	7.3	271,353	10.9	20,005	2.1	4,401	0.7
Piped warm air system.....	530,037	13.2	448,422	18.0	61,515	6.5	20,100	3.4
Pipeless warm air furnace..	264,350	6.6	203,895	8.2	46,853	5.0	13,602	2.3
Without central heating.....	2,936,509	72.9	1,567,563	62.9	813,697	86.4	555,249	93.6
Heating stove.....	2,301,411	57.2	1,127,307	45.3	677,018	71.9	497,086	83.8
Other or none.....	635,098	15.8	440,256	17.7	136,679	14.5	58,163	9.8
Not reporting heating equipment	106,967	-	59,779	-	29,810	-	17,378	-

TABLE 2. OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY CENTRAL HEATING AND TYPE OF FUEL, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, URBAN AND RURAL: 1940
(Percent not shown where less than 0.1)

Area and heating fuel by central heating	Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
All occupied units	34,854,532	-	20,596,500	-	7,151,473	-	7,106,559	-
Reporting heating equipment	34,144,370	100.0	20,187,387	100.0	7,002,905	100.0	6,954,078	100.0
With central heating	14,343,633	42.0	11,746,736	58.2	1,892,797	27.0	704,100	10.1
Coal or coke	10,900,186	31.9	8,968,470	44.4	1,442,514	20.6	489,202	7.0
Wood	373,312	1.1	119,534	0.6	82,665	1.2	171,113	2.5
Gas	1,108,889	3.2	983,255	4.9	113,964	1.6	11,670	0.2
Fuel oil	1,687,591	4.9	1,428,194	7.1	231,755	3.3	27,642	0.4
Other	78,221	0.2	66,081	0.3	9,621	0.1	2,519	-
Not reporting fuel	195,434	0.6	181,202	0.9	12,278	0.2	1,954	-
Without central heating	19,800,737	58.0	8,440,651	41.8	5,110,108	73.0	6,249,978	89.9
Coal or coke	7,622,514	22.3	3,850,727	19.1	2,288,666	32.7	1,483,121	21.3
Wood	7,356,155	21.5	1,055,343	5.2	1,840,153	26.3	4,460,659	64.1
Gas	2,724,155	8.0	2,139,322	10.6	481,204	6.9	103,629	1.5
Fuel oil	1,221,874	3.6	832,362	4.1	286,700	4.1	102,812	1.5
Kerosene or gasoline	486,747	1.4	334,160	1.7	107,797	1.5	44,790	0.6
Other	44,965	0.1	22,549	0.1	12,403	0.2	10,013	0.1
None	262,651	0.8	161,541	0.8	71,133	1.0	29,977	0.4
Not reporting fuel	81,676	0.2	44,647	0.2	22,052	0.3	14,977	0.2
Not reporting heating equipment	710,162	-	409,113	-	148,568	-	152,481	-
THE NORTH								
All occupied units	20,442,706	-	13,911,316	-	3,667,015	-	2,864,375	-
Reporting heating equipment	20,142,334	100.0	13,692,606	100.0	3,621,712	100.0	2,828,016	100.0
With central heating	12,119,509	60.2	9,931,493	72.5	1,568,279	43.3	619,737	21.9
Coal or coke	9,856,228	48.9	8,143,854	59.5	1,267,144	35.0	445,230	15.7
Wood	242,581	1.2	36,695	0.3	58,356	1.6	147,530	5.2
Gas	455,142	2.3	404,012	3.0	46,128	1.3	5,002	0.2
Fuel oil	1,353,908	6.7	1,151,956	8.4	182,554	5.0	19,398	0.7
Other	44,864	0.2	38,592	0.3	4,964	0.1	1,308	-
Not reporting fuel	166,786	0.8	156,384	1.1	9,133	0.3	1,269	-
Without central heating	8,022,825	39.8	3,761,113	27.5	2,053,433	56.7	2,208,279	78.1
Coal or coke	4,749,247	23.6	2,487,471	18.2	1,322,604	36.5	939,172	33.2
Wood	1,774,221	8.8	162,481	1.2	443,923	12.3	1,167,817	41.3
Gas	311,000	1.5	234,097	1.7	53,708	1.5	23,195	0.8
Fuel oil	906,728	4.5	674,051	4.9	174,037	4.8	58,640	2.1
Kerosene or gasoline	213,688	1.1	161,722	1.2	43,152	1.2	8,814	0.3
Other	14,453	0.1	8,027	0.1	2,370	0.1	4,056	0.1
None	26,400	0.1	17,151	0.1	6,958	0.2	2,291	0.1
Not reporting fuel	27,088	0.1	16,113	0.1	6,681	0.2	4,294	0.2
Not reporting heating equipment	300,372	-	218,710	-	45,303	-	36,359	-
THE SOUTH								
All occupied units	10,278,204	-	4,134,172	-	2,512,578	-	3,631,454	-
Reporting heating equipment	9,975,381	100.0	4,003,548	100.0	2,439,123	100.0	3,532,710	100.0
With central heating	1,133,978	11.4	891,573	22.3	196,145	8.0	46,260	1.3
Coal or coke	770,009	7.7	604,663	15.1	137,277	5.6	28,069	0.8
Wood	20,269	0.2	4,368	0.1	4,284	0.2	11,617	0.3
Gas	152,109	1.5	130,629	3.3	19,160	0.8	2,320	0.1
Fuel oil	173,978	1.7	138,059	3.4	32,492	1.3	3,427	0.1
Other	5,376	0.1	3,429	0.1	1,461	0.1	486	-
Not reporting fuel	12,237	0.1	10,425	0.3	1,471	0.1	341	-
Without central heating	8,841,403	88.6	3,111,975	77.7	2,242,978	92.0	3,486,450	98.7
Coal or coke	2,392,453	24.0	1,161,701	29.0	812,953	33.3	417,799	11.8
Wood	4,565,034	45.8	587,116	14.7	1,031,928	42.3	2,945,990	83.4
Gas	1,378,907	13.8	1,042,951	26.1	273,185	11.2	62,771	1.8
Fuel oil	124,826	1.3	77,561	1.9	36,219	1.5	11,046	0.3
Kerosene or gasoline	233,238	2.3	152,419	3.8	51,511	2.1	29,308	0.8
Other	13,018	0.1	7,042	0.2	3,715	0.2	2,261	0.1
None	113,215	1.1	74,432	1.9	27,181	1.1	11,602	0.3
Not reporting fuel	20,712	0.2	8,753	0.2	6,286	0.3	5,673	0.2
Not reporting heating equipment	302,823	-	130,624	-	73,455	-	98,744	-
THE WEST								
All occupied units	4,133,622	-	2,551,012	-	971,880	-	610,730	-
Reporting heating equipment	4,026,655	100.0	2,491,233	100.0	942,070	100.0	593,352	100.0
With central heating	1,090,146	27.1	923,670	37.1	128,373	13.6	38,103	6.4
Coal or coke	273,949	6.8	219,953	8.8	38,093	4.0	15,903	2.7
Wood	110,462	2.7	78,471	3.1	20,025	2.1	11,966	2.0
Gas	501,638	12.5	448,614	18.0	48,676	5.2	4,348	0.7
Fuel oil	159,705	4.0	138,179	5.5	16,709	1.8	4,817	0.8
Other	27,981	0.7	24,060	1.0	3,196	0.3	725	0.1
Not reporting fuel	16,411	0.4	14,393	0.6	1,674	0.2	344	0.1
Without central heating	2,936,509	72.9	1,567,563	62.9	813,697	86.4	555,249	93.6
Coal or coke	480,814	11.9	201,555	8.1	153,109	16.3	126,150	21.3
Wood	1,016,900	25.3	305,746	12.3	364,302	38.7	346,852	58.5
Gas	1,034,248	25.7	862,274	34.6	154,311	16.4	17,663	3.0
Fuel oil	190,320	4.7	80,750	3.2	76,444	8.1	33,126	5.6
Kerosene or gasoline	39,821	1.0	20,019	0.8	13,134	1.4	6,668	1.1
Other	17,494	0.4	7,480	0.3	6,318	0.7	3,696	0.6
None	123,036	3.1	69,958	2.8	36,994	3.9	16,084	2.7
Not reporting fuel	33,876	0.8	19,781	0.8	9,085	1.0	5,010	0.8
Not reporting heating equipment	106,967	-	59,779	-	29,810	-	17,378	-

TABLE 3. ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY CENTRAL HEATING AND TYPE OF FUEL, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1940

Region, division, and State	Reporting heating equipment	With central heating by type of fuel							Without central heating by type of fuel							
		Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Other fuel	Not reporting fuel	Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Kerosene or gasoline	Other or none	Not reporting fuel
United States...	34,144,370	14,343,633	10,900,186	373,312	1,108,889	1,687,591	78,221	195,434	19,800,737	7,622,514	7,356,155	2,724,155	1,221,874	486,747	307,616	81,676
REGIONS:																
The North.....	20,142,334	12,119,509	9,856,228	242,581	455,142	1,353,908	44,864	166,786	8,022,825	4,749,247	1,774,221	311,000	906,728	213,688	40,853	27,088
The South.....	9,975,381	1,133,978	770,009	20,269	152,109	173,978	5,376	12,237	8,841,403	2,392,453	4,565,034	1,378,907	124,826	233,238	126,233	20,712
The West.....	4,026,655	1,090,146	273,949	110,462	501,638	159,705	27,981	16,411	2,936,509	480,814	1,016,900	1,034,248	190,320	39,821	140,530	33,876
THE NORTH:																
New England.....	2,164,819	1,253,170	828,873	58,464	15,348	325,603	5,529	19,353	911,649	226,907	233,713	5,834	343,341	85,008	12,166	4,680
Middle Atlantic...	7,145,164	5,131,463	4,116,760	29,616	126,057	740,403	21,691	96,936	2,013,701	1,347,870	219,197	102,790	210,104	112,087	12,226	9,427
East North Central	7,193,726	4,210,845	3,781,264	73,871	159,797	150,872	8,404	36,637	2,982,881	2,163,827	494,015	91,838	210,372	8,573	6,615	7,641
West North Central	3,638,625	1,524,031	1,129,331	80,630	153,940	137,030	9,240	13,860	2,114,594	1,010,643	827,296	110,538	142,911	8,020	9,846	5,340
THE SOUTH:																
South Atlantic....	4,170,633	790,071	550,029	9,505	52,886	166,234	3,180	8,237	3,380,562	1,218,741	1,705,711	155,746	93,553	113,793	84,141	8,877
East South Central	2,554,937	247,801	210,903	4,976	26,368	2,284	679	2,591	2,307,136	992,150	1,191,786	105,778	5,451	4,578	3,693	3,700
West South Central	3,249,811	96,106	9,077	5,788	72,855	5,460	1,517	1,409	3,153,705	181,562	1,667,537	1,117,383	25,822	114,867	38,399	8,135
THE WEST:																
Mountain.....	1,093,215	282,557	187,868	6,972	72,170	10,189	1,854	3,504	810,658	409,780	240,697	73,175	43,430	8,102	29,219	6,255
Pacific.....	2,933,440	807,589	86,081	103,490	429,468	149,516	26,127	12,907	2,125,851	71,034	776,203	961,073	146,890	31,719	111,311	27,621
NEW ENGLAND:																
Maine.....	215,722	86,045	47,647	19,752	289	16,489	434	1,434	129,677	14,407	93,708	155	16,096	2,648	1,990	678
New Hampshire.....	131,086	59,705	33,644	8,629	333	15,794	264	1,041	71,381	11,505	38,370	169	16,633	3,846	493	365
Vermont.....	91,476	37,444	21,294	8,328	67	6,928	146	686	54,032	11,427	35,135	52	6,080	1,017	196	125
Massachusetts.....	1,099,662	718,689	502,762	13,281	10,089	178,085	2,860	11,612	380,973	110,293	36,596	3,166	180,980	41,531	6,285	2,122
Rhode Island.....	186,303	92,527	60,678	1,270	1,466	27,766	785	562	93,776	28,792	6,591	714	41,774	15,446	311	148
Connecticut.....	440,570	258,760	162,848	7,204	3,104	80,546	1,040	4,018	181,810	50,483	23,318	1,578	81,778	20,520	2,891	1,242
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:																
New York.....	3,579,550	2,730,740	2,103,338	21,172	69,189	452,383	12,411	72,247	848,810	477,460	126,990	36,301	133,241	67,196	4,084	3,538
New Jersey.....	1,082,761	777,647	586,141	3,980	12,553	164,283	1,903	8,787	305,114	175,382	23,952	2,729	63,213	37,428	1,168	1,242
Pennsylvania.....	2,482,853	1,623,076	1,427,281	4,464	44,315	123,737	7,377	15,902	859,777	695,028	68,255	63,760	13,650	7,463	6,974	4,647
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Ohio.....	1,876,038	1,127,300	1,033,977	5,857	70,682	8,557	1,508	6,719	748,738	617,900	50,101	67,969	7,850	1,770	1,330	1,818
Indiana.....	950,097	426,336	399,036	4,281	5,810	10,862	1,887	4,460	523,761	428,441	80,378	3,055	8,202	1,533	900	1,252
Illinois.....	2,167,027	1,331,978	1,210,268	4,602	39,165	60,410	2,737	14,796	835,049	648,325	72,019	8,790	99,412	2,673	1,367	2,463
Michigan.....	1,380,783	859,259	759,963	14,547	40,976	36,766	1,250	5,757	521,524	335,746	116,604	11,346	53,094	1,705	1,550	1,479
Wisconsin.....	819,781	465,972	378,020	44,584	3,164	34,277	1,022	4,905	353,809	133,415	174,913	678	41,814	892	1,468	629
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Minnesota.....	719,833	374,711	250,210	32,703	19,592	61,770	5,361	5,075	345,122	115,087	167,309	2,541	55,592	1,111	2,419	1,063
Iowa.....	693,183	344,401	281,614	18,839	14,610	25,307	1,783	2,248	348,782	210,935	96,222	2,518	34,931	1,208	2,024	944
Missouri.....	1,053,349	409,094	339,599	4,744	37,220	23,887	597	3,047	644,255	308,129	308,586	12,251	11,010	1,790	1,220	1,269
North Dakota.....	149,932	57,281	48,015	1,147	3,400	2,898	647	1,174	92,651	78,753	9,052	631	3,471	159	338	247
South Dakota.....	162,571	53,729	40,907	2,916	5,147	3,694	214	851	108,842	64,963	29,434	3,374	9,815	341	549	366
Nebraska.....	356,899	153,771	107,061	12,698	17,024	15,838	305	845	203,128	90,548	85,301	7,716	15,283	1,291	2,456	533
Kansas.....	502,858	131,044	61,925	7,583	56,947	3,636	333	620	371,814	142,228	131,392	81,507	12,809	2,120	840	918
SOUTH ATLANTIC:																
Delaware.....	69,695	37,313	25,335	223	448	11,030	23	254	32,382	13,929	12,952	91	4,384	877	84	65
Maryland.....	456,761	265,524	173,264	1,432	9,465	78,296	569	2,498	191,237	90,965	66,974	1,656	12,567	17,825	554	696
Dist. of Columbia.	170,888	149,929	95,428	36	17,679	35,333	89	1,364	20,959	15,472	918	600	1,407	2,258	212	92
Virginia.....	618,663	131,947	101,215	1,147	1,319	26,375	300	1,591	486,716	213,268	248,176	1,428	20,047	2,228	679	890
West Virginia.....	432,033	65,337	50,675	359	13,592	153	136	422	366,696	206,598	43,607	115,076	206	275	232	702
North Carolina....	770,568	60,104	52,424	1,393	233	4,937	283	834	710,464	274,393	414,384	519	16,282	2,727	846	1,313
South Carolina....	425,187	13,823	11,272	414	83	1,705	105	244	411,364	142,731	249,153	688	9,797	7,449	936	610
Georgia.....	728,559	50,025	37,739	1,658	8,132	1,611	200	685	678,534	246,327	399,140	22,289	6,029	2,438	1,223	1,088
Florida.....	498,279	16,069	2,677	2,843	1,935	6,794	1,475	345	482,210	15,058	270,407	13,399	22,834	77,716	79,375	3,421
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Kentucky.....	686,516	110,175	99,775	439	8,066	887	151	857	576,341	395,843	145,193	32,413	833	551	640	868
Tennessee.....	703,927	93,668	79,636	740	11,479	678	267	868	610,259	315,529	278,341	11,343	1,873	1,096	1,148	929
Alabama.....	649,082	34,475	29,299	1,098	2,782	355	152	789	614,607	227,545	363,734	17,685	1,901	1,293	1,205	1,244
Mississippi.....	515,412	9,483	2,193	2,699	4,041	364	109	77	505,929	53,233	404,518	44,337	844	1,638	700	659
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Arkansas.....	482,656	8,603	2,459	1,127	4,505	362	83	67	474,053	28,271	373,676	66,147	2,774	1,566	763	856
Louisiana.....	577,962	13,347	2,231	1,282	6,388	2,890	474	82	564,615	40,002	319,602	161,766	6,566	33,128	2,327	1,224
Oklahoma.....	586,255	34,694	2,697	1,017	29,642	303	284	751	551,561	70,761	232,210	233,498	4,312	7,647	1,593	1,540
Texas.....	1,602,938	39,462	1,690	2,362	32,320	1,905	676	509	1,563,476	42,528	742,049	655,972	12,170	72,526	33,716	4,515
MOUNTAIN:																
Montana.....	156,551	45,116	18,694	2,761	21,770	1,150	355	386	111,435	52,671	34,794	18,038	4,326	125	1,029	452
Idaho.....	138,412	26,164	20,937	3,197	33	843	529	625	112,248	52,959	51,017	74	3,974	139	2,895	1,190
Wyoming.....	68,234	17,887	9,372	90	7,778	425	128	94	50,347	30,382	7,381	9,909	1,573	196	701	205
Colorado.....	309,953	119,207	96,967	207	18,206	2,045	236	1,546	190,746	155,691	18,443	4,869	5,089	621	4,266	1,767
New Mexico.....	124,354	12,929	4,169	145	8,197	250	69	99	111,425	25,157	57,143	17,645	2,877	3,511	4,349	743
Arizona.....	125,807	9,980	1,095	378	6,115	1,954	240	198	115,827	5,150	54,516	19,654	18,895	3,321	13,109	1,182
Utah.....	137,803	45,591	34,625	77	10,060	296	135	398	92,212	78,988	8,387	2,791	525	51	1,179	291
Nevada.....	32,101	5,683	2,009	117	11	3,226	162	158	26,418	8,782	9,016	195	6,171	138	1,691	425
PACIFIC:																
Washington.....	526,433	187,163	66,751	37,301	2,956	67,604	8,883	3,668	339,270	37,679	236,768	1,450	47,762	548	11,058	4,005
Oregon.....	330,479	115,053	7,952	56,016	5,861	31,877	11,640	1,707	215,426	5,901	183,825	2,052	16,752	296	4,875	1,725
California.....	2,076,528	505,373	11,378	10,173	420,651	50,035	5,604	7,532	1,571,155	27,454	355,610	957,571	82,376	30,875	95,378	21,891

TABLE 4. URBAN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY CENTRAL HEATING AND TYPE OF FUEL, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1940

Region, division, and State	Reporting heating equipment	With central heating by type of fuel							Without central heating by type of fuel							
		Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Other fuel	Not reporting fuel	Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Kerosene or gasoline	Other or none	Not reporting fuel
United States...	20,187,387	11,746,736	8,968,470	119,534	983,255	1,428,194	66,081	181,202	8,440,651	3,850,727	1,055,343	2,139,322	832,362	334,160	184,090	44,647
REGIONS:																
The North.....	13,692,606	9,931,493	8,143,854	36,695	404,012	1,151,956	38,592	156,384	3,761,113	2,487,471	162,481	234,097	674,051	161,722	[illegible],178	16,113
The South.....	4,003,548	891,573	604,663	4,368	130,629	138,059	3,429	10,425	3,111,975	1,161,701	587,116	1,042,951	77,561	152,419	81,474	8,753
The West.....	2,491,233	923,670	219,953	78,471	448,614	138,179	24,060	14,393	1,567,563	201,555	305,746	862,274	80,750	20,019	77,438	19,781
THE NORTH:																
New England.....	1,645,595	1,023,864	702,857	17,533	14,154	267,144	4,207	17,969	621,731	180,236	57,359	5,389	297,842	68,179	9,536	3,190
Middle Atlantic...	5,552,693	4,360,070	3,488,619	4,411	108,411	645,574	19,466	93,589	1,192,623	814,408	18,895	78,089	179,678	86,511	8,271	6,771
East North Central	4,800,609	3,453,400	3,130,140	7,516	148,337	126,726	7,302	33,379	1,347,209	1,092,203	26,122	73,050	143,013	4,349	4,283	4,289
West North Central	1,693,709	1,094,159	822,238	7,235	133,110	112,512	7,617	11,447	599,550	400,624	60,105	77,569	53,518	2,783	3,088	1,863
THE SOUTH:																
South Atlantic....	1,787,102	621,741	433,868	2,409	43,997	132,247	2,076	7,144	1,165,361	622,248	229,742	98,087	62,543	87,661	60,626	4,454
East South Central	838,047	190,895	164,190	295	22,604	1,291	420	2,095	647,152	472,220	79,607	86,648	3,261	2,529	1,418	1,469
West South Central	1,378,399	78,937	6,605	1,664	64,028	4,521	933	1,186	1,299,462	67,233	277,767	858,216	11,757	62,229	19,430	2,830
THE WEST:																
Mountain.....	496,048	224,474	147,560	3,413	62,585	6,952	1,266	2,698	271,574	155,407	35,514	51,808	14,476	2,667	9,853	1,849
Pacific.....	1,995,185	699,196	72,393	75,058	386,029	131,227	22,794	11,695	1,295,989	46,148	270,232	810,466	66,274	17,352	67,585	17,932
NEW ENGLAND:																
Maine.....	87,166	49,021	32,370	4,325	259	10,617	252	1,198	38,145	7,503	18,007	96	10,680	719	909	231
New Hampshire.....	74,233	39,608	23,734	2,973	324	11,541	151	885	34,625	7,431	11,646	147	12,023	2,840	398	140
Vermont.....	32,137	19,208	12,673	966	64	4,848	97	560	12,929	4,756	3,824	30	3,700	511	87	21
Massachusetts.....	983,279	657,406	464,800	7,199	9,674	161,967	2,485	11,281	325,873	97,004	16,308	3,048	165,995	35,788	5,888	1,842
Rhode Island.....	169,993	85,632	56,601	658	1,443	25,802	585	543	84,361	26,551	3,190	705	39,623	13,882	302	108
Connecticut.....	298,787	172,989	112,679	1,412	2,390	52,369	637	3,502	125,798	36,991	4,384	1,363	65,821	14,439	1,952	848
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:																
New York.....	2,981,292	2,416,682	1,874,843	2,721	59,922	397,171	11,845	70,780	564,610	348,085	11,690	30,215	115,709	52,830	3,289	2,792
New Jersey.....	884,330	647,534	487,297	845	10,826	138,871	1,503	8,192	237,016	143,926	4,285	2,454	55,249	29,119	963	1,020
Pennsylvania.....	1,686,851	1,295,854	1,126,479	845	37,663	109,532	6,718	14,617	390,997	322,397	2,920	45,420	8,720	4,562	4,019	2,959
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Ohio.....	1,276,563	915,522	836,738	600	65,612	5,663	1,243	5,666	361,041	296,904	987	56,209	4,096	820	900	1,125
Indiana.....	534,768	331,267	311,258	218	4,956	8,963	1,741	4,111	203,501	198,743	1,706	1,579	4,457	854	482	680
Illinois.....	1,614,581	1,161,531	1,052,884	482	37,081	54,498	2,497	14,089	453,050	354,451	1,713	6,326	86,701	1,497	872	1,490
Michigan.....	915,308	701,609	625,830	1,298	37,900	30,452	956	5,173	213,699	170,367	6,822	8,451	25,680	768	873	738
Wisconsin.....	459,389	343,471	303,430	4,918	2,788	27,130	865	4,340	115,918	76,738	14,894	485	22,079	310	1,156	256
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Minnesota.....	379,159	284,039	199,517	4,078	18,489	53,016	4,784	4,155	95,130	52,970	12,682	1,799	26,063	375	853	388
Iowa.....	308,277	221,025	184,666	902	18,168	19,217	1,291	1,781	87,252	69,914	3,491	1,577	10,876	430	627	337
Missouri.....	564,914	342,526	283,397	491	34,181	21,149	486	2,822	222,388	178,380	24,766	10,235	6,800	899	772	536
North Dakota.....	38,540	25,705	18,488	97	3,169	2,392	592	967	7,835	6,081	288	505	770	40	161	40
South Dakota.....	42,529	27,640	19,612	417	4,511	2,332	114	654	14,889	7,108	2,928	2,619	2,036	73	73	52
Nebraska.....	144,652	104,781	76,802	619	14,087	12,513	175	585	39,871	27,132	3,388	4,553	4,143	348	210	97
Kansas.....	220,628	68,443	39,756	631	45,505	1,898	175	483	152,185	59,089	12,562	56,281	2,830	618	392	413
SOUTH ATLANTIC:																
Delaware.....	36,584	25,642	17,241	21	363	7,835	10	172	10,942	7,595	944	73	1,780	470	54	26
Maryland.....	280,991	198,159	131,276	122	6,658	57,516	391	2,196	82,832	55,023	4,592	1,428	7,250	13,734	427	378
Dist. of Columbia.	170,888	149,929	95,428	36	17,679	35,333	89	1,364	20,959	15,472	918	600	1,407	2,258	212	92
Virginia.....	241,059	98,173	75,551	93	935	20,074	135	1,385	142,886	113,788	12,911	868	13,115	1,377	405	422
West Virginia.....	136,847	41,875	30,073	45	11,346	68	54	279	94,972	31,311	338	52,824	73	78	92	256
North Carolina....	236,159	46,895	42,454	126	209	3,289	169	648	189,264	152,270	25,074	277	9,400	1,402	342	499
South Carolina....	121,215	10,243	8,531	74	49	1,354	56	179	110,972	69,700	26,657	523	7,029	6,324	504	236
Georgia.....	282,528	37,998	31,032	228	4,941	1,053	133	611	244,530	165,218	51,825	19,893	4,891	1,724	537	542
Florida.....	280,731	12,827	2,282	1,664	1,817	5,725	1,029	310	267,904	11,871	106,483	11,602	17,598	60,294	58,053	2,003
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Kentucky.....	234,444	81,722	74,620	49	5,985	364	85	619	152,722	127,639	828	22,921	520	234	232	348
Tennessee.....	272,071	74,574	62,505	62	10,646	453	182	726	197,497	174,521	9,661	10,573	1,114	733	454	431
Alabama.....	218,361	29,371	25,712	95	2,519	227	105	713	188,990	139,059	30,575	16,455	1,238	713	428	523
Mississippi.....	113,171	5,228	1,353	89	3,454	247	48	37	107,943	31,001	36,543	36,699	369	849	294	168
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Arkansas.....	119,294	6,426	1,856	224	4,060	192	50	44	112,868	12,101	43,537	54,114	1,697	707	414	198
Louisiana.....	257,848	10,688	1,977	342	5,371	2,613	324	61	247,160	33,190	52,966	129,341	5,015	24,782	1,379	487
Oklahoma.....	241,800	29,016	1,407	286	26,325	195	143	660	212,784	14,505	22,527	173,544	726	1,341	560	581
Texas.....	759,457	32,807	1,365	812	28,272	1,521	416	421	726,650	7,437	158,637	502,217	4,319	35,399	17,077	1,564
MOUNTAIN:																
Montana.....	62,377	30,715	10,083	1,449	17,932	717	226	308	31,662	12,417	4,735	13,131	919	20	364	76
Idaho.....	49,466	18,816	15,501	1,636	30	705	470	474	30,650	19,821	6,914	27	2,022	50	1,276	540
Wyoming.....	27,049	12,701	6,045	7	6,416	63	109	61	14,348	8,029	98	5,817	226	51	82	45
Colorado.....	171,484	101,832	81,707	68	17,098	1,500	100	1,359	69,652	52,362	599	3,646	1,454	218	985	388
New Mexico.....	44,358	10,351	3,176	38	6,882	154	27	74	34,007	9,211	8,177	12,670	810	961	1,847	331
Arizona.....	47,476	6,554	715	129	4,656	861	112	81	40,922	2,298	12,669	13,944	6,549	1,303	3,985	174
Utah.....	81,095	38,888	28,710	11	9,561	204	115	287	42,207	38,042	552	2,436	308	30	728	111
Nevada.....	12,743	4,617	1,623	75	10	2,748	107	54	8,126	3,227	1,770	137	2,188	34	586	184
PACIFIC:																
Washington.....	296,769	154,873	55,311	25,382	2,490	60,810	7,561	3,319	141,896	21,003	86,101	1,094	26,735	305	5,245	1,413
Oregon.....	169,260	96,494	6,739	43,873	4,951	28,873	10,619	1,439	72,766	2,411	57,228	1,499	8,925	140	2,086	477
California.....	1,529,156	447,829	10,343	5,803	378,588	41,544	4,614	6,937	1,081,327	22,734	126,903	807,873	30,614	16,907	60,254	16,042

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TABLE 5. RURAL-NONFARM OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY CENTRAL HEATING AND TYPE OF FUEL, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1940

Region, division, and State	Reporting heating equipment	With central heating by type of fuel							Without central heating by type of fuel							
		Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Other fuel	Not reporting fuel	Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Kerosene or gasoline	Other or none	Not reporting fuel
United States...	7,002,905	1,892,797	1,442,514	82,665	113,964	231,755	9,621	12,278	5,110,108	2,288,666	1,840,153	481,204	286,700	107,797	83,536	22,052
REGIONS:																
The North.....	3,621,712	1,568,279	1,257,144	58,356	46,128	182,554	4,964	9,133	2,053,433	1,322,604	443,923	53,708	174,037	43,152	9,328	6,681
The South.....	2,439,123	196,145	137,277	4,284	19,160	32,492	1,461	1,471	2,242,978	812,953	1,031,928	273,185	36,219	51,511	30,896	6,286
The West.....	942,070	128,373	38,093	20,025	48,676	16,709	3,196	1,674	813,697	153,109	364,302	154,311	76,444	13,134	43,312	9,085
THE NORTH:																
New England.....	389,524	188,662	109,689	22,438	1,121	52,947	1,162	1,305	200,862	39,067	101,228	380	41,336	15,250	2,325	1,276
Middle Atlantic...	1,172,344	641,529	524,934	8,133	16,166	87,300	1,932	3,064	530,815	388,871	73,192	16,454	25,849	21,658	2,912	1,879
East North Central	1,255,118	482,389	434,966	13,283	9,761	20,972	750	2,657	772,729	597,309	105,342	10,360	53,051	3,218	1,558	1,891
West North Central	804,726	255,699	197,555	14,502	19,080	21,335	1,120	2,107	549,027	297,357	164,161	26,514	53,801	3,026	2,533	1,635
THE SOUTH:																
South Atlantic....	1,149,646	142,004	98,279	2,301	8,519	31,031	924	950	1,007,642	459,325	434,544	41,690	27,384	22,643	19,251	2,805
East South Central	572,430	42,978	37,509	855	3,257	785	178	394	529,452	304,399	204,423	14,811	1,762	1,649	1,526	882
West South Central	717,047	11,163	1,489	1,128	7,384	676	359	127	705,884	49,229	392,961	216,684	7,073	27,219	10,119	2,599
THE WEST:																
Mountain.....	334,427	42,678	27,762	2,088	9,048	2,553	497	730	291,749	136,743	94,120	19,289	21,514	3,254	14,069	2,760
Pacific.....	607,643	85,695	10,331	17,937	39,628	14,156	2,699	944	521,948	16,366	270,182	135,022	54,930	9,880	29,243	6,325
NEW ENGLAND:																
Maine.....	88,790	28,894	13,449	9,630	27	5,400	160	228	59,896	6,010	45,762	41	4,924	1,782	988	389
New Hampshire.....	41,038	15,599	8,315	3,269	9	3,759	97	150	25,439	3,298	16,803	17	4,132	904	80	205
Vermont.....	34,778	12,185	7,234	2,938	1	1,847	42	123	22,593	5,541	14,338	14	2,117	419	88	76
Massachusetts.....	93,093	50,885	32,231	3,434	366	14,221	331	302	42,208	10,806	12,079	107	13,452	5,170	367	227
Rhode Island.....	13,746	5,955	3,568	394	22	1,769	186	16	7,791	1,967	2,295	8	1,976	1,500	8	37
Connecticut.....	118,079	75,144	44,892	2,773	696	25,951	346	486	42,935	11,445	9,951	193	14,735	5,475	794	342
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:																
New York.....	417,205	255,298	186,996	5,440	8,682	51,822	1,009	1,349	161,907	88,626	40,415	4,814	14,827	12,136	552	537
New Jersey.....	165,726	114,752	87,194	1,774	1,668	23,218	349	549	50,974	24,953	11,273	258	6,955	7,200	165	170
Pennsylvania.....	589,413	271,479	250,744	919	5,816	12,260	574	1,166	317,934	275,292	21,504	11,382	4,067	2,322	2,195	1,172
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Ohio.....	334,388	138,655	130,835	374	4,015	2,348	168	915	195,733	176,664	8,151	6,428	3,029	737	307	417
Indiana.....	205,467	59,981	56,996	329	726	1,559	104	267	145,486	127,029	13,955	512	2,930	483	238	339
Illinois.....	306,328	114,038	105,819	462	1,881	5,183	169	524	192,290	168,281	10,859	1,227	10,133	946	321	523
Michigan.....	249,497	101,600	90,714	2,028	2,787	5,418	180	473	147,897	93,810	28,314	2,090	22,134	663	474	412
Wisconsin.....	159,438	68,115	50,602	10,090	352	6,464	129	478	91,323	31,525	44,063	103	14,825	389	218	200
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Minnesota.....	133,902	50,458	33,174	7,085	1,054	7,820	475	850	83,444	28,060	35,241	600	18,040	419	746	338
Iowa.....	159,302	63,491	53,943	2,123	1,362	5,372	322	369	95,811	65,714	14,373	802	13,721	384	557	260
Missouri.....	202,184	52,756	46,129	1,207	2,843	2,298	87	192	149,428	79,603	63,377	1,665	3,441	690	306	346
North Dakota.....	46,384	17,408	16,339	152	218	461	50	188	28,976	24,804	1,957	106	1,836	81	101	91
South Dakota.....	48,751	15,313	12,696	523	619	1,233	67	175	33,438	20,213	7,366	711	4,658	157	196	137
Nebraska.....	88,320	28,754	20,703	2,149	2,781	2,846	42	233	59,566	32,961	15,529	2,935	6,972	548	406	215
Kansas.....	125,883	27,519	14,571	1,263	10,203	1,305	77	100	98,364	46,002	25,318	19,695	5,133	747	221	248
SOUTH ATLANTIC:																
Delaware.....	21,604	10,250	7,101	74	78	2,904	12	81	11,354	4,925	3,914	11	2,118	337	24	25
Maryland.....	121,809	58,341	35,434	482	2,776	19,207	161	281	63,468	27,206	27,469	199	4,634	3,652	87	221
Dist. of Columbia.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia.....	171,496	27,586	21,018	315	332	5,621	125	175	143,910	69,654	66,478	457	6,141	715	203	262
West Virginia.....	187,029	19,638	17,257	101	2,007	71	69	123	167,391	120,964	8,841	36,936	111	165	100	274
North Carolina....	212,092	10,633	8,622	236	22	1,493	96	164	201,459	103,206	90,136	103	6,123	1,067	352	472
South Carolina....	123,628	2,941	2,436	,102	33	292	38	40	120,687	62,417	54,142	87	2,521	986	311	223
Georgia.....	165,579	10,052	6,052	195	3,159	524	49	63	155,527	67,942	83,060	2,246	1,023	612	388	256
Florida.....	146,409	2,563	349	796	102	919	374	23	143,846	3,011	100,504	1,651	4,713	15,109	17,786	1,072
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Kentucky.....	176,834	22,393	19,715	83	1,931	416	47	201	154,441	127,267	19,518	6,852	229	218	159	198
Tennessee.....	150,176	15,223	14,100	134	634	179	56	120	134,953	85,911	46,989	495	572	271	493	222
Alabama.....	152,177	3,726	3,080	197	254	106	34	55	148,451	73,546	71,835	1,105	572	498	578	317
Mississippi.....	93,243	1,636	614	441	438	84	41	18	91,607	17,675	66,081	6,359	389	662	296	145
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Arkansas.....	108,018	1,273	456	275	382	129	19	12	106,745	9,988	84,237	10,495	872	660	220	273
Louisiana.....	131,808	1,672	232	116	928	257	130	9	130,136	5,165	86,923	28,684	1,326	7,021	596	421
Oklahoma.....	134,080	3,637	640	218	2,593	43	75	68	130,443	24,583	53,418	47,224	1,622	2,515	608	473
Texas.....	343,141	4,581	161	519	3,481	247	135	38	338,560	9,493	168,383	130,281	3,253	17,023	8,695	1,432
MOUNTAIN:																
Montana.....	48,740	10,328	5,275	798	3,698	370	121	66	38,412	17,781	13,218	4,477	2,207	70	493	166
Idaho.....	40,278	4,462	3,198	976	1	104	45	138	35,816	14,086	18,992	30	1,407	56	892	353
Wyoming.....	22,456	4,111	2,400	16	1,316	332	18	29	18,345	11,104	2,025	3,915	805	107	322	67
Colorado.....	76,506	12,852	11,094	27	1,005	442	119	165	63,654	50,519	6,435	1,068	2,416	237	2,089	870
New Mexico.....	41,613	2,090	773	53	1,175	44	25	20	39,523	9,076	21,943	4,086	1,135	1,156	1,888	239
Arizona.....	53,169	2,905	352	161	1,394	782	106	110	50,264	2,617	23,202	5,350	9,789	1,504	7,067	735
Utah.....	36,383	5,010	4,322	30	458	78	18	104	31,373	26,534	3,781	309	169	17	334	129
Nevada.....	15,282	920	348	27	1	401	45	98	14,362	4,926	4,524	54	3,586	87	984	201
PACIFIC:																
Washington.....	138,073	23,839	8,635	7,294	450	5,946	1,203	311	114,234	10,791	80,366	305	16,278	199	4,413	1,882
Oregon.....	90,368	13,501	937	8,079	847	2,504	892	242	76,867	2,119	65,257	466	6,137	122	1,889	877
California.....	379,202	48,355	759	2,564	38,331	5,706	604	391	330,847	3,456	124,559	134,251	32,515	9,559	22,941	3,566

TABLE 6. RURAL-FARM OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY CENTRAL HEATING AND TYPE OF FUEL, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1940

Region, division, and State	Reporting heating equipment	With central heating by type of fuel							Without central heating by type of fuel							
		Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Other fuel	Not reporting fuel	Total	Coal or coke	Wood	Gas	Fuel oil	Kerosene or gasoline	Other or none	Not reporting fuel
United States...	6,954,078	704,100	489,202	171,113	11,670	27,642	2,519	1,954	6,249,978	1,483,121	4,460,659	103,629	102,812	44,790	39,990	14,977
REGIONS:																
The North.....	2,828,016	619,737	445,230	147,530	5,002	19,398	1,308	1,269	2,208,279	939,172	1,167,817	23,195	58,640	8,814	6,347	4,294
The South.....	3,532,710	46,260	28,069	11,617	2,320	3,427	486	341	3,486,450	417,799	2,945,990	62,771	11,046	29,308	18,863	5,673
The West.....	593,352	38,103	15,903	11,966	4,348	4,817	725	344	555,249	126,150	346,852	17,663	33,126	6,668	19,780	5,010
THE NORTH:																
New England.....	129,700	40,644	16,327	18,493	73	5,512	160	79	89,056	7,604	75,126	65	4,163	1,579	305	214
Middle Atlantic...	420,127	129,864	103,207	17,072	1,480	7,529	293	283	290,263	144,591	127,110	8,247	4,577	3,918	1,043	777
East North Central	1,137,999	275,056	216,158	53,072	1,699	3,174	352	601	862,943	474,315	362,551	8,428	14,308	1,106	774	1,461
West North Central	1,140,190	174,173	109,538	58,893	1,750	3,183	503	306	966,017	312,662	603,030	6,455	35,592	2,211	4,225	1,842
THE SOUTH:																
South Atlantic....	1,233,885	26,326	17,882	4,795	370	2,956	180	143	1,207,559	137,168	1,041,425	15,969	3,626	3,489	4,264	1,618
East South Central	1,144,460	13,928	9,204	3,826	507	208	81	102	1,130,532	215,531	907,756	4,319	428	400	749	1,349
West South Central	1,154,365	6,006	983	2,996	1,443	263	225	96	1,148,359	65,100	996,809	42,483	6,992	25,419	8,850	2,706
THE WEST:																
Mountain.....	262,740	15,405	12,546	1,471	537	684	91	76	247,335	117,630	111,063	2,078	7,440	2,181	5,297	1,646
Pacific.....	330,612	22,698	3,357	10,495	3,811	4,133	634	268	307,914	8,520	235,789	15,585	25,686	4,487	14,483	3,364
NEW ENGLAND:																
Maine.....	39,766	8,130	1,828	5,797	3	472	22	8	31,636	894	29,934	18	492	147	93	58
New Hampshire.....	15,815	4,498	1,595	2,387	-	494	16	6	11,317	776	9,921	5	478	102	15	20
Vermont.....	24,561	6,051	1,387	4,424	2	228	7	3	18,510	1,130	16,973	8	263	87	21	28
Massachusetts.....	23,290	10,398	5,731	2,648	49	1,897	44	29	12,892	2,483	8,209	11	1,533	573	30	53
Rhode Island.....	2,564	940	509	218	1	195	14	3	1,624	274	1,106	1	175	64	1	3
Connecticut.....	23,704	10,627	5,277	3,019	18	2,226	57	30	13,077	2,047	8,983	22	1,222	606	145	52
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:																
New York.....	181,053	58,760	41,499	13,011	585	3,390	157	118	122,293	40,749	74,885	1,272	2,705	2,230	243	209
New Jersey.....	32,485	15,361	11,650	1,361	59	2,194	51	46	17,124	6,503	8,394	17	1,009	1,109	40	52
Pennsylvania.....	206,589	55,743	50,058	2,700	836	1,945	85	119	150,846	97,339	43,831	6,958	863	579	760	516
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Ohio.....	265,087	73,123	66,404	4,863	1,055	546	97	138	191,964	144,332	40,963	5,332	725	213	123	276
Indiana.....	209,862	35,088	30,782	3,734	128	320	42	82	174,774	107,669	64,717	964	815	196	180	233
Illinois.....	246,118	56,409	51,565	3,658	203	729	71	183	189,709	125,593	59,447	1,237	2,578	230	174	450
Michigan.....	215,978	56,050	43,419	11,221	289	896	114	111	159,928	71,569	81,468	805	5,280	274	203	329
Wisconsin.....	200,954	54,386	23,988	29,576	24	683	28	87	146,568	25,152	115,956	90	4,910	193	94	173
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Minnesota.....	206,762	40,214	17,519	21,540	49	934	102	70	166,548	34,057	119,386	142	11,489	317	820	337
Iowa.....	225,604	59,885	43,005	15,814	80	718	170	98	165,719	75,307	78,358	139	10,334	394	840	347
Missouri.....	286,251	13,812	10,073	3,046	196	440	24	33	272,439	50,146	220,443	351	769	201	142	387
North Dakota.....	70,008	14,168	13,188	898	13	45	5	19	55,840	47,918	6,807	20	865	38	76	116
South Dakota.....	71,291	10,776	8,599	1,976	17	129	33	22	60,515	37,642	19,140	44	3,121	111	280	177
Nebraska.....	123,927	20,236	9,556	9,930	156	479	88	27	103,691	30,455	66,384	228	4,168	395	1,840	221
Kansas.....	156,347	15,082	7,598	5,689	1,239	438	81	37	141,265	37,137	92,512	5,531	4,846	755	227	257
SOUTH ATLANTIC:																
Delaware.....	11,507	1,421	993	128	7	291	1	1	10,086	1,409	8,094	7	486	70	6	14
Maryland.....	53,961	9,024	6,554	828	31	1,573	17	21	44,937	8,736	34,913	29	683	439	40	97
Dist. of Columbia.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia.....	206,108	6,188	4,646	739	52	680	40	31	199,920	29,826	168,787	103	791	136	71	206
West Virginia.....	108,157	3,824	3,335	213	239	14	3	20	104,333	54,323	34,428	15,316	22	32	40	172
North Carolina....	322,317	2,576	1,348	1,031	2	155	18	22	319,741	18,917	299,174	139	759	258	152	342
South Carolina....	180,344	639	305	238	1	59	11	25	179,705	10,614	168,354	79	247	139	121	151
Georgia.....	280,352	1,975	655	1,235	22	34	18	11	278,377	13,167	264,255	150	115	102	298	290
Florida.....	71,139	679	46	383	16	150	72	12	70,460	176	63,420	146	523	2,313	3,536	346
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Kentucky.....	275,238	6,060	5,440	307	150	107	19	37	269,178	140,937	124,847	2,640	84	99	249	322
Tennessee.....	281,680	3,871	3,031	544	199	46	29	22	277,809	55,097	221,691	275	187	92	191	276
Alabama.....	278,544	1,378	507	806	9	22	13	21	277,166	14,940	261,324	125	91	82	199	405
Mississippi.....	308,998	2,619	226	2,169	149	33	20	22	306,379	4,557	299,894	1,279	66	127	110	346
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Arkansas.....	255,344	904	147	628	63	41	14	11	254,440	6,182	245,802	1,538	205	199	129	385
Louisiana.....	188,306	987	22	824	89	20	20	12	187,319	1,647	179,713	3,741	225	1,325	352	316
Oklahoma.....	210,375	2,041	650	513	724	65	66	23	208,334	31,673	156,265	13,730	1,964	3,791	425	486
Texas.....	500,340	2,074	164	1,031	567	137	125	50	498,266	25,598	415,029	23,474	4,598	20,104	7,944	1,519
MOUNTAIN:																
Montana.....	45,434	4,073	3,336	514	140	63	8	12	41,361	22,473	16,841	430	1,200	35	172	210
Idaho.....	48,668	2,886	2,238	585	2	34	14	13	45,782	19,052	25,111	17	545	33	727	297
Wyoming.....	18,729	1,075	927	67	46	30	1	4	17,654	11,249	5,258	177	542	38	297	93
Colorado.....	61,963	4,523	4,166	112	103	103	17	22	57,440	42,810	11,409	155	1,219	146	1,192	509
New Mexico.....	38,383	488	220	54	140	52	17	5	37,895	6,870	27,023	889	932	1,394	614	173
Arizona.....	25,162	521	28	88	65	311	22	7	24,641	235	18,645	360	2,557	514	2,057	273
Utah.....	20,325	1,693	1,593	36	41	14	2	7	18,632	14,312	4,054	46	48	4	117	51
Nevada.....	4,076	146	38	15	-	77	10	6	3,930	629	2,722	4	397	17	121	40
PACIFIC:																
Washington.....	91,591	8,451	2,805	4,625	16	848	119	38	83,140	5,885	70,301	51	4,749	44	1,400	710
Oregon.....	70,851	5,058	276	4,064	63	500	129	26	65,793	1,371	61,340	87	1,690	34	900	371
California.....	168,170	9,189	276	1,806	3,732	2,785	386	204	158,981	1,264	104,148	15,447	19,247	4,409	12,183	2,283

October 10, 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington

Sixteenth Census of the
United States: 1940

Series H-13, No. 8

HOUSING

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN THE NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST, URBAN AND RURAL: 1940

(This release presents summary data on size of household in the urban and rural areas in the United States, and in the North, South, and West, with separate figures for households of owners and tenants. Corresponding figures for each State are available in release Series H-11.)

The median size of household in the United States in 1940 was 3.28 persons, according to data from the 1940 Census of Housing released today by Director J. C. Capt of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. In urban areas the median size of household was 3.16 persons, in rural-nonfarm areas 3.21, and in rural-farm areas 3.81. Households of one, two, or three persons comprised more than half (54.9 percent) of the 34,854,532 households in the United States; whereas households with four or five persons constituted 29.6 percent of the total, and those with six persons or more, 15.6 percent. Home owners in urban areas tended to have larger households than tenants, but in rural areas the households of tenants were larger than those of owners.

The size of a household is defined as the number of persons who live in an occupied dwelling unit. The figures include not only related family members but also lodgers, servants, and other unrelated persons who regularly live in the home. In connection with the median size of household, the general definition of the median as that item or value which stands at the midpoint of a series arranged according to size or value must be qualified somewhat, since this figure is presented with a decimal which can hardly be taken literally. For practical purposes, however, one need not be concerned with the theoretical interpretation of this median, but may simply accept it as a convenient summary figure representing the size of household in the various areas and groups concerned.

The median size of household for rural-farm and rural-nonfarm areas was highest in the South, intermediate in the North, and lowest in the West. For urban areas, however, the median was slightly smaller in the South than in the North, but the figures for both regions were considerably higher than the corresponding figure for urban areas in the West. The medians for urban areas ranged from 2.70 in the West to 3.24 in the North; for rural-nonfarm areas, from 2.96 in the West to 3.41 in the South; and for rural-farm areas, from 3.40 in the West to 4.04 in the South. The larger proportion of very small households in the West is attributable to the relatively high proportion of small families among those migrating to the West; whereas the larger families in the South and in rural areas are explained, for the most part, by high fertility rates.

There were more 2-person households in the United States in 1940 than households of any other size. The 2-person households numbered 8,630,515 and constituted 24.8 percent of all households. One-person households accounted for 7.7 percent of the total, 3-person households for 22.4 percent, and 4-person households for 18.1 percent. Thus, nearly one-third of all occupied dwelling units in the United States were used as the living quarters of one or two persons, and almost three-fourths housed not more than four persons.

Households of five, six, or seven persons represented 22.1 percent of all households; the percentage in this size group varied from 20.1 in the urban areas to 28.5 in the rural-farm. Five percent of all households had eight persons or more--3.7 percent of the urban households, 4.5 percent of the rural-nonfarm, and 9.2 percent of the rural-farm.

3-35849

The trend toward smaller families and households in the United States has been pointed out in earlier releases based on the total population in relation to the number of occupied dwelling units or families (Series PH-3, No. 2 and No. 4). Actual changes between 1930 and 1940 in the proportions of large and small families cannot be measured accurately by comparing the data on size of household, as presented in this release, with the data on size of family, as published for 1930. Only related family members were counted in the 1930 tabulations of private families by size. Later tabulations will show the size of private families in 1940 on a basis comparable with the 1930 statistics.

The median size of household was larger for owners than for tenants in the urban areas, but in the rural areas tenant households were the larger. Similar relationships between tenure and size of family were shown for 1930. In 1940 the median for urban owners was 3.33 persons, and for tenants 3.06; for rural-nonfarm owners 3.11, and for tenants 3.32; for rural-farm owners 3.63, and for tenants 4.00.

The figures in the accompanying table were obtained from the Second Series Housing Bulletins now being published for each State by the Bureau of the Census. These bulletins show data on size of household by color of head as well as tenure, and contain statistics relating to number of rooms, number of persons per room, rent or value, and other housing characteristics.

3-35849

Area and size of household	Total				Urban				Rural-nonfarm				Rural-farm			
	All occupied units		Owner occupied	Tenant occupied	All occupied units		Owner occupied	Tenant occupied	All occupied units		Owner occupied	Tenant occupied	All occupied units		Owner occupied	Tenant occupied
	Number	Percent			Number	Percent			Number	Percent			Number	Percent		
UNITED STATES																
Total	34,854,532	100.0	15,195,763	19,658,769	20,596,500	100.0	7,714,960	12,881,540	7,151,473	100.0	3,698,076	3,453,397	7,106,559	100.0	3,782,727	3,323,832
1 person	2,677,330	7.7	1,054,730	1,622,600	1,671,349	8.1	476,222	1,195,127	644,964	9.0	361,871	283,093	361,017	5.1	216,637	144,380
2 persons	8,630,515	24.8	3,704,371	4,926,144	5,441,183	26.4	1,889,518	3,551,665	1,801,194	25.2	994,759	806,435	1,388,138	19.5	820,094	568,044
3 persons	7,796,091	22.4	3,360,881	4,435,210	4,800,889	23.3	1,792,699	3,008,190	1,582,448	22.1	803,034	779,414	1,412,754	19.9	765,148	647,606
4 persons	6,324,536	18.1	2,823,399	3,501,137	3,800,280	18.5	1,521,189	2,279,091	1,262,299	17.7	639,244	623,055	1,261,957	17.8	662,966	598,991
5 persons	4,012,499	11.5	1,841,214	2,171,285	2,270,577	11.0	953,350	1,317,227	794,566	11.1	398,394	396,172	947,356	13.3	489,470	457,886
6 persons	2,359,856	6.8	1,080,518	1,279,338	1,233,054	6.0	521,903	711,151	470,992	6.6	228,787	242,205	655,810	9.2	329,828	325,982
7 persons	1,340,544	3.8	600,327	740,217	644,265	3.1	268,545	375,720	267,442	3.7	125,021	142,421	428,837	6.0	206,761	222,076
8 persons	768,482	2.2	335,204	433,278	341,765	1.7	139,391	202,374	152,152	2.1	68,850	83,302	274,565	3.9	126,963	147,602
9 persons	435,784	1.3	185,890	249,894	181,416	0.9	72,003	109,413	84,810	1.2	37,872	46,938	169,558	2.4	76,015	93,543
10 persons	242,424	0.7	101,555	140,869	97,059	0.5	37,923	59,136	45,592	0.6	20,070	25,522	99,773	1.4	43,562	56,211
11 persons or more	266,471	0.8	107,674	158,797	114,663	0.6	42,217	72,446	45,014	0.6	20,174	24,840	106,794	1.5	45,283	61,511
Median number of persons	3.28	-	3.34	3.24	3.16	-	3.33	3.06	3.21	-	3.11	3.32	3.81	-	3.63	4.00
THE NORTH																
Total	20,442,706	100.0	9,007,749	11,434,957	13,911,316	100.0	5,122,875	8,788,441	3,667,015	100.0	2,099,973	1,567,042	2,864,375	100.0	1,784,901	1,079,474
1 person	1,498,416	7.3	620,675	877,741	999,815	7.2	289,236	710,079	344,649	9.4	221,039	123,610	154,452	5.4	110,400	44,052
2 persons	5,106,360	25.0	2,211,566	2,894,794	3,541,505	25.5	1,202,405	2,339,100	959,748	26.2	591,745	368,003	605,107	21.1	417,416	187,691
3 persons	4,682,244	22.9	1,999,664	2,682,580	3,258,734	23.4	1,171,328	2,087,406	818,869	22.3	452,512	366,357	604,641	21.1	375,824	228,817
4 persons	3,838,983	18.8	1,693,173	2,145,810	2,663,608	19.1	1,024,987	1,638,621	645,617	17.6	353,655	291,962	529,758	18.5	314,531	215,227
5 persons	2,398,948	11.7	1,109,682	1,289,266	1,616,662	11.6	665,201	951,461	398,939	10.9	218,595	180,344	383,347	13.4	225,886	157,461
6 persons	1,353,895	6.6	640,261	713,634	877,455	6.3	371,383	506,072	228,897	6.2	123,683	105,214	247,543	8.6	145,195	102,348
7 persons	726,329	3.6	343,654	382,675	453,662	3.3	192,271	261,391	124,819	3.4	65,613	59,206	147,848	5.2	85,770	62,078
8 persons	391,835	1.9	184,340	207,495	237,307	1.7	99,913	137,394	68,456	1.9	34,906	33,550	86,072	3.0	49,521	36,551
9 persons	210,796	1.0	97,914	112,882	123,936	0.9	51,058	72,878	37,418	1.0	18,756	18,662	49,442	1.7	28,100	21,342
10 persons	113,231	0.6	52,118	61,113	65,281	0.5	26,547	38,734	20,058	0.5	9,756	10,302	27,892	1.0	15,815	12,077
11 persons or more	121,669	0.6	54,702	66,967	73,851	0.5	28,546	45,305	19,545	0.5	9,713	9,832	28,273	1.0	16,443	11,830
Median number of persons	3.27	-	3.34	3.23	3.24	-	3.41	3.14	3.15	-	3.02	3.30	3.63	-	3.47	3.87
THE SOUTH																
Total	10,278,204	100.0	4,183,022	6,095,182	4,134,172	100.0	1,492,638	2,641,534	2,512,578	100.0	1,080,874	1,431,704	3,631,454	100.0	1,609,510	2,021,944
1 person	638,444	6.2	245,188	393,256	318,499	7.7	93,471	225,028	175,183	7.0	81,393	93,790	144,762	4.0	70,324	74,438
2 persons	2,322,219	22.6	927,730	1,394,489	1,096,733	26.5	359,317	737,416	578,454	23.0	259,672	318,782	647,032	17.8	308,741	338,291
3 persons	2,196,007	21.4	901,196	1,294,811	957,146	23.2	351,449	605,697	550,491	21.9	237,766	312,725	688,370	19.0	311,981	376,389
4 persons	1,803,431	17.5	767,919	1,035,512	727,276	17.6	290,573	436,703	449,706	17.9	195,394	254,312	626,449	17.3	281,952	344,497
5 persons	1,238,857	12.1	526,190	712,667	447,714	10.8	181,092	266,622	301,101	12.0	127,656	173,445	490,042	13.5	217,442	272,600
6 persons	809,806	7.9	333,160	476,646	258,059	6.2	100,612	157,447	190,885	7.6	77,098	113,787	360,862	9.9	155,450	205,412
7 persons	512,716	5.0	201,794	310,922	144,367	3.5	53,466	90,901	115,861	4.6	44,788	71,073	252,488	7.0	103,540	148,948
8 persons	322,238	3.1	121,958	200,280	81,287	2.0	28,484	52,803	69,095	2.7	26,040	43,055	171,856	4.7	67,434	104,422
9 persons	195,187	1.9	72,506	122,681	45,289	1.1	15,406	29,883	39,323	1.6	14,773	24,550	110,575	3.0	42,327	68,248
10 persons	112,971	1.1	41,154	71,817	25,249	0.6	8,490	16,759	21,180	0.8	7,999	13,181	66,542	1.8	24,665	41,877
11 persons or more	126,328	1.2	44,227	82,101	32,553	0.8	10,278	22,275	21,299	0.8	8,295	13,004	72,476	2.0	25,654	46,822
Median number of persons	3.45	-	3.52	3.47	3.18	-	3.34	3.09	3.41	-	3.34	3.47	4.04	-	3.90	4.14
THE WEST																
Total	4,133,622	100.0	2,004,992	2,128,630	2,551,012	100.0	1,099,447	1,451,565	971,880	100.0	517,229	454,651	610,730	100.0	388,316	222,414
1 person	540,470	13.1	188,867	351,603	353,535	13.9	93,515	260,020	125,132	12.9	59,439	65,693	61,803	10.1	35,913	25,890
2 persons	1,201,936	29.1	565,075	636,861	802,945	31.5	327,796	475,149	262,992	27.1	143,342	119,650	135,999	22.3	93,937	42,062
3 persons	917,840	22.2	460,021	457,819	585,009	22.9	269,922	315,087	213,088	21.9	112,756	100,332	119,743	19.6	77,343	42,400
4 persons	682,122	16.5	362,307	319,815	409,396	16.0	205,529	203,767	166,976	17.2	90,195	76,781	105,750	17.3	66,483	39,267
5 persons	374,694	9.1	205,342	169,352	206,201	8.1	107,057	99,144	94,526	9.7	52,143	42,383	73,967	12.1	46,142	27,825
6 persons	196,155	4.7	107,097	89,058	97,540	3.8	49,908	47,632	51,210	5.3	28,006	23,204	47,405	7.8	29,183	18,222
7 persons	101,499	2.5	54,879	46,620	46,236	1.8	22,808	23,428	26,762	2.8	14,620	12,142	28,501	4.7	17,451	11,050
8 persons	54,409	1.3	28,906	25,503	23,171	0.9	10,994	12,177	14,601	1.5	7,904	6,697	16,637	2.7	10,008	6,629
9 persons	29,801	0.7	15,470	14,331	12,191	0.5	5,539	6,652	8,069	0.8	4,343	3,726	9,541	1.6	5,588	3,953
10 persons	16,222	0.4	8,283	7,939	6,529	0.3	2,886	3,643	4,354	0.4	2,315	2,039	5,339	0.9	3,082	2,257
11 persons or more	18,474	0.4	8,745	9,729	8,259	0.3	3,393	4,866	4,170	0.4	2,166	2,004	6,045	1.0	3,186	2,859
Median number of persons	2.85	-	3.04	2.67	2.70	-	2.98	2.48	2.96	-	3.00	2.92	3.40	-	3.33	3.52

10- Education, Higher

National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes

SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH to EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Misc. No. 6
Volume I

Federal Security Agency, U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

10 - Educ., Higher

National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes

GENERAL STUDIES OF COLLEGES FOR NEGROES

Misc. No. 6

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UNITED STATES CENSUS OF

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Special Report
1945 Sample Census of Agriculture

CHARACTERISTICS OF OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: NOVEMBER, 1945

Some improvement has been shown between 1940 and 1945 in the average condition and facilities of homes in the United States according to estimates released today by Director J. C. Capt of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Greatest advance was shown in rural areas while urban communities showed much less over-all improvement.

Occupied dwelling units in the United States increased about 2 3/4 million between 1940 and 1945. The estimated number of occupied dwelling units in November, 1945, is 37,600,000. The number of urban occupied dwelling units increased by more than 3 million. In contrast to this increase the number of rural-farm occupied dwelling units declined by nearly 800,000 and the number of rural-nonfarm increased by only about 400,000 (table 1).

Table 1.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by TENURE, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND TENURE	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
Urban	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	63.2	59.1
Rural-nonfarm	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	20.0	20.5
Rural-farm	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	16.8	20.4
Owner	20,009,000	15,196,000	4,813,000	31.7	53.2	43.6
Tenant	17,591,000	19,659,000	-2,068,000	-10.5	46.8	56.4
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
Owner	11,047,000	7,715,000	3,332,000	43.2	46.5	37.5
Tenant	12,701,000	12,882,000	-181,000	-1.4	53.5	62.5
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
Owner	4,831,000	3,698,000	1,133,000	30.6	64.1	51.7
Tenant	2,702,000	3,453,000	-751,000	-21.7	35.9	48.3
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
Owner	4,131,000	3,783,000	348,000	9.2	65.4	53.2
Tenant	2,188,000	3,324,000	-1,136,000	-34.2	34.6	46.8

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

TENURE

In November, 1945, there were 20,009,000 dwelling units occupied by owners, as compared with the 15,196,000 owner-occupied homes in April, 1940. In contrast, since April, 1940, the number of dwelling units occupied by tenants declined 11 percent to 17,591,000 in 1945. Thus, homes occupied by their owners represented 53 percent of all occupied dwelling units in 1945 as compared to 44 percent in 1940. In the urban areas, the percent of homes occupied by their owners increased from 38 percent in 1940 to 47 percent in 1945. The increase in the rural-farm areas was from 53 percent to 65 percent, and in the rural-nonfarm areas was from 52 percent in 1940 to 64 percent in 1945.

STATE OF REPAIR AND FACILITIES

In 1945, 33,258,000, or 89 percent, of the occupied dwelling units were not in need of major repairs, with 92 percent, 87 percent, and 78 percent for urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm, respectively. Corresponding percentages in 1940 showed that 82 percent of the occupied units were not in need of major repairs, with 89 percent, 78 percent, and 67 percent for the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas. (See table 2.)

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In 1945, 23,438,000, or 71 percent, of the 33,258,000 dwelling units needing no major repairs contained both a private bath and a private flush toilet. Seventy-eight percent of all urban occupied dwelling units contained both private bath and private flush toilet and needed no major repairs, while 52 percent of the rural-nonfarm dwellings and only 15 percent of the rural-farm dwellings were reported in this class.

Almost one million of the 4,342,000 units needing repairs contained both a private bath and a private flush toilet. In this group are 3 percent of all urban units, 2 percent of the rural-nonfarm units, and 1 percent of the rural-farm units.

Of the 37,600,000 occupied dwelling units in 1945, more than 24,500,000, or 65 percent, had a private bath or shower in the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants of the dwelling unit (table 3). The corresponding figure for 1940 was less than 20 million, or 57 percent. In 1945, 1,566,000 dwelling units (4 percent) reported a bathtub or shower shared with other dwelling units, and more than 11 million (30 percent) reported no equipment for bathing. In 1940, approximately the same number of dwelling units had bathing equipment shared with other dwelling units, but 2 million more dwelling units in 1940, or 39 percent, of the total occupied dwelling units reported no facilities for bathing. The greatest percentage of homes with a private bathtub or shower for the exclusive use of its occupants was in the urban areas, where 82 percent were reported with such equipment in 1945, as compared with 17 percent of the rural-farm homes.

A private flush toilet in the structure was reported for 69 percent of the occupied dwelling units in the United States in 1945, as compared with 60 percent in 1940. Only 5 percent, or about 1,684,000 dwelling units, in 1945 reported flush toilets for the joint use of 2 or more families, and more than one-fourth (27 percent) of the dwelling units reported that they had other types of toilet facilities or no toilet facilities (table 4).

In 1945, 29,500,000, or 79 percent, of the occupied dwelling units, had running water within the unit. Most of the remaining units had no running water, although one percent of the occupied dwelling units had running water within the structure but not within the unit.

Ninety-five percent of urban homes had running water within the unit, as compared with 70 percent for rural-nonfarm and 28 percent for rural-farm units. However, the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm showed a one-third increase from 1940 while the urban percentage showed little change. The percentage having no running water within the unit was 5 percent of urban dwelling units, 30 percent of rural-nonfarm, and 72 percent of rural-farm dwelling units.

Approximately 18 million dwelling units in 1945 had central heating equipment and they represent 48 percent of the occupied dwelling units. (See table 6.) More than 14 million of the dwelling units with central heating were in urban places.

Ninety-five percent, or almost 36 million, of the occupied dwelling units in 1945 had installed cooking facilities. The urban and rural-nonfarm areas had 96 and 95 percent, respectively, while in rural-farm areas 93 percent of the occupied dwelling units had installed cooking facilities.

More than seven-eighths of the occupied dwelling units in the United States had electric lighting equipment. This type of lighting equipment was provided in 33,356,000, or 89 percent, of the total occupied dwelling units in 1945. The percentages of urban and rural-nonfarm homes with electric lighting were 98 and 90, respectively, and the corresponding figure for rural-farm homes was 52 percent. Although there were fewer rural-farm occupied dwelling units in 1945 than in 1940, a million more of these rural-farm homes had electric lighting.

Almost 34 million, or 90 percent, of the occupied dwelling units had radios in 1945, as compared with less than 29 million, or 83 percent, in 1940. Almost 22,500,000, or 95 percent, of the urban occupied dwellings reported radios in 1945, while rural-nonfarm reported almost 7 million, or 90 percent, and rural-farm almost 5 million, or 77 percent.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND DWELLING UNITS

The median size of household in the United States declined to 3.1 persons in 1945, as compared with 3.3 persons in 1940. There were more 2-person households in the United States in 1945 than households of any other size. These 2-person households totaled 10,529,000 and constituted 28 percent of all households. One-person households accounted for 9 percent of the total, 3-person households for 23 percent, and 4-person households for 18 percent. Thus, nearly three-eighths (37 percent) of all dwelling units in the United States were used as the living quarters of one or two persons, and more than three-fourths (78 percent) housed not more than 4 persons.

Households of 5 or more persons represented 22 percent of all households; the percentage in this size group varied from 18 in the urban areas to 34 in the rural-farm areas. Three percent of all households had 8 persons or more—2 percent of the urban households, 3 percent of the rural-nonfarm, and 8 percent of the rural-farm.

The size of a household is defined as the number of persons who live in an occupied dwelling unit. The figures include not only related family members but also lodgers, servants, and other unrelated persons who regularly live at home.

Occupied dwelling units in 1945 contained about the same number of rooms as those in 1940.

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In the United States, 4- and 5-room dwelling units represented 43 percent of all reporting units, while 35 percent had more than 5 rooms and 22 percent had fewer than 4 rooms. The number of rooms includes all rooms available for use throughout the year. Bathrooms, closets, halls, screened porches, and unfinished rooms in the basement or attic were not counted as rooms.

MONTHLY RENT

The median rent for tenant-occupied dwelling units in 1945 was $27.88 in total urban and rural-nonfarm areas; $30.25 in urban areas, and $15.50 in rural-nonfarm areas (table 13). More than 4,500,000 of the urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units had rents of less than $20 per month, and 54 percent had rents of less than $30 per month. Monthly rents of $50 or more were reported for 1,508,000 of the 15,403,000 reporting units, or approximately 1 in every 10 units, while rents of less than $10 were reported for 1,242,000 dwelling units, or approximately 1 in every 12.

These rent figures are based on the amount paid per month as rent for tenant-occupied dwelling units. If no money rent was paid, for example, in the case of a minister who uses the parsonage rent-free, the estimated monthly rent based on the monthly rent paid for similar dwelling units in the neighborhood was entered on the schedules.

The rental data presented in this report are not comparable with the figures on changes in rent obtained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for its cost of living index. The data compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics represent changes in rent charged for identical qualities of housing, essentially rents for identical units with identical services and facilities. The data in this release on the other hand reflect any shift in the size and type of rented units, the rent level of new war housing and other units coming on the rental market for the first time, and possibly also a trend toward more frequent inclusion in rent of charges for furnishings and utilities. Furthermore, the comparisons between 1940 and 1945 shown in this release may be affected by changes in vacancy rates among units in various rental groups.

The statistics presented in this release make it clear that the rental figures for 1940 and for 1945 do not pertain to the same group of units since there took place between those years a considerable shift in the groups of occupied dwelling units to which the rental data pertain. Over this five-year period there was an increase of 4,533,000, or 16 percent, in the number of occupied dwelling units in urban and rural-nonfarm areas. However, the percentage of units occupied by their owners increased sharply over the 5-year period rising from 49 percent in 1940 to 59 percent in 1945.

TECHNICAL NOTES

For this report, the urban and rural areas are those that were classified as urban or rural in 1940 on the basis of the results of the 1940 census. The classification of rural population by farm and nonfarm residence is based on the residence at the time of enumeration. Thus, the 1945 rural-farm population is the population living on farms in 1945 in areas that were classified as rural in 1940.

Source and Reliability of Estimates

Data on home ownership and other housing data, such as size of household, size of dwelling unit, bathing equipment, toilet facilities, heating equipment, and monthly rent were obtained for occupied dwelling units as a supplement to the Monthly Report on the Labor Force for November 1945. The Monthly Report on the Labor Force is a sample survey which is conducted each month in order to obtain information on labor supply, employment and other characteristics of the population. The sample is distributed in 68 areas, each area comprising one or more counties. These areas are located in 42 States and the District of Columbia. Approximately 20,000 households were included in the housing inquiry.

Since the estimates for 1945 are based on a sample, they are subject to error due to sampling variability. Apparent small changes between 1940 and 1945 may not in all cases be significant, either in the amount of the change or its direction. The following table gives approximate measures of the reliability of the estimates for 1945. The measures of reliability are shown for several different sizes of numbers:

SIZE OF ESTIMATE	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ESTIMATE AND THE NUMBER THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM A COMPLETE CENSUS	
	Chances are about 2 in 3 that the difference would be less than the figure in this column	Chances are about 19 in 20 that the difference would be less than the figure in this column
100,000	40,000	75,000
300,000	60,000	115,000
500,000	90,000	180,000
1,000,000	135,000	270,000
2,500,000	195,000	390,000
5,000,000	240,000	475,000
10,000,000	380,000	760,000
15,000,000	420,000	840,000
20,000,000	425,000	850,000
30,000,000	430,000	860,000

The sampling error of any percentage shown depends not only on the value of the percent but also on the size of base on which the percentage is determined. For example, the estimate of occupied dwelling units needing major repairs in rural-nonfarm areas in the United States in November 1945 is 12.9 percent. The estimate of all occupied dwelling units needing major repairs in the United States in November 1945 is 11.5 percent. Since the latter percent has a considerably larger base it is more reliable than the percent based on rural-nonfarm occupied dwelling units.

For percentages based on the total number of occupied dwelling units, the table below indicates the reliability for several different sizes of estimated percentages.

SIZE OF ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE AND PERCENTAGE WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM A COMPLETE CENSUS	
	Chances are about 2 in 3 that the difference would be less than the figure in this column	Chances are about 19 in 20 that the difference would be less than the figure in this column
1 percent	0.2 percent	0.4 percent
5 "	0.5 "	1.0 "
10 "	0.6 "	1.2 "
25 "	1.0 "	1.9 "
50 "	1.1 "	2.3 "
75 "	1.1 "	2.3 "

The measures of reliability given in these tables are only approximate. They are intended as indications of the general level of sampling reliability of the estimates. In addition to sampling variations, the estimates are subject to errors of response, but the possibilities of such errors are not included in these measures of reliability.

The 1940 data shown were obtained from the 1940 Census of Housing with the data presented in thousands of dwelling units and with dwelling units not reporting on an item distributed in the same proportion as the reporting units. Estimates for 1945 are presented in thousands of dwelling units, not because they are assumed to be accurate to thousands of dwelling units but for convenience in summation.

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Table 2.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	24,385,000	19,429,000	4,956,000	25.5	64.9	55.7
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,536,000	1,487,000	49,000	3.3	4.1	4.3
With running water, no private flush toilet	3,622,000	3,614,000	8,000	0.2	9.6	10.4
No running water in dwelling unit	8,057,000	10,325,000	-2,268,000	-22.0	21.4	29.6
Dwelling units not needing major repairs	33,258,000	28,588,000	4,670,000	16.3	88.5	82.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	23,438,000	18,039,000	5,399,000	29.9	62.3	51.8
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,225,000	1,151,000	74,000	6.4	3.3	3.3
With running water, no private flush toilet	2,938,000	2,807,000	131,000	4.7	7.8	8.1
No running water in dwelling unit	5,657,000	6,591,000	-934,000	-14.2	15.0	18.9
Dwelling units needing major repairs	4,342,000	6,267,000	-1,925,000	-30.7	11.5	18.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	947,000	1,390,000	-443,000	-31.9	2.5	4.0
With private flush toilet, no private bath	311,000	336,000	-25,000	-7.4	0.8	1.0
With running water, no private flush toilet	684,000	807,000	-123,000	-15.2	1.8	2.3
No running water in dwelling unit	2,400,000	3,734,000	-1,334,000	-35.7	6.4	10.7
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	19,349,000	15,830,000	3,519,000	22.2	81.5	76.9
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,201,000	1,227,000	-26,000	-2.1	5.1	6.0
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,930,000	2,193,000	-263,000	-12.0	8.1	10.6
No running water in dwelling unit	1,268,000	1,347,000	-79,000	-5.9	5.3	6.5
Dwelling units not needing major repairs	21,755,000	18,271,000	3,484,000	19.1	91.6	88.7
With private bath and private flush toilet	18,586,000	14,753,000	3,833,000	26.0	78.3	71.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	920,000	941,000	-21,000	-2.2	3.9	4.6
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,517,000	1,721,000	-204,000	-11.9	6.4	8.4
No running water in dwelling unit	732,000	856,000	-124,000	-14.5	3.1	4.2
Dwelling units needing major repairs	1,993,000	2,326,000	-333,000	-14.3	8.4	11.3
With private bath and private flush toilet	763,000	1,077,000	-314,000	-29.2	3.2	5.2
With private flush toilet, no private bath	281,000	286,000	-5,000	-1.7	1.2	1.4
With running water, no private flush toilet	413,000	472,000	-59,000	-12.5	1.7	2.3
No running water in dwelling unit	536,000	491,000	45,000	9.2	2.3	2.4
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	4,029,000	2,823,000	1,206,000	42.7	53.5	39.5
With private flush toilet, no private bath	273,000	223,000	50,000	22.4	3.6	3.1
With running water, no private flush toilet	987,000	941,000	46,000	4.9	13.1	13.2
No running water in dwelling unit	2,244,000	3,164,000	-920,000	-29.1	29.8	44.2
Dwelling units not needing major repairs	6,563,000	5,559,000	1,004,000	18.1	87.1	77.7
With private bath and private flush toilet	3,878,000	2,587,000	1,291,000	49.9	51.5	36.2
With private flush toilet, no private bath	243,000	179,000	64,000	35.8	3.2	2.5
With running water, no private flush toilet	820,000	714,000	106,000	14.8	10.9	10.0
No running water in dwelling unit	1,622,000	2,079,000	-457,000	-22.0	21.5	29.1
Dwelling units needing major repairs	970,000	1,592,000	-622,000	-39.1	12.9	22.3
With private bath and private flush toilet	151,000	236,000	-85,000	-36.0	2.0	3.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	30,000	44,000	-14,000	-31.8	0.4	0.6
With running water, no private flush toilet	167,000	227,000	-60,000	-26.4	2.2	3.2
No running water in dwelling unit	622,000	1,085,000	-463,000	-42.7	8.3	15.2

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 2.—Occupied dwelling units, by STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940—Continued

AREA AND STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	1,007,000	776,000	231,000	29.8	15.9	10.9
With private flush toilet, no private bath	62,000	37,000	25,000	67.6	1.0	0.5
With running water, no private flush toilet	705,000	480,000	225,000	46.9	11.2	6.8
No running water in dwelling unit	4,545,000	5,814,000	-1,269,000	-21.8	71.9	81.8
Dwelling units not needing major repairs	4,940,000	4,758,000	182,000	3.8	78.2	66.9
With private bath and private flush toilet	974,000	699,000	275,000	39.3	15.4	9.8
With private flush toilet, no private bath	62,000	31,000	31,000	100.0	1.0	0.4
With running water, no private flush toilet	601,000	372,000	229,000	61.6	9.5	5.2
No running water in dwelling unit	3,303,000	3,656,000	-353,000	-9.7	52.3	51.4
Dwelling units needing major repairs	1,379,000	2,349,000	-970,000	-41.3	21.8	33.1
With private bath and private flush toilet	33,000	77,000	-44,000	-57.1	0.5	1.1
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	6,000	-6,000	-100.0	-	0.1
With running water, no private flush toilet	104,000	108,000	-4,000	-3.7	1.6	1.5
No running water in dwelling unit	1,242,000	2,158,000	-916,000	-42.4	19.7	30.4

[1]A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

Table 3.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by BATHING EQUIPMENT, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND BATHING EQUIPMENT	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
Bathing equipment in structure, exclusive use	24,587,000	19,777,000	4,810,000	24.3	65.4	56.7
Bathing equipment in structure, shared	1,566,000	1,641,000	-75,000	-4.6	4.2	4.7
None	11,447,000	13,437,000	-1,990,000	-14.8	30.4	38.6
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
Bathing equipment in structure, exclusive use	19,404,000	15,986,000	3,418,000	21.4	81,7	77.6
Bathing equipment in structure, shared	1,443,000	1,484,000	-41,000	-2.8	6.1	7.2
None	2,901,000	3,127,000	-226,000	-7.2	12.2	15.2
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
Bathing equipment in structure, exclusive use	4,096,000	2,925,000	1,171,000	40.0	54.4	40.9
Bathing equipment in structure, shared	105,000	142,000	-37,000	-26.1	1.4	2.0
None	3,332,000	4,084,000	-752,000	-18.4	44.2	57.1
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
Bathing equipment in structure, exclusive use	1,087,000	866,000	221,000	25.5	17.2	12.2
Bathing equipment in structure, shared	18,000	15,000	3,000	20.0	0.3	0.2
None	5,214,000	6,226,000	-1,012,000	-16.3	82.5	87.6

[1]A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 4.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by TOILET FACILITIES, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND TOILET FACILITIES	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
Flush toilet in structure, exclusive use	25,953,000	21,026,000	4,927,000	23.4	69.0	60.3
Flush toilet in structure, shared	1,684,000	1,725,000	-41,000	-2.4	4.5	4.9
No flush toilet	9,963,000	12,104,000	-2,141,000	-17.7	26.5	34.7
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
Flush toilet in structure, exclusive use	20,581,000	17,131,000	3,450,000	20.1	86.7	83.2
Flush toilet in structure, shared	1,547,000	1,578,000	-31,000	-2.0	6.5	7.7
No flush toilet	1,620,000	1,888,000	-268,000	14.2	6.8	9.2
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
Flush toilet in structure, exclusive use	4,302,000	3,078,000	1,224,000	39.8	57.1	43.0
Flush toilet in structure, shared	119,000	135,000	-16,000	-11.9	1.6	1.9
No flush toilet	3,112,000	3,938,000	-826,000	-21.0	41.3	55.1
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
Flush toilet in structure, exclusive use	1,070,000	817,000	253,000	31.0	16.9	11.5
Flush toilet in structure, shared	18,000	12,000	6,000	50.0	0.3	0.2
No flush toilet	5,231,000	6,278,000	-1,047,000	-16.7	82.8	88.3

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

Table 5.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by WATER SUPPLY, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND WATER SUPPLY	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
Running water in unit	29,543,000	24,530,000	5,013,000	20.4	78.6	70.4
No running water in unit	8,057,000	10,325,000	-2,268,000	-22.0	21.4	29.6
No running water in unit but in structure	537,000	-	-	-	1.4	-
No running water in structure	7,520,000	-	-	-	20.0	-
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
Running water in unit	22,480,000	19,250,000	3,230,000	16.8	94.7	93.5
No running water in unit	1,268,000	1,347,000	-79,000	-5.9	5.3	6.5
No running water in unit but in structure	376,000	-	-	-	1.6	-
No running water in structure	892,000	-	-	-	3.8	-
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
Running water in unit	5,289,000	3,987,000	1,302,000	32.7	70.2	55.8
No running water in unit	2,244,000	3,164,000	-920,000	-29.1	29.8	44.2
No running water in unit but in structure	104,000	-	-	-	1.4	-
No running water in structure	2,140,000	-	-	-	28.4	-
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
Running water in unit	1,774,000	1,293,000	481,000	37.2	28.1	18.2
No running water in unit	4,545,000	5,814,000	-1,269,000	-21.8	71.9	81.8
No running water in unit but in structure	57,000	-	-	-	0.9	-
No running water in structure	4,488,000	-	-	-	71.0	-

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 6.—Occupied Dwelling Units, WITH AND WITHOUT CENTRAL HEATING, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND CENTRAL HEATING	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
With central heating	18,188,000	14,639,000	3,549,000	24.2	48.4	42.0
Without central heating	19,412,000	20,216,000	-804,000	-4.0	51.6	58.0
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
With central heating	14,536,000	11,986,000	2,550,000	21.3	61.2	58.2
Without central heating	9,212,000	8,611,000	601,000	7.0	38.8	41.8
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
With central heating	2,679,000	1,933,000	746,000	38.6	35.6	27.0
Without central heating	4,854,000	5,218,000	-364,000	-7.0	64.4	73.0
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
With central heating	973,000	720,000	253,000	35.1	15.4	10.1
Without central heating	5,346,000	6,387,000	-1,041,000	-16.3	84.6	89.9

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

Table 7.—Occupied Dwelling Units, WITH AND WITHOUT ELECTRIC LIGHTING, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
With electric lighting	33,356,000	27,604,000	5,752,000	20.8	88.7	79.2
Without electric lighting	4,244,000	7,251,000	-3,007,000	-41.5	11.3	20.8
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
With electric lighting	23,238,000	19,719,000	3,519,000	17.8	97.9	95.7
Without electric lighting	510,000	878,000	-368,000	-41.9	2.1	4.3
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
With electric lighting	6,805,000	5,588,000	1,217,000	21.8	90.3	78.1
Without electric lighting	728,000	1,563,000	-835,000	-53.4	9.7	21.9
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
With electric lighting	3,313,000	2,297,000	1,016,000	44.2	52.4	32.3
Without electric lighting	3,006,000	4,810,000	-1,804,000	-37.5	47.6	67.7

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 8.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by RADIO, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND RADIO	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
With radio	33,998,000	28,847,000	5,151,000	17.9	90.4	82.8
No radio	3,602,000	6,008,000	-2,406,000	-40.0	9.6	17.2
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
With radio	22,416,000	18,925,000	3,491,000	18.4	94.4	91.9
No radio	1,332,000	1,672,000	-340,000	-20.3	5.6	8.1
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
With radio	6,741,000	5,647,000	1,094,000	19.4	89.5	79.0
No radio	792,000	1,504,000	-712,000	-47.3	10.5	21.0
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
With radio	4,841,000	4,277,000	564,000	13.2	76.6	60.2
No radio	1,478,000	2,830,000	-1,352,000	-47.8	23.4	39.8

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

Table 9.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES	Total	URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM			Rural-farm
		Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	
NUMBER					
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	31,281,000	23,748,000	7,533,000	6,319,000
With installed cooking facilities	35,878,000	30,022,000	22,842,000	7,180,000	5,856,000
No installed cooking facilities	1,722,000	1,259,000	906,000	353,000	463,000
PERCENT					
Total occupied dwelling units	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	95.4	96.0	96.2	95.3	92.7
No installed cooking facilities	4.6	4.0	3.8	4.7	7.3

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Table 10.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
1 person	3,481,000	2,677,000	804,000	30.0	9.3	7.7
2 persons	10,529,000	8,630,000	1,899,000	22.0	28.0	24.8
3 persons	8,597,000	7,796,000	801,000	10.3	22.9	22.4
4 persons	6,817,000	6,325,000	492,000	7.8	18.1	18.1
5 persons	3,968,000	4,013,000	-45,000	-1.1	10.6	11.5
6 persons	2,044,000	2,360,000	-316,000	-13.4	5.4	6.8
7 persons	1,018,000	1,341,000	-323,000	-24.1	2.7	3.8
8 or more persons	1,146,000	1,713,000	-567,000	-33.1	3.0	4.9
Median number of persons	3.06	3.29	-	-	-	-
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
1 person	2,372,000	1,671,000	701,000	42.0	10.0	8.1
2 persons	7,076,000	5,441,000	1,635,000	30.0	29.8	26.4
3 persons	5,747,000	4,800,000	947,000	19.7	24.2	23.3
4 persons	4,279,000	3,801,000	478,000	12.6	18.0	18.5
5 persons	2,368,000	2,272,000	96,000	4.2	10.0	11.0
6 persons	1,064,000	1,233,000	-169,000	-13.7	4.5	6.0
7 persons	415,000	645,000	-230,000	-35.7	1.7	3.1
8 or more persons	427,000	734,000	-307,000	-41.8	1.8	3.6
Median number of persons	2.92	3.16	-	-	-	
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
1 person	786,000	645,000	141,000	21.9	10.4	9.0
2 persons	1,968,000	1,801,000	167,000	9.3	26.1	25.2
3 persons	1,583,000	1,583,000	-	-	21.0	22.1
4 persons	1,414,000	1,262,000	152,000	12.0	18.8	17.6
5 persons	830,000	794,000	36,000	4.5	11.0	11.1
6 persons	458,000	471,000	-13,000	-2.8	6.1	6.6
7 persons	257,000	267,000	-10,000	-3.7	3.4	3.7
8 or more persons	237,000	328,000	-91,000	-27.7	3.1	4.6
Median number of persons	3.14	3.21	-	-	-	-
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
1 person	323,000	361,000	-38,000	-10.5	5.1	5.1
2 persons	1,485,000	1,388,000	97,000	7.0	23.5	19.5
3 persons	1,267,000	1,413,000	-146,000	-10.3	20.1	19.9
4 persons	1,124,000	1,262,000	-138,000	-10.9	17.8	17.8
5 persons	770,000	947,000	-177,000	-18.7	12.2	13.3
6 persons	522,000	656,000	-134,000	-20.4	8.3	9.2
7 persons	346,000	429,000	-83,000	-19.3	5.5	6.0
8 or more persons	482,000	651,000	-169,000	-26.0	7.6	9.2
Median number of persons	3.58	3.81	-	-	-	-

[1]A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 11.—Occupied Dwelling Units, BY NUMBER OF ROOMS, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND NUMBER OF ROOMS	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
1 room	610,000	1,156,000	-546,000	-47.2	1.6	3.3
2 rooms	2,330,000	2,905,000	-575,000	-19.8	6.2	8.3
3 rooms	5,416,000	4,929,000	487,000	9.9	14.4	14.1
4 rooms	7,402,000	6,477,000	925,000	14.3	19.7	18.6
5 rooms	8,815,000	7,014,000	1,801,000	25.7	23.4	20.1
6 rooms	6,976,000	6,132,000	844,000	13.8	18.6	17.6
7 rooms	2,968,000	2,792,000	176,000	6.3	7.9	8.0
8 or more rooms	3,083,000	3,450,000	-367,000	-10.6	8.2	9.9
Median number of rooms	4.85	4.78	-	-	-	-
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
1 room	475,000	705,000	-230,000	-32.6	2.0	3.4
2 rooms	1,533,000	1,600,000	-67,000	-4.2	6.5	7.8
3 rooms	3,691,000	2,945,000	746,000	25.3	15.5	14.3
4 rooms	4,655,000	3,666,000	989,000	27.0	19.6	17.8
5 rooms	5,765,000	4,533,000	1,232,000	27.2	24.3	22.0
6 rooms	4,495,000	3,926,000	569,000	14.5	18.9	19.1
7 rooms	1,664,000	1,534,000	130,000	8.5	7.0	7.4
8 or more rooms	1,470,000	1,688,000	-218,000	-12.9	6.2	8.2
Median number of rooms	4.76	4.80	-	-	-	-
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
1 room	85,000	289,000	-204,000	-70.6	1.1	4.0
2 rooms	476,000	688,000	-212,000	-30.8	6.3	9.6
3 rooms	931,000	964,000	-33,000	-3.4	12.4	13.5
4 rooms	1,409,000	1,389,000	20,000	1.4	18.7	19.4
5 rooms	1,808,000	1,375,000	433,000	31.5	24.0	19.2
6 rooms	1,393,000	1,168,000	225,000	19.3	18.5	16.3
7 rooms	735,000	595,000	140,000	23.5	9.8	8.3
8 or more rooms	696,000	683,000	13,000	1.9	9.2	9.6
Median number of rooms	4.98	4.68	-	-	-	-
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
1 room	50,000	162,000	-112,000	-69.1	0.8	2.3
2 rooms	321,000	617,000	-296,000	-48.0	5.1	8.7
3 rooms	794,000	1,020,000	-226,000	-22.2	12.6	14.4
4 rooms	1,338,000	1,422,000	-84,000	-5.9	21.2	20.0
5 rooms	1,242,000	1,106,000	136,000	12.3	19.7	15.6
6 rooms	1,088,000	1,038,000	50,000	4.8	17.2	14.6
7 rooms	569,000	663,000	-94,000	-14.2	9.0	9.3
8 or more rooms	917,000	1,079,000	-162,000	-15.0	14.5	15.2
Median number of rooms	5.03	4.80	-	-	-	-

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 12.—Occupied Dwelling Units, by PERSONS PER ROOM, for the United States, Urban and Rural: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND PERSONS PER ROOM	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
UNITED STATES						
Total occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	34,855,000	2,745,000	7.9	100.0	100.0
0.50 or less	14,312,000	10,976,000	3,336,000	30.4	38.1	31.5
0.51 to 1.00	17,750,000	16,831,000	919,000	5.5	47.2	48.3
1.01 to 1.50	3,575,000	3,925,000	-350,000	-8.9	9.5	11.3
1.51 or more	1,963,000	3,123,000	-1,160,000	-37.1	5.2	9.0
URBAN						
Total occupied dwelling units	23,748,000	20,597,000	3,151,000	15.3	100.0	100.0
0.50 or less	9,054,000	6,471,000	2,583,000	39.9	38.1	31.4
0.51 to 1.00	12,026,000	10,860,000	1,166,000	10.7	50.6	52.7
1.01 to 1.50	1,889,000	2,082,000	-193,000	-9.3	8.0	10.1
1.51 or more	779,000	1,184,000	-405,000	-34.2	3.3	5.7
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	7,533,000	7,151,000	382,000	5.3	100.0	100.0
0.50 or less	3,055,000	2,417,000	638,000	26.4	40.6	33.8
0.51 to 1.00	3,171,000	3,112,000	59,000	1.9	42.1	43.5
1.01 to 1.50	823,000	826,000	-3,000	-0.4	11.0	11.6
1.51 or more	484,000	796,000	-312,000	-39.2	6.4	11.1
RURAL-FARM						
Total occupied dwelling units	6,319,000	7,107,000	-788,000	-11.1	100.0	100.0
0.50 or less	2,203,000	2,088,000	115,000	5.5	34.9	29.4
0.51 to 1.00	2,553,000	2,859,000	-306,000	-10.7	40.4	40.2
1.01 to 1.50	863,000	1,017,000	-154,000	-15.1	13.7	14.3
1.51 or more	700,000	1,143,000	-443,000	-38.8	11.1	16.1

[1]A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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Table 13.—Tenant-Occupied Dwelling Units, by CONTRACT MONTHLY RENT, for the United States, Urban and Rural Nonfarm: 1945 and 1940

AREA AND CONTRACT MONTHLY RENT	ESTIMATED NUMBER		INCREASE, 1940 TO 1945[1]		PERCENT	
	1945	1940	Number	Percent	1945	1940
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						
Tenant-occupied dwelling units	15,403,000	16,335,000	-932,000	-5.7	100.0	100.0
Under $5	251,000	900,000	-649,000	-72.1	1.6	5.5
$5 to $9	991,000	1,962,000	-971,000	-49.5	6.4	12.0
$10 to $14	1,518,000	2,305,000	-787,000	-34.1	9.9	14.1
$15 to $19	1,790,000	2,238,000	-448,000	-20.0	11.6	13.7
$20 to $24	1,812,000	2,031,000	-219,000	-10.8	11.8	12.4
$25 to $29	1,979,000	1,854,000	125,000	6.7	12.8	11.3
$30 to $39	3,488,000	2,546,000	942,000	37.0	22.6	15.6
$40 to $49	2,066,000	1,310,000	756,000	57.7	13.4	8.0
$50 or more	1,508,000	1,189,000	319,000	26.8	9.8	7.3
Median monthly rent (dollars)	27.88	21.38	-	-	-	-
URBAN						
Tenant-occupied dwelling units	12,701,000	12,882,000	-181,000	-1.4	100.0	100.0
Under $5	74,000	249,000	-175,000	-70.3	0.6	1.9
$5 to $9	453,000	970,000	-517,000	-53.3	3.6	7.5
$10 to $14	975,000	1,588,000	-613,000	-38.6	7.7	12.3
$15 to $19	1,327,000	1,813,000	-486,000	-26.8	10.4	14.1
$20 to $24	1,529,000	1,787,000	-258,000	-14.4	12.0	13.9
$25 to $29	1,755,000	1,675,000	80,000	4.8	13.8	13.0
$30 to $39	3,180,000	2,402,000	778,000	32.4	25.0	18.6
$40 to $49	1,965,000	1,262,000	703,000	55.7	15.5	9.8
$50 or more	1,443,000	1,136,000	307,000	27.0	11.4	8.8
Median monthly rent (dollars)	30.25	24.60	-	-	-	-
RURAL-NONFARM						
Tenant-occupied dwelling units	2,702,000	3,453,000	-751,000	-21.7	100.0	100.0
Under $5	177,000	651,000	-474,000	-72.8	6.6	18.9
$5 to $9	538,000	992,000	-454,000	-45.8	19.9	28.7
$10 to $14	543,000	717,000	-174,000	-24.3	20.1	20.8
$15 to $19	463,000	425,000	38,000	8.9	17.1	12.3
$20 to $24	283,000	244,000	39,000	16.0	10.5	7.1
$25 to $29	224,000	179,000	45,000	25.1	8.3	5.2
$30 to $39	308,000	144,000	164,000	113.9	11.4	4.2
$40 to $49	101,000	48,000	53,000	110.4	3.7	1.4
$50 or more	65,000	53,000	12,000	22.6	2.4	1.5
Median monthly rent (dollars)	15.50	10.08	-	-	-	-

[1] A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
J. C. CAPT, *Director*

CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS

HOUSING

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HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

Homes occupied by their owners now represent 55 percent of all occupied dwelling units in the United States, according to the results of a survey released today by J. C. Capt, Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. The survey also shows that two-thirds of the 41,700,000 dwelling units in the United States have a private bath and a private flush toilet; and nine out of every ten have electric lighting. These figures cover farm as well as nonfarm dwelling units. About 2 1/3 million of the occupied dwelling units contained more than 1 1/2 persons per room and 2 1/2 million had one or more married couples living as subfamilies, in addition to the head of the household. Of the estimated 15 1/3 million tenant-occupied nonfarm dwelling units, 4 1/6 million rented for $40 a month or more and the same number rented for less than $20 a month. All of these figures are based on results of a survey which was conducted in April, 1947, by the Bureau of the Census. The survey covered about 30,000 households in 148 sample areas in 44 States and the District of Columbia, each area comprising one or more counties or parts of counties. Since the estimates are based on a sample, they are subject to error due to sampling variability. The smaller figures, particularly those less than 1,000,000, as well as small changes from 1940 should be used with particular care, as explained below in the section on Reliability of estimates.

TENURE

In April, 1947, homes occupied by their owners represented about 55 percent of all ordinary occupied dwelling units. In urban areas, 48 percent of the occupied dwelling units were owner-occupied while in rural-nonfarm and rural-farm areas about two-thirds were in this category. The percent of homes occupied by their owners in 1947 represents considerable increases over the comparable figures in 1940 when the percentages were as follows: United States, 44 percent; urban areas, 38 percent; rural-nonfarm areas, 52 percent; and rural-farm areas, 53 percent.

STATE OF REPAIR AND FACILITIES

In 1947, about 37,500,000, or 90 percent of the ordinary dwelling units were in good condition or in need of minor repairs, with 93 percent, 89 percent, and 81 percent for urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm, respectively. The survey indicated that there were approximately 4,100,000 dwelling units in need of major repairs of which 2,700,000 were in urban and rural-nonfarm areas.

In 1947, an estimated 27,300,000 dwelling units were reported as containing both a private bath and a private flush toilet. In urban areas, about 20,500,000, or 84 percent of the units had both a private bath and private flush toilet and in rural-nonfarm areas about 5,300,000 dwelling units were in this category. On the other hand, only about 1 1/2 million of the rural-farm dwelling units had both a private bath and private flush toilet. Only about 800,000 of the 27 million dwelling units having both a private bath and private flush toilet were in need of major repairs. There were 15,100,000 dwelling units in the United States that were in need of major repairs or without private bath.

Approximately 20,000,000 dwelling units in 1947, or 48 percent of all dwelling units, had central heating equipment. Approximately 64 percent of the homes in urban places had central heating. There are, of course, important regional variations in the number of homes with central heating.

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About 9 out of every 10 of the dwelling units in the United States had electric lighting equipment. This type of lighting equipment was provided in about 37,100,000 homes in 1947. As expected, urban homes had the highest percentage, 98 percent, with the corresponding figures for rural-nonfarm being about 90 percent and only 59 percent for rural-farm homes.

Ninety-six percent, or close to 40 million, of the ordinary dwelling units in 1947 had installed cooking facilities. The urban areas had 98 percent, rural-nonfarm areas 94 percent, and in the rural-farm areas 92 percent of the dwelling units had installed cooking facilities.

The survey indicated that about 2 out of every 3 dwelling units in the Nation had all of the following designated facilities: Electric lighting and running water; and flush toilet, bathtub or shower, and installed cooking facilities for exclusive use of unit's occupants. The highest proportion of dwelling units having all designated facilities was in urban areas, about 83 percent, while the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm areas had 54 percent and 19 percent, respectively.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND DWELLING UNITS

Almost one-fourth of the dwelling units in the United States contained 5 or more persons in 1947. Households of this size group represented about 21 percent of the occupied dwelling units in urban areas, about the same (23 percent) in rural-nonfarm areas, and 32 percent in rural-farm areas. Of all of the households in the Nation, one-person households accounted for about 7 percent of the total, 2-person households, for 27 percent, 3-person households, for 23 percent, and 4-person households, for 19 percent.

The size of a household is defined as the number of persons who live in an occupied dwelling unit. The figures include not only related family members but also lodgers, servants, and other unrelated persons who regularly live in the unit.

Dwelling units in 1947 contained about the same number of rooms as those in 1940. The median number of rooms in 1947 was about 4.8 and in 1940 it was 4.7. In the United States, 4- and 5-room dwelling units represented 42 percent of all dwelling units, while 35 percent of the dwelling units had more than 5 rooms and 23 percent had fewer than 4 rooms. In urban areas 42 percent of the dwelling units were in the 4- and 5-room groups, in rural-nonfarm areas about the same proportion (44 percent) were in this group while in rural-farm areas only 37 percent were 4- and 5-room dwelling units. The number of rooms includes all rooms available for use throughout the year. Bathrooms, closets, halls, screened porches, and unfinished rooms in the basement or attic were not counted as rooms.

The survey indicated that the extent of overcrowding, as measured by the proportion of dwelling units with more than 1 1/2 persons per room was approximately 6 percent, or about 2,400,000 occupied dwelling units, in 1947. In 1940, 9 percent, or 3,100,000 of the occupied dwelling units contained more than 1 1/2 persons per room. In the rural-farm areas the rate declined from 16 percent in 1940 to about 10 percent in 1947. In urban areas, about 4 percent of the occupied dwelling units contained more than 1 1/2 persons per room while in the rural-nonfarm areas this proportion was 8 percent. Comparable figures for 1940 were 6 percent and 11 percent, respectively.

About 6 percent of the ordinary occupied dwelling units in 1947 contained one or more husband-wife subfamilies. This proportion was about the same in all three urban-rural residence groups.

MONTHLY RENT

The median rent for tenant-occupied dwelling units in 1947 was about $29.33 in the total of the urban and rural-nonfarm areas; $31.64 in urban areas, and $18.62 in rural-nonfarm (table 22). Approximately 4,100,000 of the tenant-occupied urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units had rents of less than $20 per month. Monthly rents of $50 or more were reported for 1,900,000 of the 15,300,000 reporting units, or approximately 1 in every 8 units. The rental data presented in this report are not comparable with the figures on changes in rent obtained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for its consumers' price index, for reasons given below in the section on Comparability of rental data.

VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS

About 27 percent of the occupied dwelling units were reported as containing a veteran household (that is, households in which the head or a relative of the head was a veteran of World War II). About 14 percent of the dwelling units occupied by veteran households contained one or more husband-wife subfamilies as compared with only 4 percent of the nonveteran households. The condition and facilities of the dwelling units occupied by these veteran and nonveteran households were about the same. However, while the median number of rooms of dwelling units occupied by veteran households was about the same as that for nonveteran households, the median num-

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ber of persons in veteran households was 3.6 as compared with 3.0 for nonveteran households.

VACANCY

Of the total dwelling units in the United States only about 327,000, or 0.8 percent, were habitable nonseasonal vacant units offered for rent and 112,000, or 0.3 percent, were habitable nonseasonal vacant units offered for sale only. In urban areas only about 87,000, or 0.4 percent, were habitable nonseasonal vacant units offered for rent while in rural-nonfarm areas about the same situation existed (79,000, or 0.8 percent, were offered for rent) and in rural-farm areas 161,000, or 2.1 percent, were in this category. The vacant habitable nonseasonal dwelling units reported for sale were about the same for each urban-rural residence group as for the Nation as a whole.

Including turnover vacancies (those already rented or sold but not yet occupied), and those being held off the market for various reasons, the total habitable nonseasonal vacancy rate was approximately 2.5 percent (about 1,000,000 such units) for the Nation. In urban areas, the proportion was even smaller, 1.4 percent. On the other hand, the rate in rural-nonfarm areas was 3.1 percent and in rural-farm areas 5.0 percent.

In addition to the habitable nonseasonal vacant units an additional 330,000, or about 0.8 percent, were not habitable and 1,087,000, or 2.6 percent, were vacant seasonal units. Thus the gross vacancy rate for the Nation was approximately 5.9 percent. In urban areas, this rate was 2.1 percent, while in rural-nonfarm areas and rural-farm areas the rates were about the same (11.4 and 10.9 percent, respectively).

DEFINITIONS, EXPLANATIONS, AND TECHNICAL NOTES

Arrangement of tables.--The summary tables at the end of this report present further details for 1947 on the housing characteristics of the United States and the four major regions. Table 1 presents data on occupancy and vacancy status for total dwelling units in the United States by urban-rural areas. The characteristics are shown for ordinary dwelling units rather than for all dwelling units in all of the remaining tables. Tables 4 to 15 present characteristics of all ordinary dwelling units by tenure for the United States, urban and rural, and similar data, not by tenure, for the four major regions. Tables 2, 3, and 16 to 21 contain characteristics of occupied ordinary dwelling units. Table 22 presents data on contract monthly rent for tenant-occupied urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units only for the United States and the four major regions. Table 23 presents revised data on occupancy and vacancy status in the United States, by urban-rural areas for November, 1945. This table contains revisions of the data on rural-nonfarm and rural-farm vacancies which supersedes the 1945 data published in Series H-46, No. 2.

Urban and rural areas.--The housing statistics are presented separately for the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas in the following tables. The urban and rural areas are those that were classified as urban or rural in 1940 on the basis of the results of the 1940 census, in general, taking into account annexations to such urban places that have occurred since 1940. The urban area is made up in general of cities and other incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more, and all territory outside these places is classified as rural.

The classification of rural population by farm and nonfarm residence is based on the residence at the time of enumeration in 1947. Thus, the 1947 rural-farm population is the population living on farms in 1947 in areas that were classified as rural.

Rural-nonfarm dwelling units are those located outside the boundaries of urban places but not on farms. This group is composed of dwelling units in a wide variety of locations, ranging from isolated nonfarm homes in the open country to homes in small unincorporated areas adjacent to a large city.

Rural-farm dwelling units are those located on farms outside urban places. Dwelling units on farms within the boundaries of urban places are included in the totals for urban places. In 1940 rural-farm dwelling units represented about 99 percent of all farm dwelling units.

Dwelling units.--In general, in the April, 1947, survey a dwelling unit is defined as a house or a group of rooms or a single room occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters by a family or other group of persons living together or by a person living alone. A group of rooms (occupied or intended for occupancy by a family or other group of persons living together or a person living alone) is considered a dwelling unit provided it has separate cooking facilities or a separate entrance. A single room (occupied or intended for occupancy by a family or other group of persons living together or a person living alone) is considered a dwelling unit provided it has separate cooking facilities or provided it has a separate entrance and a private bath or provided it has a separate entrance and is rented unfurnished.

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In the 1940 census a dwelling unit was defined as the living quarters occupied or intended for occupancy by one household. A household is a family or any other group of persons living together with common housekeeping arrangements. While there is no basic difference between the definitions used in 1940 and 1947, the definition of 1947 is more specific. Because of the differences in the definitions used in 1940 and 1947 living quarters may have been classified as separate dwelling units on one date and not on the other.

Enumerators in April, 1947, were supplied with lists which specified the living quarters that were to be included in their enumeration. These lists were prepared without detailed consideration of the characteristics of the living quarters or of the occupants of the quarters. It was assumed that the separate dwelling units would be designated on the basis of the more detailed information obtained during the enumeration. In some cases the enumerators might have been unduly influenced by the dwelling unit determination of the lister and might not have revised the designation when it was incorrect.

The lists furnished the enumerators in April, 1947, included vacant places that were in serious disrepair. The enumerators included these places in their canvass and reported whether each vacant place was "uninhabitable," "in need of major repairs" or "in good condition or in need of minor repairs." The total of all dwelling units in 1947 shown in the various tables of this report include 474,000 dwelling units which were uninhabitable vacant units. Of this group 230,000 were reported to be uninhabitable by the enumerators and 244,000 were reported as in need of major repairs but were in neighborhoods where units in similar condition were not being occupied. The enumerators in the 1940 census had been instructed to omit any vacant units which were uninhabitable. Thus, it is probable that some portion of the 230,000 dwelling units which were reported as vacant and uninhabitable in 1947 would not be included in the total if the 1940 procedure had been followed.

Dwelling units were classified by type as "ordinary dwelling units" and "other dwelling places." "Other dwelling places" include dwelling units in trailers, tourist cabins, shacks, river boats, barns, sheds, railroad cars, warehouses, and the like. "Ordinary dwelling units" include all remaining types of dwelling units. The characteristics of all dwelling units in 1940 are based on totals which include occupied dwelling units in other dwelling places. Since the statistics relating to the various housing characteristics in April, 1947, were obtained for only the "ordinary dwelling units," the group of 122,000 occupied dwelling units in other dwelling places has been omitted from most of the 1947 statistics presented in this report. Living quarters in hotels, dormitories, rooming houses with 10 or more rooms rented or for rent, institutions, jails, hospitals, military or labor camps, etc., are not included in the 1947 statistics in this report.

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Occupancy and tenure.--Ordinary dwelling units are classified according to occupancy as "occupied," "occupied by nonresident," or "unoccupied." To be classified as "occupied" a dwelling unit must be inhabited by persons who make it their usual place of residence. If, at the time of the enumeration, a dwelling unit was occupied solely by persons whose usual place of residence was elsewhere, it was classified as "occupied by nonresident." The category "unoccupied" includes seasonal as well as nonseasonal vacancies.

Occupied dwelling units are further classified by tenure as "owner-occupied" and "tenant-occupied." An "owner-occupied" dwelling unit is one owned by the head of the household or a member of his family who is living in the dwelling unit or temporarily absent from it. All other occupied dwelling units are classified as "tenant-occupied."

Unoccupied dwelling units are classified as seasonal or nonseasonal on the basis of intended occupancy. "Nonseasonal" includes units which are not intended for occupancy on a seasonal basis. A dwelling unit located in the closely built up areas of most cities is considered nonseasonal even though it is used on a seasonal basis by its occupants. "Seasonal" includes all units intended for occupancy during only a portion of the year. Although seasonal dwellings are found primarily in resort areas, certain dwelling units in rural areas used only for a portion of the year to house migratory workers are included as "seasonal."

Unoccupied or vacant nonseasonal dwelling units are classified as habitable or not habitable. The category "not habitable" includes not only units reported by the enumerator as uninhabitable but also units in need of major repairs where similar units in the same neighborhood are not occupied. Vacant, habitable units are further classified as "offered for rent"; "rented, not yet occupied"; "for sale only"; "sold, not yet occupied"; and "other." A vacant dwelling unit offered both for sale and for rent is classified as "offered for rent." The category "other" includes dwelling units being held to settle an estate, awaiting demolition, being held for absent households, and the like.

Vacant dwelling units under construction or undergoing repairs or alterations are included

in the categories "for rent," "rented, not yet occupied," "for sale only," or "sold, not yet occupied" if the vacant unit would be ready for occupancy within one month of the survey date.

Color of occupants.--The color of occupants is determined according to the race of the head of the household. "Nonwhite" includes Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other nonwhite races.

State of repair.--Dwelling units reported as "in need of major repairs" include those dwelling units which require major repair or replacement of floors, roof, plaster, walls, foundation, or other major structural components. A repair is major when its neglect seriously impairs the soundness of the structure and creates a hazard to its safety as a place of residence or if the repair has been neglected so long that the structure is already unsound.

Dwelling units reported as "in good condition or in need of minor repairs" include those which require no structural repairs or only such work as papering, painting, general maintenance, stopping of small leaks, pointing up of masonry, or similar work.

There was no material difference between the definition of major repairs in 1940 and 1947. The enumerators were instructed to base their report on their observation of the condition of the dwelling unit and not on the respondent's opinion. Thus, changes between 1940 and 1947 may be affected by the enumeration procedure and by the judgment of the enumerators.

In 1940, the enumeration schedule provided space for the enumerator to report whether or not the dwelling unit "needed major repairs," while in 1947 space was provided to indicate whether the dwelling unit was "in need of major repairs" or "in good condition or in need of minor repairs." This difference in schedule design may have resulted in a decrease in the number of units reported as "in need of major repairs."

Installed cooking facilities.--By "installed cooking facilities" is meant something more substantial than a one- or two-burner hot plate or other electrical appliance such as a toaster or percolator; stoves either standing on the floor or built into a cabinet are regarded as installed cooking facilities. Statistics on number of dwelling units without installed cooking facilities in 1947 are not comparable with the figures on number of dwelling units with no cooking fuel in 1940, since the 1940 number is limited to those units that had no installed cooking equipment of any type.

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Electric lighting.--"Electric lighting" includes lights that are wired to a power line or a home plant even though service may be temporarily suspended.

Central heating.--"Central heating" is heating from a steam, hot water, or hot air system, piped to the rooms in the dwelling unit from a furnace or central boiler or furnished by a pipeless hot air system. There was no material difference between the definition of central heating in 1940 and 1947. In 1940 the enumeration schedule provided space for the enumerator to report whether the dwelling unit had "steam or hot water system," "piped warm air system," "pipeless warm air furnace," "heating stove," or "other or none." Dwelling units with any of the first three types were classified as "with central heating." In 1947 the schedule provided space to report whether or not the dwelling unit had central heating. This difference in schedule design may have resulted in some difference in the enumerators' reports.

Designated facilities.--The classification of ordinary dwelling units according to designated facilities is based on whether or not they had all of the following facilities: Electric lighting and running water; and flush toilet, bathtub or shower, and installed cooking facilities for exclusive use of the unit's occupants.

Number of rooms.--All rooms used or available for use as living quarters are included in the count of rooms. Bathrooms, strip or pullman kitchens, halls, foyers, pantries, laundries, unfinished rooms, basement or attic rooms not intended for living quarters, and rooms used for office or business purposes are not included. However, rooms used for office purposes by a person living in the dwelling unit, such as a doctor, lawyer, or dentist are included in the count of rooms.

The definition of number of rooms was substantially the same in 1940 and 1947. No mention was made of half-rooms in the instructions for 1940 but in 1947 the enumerator was instructed to report a dinette, kitchenette, breakfast room, or dressing room as a half room. Dwelling units reported to contain 1 1/2 or 2 1/2 rooms in 1947 are included in the statistics as two-room units. The half-room was dropped from the reported number of rooms for 3 1/2- and 4 1/2-room units and larger units with reported number of rooms ending in 1/2-room.

Number of persons.--All persons enumerated as members of the household (including lodgers, servants, and other unrelated persons having no

other usual place of residence) are counted in determining the number of persons who occupied each dwelling unit. Students away from home at school and other members temporarily absent are included as members of the household.

Persons per room.--The number of persons per room, used as an index of crowding, was obtained by dividing the number of persons in the household by the number of rooms in the dwelling unit. This computation was made for each occupied dwelling unit, after rounding the reported number of rooms in 1947 to a full number (see the section on Number of rooms).

Monthly rent.--The rent shown for tenant-occupied units is that actually paid. If, however, no money rent was paid, as in the case of a doctor, minister, teacher, or farm tenant who receives the use of the house as part of his wages, the monthly rent was based on the monthly rent paid for similar dwelling units in the neighborhood.

Veteran and nonveteran households.--"Veteran households" are those in which the head of the household or some member of the household related to the head is a veteran of World War II.

A household in which the only veteran is a lodger or other nonrelative of the head is classified as a nonveteran household. Further, the figures on dwelling units occupied by veteran and nonveteran households relate to those in ordinary dwelling units only and exclude those in rooms in hotels, institutions, and "other dwelling places" such as trailers, tourist cabins, and boats.

There is evidence that in the survey, veterans of World War II were underrepresented in the sample relative to nonveterans and that some veterans were misreported as nonveterans. It is not certain, therefore, that veteran households identified as such in the survey adequately represent all veteran households.

These statistics are not strictly comparable with those presented in the H-Vet reports of the Bureau of the Census since dwelling units in which the only veteran is a nonrelative of the household head are included as dwelling units occupied by veteran households in those reports. Also, in H-Vet reports occupied dwelling units containing doubled-up families include dwelling units which contain married women (other than household head) whose husbands are absent.

"Husband-wife" subfamilies.--A husband-wife subfamily is a married couple, with or without children, living in an ordinary dwelling unit but not including the head of the household. The married couple is generally related to the head of the household, but in some cases it is a group of lodgers, servants, or other nonrelatives of the head. Married couples living in large lodginghouses, dormitories, transient hotels, etc., are not occupants of ordinary dwelling units and consequently are not counted as subfamilies.

Comparability of rental data.--The rental data presented in this report are not comparable with the figures on changes in rent obtained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for its consumers' price index. The data compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics represent changes in rent charged for identical qualities of housing—essentially rents for identical units with identical services and facilities. The data in this release, on the other hand, reflect any changes in the size and type of rented units, the rent level of new housing and other units coming on the rental market for the first time, and possibly also a trend toward more frequent inclusion in rent of charges for furniture and utilities. Furthermore, the comparisons between 1940 and 1947 shown in this release may be affected by changes in vacancy rates among units in various rental groups and also by shifts of units to owner-occupancy status.

The statistics presented in this report make it clear that the rental figures for 1940 and for 1947 do not pertain to the same group of units, since there took place between those years a considerable shift in the groups of occupied dwelling units to which the rental data pertain.

Source and reliability of the estimates.--The 1947 estimates presented in this report are based on data obtained in connection with the Census Bureau's Survey of Population, Labor Force, and Housing conducted in April, 1947. This survey consisted of about 30,000 households located in 148 sample areas in 44 States and the District of Columbia, each area comprising 1 or more counties or parts of counties.

Data for 1940 are presented in some of the tables of this report. These data were obtained in the Census of Housing of 1940 and are presented in part 1 of Volume II of the Sixteenth Decennial Census Reports on Housing.

Since the 1947 estimates are based on a sample survey, they are subject to sampling variability. The following table presents the approximate sampling errors of estimates of selected sizes for April, 1947, for the United States and its urban-rural residence groups. Estimates by region are subject to somewhat greater errors due to sampling variability.

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Size of estimate	The chances are about 19 out of 20 that the difference between the estimate and the figure which would have been obtained from a complete census is less than:
50,000.....	39,000
100,000.....	54,000
300,000.....	94,000
500,000.....	120,000
1,000,000.....	170,000
3,000,000.....	290,000
5,000,000.....	380,000
10,000,000.....	530,000
20,000,000.....	750,000
40,000,000.....	1,050,000

The reliability of an estimated percentage depends upon both the size of the percentage and the size of the total on which it is based. The following table presents the approximate sampling errors of estimated percentages of selected sizes based on the total number of ordinary occupied dwelling units or total dwelling units in April, 1947.

Estimated percentage	The chances are about 19 out of 20 that the difference between the estimated percentage and the percentage which would have been obtained from a complete census is less than:
2.....	0.4
5.....	0.6
10.....	0.8
30.....	1.2
50.....	1.3
70.....	1.2
90.....	0.8
95.....	0.6
98.....	0.4

The estimates of sampling error shown in the above tables are not directly applicable to differences obtained by subtracting one published figure from another. The error due to sampling variability in an observed difference depends on the sampling variability of each of the estimates and the correlation between them.

The reliability of an estimated median depends upon the size and the form of the distribution on which it is based. For example, the estimated median rent of tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units in April, 1947, was $29.33, and the chances are about 19 out of 20 that a complete census would have yielded a figure between $28.43 and $30.26.

In addition to sampling variation, the estimates are subject to biases due to errors of response and to nonreporting, but the possibility of such errors is not included in the above measures of reliability, since a complete census would be similarly affected.

Comparisons of 1947 and 1940 figures are subject to sampling variability. Since sampling variability is not present in a complete enumeration, the sampling error of a net change from 1940 to 1947 depends only upon the sampling error of the 1947 estimate. For example, in 1940 the census showed 15,196,000 owner-occupied units in the United States, while the 1947 sample survey showed about 21,347,000, an increase of 6,151,000 units. Since the chances are about 19 out of 20 that a complete enumeration in 1947 would have shown a figure not more than 800,000 greater or less than that obtained in the sample study, the indicated increase between 1940 and 1947 can be regarded as significant. The comparability of these figures is also affected by minor changes in the definition of some of the housing characteristics and by possible differences in the applications of the definitions by the enumerators. These changes and differences are explained in the sections relating to these separate items.

Statistics similar to those obtained in April, 1947, on the characteristics of housing were obtained by the Bureau of the Census in October, 1944, and in November, 1945, in conjunction with the enumeration for its Current Population Survey. The Current Population Survey is a sample survey which is conducted each month in order to obtain information on labor supply, employment, and other characteristics of the population. The sample is distributed in 68 areas in 42 States and the District of Columbia, each area comprising one or more counties. About 20,000 households were surveyed in November, 1945, and about 30,000 in October, 1944. The results of these earlier housing surveys are presented in the releases, Series H-45, No. 2 and Series H-46, No. 1 and No. 2. For statements on the reliability of 1944 and 1945 estimates, see these releases.

Comparisons of 1944, 1945, and 1947 estimates are influenced by the fact that all of these figures are subject to errors due to sampling variability. These sample surveys of the housing situation have been designed primarily to reflect the condition of the housing inventory as of a given date rather than to measure net changes occurring between two closely adjacent points in time. While it is possible to use the studies to measure the approximate order of magnitude of significant changes over time, errors due to sampling variability are such that the figures may not satisfactorily measure small changes. For example, the sample housing survey conducted by the Census Bureau in October, 1944, estimated the number of occupied urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units to be about 30,750,000 and the chances are about 19 out of 20 that the result which would have been obtained from a complete census using the same schedules, in-

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structions, and enumerators is between 30,050,000 and 31,450,000, a deviation of about 2 percent. The survey conducted in November, 1945, using the same sample design in the same 68 sample areas as in October, 1944, estimated the number of occupied urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units to be about 31,300,000; the chances are about 19 out of 20 that the result which would have been obtained from a complete census is between 30,500,000 and 32,100,000, a deviation of only about 3 percent. While a comparison of the sample survey results would indicate an increase of 550,000 occupied urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units between the two studies, the chances are about 19 out of 20 that because of sampling variation the actual change might have been greater or less than the survey results by as much as 1,000,000 units. In other words, due to sampling, while there might be an error of only about 2 or 3 percent in the level of a given survey figure, there may easily be a relative variation of 100 percent or more on the observed change between the figures in two surveys when that change has been relatively small.

As a further example, the survey conducted in November, 1945, estimated the total number of urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units to be about 33,340,000. The survey conducted in April, 1947, estimated the total number of urban and rural-nonfarm dwelling units to be about 34,250,000. The chances are about 19 out of 20 that if there were no real change between the two dates the sample estimates might differ up to 1,100,000. However, since the observed difference is about 900,000, a complete census on the two dates could have shown a slight decrease, or an increase as large as 2,000,000.

Furthermore, comparisons of net changes in vacancy rates between two sample survey dates must be made with extreme caution, especially when the change is relatively small, because of the possible difference resulting from sampling variation. Occasionally the difference may be statistically significant. For example, the November, 1945, survey showed a gross vacancy rate of 7.3 percent. The April, 1947, survey showed a gross vacancy rate of 5.9 percent. Considering the difference which might arise through sampling variability alone, the chances are about 19 out of 20 that if there were no real change between the two dates the sample estimates might differ by not more than 1.1. Since the observed difference is greater than the sampling variation the direction of the change can be regarded as significant.

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Table 1.--VACANCY AND OCCUPANCY, FOR THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

ITEM	United States	URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM			Rural-farm
		Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	
Total dwelling units	41,747,000	34,248,000	24,463,000	9,785,000	7,499,000
All ordinary dwelling units	41,625,000	34,133,000	24,430,000	9,703,000	7,492,000
Occupied by residents	39,016,000	32,354,000	23,835,000	8,519,000	6,662,000
Owner-occupied	21,347,000	17,025,000	11,547,000	5,478,000	4,322,000
Tenant-occupied	17,669,000	15,329,000	12,288,000	3,041,000	2,340,000
Occupied by nonresidents	164,000	152,000	87,000	65,000	12,000
Unoccupied	2,445,000	1,627,000	508,000	1,119,000	818,000
Seasonal	1,087,000	839,000	112,000	727,000	248,000
Nonseasonal	1,358,000	788,000	396,000	392,000	570,000
Habitable	1,028,000	651,000	352,000	299,000	377,000
Rental	415,000	233,000	129,000	104,000	182,000
Offered for rent	327,000	166,000	87,000	79,000	161,000
Rented, not yet occupied	88,000	67,000	42,000	25,000	21,000
Sale	295,000	242,000	135,000	107,000	53,000
For sale only	112,000	94,000	49,000	45,000	18,000
Sold, not yet occupied	183,000	148,000	86,000	62,000	35,000
Other	318,000	176,000	88,000	88,000	142,000
Not habitable	330,000	137,000	44,000	93,000	193,000
Other dwelling places	122,000	115,000	33,000	82,000	7,000
PERCENT					
Total dwelling units	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All ordinary dwelling units	99.7	99.7	99.9	99.2	99.9
Occupied by residents	93.5	94.5	97.4	87.1	88.8
Owner-occupied	51.1	49.7	47.2	56.0	57.6
Tenant-occupied	42.3	44.8	50.2	31.1	31.2
Occupied by nonresidents	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.2
Unoccupied	5.9	4.8	2.1	11.4	10.9
Seasonal	2.6	2.4	0.5	7.4	3.3
Nonseasonal	3.3	2.3	1.6	4.0	7.6
Habitable	2.5	1.9	1.4	3.1	5.0
Rental	1.0	0.7	0.5	1.1	2.4
Offered for rent	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.8	2.1
Rented, not yet occupied	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3
Sale	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.1	0.7
For sale only	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2
Sold, not yet occupied	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5
Other	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.9
Not habitable	0.8	0.4	0.2	1.0	2.6
Other dwelling places	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.1

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Table 2.--COLOR OF OCCUPANTS BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND COLOR OF OCCUPANTS	ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, 1947						ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	34,855,000	100.0
White	35,495,000	91.0	20,202,000	94.6	15,293,000	86.6	31,561,000	90.5
Nonwhite	3,521,000	9.0	1,145,000	5.4	2,376,000	13.4	3,294,000	9.5
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	27,748,000	100.0
White	29,511,000	91.2	16,071,000	94.4	13,440,000	87.7	25,459,000	91.8
Nonwhite	2,843,000	8.8	954,000	5.6	1,889,000	12.3	2,289,000	8.2
URBAN								
Total	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	20,597,000	100.0
White	21,594,000	90.6	10,868,000	94.1	10,726,000	87.3	18,869,000	91.6
Nonwhite	2,241,000	9.4	679,000	5.9	1,562,000	12.7	1,728,000	8.4
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	7,151,000	100.0
White	7,917,000	92.9	5,203,000	95.0	2,714,000	89.2	6,590,000	92.2
Nonwhite	602,000	7.1	275,000	5.0	327,000	10.8	561,000	7.8
RURAL-FARM								
Total	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,107,000	100.0
White	5,984,000	89.8	4,131,000	95.6	1,853,000	79.2	6,102,000	85.9
Nonwhite	678,000	10.2	191,000	4.4	487,000	20.8	1,005,000	14.1
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
White	9,856,000	93.5	4,965,000	95.6	4,891,000	91.5	-	-
Nonwhite	687,000	6.5	230,000	4.4	457,000	8.5	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
White	25,639,000	90.0	15,237,000	94.3	10,402,000	84.4	-	-
Nonwhite	2,834,000	10.0	915,000	5.7	1,919,000	15.6	-	-

Table 3.--COLOR OF OCCUPANTS, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND COLOR OF OCCUPANTS	1947										ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary occupied dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total	10,716,000	100.0	10,130,000	100.0	8,118,000	100.0	2,012,000	100.0	586,000	100.0	9,479,000	100.0
White	10,160,000	94.8	9,579,000	94.6	7,574,000	93.3	2,005,000	99.7	581,000	99.1	9,123,000	96.2
Nonwhite	556,000	5.2	551,000	5.4	544,000	6.7	7,000	0.3	5,000	0.9	356,000	3.8
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total	12,064,000	100.0	9,759,000	100.0	7,446,000	100.0	2,313,000	100.0	2,305,000	100.0	10,964,000	100.0
White	11,543,000	95.7	9,252,000	94.8	6,975,000	93.7	2,277,000	98.4	2,291,000	99.4	10,566,000	96.4
Nonwhite	521,000	4.3	507,000	5.2	471,000	6.3	36,000	1.6	14,000	0.6	398,000	3.6
THE SOUTH												
Total	11,070,000	100.0	8,003,000	100.0	5,076,000	100.0	2,927,000	100.0	3,067,000	100.0	10,278,000	100.0
White	8,824,000	79.7	6,359,000	79.5	3,958,000	78.0	2,401,000	82.0	2,465,000	80.4	7,870,000	76.6
Nonwhite	2,246,000	20.3	1,644,000	20.5	1,118,000	22.0	526,000	18.0	602,000	19.6	2,408,000	23.4
THE WEST												
Total	5,166,000	100.0	4,462,000	100.0	3,195,000	100.0	1,267,000	100.0	704,000	100.0	4,134,000	100.0
White	4,968,000	96.2	4,321,000	96.8	3,087,000	96.6	1,234,000	97.4	647,000	91.9	4,002,000	96.8
Nonwhite	198,000	3.8	141,000	3.2	108,000	3.4	33,000	2.6	57,000	8.1	132,000	3.2

Note.--The regions, and the geographic divisions and States within each region, are shown in the map on page 26.

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Table 4.--STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT	1947								ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		All ordinary occupied dwelling units							
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
UNITED STATES										
Total	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	37,325,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	27,329,000	65.7	26,436,000	67.8	15,019,000	70.4	11,417,000	64.6	20,573,000	55.1
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,633,000	3.9	1,522,000	3.9	627,000	2.9	895,000	5.1	1,611,000	4.3
With running water, no private flush toilet	3,643,000	8.8	3,432,000	8.8	1,560,000	7.3	1,872,000	10.6	3,866,000	10.4
No running water in dwelling unit	9,020,000	21.7	7,626,000	19.5	4,141,000	19.4	3,485,000	19.7	11,275,000	30.2
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	37,505,000	90.1	35,574,000	91.2	20,114,000	94.2	15,460,000	87.5	30,534,000	81.8
With private bath and private flush toilet	26,510,000	63.7	25,667,000	65.8	14,777,000	69.2	10,890,000	61.6	19,093,000	51.2
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,362,000	3.3	1,262,000	3.2	554,000	2.6	708,000	4.0	1,250,000	3.3
With running water, no private flush toilet	3,037,000	7.3	2,863,000	7.3	1,387,000	6.5	1,476,000	8.4	3,001,000	8.0
No running water in dwelling unit	6,596,000	15.8	5,782,000	14.8	3,396,000	15.9	2,386,000	13.5	7,190,000	19.3
In need of major repairs	4,120,000	9.9	3,442,000	8.8	1,233,000	5.8	2,209,000	12.5	6,791,000	18.2
With private bath and private flush toilet	819,000	2.0	769,000	2.0	242,000	1.1	527,000	3.0	1,480,000	4.0
With private flush toilet, no private bath	271,000	0.7	260,000	0.7	73,000	0.3	187,000	1.1	361,000	1.0
With running water, no private flush toilet	606,000	1.5	569,000	1.5	173,000	0.8	396,000	2.2	865,000	2.3
No running water in dwelling unit	2,424,000	5.8	1,844,000	4.7	745,000	3.5	1,099,000	6.2	4,085,000	10.9
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM										
Total	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	29,683,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	25,822,000	75.7	24,980,000	77.2	13,782,000	81.0	11,198,000	73.1	19,763,000	66.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,527,000	4.5	1,424,000	4.4	556,000	3.3	868,000	5.7	1,571,000	5.3
With running water, no private flush toilet	2,807,000	8.2	2,627,000	8.1	991,000	5.8	1,636,000	10.7	3,364,000	11.3
No running water in dwelling unit	3,977,000	11.7	3,323,000	10.3	1,696,000	10.0	1,627,000	10.6	4,985,000	16.8
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	31,430,000	92.1	29,944,000	92.6	16,260,000	95.5	13,684,000	89.3	25,485,000	85.9
With private bath and private flush toilet	25,041,000	73.4	24,249,000	74.9	13,564,000	79.7	10,685,000	69.7	18,363,000	61.9
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,254,000	3.7	1,172,000	3.6	490,000	2.9	682,000	4.4	1,216,000	4.1
With running water, no private flush toilet	2,302,000	6.7	2,151,000	6.6	881,000	5.2	1,270,000	8.3	2,512,000	8.8
No running water in dwelling unit	2,823,000	8.3	2,372,000	7.3	1,325,000	7.8	1,047,000	6.8	3,293,000	11.1
In need of major repairs	2,703,000	7.9	2,410,000	7.4	765,000	4.5	1,645,000	10.7	4,198,000	14.1
With private bath and private flush toilet	781,000	2.3	731,000	2.3	218,000	1.3	513,000	3.3	1,400,000	4.7
With private flush toilet, no private bath	263,000	0.8	252,000	0.8	66,000	0.4	186,000	1.2	355,000	1.2
With running water, no private flush toilet	505,000	1.5	476,000	1.5	110,000	0.6	366,000	2.4	751,000	2.5
No running water in dwelling unit	1,154,000	3.4	951,000	2.9	371,000	2.2	580,000	3.8	1,692,000	5.7
URBAN										
Total	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	21,616,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	20,490,000	83.9	20,095,000	84.3	10,368,000	89.8	9,727,000	79.2	16,590,000	76.7
With private flush toilet, no private bath	1,187,000	4.9	1,137,000	4.8	400,000	3.5	737,000	6.0	1,290,000	6.0
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,663,000	6.8	1,589,000	6.7	429,000	3.7	1,160,000	9.4	2,324,000	10.8
No running water in dwelling unit	1,090,000	4.5	1,014,000	4.3	350,000	3.0	664,000	5.4	1,411,000	6.5
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	22,772,000	93.2	22,267,000	93.4	11,169,000	96.7	11,098,000	90.3	19,142,000	88.6
With private bath and private flush toilet	19,869,000	81.3	19,505,000	81.8	10,210,000	88.4	9,295,000	75.6	15,446,000	71.5
With private flush toilet, no private bath	953,000	3.9	912,000	3.8	345,000	3.0	567,000	4.6	964,000	4.6
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,285,000	5.3	1,224,000	5.1	357,000	3.1	867,000	7.1	1,816,000	8.4
No running water in dwelling unit	665,000	2.7	626,000	2.6	257,000	2.2	369,000	3.0	896,000	4.1
In need of major repairs	1,658,000	6.8	1,568,000	6.6	378,000	3.3	1,190,000	9.7	2,474,000	11.4
With private bath and private flush toilet	621,000	2.5	590,000	2.5	158,000	1.4	432,000	3.5	1,144,000	5.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	234,000	1.0	225,000	0.9	55,000	0.5	170,000	1.4	306,000	1.4
With running water, no private flush toilet	378,000	1.5	365,000	1.5	72,000	0.6	293,000	2.4	509,000	2.4
No running water in dwelling unit	425,000	1.7	388,000	1.6	93,000	0.8	295,000	2.4	515,000	2.4
RURAL-NONFARM										
Total	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	8,067,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	5,332,000	55.0	4,885,000	57.3	3,414,000	62.3	1,471,000	48.4	3,173,000	39.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	340,000	3.5	287,000	3.4	156,000	2.9	131,000	4.3	281,000	3.5
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,144,000	11.8	1,038,000	12.2	562,000	10.3	476,000	15.7	1,032,000	12.9
No running water in dwelling unit	2,887,000	29.8	2,309,000	27.1	1,346,000	24.6	963,000	31.7	3,574,000	44.3
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	8,658,000	89.2	7,677,000	90.1	5,091,000	92.9	2,586,000	85.0	6,348,000	78.6
With private bath and private flush toilet	5,172,000	53.3	4,744,000	55.7	3,394,000	61.2	1,350,000	44.7	2,317,000	28.7
With private flush toilet, no private bath	311,000	3.2	260,000	3.1	145,000	2.6	115,000	3.8	232,000	2.9
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,017,000	10.5	927,000	10.9	524,000	9.6	403,000	13.3	797,000	9.9
No running water in dwelling unit	2,158,000	22.2	1,746,000	20.5	1,062,000	19.5	678,000	22.3	2,397,000	29.7
In need of major repairs	1,045,000	10.8	842,000	9.9	387,000	7.1	455,000	15.0	1,724,000	21.4
With private bath and private flush toilet	160,000	1.6	141,000	1.7	60,000	1.1	81,000	2.7	256,000	3.2
With private flush toilet, no private bath	29,000	0.3	27,000	0.3	11,000	0.2	16,000	0.5	49,000	0.6
With running water, no private flush toilet	127,000	1.3	111,000	1.3	38,000	0.7	73,000	2.4	242,000	3.0
No running water in dwelling unit	729,000	7.5	563,000	6.6	278,000	5.1	285,000	9.4	1,177,000	14.6

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Table 4.--STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES--Continued

AREA AND STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT	1947								ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		All ordinary occupied dwelling units							
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
RURAL-FARM										
Total	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,642,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	1,507,000	20.1	1,456,000	21.9	1,237,000	28.6	219,000	9.4	810,000	10.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	106,000	1.4	98,000	1.5	71,000	1.6	27,000	1.2	40,000	0.5
With running water, no private flush toilet	836,000	11.2	805,000	12.1	569,000	13.2	236,000	10.1	502,000	6.6
No running water in dwelling unit	5,043,000	67.3	4,303,000	64.6	2,445,000	56.6	1,858,000	79.4	6,290,000	82.3
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	6,075,000	81.1	5,630,000	84.5	3,854,000	89.2	1,776,000	75.9	5,049,000	66.1
With private bath and private flush toilet	1,469,000	19.6	1,418,000	21.3	1,213,000	28.1	205,000	8.8	730,000	9.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	92,000	1.2	90,000	1.4	64,000	1.5	26,000	1.1	34,000	0.4
With running water, no private flush toilet	735,000	9.8	712,000	10.7	506,000	11.7	206,000	8.8	388,000	5.1
No running water in dwelling unit	3,773,000	50.4	3,410,000	51.2	2,071,000	47.9	1,339,000	57.2	3,897,000	51.0
In need of major repairs	1,417,000	18.9	1,032,000	15.5	468,000	10.8	564,000	24.1	2,593,000	33.9
With private bath and private flush toilet	38,000	0.5	38,000	0.6	24,000	0.6	14,000	0.6	80,000	1.0
With private flush toilet, no private bath	8,000	0.1	8,000	0.1	7,000	0.2	1,000	-	6,000	0.1
With running water, no private flush toilet	101,000	1.3	93,000	1.4	63,000	1.5	30,000	1.3	114,000	1.5
No running water in dwelling unit	1,270,000	17.0	893,000	13.4	374,000	8.7	519,000	22.2	2,393,000	31.3
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total	-	-	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	7,627,000	72.3	3,890,000	74.9	3,737,000	69.9	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	400,000	3.8	122,000	2.3	278,000	5.2	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	895,000	8.5	348,000	6.7	547,000	10.2	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	1,621,000	15.4	835,000	16.1	786,000	14.7	-	-
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	-	-	9,786,000	92.8	4,979,000	95.8	4,807,000	89.9	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	7,406,000	70.2	3,849,000	74.1	3,557,000	66.5	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	342,000	3.2	117,000	2.3	225,000	4.2	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	769,000	7.3	317,000	6.1	452,000	8.5	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	1,269,000	12.0	696,000	13.4	573,000	10.7	-	-
In need of major repairs	-	-	757,000	7.2	216,000	4.2	541,000	10.1	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	221,000	2.1	41,000	0.8	180,000	3.4	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	58,000	0.6	5,000	0.1	53,000	1.0	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	126,000	1.2	31,000	0.6	95,000	1.8	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	352,000	3.3	139,000	2.7	213,000	4.0	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	18,809,000	66.1	11,129,000	68.9	7,680,000	62.3	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	1,122,000	3.9	505,000	3.1	617,000	5.0	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	2,537,000	8.9	1,212,000	7.5	1,325,000	10.8	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	6,005,000	21.1	3,306,000	20.5	2,699,000	21.9	-	-
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	-	-	25,788,000	90.6	15,135,000	93.7	10,653,000	86.5	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	18,261,000	64.1	10,928,000	67.7	7,333,000	59.5	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	920,000	3.2	437,000	2.7	483,000	3.9	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	2,094,000	7.4	1,070,000	6.6	1,024,000	8.3	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	4,513,000	15.9	2,700,000	16.7	1,813,000	14.7	-	-
In need of major repairs	-	-	2,685,000	9.4	1,017,000	6.3	1,668,000	13.5	-	-
With private bath and private flush toilet	-	-	548,000	1.9	201,000	1.2	347,000	2.8	-	-
With private flush toilet, no private bath	-	-	202,000	0.7	68,000	0.4	134,000	1.1	-	-
With running water, no private flush toilet	-	-	443,000	1.6	142,000	0.9	301,000	2.4	-	-
No running water in dwelling unit	-	-	1,492,000	5.2	606,000	3.8	886,000	7.2	-	-

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Table 5.--STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND STATE OF REPAIR AND PLUMBING EQUIPMENT	1947										ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0	10,313,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	9,595,000	84.4	9,303,000	87.0	7,576,000	91.2	1,727,000	72.1	292,000	43.5	7,806,000	75.7
With private flush toilet, no private bath	466,000	4.1	440,000	4.1	339,000	4.1	101,000	4.2	26,000	3.9	638,000	6.2
With running water, no private flush toilet	650,000	5.7	532,000	5.0	341,000	4.1	191,000	8.0	118,000	17.6	945,000	9.2
No running water in dwelling unit	659,000	5.8	423,000	4.0	48,000	0.6	375,000	15.7	236,000	35.1	924,000	9.0
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	10,735,000	94.4	10,130,000	94.7	7,942,000	95.6	2,188,000	91.4	605,000	90.0	9,104,000	88.3
With private bath and private flush toilet	9,294,000	81.7	9,014,000	84.3	7,365,000	88.7	1,649,000	68.9	280,000	41.7	7,255,000	70.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	395,000	3.5	371,000	3.5	276,000	3.3	95,000	4.0	24,000	3.6	496,000	4.8
With running water, no private flush toilet	544,000	4.8	439,000	4.1	271,000	3.3	168,000	7.0	105,000	15.6	728,000	7.1
No running water in dwelling unit	502,000	4.4	306,000	2.9	30,000	0.4	276,000	11.5	196,000	29.2	625,000	6.1
In need of major repairs	635,000	5.6	568,000	5.3	362,000	4.4	206,000	8.6	67,000	10.0	1,209,000	11.7
With private bath and private flush toilet	301,000	2.6	289,000	2.7	211,000	2.5	78,000	3.3	12,000	1.8	551,000	5.3
No private bath or private flush toilet	334,000	2.9	279,000	2.6	151,000	1.8	128,000	5.3	55,000	8.2	658,000	6.4
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0	11,597,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	8,223,000	64.2	7,659,000	74.7	6,338,000	83.8	1,321,000	49.1	564,000	22.1	6,183,000	53.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	552,000	4.3	512,000	5.0	410,000	5.4	102,000	3.8	40,000	1.6	566,000	4.9
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,088,000	8.5	837,000	8.2	572,000	7.6	265,000	9.9	251,000	9.8	1,181,000	10.2
No running water in dwelling unit	2,943,000	23.0	1,248,000	12.2	246,000	3.3	1,002,000	37.2	1,695,000	66.5	3,667,000	31.6
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	11,687,000	91.3	9,481,000	92.4	7,075,000	93.5	2,406,000	89.4	2,206,000	86.5	9,576,000	82.6
With private bath and private flush toilet	7,985,000	62.4	7,431,000	72.5	6,139,000	81.1	1,292,000	48.0	554,000	21.7	5,729,000	49.4
With private flush toilet, no private bath	465,000	3.6	431,000	4.2	336,000	4.4	95,000	3.5	34,000	1.3	442,000	3.8
With running water, no private flush toilet	907,000	7.1	675,000	6.6	438,000	5.8	237,000	8.8	232,000	9.1	933,000	8.0
No running water in dwelling unit	2,330,000	18.2	944,000	9.2	162,000	2.1	782,000	29.1	1,386,000	54.4	2,472,000	21.3
In need of major repairs	1,119,000	8.7	775,000	7.6	491,000	6.5	284,000	10.6	344,000	13.5	2,021,000	17.4
With private bath and private flush toilet	238,000	1.9	228,000	2.2	199,000	2.6	29,000	1.1	10,000	0.4	454,000	3.9
No private bath or private flush toilet	881,000	6.9	547,000	5.3	292,000	3.9	255,000	9.5	334,000	13.1	1,567,000	13.5
THE SOUTH												
Total	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0	10,876,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	5,371,000	45.1	5,013,000	59.4	3,714,000	70.7	1,299,000	40.8	358,000	10.3	3,482,000	32.0
With private flush toilet, no private bath	497,000	4.2	465,000	5.5	359,000	6.8	106,000	3.3	32,000	0.9	311,000	2.9
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,252,000	10.5	982,000	11.6	518,000	9.9	464,000	14.6	270,000	7.8	1,186,000	10.9
No running water in dwelling unit	4,785,000	40.2	1,977,000	23.4	664,000	12.6	1,314,000	41.3	2,808,000	81.0	5,897,000	54.2
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	9,906,000	83.2	7,304,000	86.6	4,592,000	87.4	2,712,000	85.2	2,602,000	75.0	7,937,000	73.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	5,148,000	43.2	4,801,000	56.9	3,537,000	67.3	1,264,000	39.7	347,000	10.0	3,221,000	29.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	404,000	3.4	372,000	4.4	277,000	5.3	95,000	3.0	32,000	0.9	239,000	2.2
With running water, no private flush toilet	1,037,000	8.7	799,000	9.5	392,000	7.5	407,000	12.8	238,000	6.9	913,000	8.4
No running water in dwelling unit	3,317,000	27.9	1,332,000	15.8	386,000	7.3	946,000	29.7	1,985,000	57.2	3,564,000	32.8
In need of major repairs	1,999,000	16.8	1,133,000	13.4	662,000	12.6	471,000	14.8	866,000	25.0	2,939,000	27.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	223,000	1.9	212,000	2.5	177,000	3.4	35,000	1.1	11,000	0.3	261,000	2.4
No private bath or private flush toilet	1,776,000	14.9	921,000	10.9	485,000	9.2	436,000	13.7	855,000	24.7	2,678,000	24.6
THE WEST												
Total	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0	4,539,000	100.0
With private bath and private flush toilet	4,140,000	74.7	3,847,000	81.1	2,862,000	86.6	985,000	68.6	293,000	36.5	3,102,000	68.3
With private flush toilet, no private bath	118,000	2.1	110,000	2.3	79,000	2.4	31,000	2.2	8,000	1.0	96,000	2.1
With running water, no private flush toilet	653,000	11.8	456,000	9.6	232,000	7.0	224,000	15.6	197,000	24.6	554,000	12.2
No running water in dwelling unit	633,000	11.4	329,000	6.9	133,000	4.0	196,000	13.6	304,000	37.9	787,000	17.3
In good condition or in need of minor repairs	5,177,000	93.4	4,515,000	95.2	3,163,000	95.7	1,352,000	94.2	662,000	82.5	3,917,000	86.3
With private bath and private flush toilet	4,083,000	73.6	3,795,000	80.0	2,828,000	85.5	967,000	67.3	288,000	35.9	2,888,000	63.6
With private flush toilet, no private bath	98,000	1.8	90,000	1.9	64,000	1.9	26,000	1.8	8,000	1.0	73,000	1.6
With running water, no private flush toilet	549,000	9.9	389,000	8.2	184,000	5.6	205,000	14.3	160,000	20.0	427,000	9.4
No running water in dwelling unit	447,000	8.1	241,000	5.1	87,000	2.6	154,000	10.7	206,000	25.7	529,000	11.7
In need of major repairs	367,000	6.6	227,000	4.8	143,000	4.3	84,000	5.8	140,000	17.5	622,000	13.7
With private bath and private flush toilet	57,000	1.0	52,000	1.1	34,000	1.0	18,000	1.3	5,000	0.6	214,000	4.7
No private bath or private flush toilet	310,000	5.6	175,000	3.7	109,000	3.3	66,000	4.6	135,000	16.8	408,000	9.0

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Table 6.--CENTRAL HEATING BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

AREA AND CENTRAL HEATING	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS					
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0
With central heating	20,016,000	48.1	19,565,000	50.1	11,303,000	52.9	8,262,000	46.8
Without central heating	21,609,000	51.9	19,451,000	49.9	10,044,000	47.1	9,407,000	53.2
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0
With central heating	18,839,000	55.2	18,419,000	56.9	10,361,000	60.9	8,058,000	52.6
Without central heating	15,294,000	44.8	13,935,000	43.1	6,664,000	39.1	7,271,000	47.4
URBAN								
Total	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0
With central heating	15,550,000	63.7	15,296,000	64.2	8,003,000	69.3	7,293,000	59.4
Without central heating	8,880,000	36.3	8,539,000	35.8	3,544,000	30.7	4,995,000	40.6
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0
With central heating	3,289,000	33.9	3,123,000	36.7	2,358,000	43.0	765,000	25.2
Without central heating	6,414,000	66.1	5,396,000	63.3	3,120,000	57.0	2,276,000	74.8
RURAL-FARM								
Total	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0
With central heating	1,177,000	15.7	1,146,000	17.2	942,000	21.8	204,000	8.7
Without central heating	6,315,000	84.3	5,516,000	82.8	3,380,000	78.2	2,136,000	91.3
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0
With central heating	-	-	5,520,000	52.4	2,924,000	56.3	2,596,000	48.5
Without central heating	-	-	5,023,000	47.6	2,271,000	43.7	2,752,000	51.5
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0
With central heating	-	-	14,045,000	49.3	8,379,000	51.9	5,666,000	46.0
Without central heating	-	-	14,428,000	50.7	7,773,000	48.1	6,655,000	54.0

Table 7.--CENTRAL HEATING, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: APRIL, 1947

REGION AND CENTRAL HEATING	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						RURAL-FARM	
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES										
Total	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0
With central heating	8,738,000	76.9	8,438,000	78.9	6,928,000	83.4	1,510,000	63.1	300,000	44.6
Without central heating	2,632,000	23.1	2,260,000	21.1	1,376,000	16.6	884,000	36.9	372,000	55.4
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES										
Total	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0
With central heating	7,452,000	58.2	6,767,000	66.0	5,682,000	75.1	1,085,000	40.3	685,000	26.9
Without central heating	5,354,000	41.8	3,489,000	34.0	1,884,000	24.9	1,605,000	59.7	1,865,000	73.1
THE SOUTH										
Total	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0
With central heating	1,973,000	16.6	1,854,000	22.0	1,465,000	27.9	389,000	12.2	119,000	3.4
Without central heating	9,932,000	83.4	6,583,000	78.0	3,789,000	72.1	2,794,000	87.8	3,349,000	96.6
THE WEST										
Total	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0
With central heating	1,853,000	33.4	1,780,000	37.5	1,475,000	44.6	305,000	21.2	73,000	9.1
Without central heating	3,691,000	66.6	2,962,000	62.5	1,831,000	55.4	1,131,000	78.8	729,000	90.9

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Table 8.--ELECTRIC LIGHTING BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING	1947								ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		All ordinary occupied dwelling units							
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES										
Total.....	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	37,325,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	37,117,000	89.2	35,414,000	90.8	19,576,000	91.7	15,838,000	89.6	29,363,000	78.7
Without electric lighting..	4,508,000	10.8	3,602,000	9.2	1,771,000	8.3	1,831,000	10.4	7,962,000	21.3
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM										
Total.....	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	29,683,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	32,667,000	95.7	31,199,000	96.4	16,526,000	97.1	14,673,000	95.7	26,973,000	90.9
Without electric lighting..	1,466,000	4.3	1,155,000	3.6	499,000	2.9	656,000	4.3	2,710,000	9.1
URBAN										
Total.....	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	21,616,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	23,987,000	98.2	23,414,000	98.2	11,428,000	99.0	11,986,000	97.5	20,698,000	95.8
Without electric lighting..	443,000	1.8	421,000	1.8	119,000	1.0	302,000	2.5	918,000	4.2
RURAL-NONFARM										
Total.....	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	8,067,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	8,680,000	89.5	7,785,000	91.4	5,098,000	93.1	2,687,000	88.4	6,275,000	77.8
Without electric lighting..	1,023,000	10.5	734,000	8.6	380,000	6.9	354,000	11.6	1,792,000	22.2
RURAL-FARM										
Total.....	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,642,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	4,450,000	59.4	4,215,000	63.3	3,050,000	70.6	1,165,000	49.8	2,390,000	31.3
Without electric lighting..	3,042,000	40.6	2,447,000	36.7	1,272,000	29.4	1,175,000	50.2	5,252,000	68.7
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total.....	-	-	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
With electric lighting.....	-	-	9,898,000	93.9	4,883,000	94.0	5,015,000	93.8	-	-
Without electric lighting..	-	-	645,000	6.1	312,000	6.0	333,000	6.2	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total.....	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
With electric lighting.....	-	-	25,516,000	89.6	14,693,000	91.0	10,823,000	87.8	-	-
Without electric lighting..	-	-	2,957,000	10.4	1,459,000	9.0	1,498,000	12.2	-	-

Table 9.--ELECTRIC LIGHTING, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING	1947										ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total.....	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0	10,313,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	11,151,000	98.1	10,576,000	98.9	8,275,000	99.7	2,301,000	96.1	575,000	85.6	9,781,000	94.8
Without electric lighting..	219,000	1.9	122,000	1.1	29,000	0.3	93,000	3.9	97,000	14.4	532,000	5.2
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total.....	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0	11,597,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	11,676,000	91.2	10,003,000	97.5	7,543,000	99.7	2,460,000	91.4	1,673,000	65.6	9,637,000	83.1
Without electric lighting..	1,130,000	8.8	253,000	2.5	23,000	0.3	230,000	8.6	877,000	34.4	1,960,000	16.9
THE SOUTH												
Total.....	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0	10,876,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	8,991,000	75.5	7,448,000	88.3	4,890,000	93.1	2,558,000	80.4	1,543,000	44.5	5,926,000	54.5
Without electric lighting..	2,914,000	24.5	989,000	11.7	364,000	6.9	625,000	19.6	1,925,000	55.5	4,950,000	45.5
THE WEST												
Total.....	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0	4,539,000	100.0
With electric lighting.....	5,299,000	95.6	4,640,000	97.8	3,279,000	99.2	1,361,000	94.8	659,000	82.2	4,019,000	88.5
Without electric lighting..	245,000	4.4	102,000	2.2	27,000	0.8	75,000	5.2	143,000	17.8	520,000	11.5

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Table 10.--INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

AREA AND INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS					
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	39,913,000	95.9	37,860,000	97.0	20,887,000	97.8	16,973,000	96.1
Without installed cooking facilities	1,712,000	4.1	1,156,000	3.0	460,000	2.2	696,000	3.9
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	33,034,000	96.8	31,551,000	97.5	16,753,000	98.4	14,798,000	96.5
Without installed cooking facilities	1,099,000	3.2	803,000	2.5	272,000	1.6	531,000	3.5
URBAN								
Total	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	23,871,000	97.7	23,367,000	98.0	11,453,000	99.2	11,914,000	97.0
Without installed cooking facilities	559,000	2.3	468,000	2.0	94,000	0.8	374,000	3.0
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	9,163,000	94.4	8,184,000	96.1	5,300,000	96.8	2,884,000	94.8
Without installed cooking facilities	540,000	5.6	335,000	3.9	178,000	3.2	157,000	5.2
RURAL-FARM								
Total	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	6,879,000	91.8	6,309,000	94.7	4,134,000	95.7	2,175,000	92.9
Without installed cooking facilities	613,000	8.2	353,000	5.3	188,000	4.3	165,000	7.1
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	-	-	10,274,000	97.4	5,101,000	98.2	5,173,000	96.7
Without installed cooking facilities	-	-	269,000	2.6	94,000	1.8	175,000	3.3
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	-	-	27,586,000	96.9	15,786,000	97.7	11,800,000	95.8
Without installed cooking facilities	-	-	887,000	3.1	366,000	2.3	521,000	4.2

Table 11.--INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: APRIL, 1947

REGION AND INSTALLED COOKING FACILITIES	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						RURAL-FARM	
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES										
Total	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	11,140,000	98.0	10,513,000	98.3	8,222,000	99.0	2,291,000	95.7	627,000	93.3
Without installed cooking facilities	230,000	2.0	185,000	1.7	82,000	1.0	103,000	4.3	45,000	6.7
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES										
Total	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	12,417,000	97.0	10,023,000	97.7	7,479,000	98.9	2,544,000	94.6	2,394,000	93.9
Without installed cooking facilities	389,000	3.0	233,000	2.3	87,000	1.1	146,000	5.4	156,000	6.1
THE SOUTH										
Total	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	11,130,000	93.5	7,984,000	94.6	5,010,000	95.4	2,974,000	93.4	3,146,000	90.7
Without installed cooking facilities	775,000	6.5	453,000	5.4	244,000	4.6	209,000	6.6	322,000	9.3
THE WEST										
Total	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0
With installed cooking facilities	5,226,000	94.3	4,514,000	95.2	3,160,000	95.6	1,354,000	94.3	712,000	88.8
Without installed cooking facilities	318,000	5.7	228,000	4.8	146,000	4.4	82,000	5.7	90,000	11.2

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Table 12.--DESIGNATED FACILITIES BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

AREA AND DESIGNATED FACILITIES	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS					
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	26,873,000	64.6	26,102,000	66.9	14,860,000	69.6	11,242,000	63.6
Lacking one or more designated facilities	14,752,000	35.4	12,914,000	33.1	6,487,000	30.4	6,427,000	36.4
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	25,429,000	74.5	24,700,000	76.3	13,665,000	80.3	11,035,000	72.0
Lacking one or more designated facilities	8,704,000	25.5	7,654,000	23.7	3,360,000	19.7	4,294,000	28.0
URBAN								
Total	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	20,238,000	82.8	19,893,000	83.5	10,295,000	89.2	9,598,000	78.1
Lacking one or more designated facilities	4,192,000	17.2	3,942,000	16.5	1,252,000	10.8	2,690,000	21.9
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	5,191,000	53.5	4,807,000	56.4	3,370,000	61.5	1,437,000	47.3
Lacking one or more designated facilities	4,512,000	46.5	3,712,000	43.6	2,108,000	38.5	1,604,000	52.7
RURAL-FARM								
Total	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	1,444,000	19.3	1,402,000	21.0	1,195,000	27.6	207,000	8.8
Lacking one or more designated facilities	6,048,000	80.7	5,260,000	79.0	3,127,000	72.4	2,133,000	91.2
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	10,548,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	-	-	7,536,000	71.5	3,855,000	74.2	3,681,000	68.8
Lacking one or more designated facilities	-	-	3,007,000	28.5	1,340,000	25.8	1,667,000	31.2
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	-	-	18,566,000	65.2	11,005,000	68.1	7,561,000	61.4
Lacking one or more designated facilities	-	-	9,907,000	34.8	5,147,000	31.9	4,760,000	38.6

Table 13.--DESIGNATED FACILITIES, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: APRIL, 1947

REGION AND DESIGNATED FACILITIES	ALL ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS		URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						RURAL-FARM	
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES										
Total	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	9,488,000	83.4	9,203,000	86.0	7,516,000	90.5	1,687,000	70.5	285,000	42.4
Lacking one or more designated facilities	1,882,000	16.6	1,495,000	14.0	788,000	9.5	707,000	29.5	387,000	57.6
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES										
Total	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	8,140,000	63.6	7,602,000	74.1	6,310,000	83.4	1,292,000	48.0	538,000	21.1
Lacking one or more designated facilities	4,666,000	36.4	2,654,000	25.9	1,256,000	16.6	1,398,000	52.0	2,012,000	78.9
THE SOUTH										
Total	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	5,218,000	43.8	4,878,000	57.8	3,628,000	69.1	1,250,000	39.3	340,000	9.8
Lacking one or more designated facilities	6,687,000	56.2	3,559,000	42.2	1,626,000	30.9	1,933,000	60.7	3,128,000	90.2
THE WEST										
Total	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0
Having all designated facilities	4,027,000	72.6	3,746,000	79.0	2,784,000	84.2	962,000	67.0	281,000	35.0
Lacking one or more designated facilities	1,517,000	27.4	996,000	21.0	522,000	15.8	474,000	33.0	521,000	65.0

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Table 14.--NUMBER OF ROOMS BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND NUMBER OF ROOMS	1947								ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		All ordinary occupied dwelling units							
			Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES										
Total	41,625,000	100.0	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	37,325,000	100.0
1 room	973,000	2.3	707,000	1.8	138,000	0.6	569,000	3.2	1,325,000	3.5
2 rooms	3,063,000	7.4	2,598,000	6.7	509,000	2.4	2,089,000	11.8	3,258,000	8.7
3 rooms	5,786,000	13.9	5,265,000	13.5	1,366,000	6.4	3,899,000	22.1	5,403,000	14.5
4 rooms	8,408,000	20.2	7,887,000	20.2	3,289,000	15.4	4,598,000	26.0	6,984,000	18.7
5 rooms	8,971,000	21.6	8,601,000	22.0	5,414,000	25.4	3,187,000	18.0	7,400,000	19.8
6 rooms	7,458,000	17.9	7,230,000	18.5	5,205,000	24.4	2,025,000	11.5	6,406,000	17.2
7 rooms	3,469,000	8.3	3,349,000	8.6	2,662,000	12.5	687,000	3.9	2,907,000	7.8
8 or more rooms	3,497,000	8.4	3,379,000	8.7	2,764,000	12.9	615,000	3.5	3,642,000	9.8
Median number of rooms	4.79	-	4.85	-	5.49	-	4.00	-	4.73	-
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM										
Total	34,133,000	100.0	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	29,683,000	100.0
1 room	826,000	2.4	632,000	2.0	101,000	0.6	531,000	3.5	1,118,000	3.8
2 rooms	2,537,000	7.4	2,265,000	7.0	365,000	2.1	1,900,000	12.4	2,537,000	8.5
3 rooms	4,840,000	14.2	4,486,000	13.9	1,044,000	6.1	3,442,000	22.5	4,268,000	14.4
4 rooms	6,925,000	20.3	6,569,000	20.3	2,574,000	15.1	3,995,000	26.1	5,455,000	18.4
5 rooms	7,668,000	22.5	7,404,000	22.9	4,570,000	26.8	2,834,000	18.5	6,235,000	21.0
6 rooms	6,250,000	18.3	6,086,000	18.8	4,346,000	25.5	1,740,000	11.4	5,324,000	17.9
7 rooms	2,669,000	7.8	2,574,000	8.0	2,077,000	12.2	497,000	3.2	2,221,000	7.5
8 or more rooms	2,418,000	7.1	2,338,000	7.2	1,948,000	11.4	390,000	2.5	2,525,000	8.5
Median number of rooms	4.75	-	4.80	-	5.47	-	3.95	-	4.73	-
URBAN										
Total	24,430,000	100.0	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	21,616,000	100.0
1 room	559,000	2.3	470,000	2.0	36,000	0.3	434,000	3.5	771,000	3.6
2 rooms	1,840,000	7.5	1,753,000	7.4	174,000	1.5	1,579,000	12.8	1,732,000	8.0
3 rooms	3,481,000	14.2	3,370,000	14.1	562,000	4.9	2,808,000	22.9	3,145,000	14.5
4 rooms	4,730,000	19.4	4,613,000	19.4	1,492,000	12.9	3,121,000	25.4	3,864,000	17.9
5 rooms	5,563,000	22.8	5,470,000	22.9	3,164,000	27.4	2,306,000	18.8	4,710,000	21.8
6 rooms	4,676,000	19.1	4,634,000	19.4	3,238,000	28.0	1,396,000	11.4	4,054,000	18.8
7 rooms	1,904,000	7.8	1,862,000	7.8	1,485,000	12.9	377,000	3.1	1,579,000	7.3
8 or more rooms	1,677,000	6.9	1,663,000	7.0	1,396,000	12.1	267,000	2.2	1,761,000	8.1
Median number of rooms	4.79	-	4.81	-	5.61	-	3.92	-	4.78	-
RURAL-NONFARM										
Total	9,703,000	100.0	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	8,067,000	100.0
1 room	267,000	2.8	162,000	1.9	65,000	1.2	97,000	3.2	347,000	4.3
2 rooms	697,000	7.2	512,000	6.0	191,000	3.5	321,000	10.6	805,000	10.0
3 rooms	1,359,000	14.0	1,116,000	13.1	482,000	8.8	634,000	20.8	1,123,000	13.9
4 rooms	2,195,000	22.6	1,956,000	23.0	1,082,000	19.8	874,000	28.7	1,591,000	19.7
5 rooms	2,105,000	21.7	1,934,000	22.7	1,406,000	25.7	528,000	17.4	1,525,000	18.9
6 rooms	1,574,000	16.2	1,452,000	17.0	1,108,000	20.2	344,000	11.3	1,270,000	15.7
7 rooms	765,000	7.9	712,000	8.4	592,000	10.8	120,000	3.9	642,000	8.0
8 or more rooms	741,000	7.6	675,000	7.9	552,000	10.1	123,000	4.0	764,000	9.5
Median number of rooms	4.66	-	4.77	-	5.15	-	4.04	-	4.61	-
RURAL-FARM										
Total	7,492,000	100.0	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,642,000	100.0
1 room	147,000	2.0	75,000	1.1	37,000	0.9	38,000	1.6	207,000	2.7
2 rooms	526,000	7.0	333,000	5.0	144,000	3.3	189,000	8.1	721,000	9.4
3 rooms	946,000	12.6	779,000	11.7	322,000	7.5	457,000	19.5	1,135,000	14.9
4 rooms	1,483,000	19.8	1,318,000	19.8	715,000	16.5	603,000	25.8	1,529,000	20.0
5 rooms	1,303,000	17.4	1,197,000	18.0	844,000	19.5	353,000	15.1	1,165,000	15.2
6 rooms	1,208,000	16.1	1,144,000	17.2	859,000	19.9	285,000	12.2	1,082,000	14.2
7 rooms	800,000	10.7	775,000	11.6	585,000	13.5	190,000	8.1	686,000	9.0
8 or more rooms	1,079,000	14.4	1,041,000	15.6	816,000	18.9	225,000	9.6	1,117,000	14.6
Median number of rooms	4.99	-	5.19	-	5.62	-	4.31	-	4.70	-
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total	-	-	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
1 room	-	-	149,000	1.4	24,000	0.5	125,000	2.3	-	-
2 rooms	-	-	724,000	6.9	84,000	1.6	640,000	12.0	-	-
3 rooms	-	-	1,649,000	15.6	318,000	6.1	1,331,000	24.9	-	-
4 rooms	-	-	2,227,000	21.1	812,000	15.6	1,415,000	26.5	-	-
5 rooms	-	-	2,223,000	21.1	1,302,000	25.1	921,000	17.2	-	-
6 rooms	-	-	1,838,000	17.4	1,249,000	24.0	589,000	11.0	-	-
7 rooms	-	-	832,000	7.9	668,000	12.9	164,000	3.1	-	-
8 or more rooms	-	-	901,000	8.5	738,000	14.2	163,000	3.0	-	-
Median number of rooms	-	-	4.74	-	5.55	-	3.91	-	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS										
Total	-	-	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
1 room	-	-	558,000	2.0	114,000	0.7	444,000	3.6	-	-
2 rooms	-	-	1,874,000	6.6	425,000	2.6	1,449,000	11.8	-	-
3 rooms	-	-	3,616,000	12.7	1,048,000	6.5	2,568,000	20.8	-	-
4 rooms	-	-	5,660,000	19.9	2,477,000	15.3	3,183,000	25.8	-	-
5 rooms	-	-	6,378,000	22.4	4,112,000	25.5	2,266,000	18.4	-	-
6 rooms	-	-	5,392,000	18.9	3,956,000	24.5	1,436,000	11.7	-	-
7 rooms	-	-	2,517,000	8.8	1,994,000	12.3	523,000	4.2	-	-
8 or more rooms	-	-	2,478,000	8.7	2,026,000	12.5	452,000	3.7	-	-
Median number of rooms	-	-	4.90	-	5.48	-	4.03	-	-	-

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Table 15.--NUMBER OF ROOMS, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND NUMBER OF ROOMS	1947										ALL DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total	11,370,000	100.0	10,698,000	100.0	8,304,000	100.0	2,394,000	100.0	672,000	100.0	10,313,000	100.0
1 room	84,000	0.7	83,000	0.8	55,000	0.7	28,000	1.2	1,000	0.1	190,000	1.8
2 rooms	355,000	3.1	342,000	3.2	276,000	3.3	66,000	2.8	13,000	1.9	458,000	4.4
3 rooms	1,331,000	11.7	1,310,000	12.2	1,138,000	13.7	172,000	7.2	21,000	3.1	1,243,000	12.1
4 rooms	2,139,000	18.8	2,084,000	19.5	1,684,000	20.3	400,000	16.7	55,000	8.2	1,797,000	17.4
5 rooms	2,247,000	19.8	2,179,000	20.4	1,661,000	20.0	518,000	21.6	68,000	10.1	1,922,000	18.6
6 rooms	2,549,000	22.4	2,417,000	22.6	1,858,000	22.4	559,000	23.4	132,000	19.6	2,282,000	22.1
7 rooms	1,270,000	11.2	1,153,000	10.8	862,000	10.4	291,000	12.2	117,000	17.4	995,000	9.6
8 or more rooms	1,395,000	12.3	1,130,000	10.6	770,000	9.3	360,000	15.0	265,000	39.4	1,426,000	13.8
Median number of rooms	5.29	-	5.20	-	5.10	-	5.52	-	6.89	-	5.26	-
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total	12,806,000	100.0	10,256,000	100.0	7,566,000	100.0	2,690,000	100.0	2,550,000	100.0	11,597,000	100.0
1 room	300,000	2.3	264,000	2.6	189,000	2.5	75,000	2.8	36,000	1.4	377,000	3.3
2 rooms	880,000	6.9	760,000	7.4	581,000	7.7	179,000	6.7	120,000	4.7	742,000	6.4
3 rooms	1,279,000	10.0	1,113,000	10.9	806,000	10.7	307,000	11.4	166,000	6.5	1,210,000	10.4
4 rooms	2,180,000	17.0	1,870,000	18.2	1,341,000	17.7	529,000	19.7	310,000	12.2	1,897,000	16.4
5 rooms	3,010,000	23.5	2,601,000	25.4	1,972,000	26.1	629,000	23.4	409,000	16.0	2,621,000	22.6
6 rooms	2,509,000	19.6	2,013,000	19.6	1,551,000	20.5	462,000	17.2	496,000	19.5	2,210,000	19.1
7 rooms	1,354,000	10.6	918,000	9.0	629,000	8.3	289,000	10.7	436,000	17.1	1,157,000	10.0
8 or more rooms	1,294,000	10.1	717,000	7.0	497,000	6.6	220,000	8.2	577,000	22.6	1,383,000	11.9
Median number of rooms	5.09	-	4.93	-	4.94	-	4.91	-	5.97	-	5.10	-
THE SOUTH												
Total	11,905,000	100.0	8,437,000	100.0	5,254,000	100.0	3,183,000	100.0	3,468,000	100.0	10,876,000	100.0
1 room	281,000	2.4	245,000	2.9	160,000	3.0	85,000	2.7	36,000	1.0	425,000	3.9
2 rooms	1,121,000	9.4	815,000	9.7	526,000	10.0	289,000	9.1	306,000	8.8	1,481,000	13.6
3 rooms	2,328,000	19.6	1,669,000	19.8	1,037,000	19.7	632,000	19.9	659,000	19.0	2,217,000	20.4
4 rooms	2,903,000	24.4	1,932,000	22.9	1,030,000	19.6	902,000	28.3	971,000	28.0	2,396,000	22.0
5 rooms	2,443,000	20.5	1,770,000	21.0	1,134,000	21.6	636,000	20.0	673,000	19.4	1,852,000	17.0
6 rooms	1,695,000	14.2	1,240,000	14.7	854,000	16.3	386,000	12.1	455,000	13.1	1,375,000	12.6
7 rooms	560,000	4.7	388,000	4.6	253,000	4.8	135,000	4.2	172,000	5.0	520,000	4.8
8 or more rooms	574,000	4.8	378,000	4.5	260,000	4.9	118,000	3.7	196,000	5.7	610,000	5.6
Median number of rooms	4.27	-	4.27	-	4.38	-	4.15	-	4.25	-	4.05	-
THE WEST												
Total	5,544,000	100.0	4,742,000	100.0	3,306,000	100.0	1,436,000	100.0	802,000	100.0	4,539,000	100.0
1 room	308,000	5.6	234,000	4.9	155,000	4.7	79,000	5.5	74,000	9.2	333,000	7.3
2 rooms	707,000	12.8	620,000	13.1	457,000	13.8	163,000	11.4	87,000	10.8	577,000	12.7
3 rooms	848,000	15.3	748,000	15.8	500,000	15.1	248,000	17.3	100,000	12.5	733,000	16.1
4 rooms	1,186,000	21.4	1,039,000	21.9	675,000	20.4	364,000	25.3	147,000	18.3	894,000	19.7
5 rooms	1,271,000	22.9	1,118,000	23.6	796,000	24.1	322,000	22.4	153,000	19.1	1,005,000	22.1
6 rooms	705,000	12.7	580,000	12.2	413,000	12.5	167,000	11.6	125,000	15.6	539,000	11.9
7 rooms	285,000	5.1	210,000	4.4	160,000	4.8	50,000	3.5	75,000	9.4	235,000	5.2
8 or more rooms	234,000	4.2	193,000	4.1	150,000	4.5	43,000	3.0	41,000	5.1	223,000	4.9
Median number of rooms	4.27	-	4.24	-	4.30	-	4.13	-	4.45	-	4.20	-

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Table 16.--NUMBER OF PERSONS BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND NUMBER OF PERSONS	ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, 1947						ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	34,855,000	100.0
1 person	2,864,000	7.3	1,256,000	5.9	1,608,000	9.1	2,677,000	7.7
2 persons	10,596,000	27.2	5,568,000	26.1	5,028,000	28.5	8,630,000	24.8
3 persons	8,954,000	22.9	4,769,000	22.3	4,185,000	23.7	7,796,000	22.4
4 persons	7,359,000	18.9	4,280,000	20.0	3,079,000	17.4	6,325,000	18.1
5 persons	4,344,000	11.1	2,601,000	12.2	1,743,000	9.9	4,013,000	11.5
6 persons	2,273,000	5.8	1,373,000	6.4	900,000	5.1	2,360,000	6.8
7 persons	1,140,000	2.9	659,000	3.1	481,000	2.7	1,341,000	3.8
8 or more persons	1,486,000	3.8	841,000	3.9	645,000	3.7	1,713,000	4.9
Median number of persons	3.18	-	3.31	-	3.03	-	3.29	-
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	27,748,000	100.0
1 person	2,604,000	8.0	1,074,000	6.3	1,530,000	10.0	2,316,000	8.3
2 persons	9,010,000	27.8	4,468,000	26.2	4,542,000	29.6	7,242,000	26.1
3 persons	7,549,000	23.3	3,836,000	22.5	3,713,000	24.2	6,383,000	23.0
4 persons	6,099,000	18.9	3,435,000	20.2	2,664,000	17.4	5,063,000	18.2
5 persons	3,508,000	10.8	2,079,000	12.2	1,429,000	9.3	3,066,000	11.0
6 persons	1,710,000	5.3	1,038,000	6.1	672,000	4.4	1,704,000	6.1
7 persons	854,000	2.6	489,000	2.9	365,000	2.4	912,000	3.3
8 or more persons	1,020,000	3.2	606,000	3.6	414,000	2.7	1,062,000	3.8
Median number of persons	3.10	-	3.27	-	2.93	-	3.18	-
URBAN								
Total	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	20,597,000	100.0
1 person	1,983,000	8.3	660,000	5.7	1,323,000	10.8	1,671,000	8.1
2 persons	6,627,000	27.8	2,911,000	25.2	3,716,000	30.2	5,441,000	26.4
3 persons	5,659,000	23.7	2,661,000	23.0	2,998,000	24.4	4,800,000	23.3
4 persons	4,466,000	18.7	2,370,000	20.5	2,096,000	17.1	3,801,000	18.5
5 persons	2,544,000	10.7	1,452,000	12.5	1,092,000	8.9	2,272,000	11.0
6 persons	1,246,000	5.2	758,000	6.6	488,000	4.0	1,233,000	6.0
7 persons	607,000	2.5	324,000	2.8	283,000	2.3	645,000	3.1
8 or more persons	703,000	2.9	411,000	3.6	292,000	2.4	734,000	3.6
Median number of persons	3.08	-	3.33	-	2.87	-	3.16	-
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	7,151,000	100.0
1 person	621,000	7.3	414,000	7.6	207,000	6.8	645,000	9.0
2 persons	2,383,000	28.0	1,557,000	28.4	826,000	27.2	1,801,000	25.2
3 persons	1,890,000	22.2	1,175,000	21.4	715,000	23.5	1,583,000	22.1
4 persons	1,633,000	19.2	1,065,000	19.4	568,000	18.7	1,262,000	17.6
5 persons	964,000	11.3	627,000	11.4	337,000	11.1	794,000	11.1
6 persons	464,000	5.4	280,000	5.1	184,000	6.1	471,000	6.6
7 persons	247,000	2.9	165,000	3.0	82,000	2.7	267,000	3.7
8 or more persons	317,000	3.7	195,000	3.6	122,000	4.0	328,000	4.6
Median number of persons	3.16	-	3.15	-	3.18	-	3.21	-
RURAL-FARM								
Total	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,107,000	100.0
1 person	260,000	3.9	182,000	4.2	78,000	3.3	361,000	5.1
2 persons	1,586,000	23.8	1,100,000	25.5	486,000	20.8	1,388,000	19.5
3 persons	1,405,000	21.1	933,000	21.6	472,000	20.2	1,413,000	19.9
4 persons	1,260,000	18.9	845,000	19.6	415,000	17.7	1,262,000	17.8
5 persons	836,000	12.5	522,000	12.1	314,000	13.4	947,000	13.3
6 persons	563,000	8.5	335,000	7.8	228,000	9.7	656,000	9.2
7 persons	286,000	4.3	170,000	3.9	116,000	5.0	429,000	6.0
8 or more persons	466,000	7.0	235,000	5.4	231,000	9.9	651,000	9.2
Median number of persons	3.56	-	3.44	-	3.82	-	3.81	-
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
1 person	103,000	1.0	20,000	0.4	83,000	1.6	-	-
2 persons	2,069,000	19.6	628,000	12.1	1,441,000	26.9	-	-
3 persons	2,961,000	28.1	1,314,000	25.3	1,647,000	30.8	-	-
4 persons	2,245,000	21.3	1,284,000	24.7	961,000	18.0	-	-
5 persons	1,432,000	13.6	860,000	16.6	572,000	10.7	-	-
6 persons	809,000	7.7	513,000	9.9	296,000	5.5	-	-
7 persons	388,000	3.7	250,000	4.8	138,000	2.6	-	-
8 or more persons	536,000	5.1	326,000	6.3	210,000	3.9	-	-
Median number of persons	3.56	-	3.99	-	3.20	-	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
1 person	2,761,000	9.7	1,236,000	7.7	1,525,000	12.4	-	-
2 persons	8,527,000	29.9	4,940,000	30.6	3,587,000	29.1	-	-
3 persons	5,993,000	21.0	3,455,000	21.4	2,538,000	20.6	-	-
4 persons	5,114,000	18.0	2,996,000	18.5	2,118,000	17.2	-	-
5 persons	2,912,000	10.2	1,741,000	10.8	1,171,000	9.5	-	-
6 persons	1,464,000	5.1	860,000	5.3	604,000	4.9	-	-
7 persons	752,000	2.6	409,000	2.5	343,000	2.8	-	-
8 or more persons	950,000	3.3	515,000	3.2	435,000	3.5	-	-
Median number of persons	2.99	-	3.05	-	2.91	-	-	-

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Table 17.--NUMBER OF PERSONS, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND NUMBER OF PERSONS	1947										ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary occupied dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total	10,716,000	100.0	10,130,000	100.0	8,118,000	100.0	2,012,000	100.0	586,000	100.0	9,479,000	100.0
1 person	743,000	6.9	710,000	7.0	585,000	7.2	125,000	6.2	33,000	5.6	662,000	7.0
2 persons	2,762,000	25.8	2,645,000	26.1	2,065,000	25.4	580,000	28.8	117,000	20.0	2,265,000	23.9
3 persons	2,505,000	23.4	2,384,000	23.5	1,940,000	23.9	444,000	22.1	121,000	20.6	2,161,000	22.8
4 persons	2,166,000	20.2	2,045,000	20.2	1,635,000	20.1	410,000	20.4	121,000	20.6	1,822,000	19.2
5 persons	1,238,000	11.6	1,161,000	11.5	932,000	11.5	229,000	11.4	77,000	13.1	1,149,000	12.1
6 persons	663,000	6.2	607,000	6.0	506,000	6.2	101,000	5.0	56,000	9.6	653,000	6.9
7 persons	287,000	2.7	266,000	2.6	218,000	2.7	48,000	2.4	21,000	3.6	353,000	3.7
8 or more persons	352,000	3.3	312,000	3.1	237,000	2.9	75,000	3.7	40,000	6.8	414,000	4.4
Median number of persons	3.24	-	3.22	-	3.23	-	3.18	-	3.68	-	3.34	-
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total	12,064,000	100.0	9,759,000	100.0	7,446,000	100.0	2,313,000	100.0	2,305,000	100.0	10,964,000	100.0
1 person	978,000	8.1	862,000	8.8	650,000	8.7	212,000	9.2	116,000	5.0	837,000	7.6
2 persons	3,500,000	29.0	2,872,000	29.4	2,147,000	28.8	725,000	31.3	628,000	27.2	2,840,000	25.9
3 persons	2,758,000	22.9	2,228,000	22.8	1,740,000	23.4	488,000	21.1	530,000	23.0	2,521,000	23.0
4 persons	2,180,000	18.1	1,758,000	18.0	1,367,000	18.4	391,000	16.9	422,000	18.3	2,018,000	18.4
5 persons	1,247,000	10.3	1,011,000	10.4	779,000	10.5	232,000	10.0	236,000	10.2	1,250,000	11.4
6 persons	654,000	5.4	469,000	4.8	348,000	4.7	121,000	5.2	185,000	8.0	701,000	6.4
7 persons	343,000	2.8	259,000	2.7	191,000	2.6	68,000	2.9	84,000	3.6	374,000	3.4
8 or more persons	404,000	3.3	300,000	3.1	224,000	3.0	76,000	3.3	104,000	4.5	423,000	3.9
Median number of persons	3.06	-	3.01	-	3.03	-	2.95	-	3.27	-	3.22	-
THE SOUTH												
Total	11,070,000	100.0	8,003,000	100.0	5,076,000	100.0	2,927,000	100.0	3,067,000	100.0	10,278,000	100.0
1 person	586,000	5.3	528,000	6.6	371,000	7.3	157,000	5.4	58,000	1.9	638,000	6.2
2 persons	2,810,000	25.4	2,139,000	26.7	1,402,000	27.6	737,000	25.2	671,000	21.9	2,322,000	22.6
3 persons	2,555,000	23.1	1,915,000	23.9	1,231,000	24.3	684,000	23.4	640,000	20.9	2,196,000	21.4
4 persons	2,033,000	18.4	1,476,000	18.4	906,000	17.8	570,000	19.5	557,000	18.2	1,803,000	17.5
5 persons	1,365,000	12.3	921,000	11.5	550,000	10.8	371,000	12.7	444,000	14.5	1,239,000	12.1
6 persons	728,000	6.6	460,000	5.7	291,000	5.7	169,000	5.8	268,000	8.7	810,000	7.9
7 persons	400,000	3.6	250,000	3.1	145,000	2.9	105,000	3.6	150,000	4.9	513,000	5.0
8 or more persons	593,000	5.4	314,000	3.9	180,000	3.5	134,000	4.6	279,000	9.1	757,000	7.4
Median number of persons	3.34	-	3.20	-	3.12	-	3.33	-	3.80	-	3.49	-
THE WEST												
Total	5,166,000	100.0	4,462,000	100.0	3,195,000	100.0	1,267,000	100.0	704,000	100.0	4,134,000	100.0
1 person	557,000	10.8	504,000	11.3	377,000	11.8	127,000	10.0	53,000	7.5	540,000	13.1
2 persons	1,524,000	29.5	1,354,000	30.3	1,013,000	31.7	341,000	26.9	170,000	24.1	1,203,000	29.1
3 persons	1,136,000	22.0	1,022,000	22.9	748,000	23.4	274,000	21.6	114,000	16.2	918,000	22.2
4 persons	980,000	19.0	820,000	18.4	558,000	17.5	262,000	20.7	160,000	22.7	682,000	16.5
5 persons	494,000	9.6	415,000	9.3	283,000	8.9	132,000	10.4	79,000	11.2	375,000	9.1
6 persons	228,000	4.4	174,000	3.9	101,000	3.2	73,000	5.8	54,000	7.7	196,000	4.7
7 persons	110,000	2.1	79,000	1.8	53,000	1.7	26,000	2.1	31,000	4.4	101,000	2.4
8 or more persons	137,000	2.7	94,000	2.1	62,000	1.9	32,000	2.5	43,000	6.1	119,000	2.9
Median number of persons	2.94	-	2.86	-	2.78	-	3.10	-	3.59	-	2.85	-

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Table 18.--PERSONS PER ROOM BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES

AREA AND PERSONS PER ROOM	ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, 1947						ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	Total		Owner-occupied		Tenant-occupied			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Total	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0	34,855,000	100.0
0.50 or less	13,651,000	35.0	9,025,000	42.3	4,626,000	26.2	10,976,000	31.5
0.51 to 1.50	22,998,000	58.9	11,506,000	53.9	11,492,000	65.0	20,756,000	59.5
1.51 or more	2,367,000	6.1	816,000	3.8	1,551,000	8.8	3,123,000	9.0
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0	27,748,000	100.0
0.50 or less	11,299,000	34.9	7,233,000	42.5	4,066,000	26.5	8,888,000	32.0
0.51 to 1.50	19,346,000	59.8	9,229,000	54.2	10,117,000	66.0	16,880,000	60.8
1.51 or more	1,709,000	5.3	563,000	3.3	1,146,000	7.5	1,980,000	7.1
URBAN								
Total	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	20,597,000	100.0
0.50 or less	8,234,000	34.5	4,945,000	42.8	3,289,000	26.8	6,471,000	31.4
0.51 to 1.50	14,553,000	61.1	6,353,000	55.0	8,200,000	66.7	12,942,000	62.8
1.51 or more	1,048,000	4.4	249,000	2.2	799,000	6.5	1,184,000	5.7
RURAL-NONFARM								
Total	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	7,151,000	100.0
0.50 or less	3,065,000	36.0	2,288,000	41.8	777,000	25.6	2,417,000	33.8
0.51 to 1.50	4,793,000	56.3	2,876,000	52.5	1,917,000	63.0	3,938,000	55.1
1.51 or more	661,000	7.8	314,000	5.7	347,000	11.4	796,000	11.1
RURAL-FARM								
Total	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0	7,107,000	100.0
0.50 or less	2,352,000	35.3	1,792,000	41.5	560,000	23.9	2,088,000	29.4
0.51 to 1.50	3,652,000	54.8	2,277,000	52.7	1,375,000	58.8	3,876,000	54.5
1.51 or more	658,000	9.9	253,000	5.9	405,000	17.3	1,143,000	16.1
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0	-	-
0.50 or less	2,109,000	20.0	1,263,000	24.3	846,000	15.8	-	-
0.51 to 1.50	7,728,000	73.3	3,709,000	71.4	4,019,000	75.1	-	-
1.51 or more	706,000	6.7	223,000	4.3	483,000	9.0	-	-
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS								
Total	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0	-	-
0.50 or less	11,542,000	40.5	7,762,000	48.1	3,780,000	30.7	-	-
0.51 to 1.50	15,270,000	53.6	7,797,000	48.3	7,473,000	60.7	-	-
1.51 or more	1,661,000	5.8	593,000	3.7	1,068,000	8.7	-	-

Table 19.--PERSONS PER ROOM, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

REGION AND PERSONS PER ROOM	1947										ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	All ordinary occupied dwelling units		Urban and rural-nonfarm						Rural-farm			
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm					
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES												
Total	10,716,000	100.0	10,130,000	100.0	8,118,000	100.0	2,012,000	100.0	586,000	100.0	9,479,000	100.0
0.50 or less	4,130,000	38.5	3,829,000	37.8	2,907,000	35.8	922,000	45.8	301,000	51.4	3,343,000	35.3
0.51 to 1.50	6,346,000	59.2	6,071,000	59.9	5,046,000	62.2	1,025,000	50.9	275,000	46.9	5,791,000	61.1
1.51 or more	240,000	2.2	230,000	2.3	165,000	2.0	65,000	3.2	10,000	1.7	345,000	3.6
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES												
Total	12,064,000	100.0	9,759,000	100.0	7,446,000	100.0	2,313,000	100.0	2,305,000	100.0	10,964,000	100.0
0.50 or less	4,826,000	40.0	3,720,000	38.1	2,721,000	36.5	999,000	43.2	1,106,000	48.0	3,972,000	36.2
0.51 to 1.50	6,804,000	56.4	5,675,000	58.2	4,493,000	60.3	1,182,000	51.1	1,129,000	49.0	6,367,000	58.1
1.51 or more	434,000	3.6	364,000	3.7	232,000	3.1	132,000	5.7	70,000	3.0	625,000	5.7
THE SOUTH												
Total	11,070,000	100.0	8,003,000	100.0	5,076,000	100.0	2,927,000	100.0	3,067,000	100.0	10,278,000	100.0
0.50 or less	2,982,000	26.9	2,248,000	28.1	1,504,000	29.6	744,000	25.4	734,000	23.9	2,309,000	22.5
0.51 to 1.50	6,820,000	61.6	4,956,000	61.9	3,114,000	61.3	1,842,000	62.9	1,864,000	60.8	6,177,000	60.1
1.51 or more	1,268,000	11.5	799,000	10.0	458,000	9.0	341,000	11.7	469,000	15.3	1,792,000	17.4
THE WEST												
Total	5,166,000	100.0	4,462,000	100.0	3,195,000	100.0	1,267,000	100.0	704,000	100.0	4,134,000	100.0
0.50 or less	1,713,000	33.2	1,502,000	33.7	1,102,000	34.5	400,000	31.6	211,000	30.0	1,352,000	32.7
0.51 to 1.50	3,028,000	58.6	2,644,000	59.3	1,900,000	59.5	744,000	58.7	384,000	54.5	2,421,000	58.6
1.51 or more	425,000	8.2	316,000	7.1	193,000	6.0	123,000	9.7	109,000	15.5	361,000	8.7

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Table 20.--NUMBER OF "HUSBAND-WIFE" SUBFAMILIES BY TENURE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: APRIL, 1947

(The term "subfamily" as used in this report includes married couples not related to the head of the household as well as those couples related to the head)

AREA AND NUMBER OF "HUSBAND-WIFE" SUBFAMILIES	ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS		OWNER-OCCUPIED		TENANT-OCCUPIED	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	39,016,000	100.0	21,347,000	100.0	17,669,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	36,503,000	93.6	19,654,000	92.1	16,849,000	95.4
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	2,513,000	6.4	1,693,000	7.9	820,000	4.6
URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	32,354,000	100.0	17,025,000	100.0	15,329,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	30,240,000	93.5	15,633,000	91.8	14,607,000	95.3
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	2,114,000	6.5	1,392,000	8.2	722,000	4.7
URBAN						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	23,835,000	100.0	11,547,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	22,180,000	93.1	10,485,000	90.8	11,695,000	95.2
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	1,655,000	6.9	1,062,000	9.2	593,000	4.8
RURAL-NONFARM						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	8,519,000	100.0	5,478,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	8,060,000	94.6	5,148,000	94.0	2,912,000	95.8
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	459,000	5.4	330,000	6.0	129,000	4.2
RURAL-FARM						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	6,662,000	100.0	4,322,000	100.0	2,340,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	6,263,000	94.0	4,021,000	93.0	2,242,000	95.8
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	399,000	6.0	301,000	7.0	98,000	4.2
OCCUPIED BY VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	10,543,000	100.0	5,195,000	100.0	5,348,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	9,047,000	85.8	4,210,000	81.0	4,837,000	90.4
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	1,496,000	14.2	985,000	19.0	511,000	9.6
OCCUPIED BY NONVETERAN HOUSEHOLDS						
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	28,473,000	100.0	16,152,000	100.0	12,321,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	27,456,000	96.4	15,444,000	95.6	12,012,000	97.5
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	1,017,000	3.6	708,000	4.4	309,000	2.5

Table 21.--NUMBER OF "HUSBAND-WIFE" SUBFAMILIES, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: APRIL, 1947

REGION AND NUMBER OF "HUSBAND-WIFE" SUBFAMILIES	ALL ORDINARY OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS		URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM						RURAL-FARM	
			Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm			
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES										
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	10,716,000	100.0	10,130,000	100.0	8,118,000	100.0	2,012,000	100.0	586,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	9,873,000	92.1	9,342,000	92.2	7,456,000	91.8	1,886,000	93.7	531,000	90.6
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	843,000	7.9	788,000	7.8	662,000	8.2	126,000	6.3	55,000	9.4
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES										
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	12,064,000	100.0	9,759,000	100.0	7,446,000	100.0	2,313,000	100.0	2,305,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	11,342,000	94.0	9,160,000	93.9	6,946,000	93.3	2,214,000	95.7	2,182,000	94.7
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	722,000	6.0	599,000	6.1	500,000	6.7	99,000	4.3	123,000	5.3
THE SOUTH										
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	11,070,000	100.0	8,003,000	100.0	5,076,000	100.0	2,927,000	100.0	3,067,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	10,345,000	93.5	7,455,000	93.2	4,705,000	92.7	2,750,000	94.0	2,890,000	94.2
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	725,000	6.5	548,000	6.8	371,000	7.3	177,000	6.0	177,000	5.8
THE WEST										
Total ordinary occupied dwelling units	5,166,000	100.0	4,462,000	100.0	3,195,000	100.0	1,267,000	100.0	704,000	100.0
Containing no "husband-wife" subfamilies	4,943,000	95.7	4,283,000	96.0	3,073,000	96.2	1,210,000	95.5	660,000	93.7
Containing one or more "husband-wife" subfamilies	223,000	4.3	179,000	4.0	122,000	3.8	57,000	4.5	44,000	6.2

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Table 22.--CONTRACT MONTHLY RENT IN TENANT-OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS

AREA AND CONTRACT MONTHLY RENT	URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM TENANT-OCCUPIED ORDINARY DWELLING UNITS, 1947						ALL TENANT-OCCUPIED URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM DWELLING UNITS, APRIL, 1940	
	Total		Urban		Rural-nonfarm			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES								
Tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units	15,329,000	100.0	12,288,000	100.0	3,041,000	100.0	16,335,000	100.0
Under $10	1,102,000	7.2	481,000	3.9	621,000	20.4	2,862,000	17.5
$10 to $19	3,038,000	19.8	2,052,000	16.7	986,000	32.4	4,543,000	27.8
$20 to $29	3,585,000	23.4	2,966,000	24.1	619,000	20.4	3,885,000	23.8
$30 to $39	3,442,000	22.5	3,015,000	24.5	427,000	14.0	2,546,000	15.6
$40 to $49	2,260,000	14.7	2,043,000	16.6	217,000	7.1	1,310,000	8.0
$50 or more	1,902,000	12.4	1,731,000	14.1	171,000	5.6	1,189,000	7.3
Median monthly rental.....(dollars)	29.33	-	31.64	-	18.62	-	21.46	-
THE NORTHEASTERN STATES								
Tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units	5,468,000	100.0	4,804,000	100.0	664,000	100.0	5,715,000	100.0
Under $10	52,000	1.0	16,000	0.3	36,000	5.4	249,000	4.4
$10 to $19	701,000	12.8	526,000	10.9	175,000	26.4	1,354,000	23.7
$20 to $29	1,484,000	27.1	1,293,000	26.9	191,000	28.8	1,609,000	28.2
$30 to $39	1,329,000	24.3	1,229,000	25.6	100,000	15.1	1,175,000	20.6
$40 to $49	1,027,000	18.8	921,000	19.2	106,000	16.0	660,000	11.5
$50 or more	875,000	16.0	819,000	17.0	56,000	8.4	668,000	11.7
Median monthly rental.....(dollars)	33.24	-	34.11	-	25.84	-	27.30	-
THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES								
Tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units	4,079,000	100.0	3,499,000	100.0	580,000	100.0	4,641,000	100.0
Under $10	152,000	3.7	78,000	2.2	74,000	12.8	639,000	13.8
$10 to $19	939,000	23.0	684,000	19.5	255,000	44.0	1,425,000	30.7
$20 to $29	893,000	21.9	761,000	21.7	132,000	22.8	1,144,000	24.6
$30 to $39	960,000	23.5	873,000	24.9	87,000	15.0	751,000	16.2
$40 to $49	672,000	16.5	655,000	18.7	17,000	2.9	392,000	8.4
$50 or more	463,000	11.4	448,000	12.8	15,000	2.6	290,000	6.2
Median monthly rental.....(dollars)	30.08	-	32.09	-	17.97	-	21.74	-
THE SOUTH								
Tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units	3,828,000	100.0	2,458,000	100.0	1,370,000	100.0	4,073,000	100.0
Under $10	839,000	21.9	358,000	14.6	481,000	35.1	1,744,000	42.8
$10 to $19	1,128,000	29.5	689,000	28.0	439,000	32.0	1,191,000	29.2
$20 to $29	674,000	17.6	495,000	20.1	179,000	13.1	585,000	14.4
$30 to $39	567,000	14.8	422,000	17.2	145,000	10.6	284,000	7.0
$40 to $49	278,000	7.3	213,000	8.7	65,000	4.7	135,000	3.3
$50 or more	342,000	8.9	281,000	11.4	61,000	4.5	134,000	3.3
Median monthly rental.....(dollars)	19.03	-	23.18	-	14.15	-	11.96	-
THE WEST								
Tenant-occupied ordinary dwelling units	1,954,000	100.0	1,527,000	100.0	427,000	100.0	1,906,000	100.0
Under $10	59,000	3.0	29,000	1.9	30,000	7.0	230,000	12.1
$10 to $19	270,000	13.8	153,000	10.0	117,000	27.4	573,000	30.1
$20 to $29	534,000	27.3	417,000	27.3	117,000	27.4	547,000	28.7
$30 to $39	586,000	30.0	491,000	32.2	95,000	22.2	336,000	17.6
$40 to $49	283,000	14.5	254,000	16.6	29,000	6.8	123,000	6.5
$50 or more	222,000	11.4	183,000	12.0	39,000	9.1	97,000	5.1
Median monthly rental.....(dollars)	31.45	-	32.85	-	25.18	-	22.24	-

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Table 23.--VACANCY AND OCCUPANCY IN PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY FINANCED DWELLING UNITS IN THE UNITED STATES: NOVEMBER, 1945

SUBJECT	United States	URBAN AND RURAL-NONFARM			Rural-farm[1]
		Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm[1]	
Total dwelling units	40,581,000	33,343,000	24,338,000	9,005,000	7,238,000
Occupied dwelling units	37,600,000	31,281,000	23,748,000	7,533,000	6,319,000
Unoccupied	2,981,000	2,062,000	590,000	1,472,000	919,000
Seasonal	944,000	898,000	27,000	871,000	46,000
Nonseasonal	2,037,000	1,164,000	563,000	601,000	873,000
Habitable[2]	1,459,000	890,000	447,000	443,000	569,000
Rental	736,000	504,000	287,000	217,000	232,000
Offered for rent	628,000	416,000	223,000	193,000	212,000
Rented, not yet occupied	108,000	88,000	64,000	24,000	20,000
Sale	183,000	118,000	64,000	54,000	65,000
For sale only	87,000	54,000	29,000	25,000	33,000
Sold, not yet occupied	96,000	64,000	35,000	29,000	32,000
Other[3]	540,000	268,000	96,000	172,000	272,000
Not habitable [2]	578,000	274,000	116,000	158,000	304,000
PERCENT					
Total dwelling units	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupied dwelling units	92.7	93.8	97.6	83.7	87.3
Unoccupied	7.3	6.2	2.4	16.3	12.7
Seasonal	2.3	2.7	0.1	9.7	0.6
Nonseasonal	5.0	3.5	2.3	6.7	12.1
Habitable[2]	3.6	2.7	1.8	4.9	7.9
Rental	1.8	1.5	1.2	2.4	3.2
Offered for rent	1.5	1.2	0.9	2.1	2.9
Rented, not yet occupied	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Sale	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.9
For sale only	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.5
Sold, not yet occupied	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.4
Other[3]	1.3	0.8	0.4	1.9	3.8
Not habitable[2]	1.4	0.8	0.5	1.8	4.2

[1] Revised data.

[2] Included as habitable are units in good condition or in need of minor repairs, also those in need of major repairs which are in no worse condition than similar occupied units in the same neighborhood. Included as not habitable are units in need of major repairs where similar units in the same neighborhood are not occupied as well as units unfit for human habitation.

[3] Other vacancies include units held off the sale or rental market such as units held for absent households, units to be demolished, units in litigation, units undergoing extensive repairs, etc.

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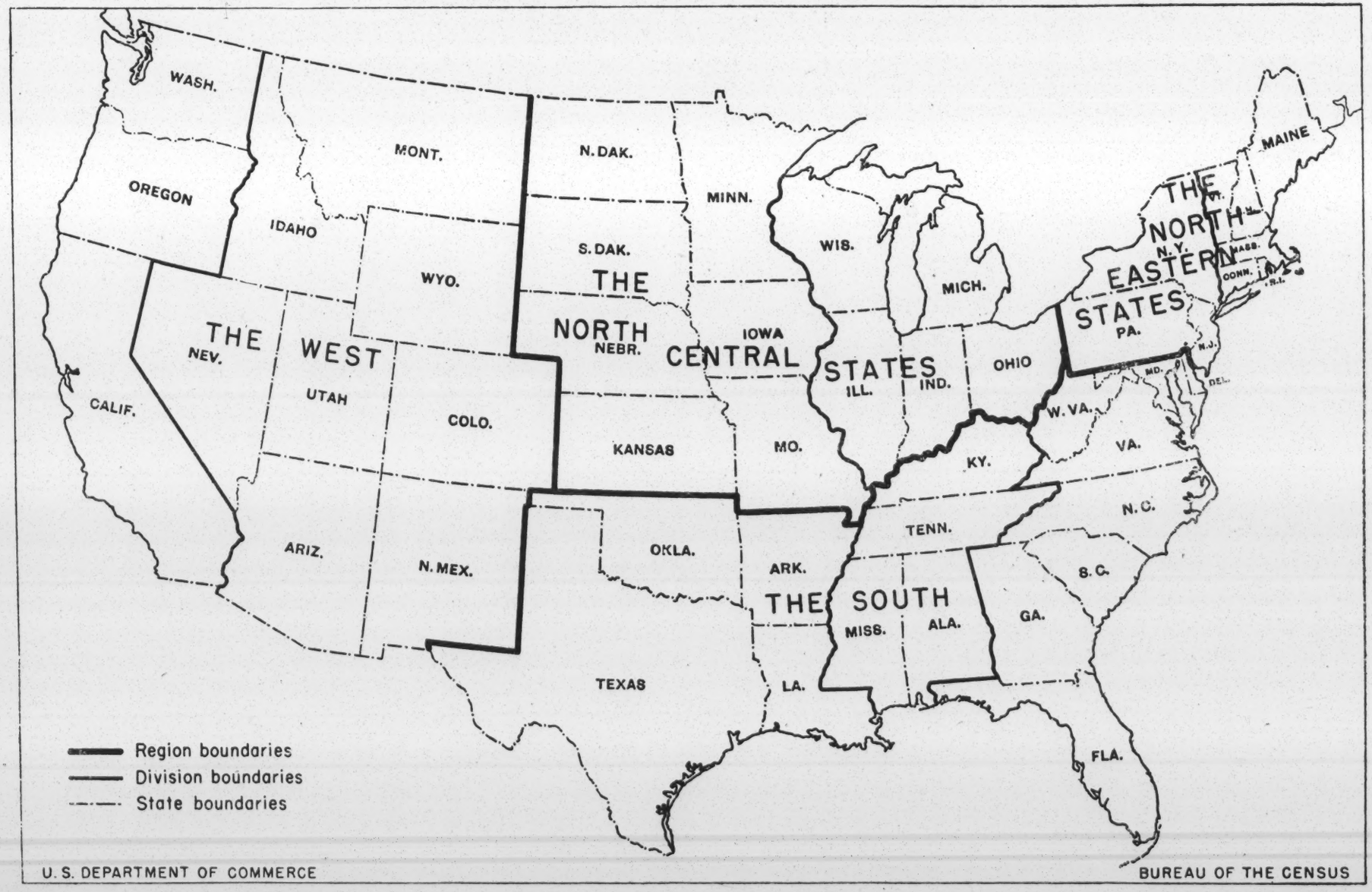
MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING REGIONS, DIVISIONS, AND STATES



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

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THE HOUSING SITUATION

the factual background

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Raymond M. Foley, Administrator
Washington, D.C.
JUNE, 1948

FREEDOM AGENDA

Jack Peltason

Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity

A community adventure
in the discussion of freedom

2-9-55

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
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A MODEL STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL

TITLE

STATE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1.0. Policy

In the State of with its great population consisting of large numbers of people of every race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry, there is no greater danger to the health, morals, safety and welfare of the state and its inhabitants than the existence of groups prejudiced against one another and antagonistic to each other because of differences of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The legislature hereby finds and declares that prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby threaten the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants and menace the institutions and foundations of a free, democratic state. A state agency is hereby created through which the State of officially may encourage and bring about mutual understanding and respect among all groups in the state, eliminate prejudice, discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby and give effect to the guarantee of equal rights for all assured by the constitution and the laws of this state and of the United States of America.

2.0. Definitions

As used in this law:

(1) "Discrimination" shall mean any difference in treatment based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry ~~and~~ shall include segregation, except that it shall not be discrimination for any religious or denominational institution to prefer members of its own religion or denomination.

(2) "Religious or denominational institution" shall mean an institution which is operated, supervised or controlled by a religious or denominational organization.

3.0. Commission on Human Relations

There is hereby created a commission on human relations. It shall consist of fifteen members, broadly representative of the social, economic and cultural interests of the state, to be appointed by the governor, one of whom shall be designated by him as its chairman. Of the fifteen members first appointed, five shall be appointed for one year, five for two years and five for three years; thereafter, all appointments to the commission shall be for a term of three years. In the event of the death or resignation of any member, his successor shall be appointed to serve for the unexpired period of the term for which such member had been appointed. Members shall serve without compensation but shall be reimbursed for actual and necessary expenses.

4.0. Functions

The functions of the commission shall be:

(1) To foster mutual understanding and respect among all racial, religious and ethnic groups in the State of ;

(2) To encourage equality of treatment for, and prevent discrimination against, any racial, religious or ethnic group or its members;

(3) To cooperate with governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations having like or kindred functions; and

(4) To make such investigations and studies in the field of human relations as in the judgment of the commission will aid in effectuating its general purposes.

5.0. Powers and Duties

The Commission is empowered:

(1) To act as conciliator in matters involving race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry but no decision of the Commission shall be binding upon any of the parties to the conciliation.

(2) To work together with Federal, state and city agencies in developing courses of instruction on techniques for achieving harmonious intergroup relations within the State of for presentation to state employees and in public and private schools, public libraries, museums and other suitable places.

(3) To enlist the cooperation of the various racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor organizations, fraternal and benevolent associations and other groups in the State of in programs and campaigns devoted to eliminating group prejudice, intolerance and discrimination.

(4) To create such advisory committees as in its judgment will aid in effectuating the purposes of this law and to empower them to study the problems of prejudice and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby in any field of human relationship;

(5) To receive and investigate complaints and to initiate its own investigations of (a) racial, religious and ethnic group tensions and prejudice and disorder occasioned thereby; (b) discrimination against any person or group of persons, whether practiced by private persons or organizations or by state officials or agencies.

(6) To hold both public and private hearings, compel the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath and in connection therewith to require the production of any evidence relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the commission. The powers enumerated in this sub-section may be exercised by any three or more members of the commission so authorized by it. The commission after the completion of any public hearing, shall make a public report in writing to the governor setting forth the facts found by it and its recommendations and shall use its best efforts to bring about compliance with its recommendations;

(7) To issue publications and reports of investigations and research designed to promote good will and to minimize or eliminate prejudice and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby;

(8) To appoint an executive director and, subject to the provisions of the state civil service law, such additional personnel as it may deem necessary and to fix their compensation within the limits of funds made available to the commission.

(9) To recommend to the governor and the state legislature such legislation as will aid in carrying out the purposes of this law;

(10) To submit an annual report to the governor and the state legislature.

6.0. Relations with State Departments and Agencies

So far as practicable, the services of all other state departments and agencies shall be made available by their respective heads to the commission for the carrying out of the functions herein stated. Information in the possession of any department or agency shall be furnished to the commission when it is requested. Whenever necessary and requested by the commission, one or more attorneys from the staff of the state attorney general shall be made available to it to assist in the conduct of its investigations or hearings.

7.0. Separability

If any provision of this law or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of such law or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

8.0. Effective Date

This law shall become effective .

February 9, 1955

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

DIGEST OF MODEL STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL

1. Introduction

You are no doubt familiar with the operation of state and municipal statutory commissions empowered to take action against discrimination in employment, education, public accommodations and the like. In recent years a new type of commission has been developed which has no regulatory functions but which attacks the underlying problems of racial and religious prejudice and intergroup hostility. These commissions, particularly those in Wisconsin and Minnesota, have been successful in dealing with problems no FEP commission is authorized to handle. In response to a number of requests we have drafted a model bill for the establishment of such a commission, a copy of which is enclosed.

2. Powers and Duties

The bill creates a commission consisting of fifteen members including a chairman, appointed by the governor, to be broadly representative of the social, economic and cultural interests of the state. Members serve without compensation.

The Commission would be empowered to receive and investigate (and initiate its own investigations of) complaints of group hostility, tension and prejudice and would also be authorized to investigate discrimination against individuals and groups, both by private persons or organizations and by state officials or agencies.

It could hold public and private hearings at which it could compel the attendance of witnesses, the production of evidence and take testimony under oath. It would be authorized to use its efforts to bring about compliance with its recommendations. It might issue general publications and reports of investigations and research and would be empowered to recommend to the governor and state legislature such legislation as would aid in limiting prejudice or discrimination.

The Commission would function through an executive director and a civil service staff. The services of other departments in the state government are also to be made available.

3. Program

As part of its overall program, the Commission would collect information on local conditions, the existence of tensions, the extent of discrimination and on problems arising from population and neighborhood changes. It would engage in "trouble-shooting" or "tension control" by watching for antagonisms and by taking remedial action to remove the causes of tension. It would have an educational program designed to disseminate information, promote good will and influence attitudes. It would encourage citizen participation in the pressing problems of intergroup relations. Finally, it is directed in cooperation with other governmental agencies to develop educational and training programs for its employees.

The Commission's decisions and recommendations would be advisory and not binding on anyone. It would be authorized to cooperate with private civic organizations and to create advisory committees of private citizens.

2/9/55
AB

The one great rule of composition is to speak the truth.
—Thoreau

The Texas Observer

An Independent Liberal Weekly Newspaper

We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it.

VOL. 47 | AUGUST 3, 1955, AUSTIN, TEXAS | 10c per Copy | NO. 10

The Citizens' Council

* * * * * * *

Kilgore Group Forms To Resist Integration

KILGORE

HERE, deep in the Piney Woods of East Texas, in a town with 10,000 people and 1,200 oil derricks inside its city limits, the first Texas organization for the preservation of school segregation has been formed.

The Citizens' Council of Kilgore claims 1,660 members and hopes for 2,500. About 175 people attended its second meeting last week and heard two speakers damn integration, miscegenation, "mongrelization," and the "Supreme Court leftists."

The purpose of the council is to maintain segregated schools. To do it, the members will have to intimidate the Negroes one way or another. There is little doubt that most Negroes who seek integration will lose their jobs. Leaders of the council steadfastly deny any intention of using violence, but no one denies its possibility.

One of the key men in the town explains the plan this way:

"They realize that if a nigger ever knocks on the schoolhouse door, he'll get in; there won't be any battle. Their idea is to stop them from ever going up to the door."

John T. Crim, Jr., president of the Jaycees and a member of the oil-rich Crim family of Kilgore, concedes that "we may have to" use economic boycotts against Negroes "as a last resort," though he says he hopes not. He is the secretary-treasurer of the council.

Dr. B. E. Masters was the temporary chairman of the group and is now a director. He first went to Mississippi to study the councils there, then called the first meeting. A wire service quoted him as expressing distaste for the phrase, "economic pressure," and saying instead that the councilmen will co-operate with those who co-operate with them. This remark infuriated Charles Devall, owner and publisher of the Kilgore News-Herald which has been supporting the council. ("He had no authority to say that," Devall snapped in his newspaper office.) Masters said he had been misquoted—that he meant to stress "friendship between the races."

No Violence 'in Mind'

Foster T. Bean, a prominent lawyer who is first vice-president of the Kilgore Council, says the group "doesn't have any violence in mind." Will the members use economic boycotts against Negroes? "I wouldn't say that we would," he replied, and then he smiled, very broadly, as though suppressing a sudden amusement.

When the new president, A. G. Morton, Jr., took office at last week's meeting, he said he was opposed to "mongrelization" and wanted to use every legal means to preserve segregation. But he did not flatly oppose coercion or boycotts. Instead, he "recommended" and "hoped" that the council would not "intimidate any person ... by force or threats of force or by use of an economic boycott." This was greeted by a stony silence.

Kilgore Negroes are not intimidated yet. They planned this week to submit a petition to the school board asking for desegregation. But the prospect is not reassuring for them. One of their leaders says that they have the impression that "if you don't do this, you're out of a job." He believes no Kilgore Negroes will join a Negro Citizens' Council (as proposed by Masters) without being coerced, with the exception of the Negro teachers, whose economic dependence on the school board makes them especially vulnerable.

Some of the best people, as they say, are members of the council. The Crims, the Lairds, and the Elders, the three oldest rich families of the town because they were dominant here when the oil field was discovered in 1932, are represented in the council's membership. Ben W. "Buster" Laird, the second vice-president of the new council, owns Pioneer Hardware and some oil wells and is a member of the Board of the Kilgore National Bank. Bean, the first vice-president, is a partner in the town's biggest law firm, Bean and Ford, and head of the Kilgore Federal Savings and Loan Association as well as city attorney of Kilgore. Mrs. Pete Long, oil operator, and Lynch Reynolds, an old settler and land owner.

Newspaper a Factor

Although not among the officers, J. Malcolm Crim was on hand for the second meeting. An old original, very wealthy, he is the patriarch of the Crim family. He used to walk around town smoking a corn cob pipe, and people would point him out: "See that fellow over there? He's got millions."

Devall, who gave the report of the nominating committee at the second meeting and is a key man in the organization, says the Kilgore News-Herald he publishes has supported the council "by inference." He says the community is behind it. As to methods, he comments:

"Most of the fellows say certainly not any violence, and not any economic pressure."

Devall appears to be very busy. He has a ready smile that flashes on and off suddenly. He winks at you intimately. He was wearing a neon blue suit the day of the meeting last week. He is a friend of Governor Allan Shivers, and he is not reticent about this in his newspaper. He runs a picture of the Governor and himself now and then.

Devall's wife was appointed to the Board of Regents of the University of Texas by the Governor recently. She led the Women for Shivers organization last year. She is also president of the United Churchwomen of Texas. Natural and friendly on the telephone, she said she would rather not comment on the Citizens' Council. She has not been to any of the meetings. Had she joined? "I haven't

'GUILTY—3 YEARS'

'I Didn't Expect ... That'

AUSTIN

For 23 days Bascom Giles had been on trial, and now it was evening and the jury was out and Giles was moving

courtroom and in the hallway where the heat was even more unbearable. Giles joked with newsmen and traded guesses on who would be elected foreman of the jury. He seemed to know about

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you intimately. He was wearing a neon blue suit the day of the meeting last week. He is a friend of Governor Allan Shivers, and he is not reticent about this in his newspaper. He runs a picture of the Governor and himself now and then.

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Kilgore has a comparatively small middle class, a large wealthy class, and a large underprivileged class. The wealthy are mostly very strong for Governor Shivers, and

(Continued on Page 4)

'GUILTY—3 YEARS'

'I Didn't Expect . . . That'

AUSTIN

For 23 days Bascom Giles had been on trial, and now it was evening and the jury was out and Giles was moving about a crowded courtroom, smiling and confident as he has always been.

Several hundred persons, the curious, the sympathetic, and the unconcerned, were in the courtroom to watch this last step in the first trial stemming from the veterans' land scandal. The jury had retired at 8:50 after a full afternoon and evening of summation by prosecution and defense attorneys. District Attorney Les Procter had asked for the full penalty for felony theft—ten years.

A television newsreel cameraman was busy setting up some large floodlights. Reporters and photographers milled about the courtroom and in the hallway where the heat was even more unbearable. Giles joked with newsmen and traded guesses on who would be elected foreman of the jury. He seemed to know about each of the jurors, where they worked, what sort of persons he thought they were.

He talked for a while with his wife at the back of the courtroom and later with his attorneys. Only his eyes showed any distress, and you felt somehow that it didn't concern this particular trial—that perhaps it was the weight of the many more indictments hanging over him, the other trials to come, which surely pulled and hauled and badgered his emotions so.

There were a good many friends of the Giles family present. The Giles family has been in Travis County more than a century.

Judge Charles O. Betts had retired to his office, but he stood in the doorway where there was a little breeze and talked with reporters. The newsmen were fishing for some idea of when a verdict could be expected. Some had hoped for and predicted an early decision. Some figured the jurors would decide to retire to their hotel rooms to sleep and think a bit about their decision. Others expected a long wait: "They've been here 30 days, locked up and bored and away from their families. If they're even close to a verdict they'll want to stick it out here to a verdict. They want to go home."

False Alarm

A courtroom employe came in and told Betts that "the jury is knocking on the door." There was a little rush for courtroom seats before it was learned that the jury was only ordering some coffee.

Within the hour, there were two more knocks on the jury room door, and it was only then that Giles seemed to be disturbed. Both jury requests were for state exhibits, documents presented in evidence concerning the charges of felony theft of Veterans' Land Program funds.

Reporters played a kind of game to pass the time, each taking his turn at writing down his prediction of the verdict. The first prediction was for "guilty—two years," but most of the others were either "not guilty" or "hung jury." A good many courthouse observers had figured the State's case had been a feeble one—that "something sure smelled," but proving conspiracy beyond any reasonable doubt was quite another thing. Judge Betts, himself, had pointed out in his charge to the jury that the State's case was built on circumstantial evidence.

Toward midnight the chief defense attorney, former State Senator Clint Small, packed up his briefcase and retired for the night. His two assistants, Clint Small, Jr., and Rogan Giles, Bascom's son, remained to wait out the verdict.

At 12:24 a.m. the jury knocked again, and this time they were ready. The crowd had thinned out, but about 75 persons remained in the courtroom. The television newsreel floodlights came on for the first time, and Betts, taking his seat, blinked at the lights before turned to the jury as it filed in.

Giles and his wife and son took seats facing the jurors. They had

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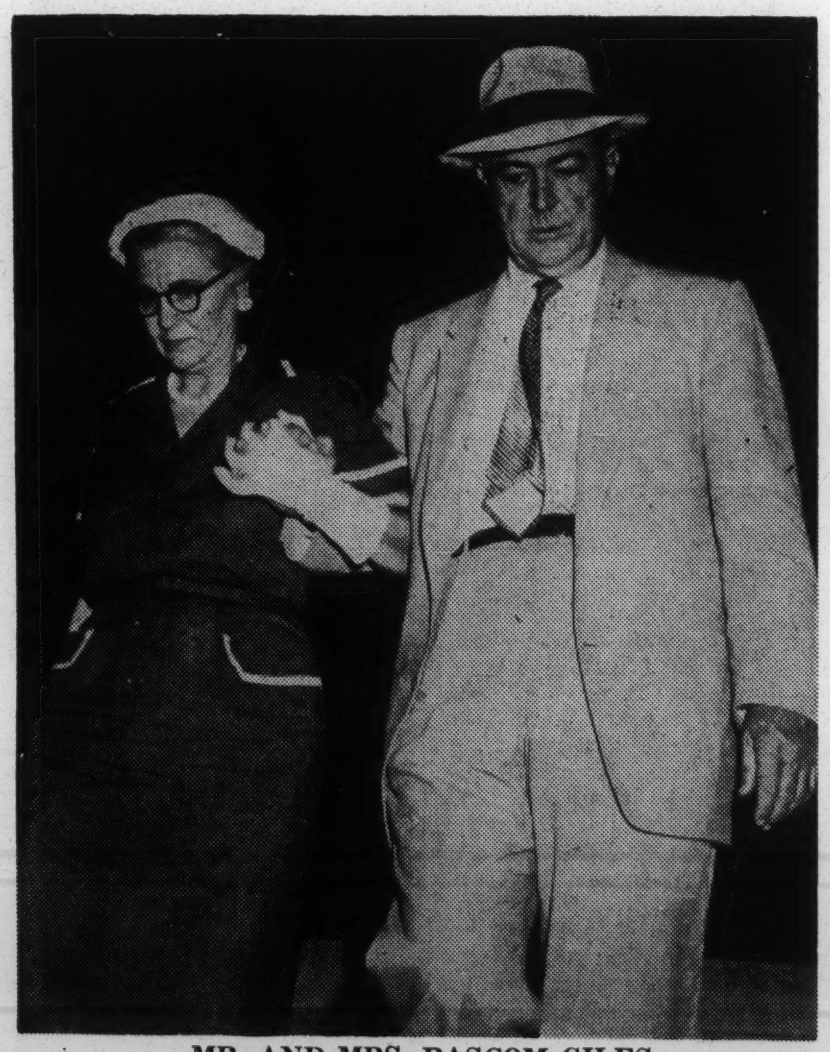

MR. AND MRS. BASCOM GILES
Leaving the Courthouse After Hearing the Verdict

Dr. Masters on Race

KILGORE

For twenty years, Dr. B. E. Masters was Kilgore's leading educator. Now he is its leading champion of segregation in the schools.

After retiring from the presidency of Kilgore Junior College, he made a special trip to Mississippi to study the anti-integration councils that have formed there to bring economic pressure to bear against Negroes and progressive whites.

As the temporary chairman of the Kilgore council, he got most of the first statewide publicity. He says he didn't like it, but "they came to me and thought I could do it." The powers in Kilgore who are really behind the council like him to do most of the talking.

He is a slight man, with the veins of age in his cheeks, a prominent nose, a thin layer of white hair, parted at the side and combed, but with a strand down across his forehead. For an hour he explained his racial theories to the Observer in the lobby of the Kilgore Hotel. He was wearing a white dress shirt and a charcoal, lightly striped tie. He talks to you from his profile, his eyes cast forward and down, his nose dominating.

A Baptist deacon for 25 years, he believes that the scattering of the people from the Tower of Babel to the far corners of the world was the decisive racial act of God. And that when Noah sent forth his three sons, one went to Africa and fathered there a "backward race," the Negroes.

"The Nordics, the Northern Europeans, they weren't heard of until Christ," he says. "Oh, the Greeks, they were Caucasian, and the Egyptians, but they weren't Nordic. We were a hardy band, cruel sometimes, at first. The English and French, they're our blood brothers, our parents. Just one went one way and one the other. Scandinavians, all Northwestern Europe—the Nordics." He said the last phrase with satisfaction, nodding his head.

Admires the Germans

Since he has been a college president, his approach is "scholarly."

"I traced back the races," he says, "the ethnologists, and, of course, the anthropologists. I found out that there's no history of a mixed race that ever showed much power and held it. Now you take Russia, well," (he looked around the lobby to see if anybody was near enough to hear, then rushed it out word atop word), "Genghis Khan went in there with a million men and raped every woman in Russia. They're all mixed up now. Germany! Germany — there's your race, son, there's your race. If they hadn't got off Christianity and got on that philosophy . . . well, they're getting armed and strong again. They're great people, unmixed—largely unmixed." (He paused a minute.) "There're a lot a nigger babies over there now. It's bad."

All the talk about integration of the schools is, to Masters, merely a

(Continued on Page 4)

This was presented by John Wheeler in a w.

A REPORT

To The

North Carolina Legislature

By

A Group of Representative Negro Citizens

Drawn from Various Parts of North Carolina

To The Honorable Members of the Legislature:

We appreciate the opportunity of appearing before you to present our views concerning legislation which has been proposed to you by the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education to the Governor, the General Assembly, the State Board of Education, County and local School Boards of North Carolina.

Our group is composed of many of the same persons who appeared before the Joint Committees on Education of the House and Senate during the 1955 Legislature to discuss the bills which were before you at that time. We have come to Raleigh again because of the deep concern which the Negro citizens of North Carolina have in preserving the uniform public school system of which we are justly proud. As before, our group is an unorganized body of individuals from various parts of North Carolina. Most of these persons, however, are identified with major organizations located within our State. The Grand Master of Free and Accepted Prince Hall Masons, the Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Association, the President and Secretary of the General Baptist State Convention, the President of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, the editors of North Carolina's three Negro weekly newspapers, the North Carolina correspondent of the Pittsburg Courier, a member of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, members of the Judiciary and Senatorial Committees of the Party, three Negro members of City Councils in North Carolina, two Bishops presiding over Conferences of the AME and AME Zion Churches and numerous business and professional men, and labor leaders are in our group.

Except for our appearance before the 1955 Legislature and except for the counsel of three Negro employees of the State of North Carolina who were appointed to the original Advisory Committee on Education by Governor William B.Umstead, the deliberations by State officials and the Legislature, having to do with school problems occasioned by the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and its implementing decree of May 31, 1955, have not had the benefit of the thinking of North Carolina's one million Negro citizens who constitute one-fourth of the state's population. These loyal citizens are vitally interested in securing the best possible education for all of the people and are hopeful that we shall

maintain a record of continued progress for our state. We, therefore, appear before you in a spirit of good will to make our point of view on pending legislation a matter of record and to ask your earnest and thoughtful consideration of the material which we shallpresent to you.

Our immediate concern is with the bills proposed by the Legislative Advisory Committee on July 13, 1956. These bills seek to alter the effect upon our public schools of the March 17, 1954 decree of the United States Supreme Court and propose specifically; (1) To amend Article IX of the Constitution of North Carolina so as to authorize education expense grants and to authorize local option to suspend operations of public schools; (2) To provide for education expense grants for private schooling of children whose parents may be dissatisfied with their assignment to a public school attended by a child of another race; (3) To provide for local option to suspend operations of the public schools by vote of the people based upon action of the local school board or upon petition of at least 15% of the registered voters of the local unit, and presumably at such time as a Federal Court order may have required the admission of a Negro child to a school attended by white children, and (4) To amend G.S. 115-166 relating to compulsory school attendance in such manner as to permit children to remain out of school by agreement of their parents and local school boards.

I

EFFECT OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION UPON OPERATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

After careful study we are convinced that instead of preserving our schools, the plans described and authorized by these bills will actually undermine and destroy the public school system which North Carolina has supported wholeheartedly and which we have spent more than sixty years in developing to its present state of excellence. We also believe that the proposed legislation is unsound, impracticable, and does not comply with the Mandate of the United States Supreme Court with reference to segregation in the public schools.

Throughout the years North Carolina has been known as a progressive state and our record of progress is one of which we are indeed proud. It is noteworthy, however, that although proponents of these bills have conducted an intensive sales program of convincing the people of North Carolina that they are necessary for the preservation of our school system, at no time have they been advertised as being designed to improve the quality of education offered by our public schools. A distinguished citizen of our state has described the plan as a "Long Step Backward"; one newspaper editor describes it as a "Plan for Greater Trouble"; another editor urges us to look at the plan honestly and states that "it is a plan to evade

compliance with the Supreme Court decision against segregation; it is not a plan for gradual compliance with the decision; it is a plan that holds out ... a false hope--that North Carolina somehow will be able to maintain its segregated schools on and on and without defying the law of the land". In our own opinion, the passage of these bills will open a veritable Pandora's box of undesirable forces of reaction and prejudice capable of destroying the present school system and tearing down such standards of educational efficiency as we have been able to build through great sacrifice and effort.

As proud as we are of our present system of public schools, it should be sobering to North Carolina to know that the best we have been able to do is not enough to place us in a competitive position with school systems of more progressive states of our nation. In this respect we quote from our report made to you during the month of February, 1955 which states that:

> "Many recent reports have called attention to the low efficiency with which North Carolina operates its 121 million dollar a year public school system. One such report is that developed in 1947 by the well-seasoned researcher and President Emeritus of Iowa State College, Raymond Hughes and his able associate, William Lancelot. Lancelot and Hughes compared the 48 states on the basis of commonly accepted measures of educational ability, educational effort and educational accomplishment. According to these authors, North Carolina ranked 44th among the states in ability to support education, 27th in effort put forth, but 40th in accomplishment.[1] They point out that the state receives a relatively small income for school purposes and has many children to educate; that only nine states devote a larger percentage of income to education, but that the effort goes unrewarded due to too many small schools, too many small school systems, and the dual system <u>within</u> the small systems. Thus, North Carolina makes a great financial sacrifice for a relatively small accomplishment."

As to our legal responsibility, there seems to be a mistaken impression in our state that the word "integration" is not to be found anywhere in the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We wish, however, to call attention to the May 17, 1954 decision which quotes liberally from the court below in the Kansas Case of Brown vs the Board of Education as follows:

> "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a <u>racially integrated</u> school system."

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[1]Lancelot and Hughes, Education: America's Magic. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947, pp. 33-34.

The Court also states:

"To separate them (Negro pupils) from others of similar age and qualifi cations solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community."

And at another point:

"That separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

In other words, segregation per se in public education is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition to the foregoing, it is to be noted that the decree issued on May 31, 1955 incorporates the entire 1954 decision by reference and the Court states that the defendants in these cases must made "A prompt and reasonable start toward our May 17, 1954 ruling," and that once such a start has been made the burden rests upon the State or local unit to establish that additional time is necessary in the public interest and that it is consistent with "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date."

We submit to you, therefore, that these bills are moving in the opposite direction to that prescribed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Instead of good faith compliance, they constitute obvious evidence of bad faith, and can be the source of long periods of needless and expensive litigation. It is here that we urge you to reconsider the proposed legislation and to vote against its passage, first, because, besides posing a threat to the continued existence of our public school system, they are obviously not intended as a device for improving the efficiency of the schools; and secondly, they are in direct opposition to the Mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States and show evidence of bad faith and defiance of the supreme law of the land.

II

THE PLACE OF CHILDREN AND TEACHERS IN THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Through accident or by design, the bills on education that this legislature is asked to consider, fail to take into account the influence of the proposed action upon the quality of education provided for North Carolina's children. Rather, the bills seek to make parents shoulder the responsibility for making the decision as to who shall attend school with their children. It is a matter of record that this decision has already been made. It was made when American citizens committed themselves to the task of building our democracy; it was re-affirmed when we fought two wars in one generation for democracy; and it was again re-affirmed

when the matter of segregation was referred to the Supreme Court of the land. To suggest that this question is yet to be decided is not only a direct denial of our democratic way of life and the authority of the court, but it saddles citizens with the responsibility of deciding whether or not democracy can be rejected at will by individuals. Adults should not be forced to take roles in the lives of children that restrict the child's opportunity to accept and gain faith in democracy. Admittedly, children need the counsel and advice of their parents as they build a world that they must life in and take responsibility for long after their elders have passed. But, to assure children one day that the democratic way is the best way and to reject the very foundation of democracy the next day by exhibiting doubt about basic individual rights in our way of life, will confuse children. One of the basic premises in the proposed tuition plan is that no child shall be forced to attend a school attended by a child of another race. This premise is unsound (1) because it provides for the separation of races in defiance of the Supreme Court; (2) because it discourages even gradual compliance as recommended by the court and requested by the southern states; and (3) because it has been held by the Court that separate schools can never be equal. There is hardly any way to explain to a child why he is being shifted from school to school and why he cannot attend school with any children in his neighborhood without confusing that child and shaking his faith in adult leadership. Children learn the importance of wise and effective adult leadership only as they watch adults behave. None of us has any right to expect a better world for ourselves and our children than we are actually striving to create.

The urgent need today, throughout the world, is to learn the ways of cooperation. Among the 200,000 babies who are born every 24 hours, one in four is white and all the rest are colored. Modern means of travel and communication along with close dependence of one nation on another, make it imperative for our economic survival that our children learn to accept and respect all people regardless of their color. They cannot learn this as long as they are forced to live apart from the people they are expected to know, to deal with, and to cooperate with. We have become our brother's keeper whether we like it or not and even if the adults of past generations have fumbled the matter of race relations, there is little wisdom in continuing to fumble and confuse this matter. Everybody in all sections of the world is beginning to learn the facts

about the effects of segregation on a group's economy as well as on the minds and hearts of both the minority and the majority groups. One of these facts is that no group can hope to continue to hold another group in an inferior position. Any short-term gains of the majority, such as cheap labor, exploitation of the minority in business deals, and special privileges, are known to backfire everytime in the form of substantial losses in regional or state wealth, prestige, self-respect, and participation in the larger economy.[1] Thus, the pay-off for segregated schools will be as it always has been, except more so, loss in educational efficiency, in economic power, and in moral strength. We cannot afford to handicap another generation by insisting on segregation in the schools.

Over the years, intelligance and achievement tests have invariably shown that southern children, Negro and white, perform at a lower level than groups of children of like age and grade in other sections of the country. White children as a group do better than Negro children as a group, although there is much overlapping when individual scores are compared. Up to the third grade, little or no difference has been found in the performance of the two groups of children. But after the third grade, because of segregated schools, the difference between the scores of the two groups gets wider and wider, in favor of the white child. However, when the white southern child is compared with white children in other sections of the country, the same kind of difference is observed, but this time in favor of children who are not southerners. This same differential can be seen in the percentage of army rejections, the scores of teachers on examinations for teachers, and in level of performance of southerners in industrial jobs. This state of affairs can be laid directly at the doors of our schools, Negro and white, that have short-changed both groups on their education in a defenseless effort to maintain the costly duplications in a segregated public school system. It has been shown repeatedly that two school systems, one white, and one colored, have the effect of lowering the quality of education in both systems. The State does not have enough money to operate two separate school systems. How then can it expect to efficiently operate three systems, one white, one Negro, and one private? This practice is bound to create

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[1] Milton Gordon and John Roche, "Segregation -- A Two Edged Sword", New York Times Magazine, April 25, 1954.

greater inequality in educational opportunity for both white and Negro children. It is difficult enough to enforce state school standards in public schools and it will probably not be possible at all to enforce the standards in private schools that do not now exist and which are not likely to exist because of clearly unsurmountable legal obstacles. Under these circumstances, it would be foolhearty for any parent, white or Negro, to withdraw his child from a public school system, taking in exchange and impoverished, inaccessible, and unaccredited school, manned by teachers who have no tenure, no retirement benefits, and no opportunity to plan an educational program, except from day to day. Our nation is in desperate need of trained workers and it is unwise and also unfair to the children of North Carolina to cripple them educationally simply because we do not dare to remove the cause for their inadequate education.

Not only is the effect of the proposed bills on the lives of children ignored but many teachers, principals, and top-flight educators in our state have been pressured into silence on these matters. No teacher who understands and loves children would deny any child the right to be educated to its full capacity. Teachers know that children are different but sincere teachers accept and love all children. They have to do so, to make certain that they do not fall into the practice of accepting some children in their classes and rejecting others. Within the state, teachers generally have been silent on the secregation question but as members of the National Education Association, both our Negro and our white teachers have endorsed the Association's firm stand against segregated schools. It should be clear that local options on school enrollment, tuition fees, and the chances for upsetting the morale of schools that teach democracy everyday in all grades, place an unreasonable burden on teachers and principals, whose job is to teach and guide the development of any child who presents himself to be educated for democracy. This legislature, therefore, cannot afford to take a backward step by ordering teachers and principals to be a party to something undemocratic; it cannot afford to open the way for children to learn to openly defy the law; and it cannot afford to use political pressure to make the people take responsibility for even considering circumvention of the law of the land. Change is the basic law of life but it should take place through intelligent and democratic planning rather than through schemes that obviously invite chaos, and set-backs in our efforts to perfect the American democracy.

III

THE EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION UPON THE ECONOMY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Every citizen of North Carolina should be deeply concerned over the economic condition of our state which last year ranked 48th among the states in average weekly earnings paid to manufacturing employees. The effect of these bills upon our economy is therefore of vital concern to all of us especially since they are designed to perpetuate the pattern of racial segregation first in the schools and later in all types of public and private employment. At present North Carolina's greatest single industrial asset is the large source of untapped, well-schooled labor supply to be found among the one million Negro citizens who are the key to prosperity and further industrial growth within our state. The only way in which this asset can be fully utilized, however, is under an integrated way of life in which the measure of a person's eligibility to hold a given job or position shall be his ability and not his race. The experience of other states proves that the secret of learning to work together in a satisfactory manner and in a spirit of good will and understanding lies in early training of all races together in the schools. It should be apparent, therefore, that our future prosperity depends almost entirely upon the extent to which the talents of our Negro population are allowed full and unhampered development.

The present situation, however, does not present an encouraging picture. A recent study prepared by the National Urban League indicates that in fifty-eight of the industrial plants established in southern states since 1945, there are approximately one-hundred thousand employees of which only 6.2% are Negroes, more than three-fourths of whom are classified as semi-skilled or unskilled laborers. It has also been disclosed that one nationally-known electrical manufacturing corporation employs twenty-seven thousand employees in its southern plants, only 461 of which employees are Negroes. This company has expressed its dissatisfaction that local conditions have prevented it from utilizing the available talents of Negro persons living hear their plants, even though they find themselves dipping already into the dregs of the supply of competent white labor.

As further evidence that industry is become reluctant to move into states which refuse to comply with the Supreme Court decision relative

to the schools, we have been authorized to quote Mr. Julius A. Thomas, Director of the Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League, who advises that within the last two months he has interviewed the top management of at least twenty multi-plant manufacturing corporations whose operations are nationwide in scope. At least half of these corporations have stated frankly their reluctance to construct additional plant facilities in those southern states where local conditions prevent them from following the same non-discriminatory employment policies followed by their plants elsewhere in the United States. These concerns have also indicated that they are running the risk of losing government contracts for products to be manufactured in their southern plants because they are unable to observe the non-discriminatory hiring policies required by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

By inquiry from other sources we learn that numerous gigantic corporations in the fields of paper manufacturing, electrical manufacturing, chemicals, roofing, shoes, etc., have halted their consideration of plans for new southern plants. One of these companies is reported to be extremely unhappy over four large plants which are now being built in North Carolina and Virginia. Another concern is now constructing in Omaha, Nebraska a plant designed to employ four thousand persons. This plant was originally planned for one of the cities in the Piedmont section of North Carolina but was moved to Omaha because of local customs and restrictions on the employment policies used by the company in its other plants. In addition, usually reliable sources of information have verified for us the contents of a recent article by Miss Sylvia F. Porter, well-known financial writer, who stated that one of the reputable Factory Locating Services in New York City has been told by approximately twenty of its large industrial clients that they are no longer interested in locating new plants in those southern states which are trying to hold to a pattern of racial segregation in their schools and in industry.

It should be evident, therefore, that the pattern which we follow in respect to our schools leads also to economic suicide for the entire state. Not only are our prospects poor for obtaining new industries but we stand to lose some of the industry which is already located in our state but whose management is dissatisfied with the present employment pattern and is also fearful that the children of its

key personnel may not be able to obtain satisfactory schooling within the state, The needless hysteria generated by certain forces within the state is indeed regrettable, especially when North Carolina has traditionally been blessed with enlightened and progressive leadership. This hysteria, however, has not blinded the vision of many industrial leaders and thoughtful citizens of our state who do not favor enactment of the proposed bills and who are deeply concerned lest our extreme reluctance to adhere to democratic principles shall surely lead us to economic ruin.

IV

NORTH CAROLINA MUST MAKE ITS CHOICE

Based upon the material which we have brought to your attention, we are convinced that North Carolina is faced with the task of choosing the course which it will follow in the future. Assuredly, our choice must be a wise one calculated to lead us to prosperity and an amicable relationship between all of the people of our state. It should be apparent, however, that our great potential power for growth must be developed fully and to such an extent that we may compete effectively with other regions of the country in industry and education. Shall we choose the path which leads to new productive capacity for North Carolina industries, increased consumer purchasing power, and general prosperity, or shall we follow the reactionary trail which will cripple the industries which we now have and stop the flow of new industries into our state?

In the field of public education shall we develop our public schools in such manner as to provide white and Negro technicians who are competent and who have learned to work together in an efficient manner, or shall we reduce the public school system to a loosely knit unaccredited group of make-shift private institutions located in lodge halls and various kinds of abandoned buildings?

As we see it, it is within the power and wisdom of this Legislature to chart a course of progress for North Carolina and we urge that after considering the reactionary nature of the proposed legislation, you will decide that you do not want to be known as the Legislature which turned back the clock of progress in the history of our state. On the other hand, we are hopeful that the more wise, experienced and competent

members of this body will give consideration to the great benefits to be derived from a positive and direct approach to the problems relating to our public schools.

To accomplish the desegregation of our public school system will require patience and understanding by all of the people. It will also require that the lines of communication between the races will be opened to free discussion and cooperative planning although such has not been the case since May 17, 1954. We respectfully submit that it is hard to conceive of the appointment of an Advisory Committee to the Governor and to the Legislature without the inclusion of representative Negro citizens on the Committee. It has also been difficult for us to understand why the present Advisory Committee in December, 1955 addressed a confidential letter to 174 local school superintendents suggesting that they halt "for the time being" further activity by local interracial advisory committees w ho at the time were studying problems of school segregation in their respective communities.

It is doubtful that the Legislature and the Governor of the State are aware of the extent to which we have failed to utilize the talents and opinions of the competent Negro citizens who are to be found within our state. Evidence of our failure in this respect to establish adequate lines of communication can be observed by a casual study of the personnel of the eighty-seven agencies, boards and commissions appointed by the Governor or the Legislature and having the responsibility of determining policy and making regulations concerning virtually every phase of life in North Carolina. Although the total membership of these boards exceeds 1100 persons, the Governor and Legislature have seen fit to appoint only four Negro citizens to membership on these agencies exclusive of twelve other Negro citizens who are minority members of the Board of Trustees of the four State-supported Negro colleges. While it is true that the late Governor Umstead appointed three Negro citizens to the original Advisory Committee on Education and that each of them signed the Committee's report, it is generally believed that they did so because they were employees of the State of North Carolina and did not feel free to submit a minority report. This view is supported by a statement just received from Dr. J. W. Seabrook, distinguished retiring President of Fayetteville State Teachers College, who advises that he and the late Dr. F. D. Bluford, President of A & T College tried

in vain to have the original Advisory Committee recommend a policy of compliance with the Supreme Court decision taking into account the necessity for adequate time within which to overcome local difficulties of custom, sentiment and administration. He was disappointed to find, however, that most of the Committee disagreed with him and doubted that he could speak for the majority of the Negroes in North Carolina. It is also a well know fact that until his death, Dr. Bluford, another member of the original Committee, resisted all official entreaties for him to make a public statement in support of a program of voluntary school segregation.

Could it possibly be that the position taken by these men has engendered a feeling that it is useless to discuss our school problems with members of the Negro race? Certainly, we do not believe this to be the case and we come today offering our counsel and pledging patience and understanding in any effort which is designed to place the operation of our public school system in compliance with the requirement of the United States Supreme Court's decision that we shall make a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the May 17, 1954 rulinh"

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Legislature, your rendezvous with Destiny makes it incumbent upon you to put North Carolina back into the forward march of progress in human relations.

One of the great editorial writers of this State wrote during the 1930 depression that "North Carolina's destiny is as high and as free asNorth Carolina's courage will let it be." It is a part of your randezvous with destiny that a practical, legal, and amicable solution be found to the problem of providing a uniform and non-discriminatory system of public education for all children.

There have been delays and understandable difficulties in facing up to this problem, but this, too, is a part of our Destiny. Since the basic Law of Life is Change, North Carolina can accomplish the integration of our society intelligently, peacefully, and with a minimum of social conflict if we but plan nobly and courageously, utilizing the highest intelligence of all groups concerned.

It is clear that we cannot continue to advance into the complexities of tomorrow with the duplicities of today. Within the memory of those of us here, there have been radical changes in scientific developments and industrial advances that would have startled our

imaginations when we were younger. The changes in human relations are likewise inevitable.

The people of North Carolina have proved on countless past occasions their abilities to meet the challenge of change.

It is not yet too late to get in the march of progress and compliance. Intelligent self-interest of the citizenry of North Carolina demands that we move in the direction of compliance. In compliance, we can find the road to a better economic life for our people. We can raise the living standards of all North Carolinians by using the cooperative intelligence and human resources latent in our leaders at community levels and in our research specialists in the universities, as well as in the business, professional and religious leadership which surrounds us on every turn.

The Negro Press

A GREAT DEAL has been said and written about the Negro press in the last year or two, but few white people have actually bothered to read it. And this includes a number of the writers who, in leading magazines and newspaper columns, have presumed to put the race press on warning. In most cases, what they have actually known about the Negro press, or truly understood, has been superficial. They have seen a number of blatant headlines which irate white readers or clipping services have mailed to them; they have bought a few issues of these newspapers and read them with a mounting indignation that passed all understanding; and those few who actually read the Negro press consistently over a long period have had the experience of watching it grow too big and tough for the focus of their prejudiced visions. They have accused the Negro press of creating something to which it has only given expression: the American Negro's drive for the freedoms, rights, privileges and human happiness for which the war itself is being fought.

An excellent, concise history of the race press, by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois of Atlanta University, has appeared recently in The Chicago Defender. It begins in 1827, when Samuel Cornish, first Negro graduate of an American college, and a man named John B. Russworm started The Freedman's Journal. The Negro journals didn't amount to much for a long time. The best ones were organs of personal opinion for individual editors, and the worst were scandal sheets and shakedowns. When the race press gained maturity, it began to feature personal news, so that Negroes might read of their friends in other cities.

The First World War brought a great change. Negroes demanded real news of Negroes in the war and the war's effect upon race issues. The Associated Negro Press and other agencies were formed, and the larger papers began to make sizable budgets for news-gathering. During the war, Dr. DuBois was editor of a weekly magazine, The Crisis. He had access to information, which none of the other journals could get, about the treatment of Negro soldiers in Washington, in Southern camps, and in France. In one month the magazine's circulation jumped to over 100,000, an extraordinary accomplishment for a small journal with meager backing. It is this same understandable hunger for wartime race news which is booming Negro newspapers today. A Negro buys a Negro paper to find out what happens to Negroes. If there are strong stories to tell, he wants them served up strong. Westbrook Pegler, Virginius Dabney and other critics have attacked the Negro press for giving the news a race slant and thereby damaging Negro morale. Race news in a great majority of cases is given the race slant right at the source. It is given a race slant, for example, by the big army generals who sit around a table in the War Department and turn down requests for experimental mixed units of white and black volunteers; requests emanating from responsible sources such as Bishop Bernard Sheil of Chicago, who came to his views on the race issue from observing the way mixed groups worked together in the athletic clubs of his diocese. In most cases where war stories have proved damaging to Negro morale, the damage was accomplished before the papers hit the street. When the crucial FEPC railroad hearings into the glaring discrimination against Negro firemen were canceled, the damage was accomplished as Paul McNutt announced the cancellation. It was foreordained the moment President Roosevelt accepted the word of a group of politicians and plausible Southerners in Washington who told him that righting a wrong against a group of Negro railroad firemen was going to hurt the war effort. This is how stories get race-angled.

The race press has grown up to fill a need as important to the Negro as the home-town paper to any white man. Since the World War, it has become an important implement of the Negro minority in making its pressure effective. The glaring light of publicity which the Negro press has focused for twenty years on crimes like lynching has been in good measure responsible for their decline. It was easier for white groups to get away with these things when a Negro could be swallowed up and no more heard of him, except for the muttered talk of his terrified friends.

Everybody knows about the five Sullivan brothers who were lost on a warship in the Pacific. We have all seen their pictures, five fine-looking young white men. The navy named a destroyer after the Sullivans. Does everybody know about the five Holden brothers who died on the battleship Arizona at Pearl Harbor? They were five of nine brothers in military service. It happened fifteen months ago. I read about it last week in The Chicago Defender. The Defender picked up and headlined a brief Associated Press story by John Moroso. The details were obscure and it took an AP reporter stationed with the Atlantic fleet to dig up a story that happened in the Pacific. The navy doesn't make heroes out of Negroes, nor do white newspapers.

How many white people know who Dorie Miller is? The name means as much to Negroes as Colin Kelly's does to white newspaper readers. The Negro press has built up more war morale with Dorie Miller's story than official Washington tears down in a month. He was the Negro messman who quit being a cook at Pearl Harbor and grabbed a machine gun. With bombs

crashing, and terror and excitement in the air, Dorie Miller wanted to fight with a gun, like everybody else. And he did, against standing orders. The story was told with approval in the white press, along with the hundreds of other stories that came out of Pearl Harbor. At first the navy wouldn't reveal his name. The Negro press had to work hard to get it. Finally Dorie Miller got a medal, and the Negro people got a hero they could feel proud of.

When a nineteen-year-old gets a Ph.D. from Chicago, they are proud of him and want the details; when the body of a Negro soldier, hands tied, is found hanging from a tree at Fort Benning, they are enraged; when the first Negro captain of an American freighter takes her through the submarines, they want to know; when a radio show reveals a Negro in the character of a self-respecting human being, they want to thank the director; when the President's valet goes into the navy they want a bigger story than The New York Times or The Richmond Times-Dispatch can give them; when young Lt. Maria August, RN, of Atlanta, arrives in North Africa with thirty white nurses, they want to know; when William Thaddeus Colemen, brilliant Harvard law student, goes into the army they want to read about it. All these things affect them in their personal feelings as Negroes, and make them furious or proud. Why? Because they are a Jim-Crowed minority who, brought here long ago against their wishes, have never been allowed to feel that they were just the same as other Americans. When they achieve the integration into our national life for which the race press is crusading, then the race press as it exists today will have served its purpose, and must either disappear or begin to operate from a non-racial basis. But this change cannot be achieved by pious lectures from white newspaper editors. A fundamental change in the attitude of white Americans has got to precede it. When the white Southern editors state flatly that the Negroes must always expect to be segregated in the South, then these editors must always expect to be confronted by a segregated Negro press.

When a squat little redneck, with none of the graces he says are inherent in his race, gets up in the Senate and proposes that 13,000,000 people—who for three centuries spilled their sweat into the American earth—be torn away from it and sent to the fever coast of Africa, Negroes want their press to call him a liar, a thug and a cheat. They don't want him handled with calm disdain, as The New York Times might handle him. They know what he is. They want to see it in print, or as near to it as possible under the libel laws. When they put out ten cents for their weekly budget of current reading they also want the details of spicy Negro divorce cases and bloody crime stories. White critics have hammered this aspect of the Negro press as though they have never seen the white newspapers which built up circulations in the millions by featuring sex and crime. And in fairness it should be pointed out that it is not these stories but political news which the race press features. The Negro press goes out to cooks, servants, elevator boys and truck drivers. Not exclusively, but almost so; 95 percent of the race are classed as laborers. They are fighting their way up, but what they have been able to win as a group, against the odds, in the fields of education, money and mores, is not high when looked at from the white end of the telescope. They wouldn't buy a black New York Times if one were available. As a matter of fact, there are a few Negro newspapers—when things like drive, courage, purpose and readability are taken into consideration with The Times's vaunted thoroughness and propriety—that I would rather read than The Times. More than one white man has picked up a Negro newspaper to scoff and remained to read, and to read with a sense of discovery. Rose Wilder Lane, author of "Free Land" and other books, who never saw a Negro until she was fully grown, took a look at the race papers because such a controversy was being raised about them. The hard-hitting, fighting columns were a new experience. She became an avid reader and finally a columnist herself. She writes a column in The Pittsburgh Courier and she has never enjoyed any writing more than this.

When a white man first reads a Negro newspaper, it is like getting a bucket of cold water in the face. There is hardly a white man alive—whether a product of the Emerson tradition and the abolitionist soil of Harvard, or whether of the Mississippi Delta—who is not a ruddy sahib in his heart. If we get to understand this fact about ourselves, we can disarm it. It would do many a Southerner and many a South-hating Yankee sahib a lot of good to take a look at the Negro press. They won't get their accustomed deference in the Negro press. The Negro writers, over and over, in all possible variations, with a variety of tones and shadings, with none of the ambiguous and deceitful language by which hard facts are softened in the white press, tell the Negro exactly what the white man is doing for him and to him. It is not a bad thing for a white man to see how he looks through Negro eyes, and it is even better for him to try to understand why it is so.

In his first two columns on the Negro press printed about a year ago, Pegler, the great foul-blow artist of our time, even criticized the race press because it derived much of its advertising income from rackets like magic-powder companies, purveyors of love secrets, hair-straighteners and race books. Where would he have them go for their income? Negro purchasing power is low and the press simply cannot get high-grade advertising. It takes what it can get. The white press has passed through the same phase. Pegler also found the writing in the Negro newspapers undistinguished. If he did, he confined himself to police-

court stories. But probably he only skimmed through a few papers before writing his article. His statements were so unfair and vulnerable that he reopened the subject in a later column, took some of it back in effect, and gave the Negro people a few encouraging pats on the back. But the knifing had done real damage, and set off a whole train of critical articles.

The best writing in the Negro press is found in the numerous signed columns which all of the papers feature; the next best in the unsigned editorials. The news stories are not literature, but they are very often vivid with the hard, lean structure which is one of the few virtues a news story can have as a form of writing. Some of them are sloppy. Their editorializing is open and frank, when it occurs, which is pretty frequently. Editorializing in white newspapers is more subtle, but it occurs just as constantly.

These columnists are fighting for Negro equality; they are fighting the white people who oppose it and the Negroes who show no heart for the fight. In some of their columns, fierceness is apparent in every sentence. In others it lies beneath a calm and subtle prose, and sometimes dullness. The white reader will not find dullness very often. Almost everything in the Negro press will be new to him, or if not new, written in a strange new key. Sometimes these columnists are inaccurate with facts and careless in their attitudes. But the white reader must be careful about what he allows to anger him, for there is a vast amount of raw, solid fact which they handle well within the bounds of accuracy, and which the white reader simply has got to gulp down and let it educate him. There is one flavor of the white press fortunately absent from the Negro: the dreary, pedestrian writing of men who are bored with their jobs. There are a lot of white columnists and reporters who are drawing pay today on writing they did in the 1920's, and their weariness is inescapable. The white reader doesn't find this weariness in the Negro columnists. They live and write at the beginning of a new era for their people, and they are swept along by it.

In my opinion, George S. Schuyler, who writes in The Pittsburgh Courier, is about the best. He is a clear and vivid writer. Sometimes he writes with a mordant sarcasm, but he does not let it unbalance the order of his ideas. And he hammers what seems to me the soundest line of all: that the Negro's natural friend, and natural ally, is the white worker, and that the two should strive for a unity of purpose in the labor movement.

Critics of the race press fail to mention the better-conduct campaigns. Those who can gloss over this effort of Negro writers to arm their people with the tools of morality and dignity are prejudiced indeed. Week after week papers like The Pittsburgh Courier and The Chicago Defender have carried thousands of words lecturing Negroes on their behavior. They have campaigned against loud clothes, loose personal habits, cursing, drinking, laxness at work. They have warned that race immaturity will lose the Negroes' newly won jobs after the war is over. No white newspaper could be more frank. The Courier carries a front-page box on the subject. Joseph D. Bibb, in The Courier, one of the first to pursue this theme, and Lucius C. Harper, in The Defender, have written brilliant columns.

Enoc P. Waters, reporter for The Chicago Defender, has written the best series on the South and the wartime race problem that has been written. It is still running. He has dug for information in the good places and he has dug deep. By any standards, he is a first-rate reporter. The editorial page of The Norfolk Journal and Guide is one of the best in the country and Arthur Davis, whose column appears on the page, has written columns defending the Negro press that were far better writing and reasoning than the attacks. It is unfortunate that few white people will ever see them.

These few accolades are based on no inclusive judgment of Negro writers. There are many outstanding columns and newspapermen which have not been mentioned and many which I don't even know about. Furthermore, there are a whole lot of brickbats which would have to be thrown along with the bouquets in any criticism of individual writers. Many of the gossip columns, for instance, seem to me vulgar and immature, with lower standards, if possible, than the usual gossip columns in the white press. I have seen a number of columns which might well have been rejected by the editors as part of the better-conduct campaign.

The fundamental weakness of the Negro press is its strong tendency to overcompensate. Where Negro achievement is slighted in the white press, it is often overpraised in the race press. Negro crime is apt to be given subjective and apologetic treatment. Most white newspapers in New York have overplayed and emphasized recent robberies and assaults in Harlem, suggesting that race, rather than deplorable social conditions, was responsible. The Negro press in New York has been carried to another extreme in its reaction against these stories. They have counter-attacked the white man on the basis of his own criminal record, and have tried to explain away Harlem's numerous recent crimes instead of discussing both the existence of these crimes and their causes. Where the Negro race is systematically disparaged in the white press (frequently unintentionally or through ignorance) and the white man given the benefit of every doubt, the reverse is true in the Negro press. There are two ways of looking at such overcompensation; one is to say superficially that its fundamental cause is the white man's treatment of the Negro; but it is far more important to the Negro people and to the goals they hope to achieve that the men who write for the Negro press try to rise to a larger point of view than the

eye-for-an-eye philosophy. It will take this sort of greatness on the part of the Negro's leaders to carry the fight for him against enormous odds.

Racism is a bad game no matter who plays it. Despite such outspoken features as the better-conduct campaigns, or the fact that much of the criticism of white affairs is justified, there is an accompanying tendency to create a chauvinistic racism among the Negro people, and a feeling of subjective bitterness toward all whites. "*The crafty Caucasian*," writes one columnist, "seems to derive a certain sadistic delight in seeing us handicap ourselves, and he will pay us his good money to indulge us in these sordid and miserable roles" (blackface roles in radio plays). Another says, "What will it take to make her [a white woman living near the Tuskegee airfield] and *the rest of the white devils of the South* believe in us and let us have a fair chance?" This is a moving sentence, but calling the Southern people white devils creates destructive resentment on both sides of the color line, when an understanding of the race problem and a knowledge of the things which have to be done to solve it, are needed. Short fiction in the Negro press deals most often with lynching and white criminality. Most Southerners have become stereotyped villains with names like "Ratley" and "Stalk." This is no more inaccurate than the mawkish self-glorification which Southern newspapers and writers have engaged in for a century. It is difficult for a Negro to feel objective about a Southern society which has used him as a beast of burden for generations.

But the Negro press must learn objectivity before anything approaching a solution of the race problem can be achieved. Programs of action are needed: programs for Negroes as individuals, and programs for Negroes as political and social groups. A sound and workable attitude toward the white majority, particularly toward the Southern white people, is needed. It seems to me that the Negro press should adopt an editorial policy toward Southern affairs which coincides with the political manifesto of the group of Southern Negroes who met recently in Durham in an attempt to bring some order and reason into the unsettled field of race relations in the South. This statement outlined the Negro's aspirations for political, economic and educational equality; then, turning to the major question, it said, "We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society," but it acknowledged the "strength and age of these patterns of segregation." From this point it continued to furnish a thorough outline of the Southern Negro's goals and methods of procedure in industry, politics, education, agriculture and other fields. The effect of this statement has been to relieve the fears of a large section of the white South that the Negro might attempt some revolutionary political coup, under cover of the war, to abolish segregation; but at the same time, with great skill, it declared itself fundamentally against the principle of segregation and thus has left a basis for operations against this primary and fundamental injustice when the war is over and wartime fears and excitements have ebbed from the high-tide mark which they reached about the time of the Durham conference in the fall.

Most of the Negro newspapers wrote approvingly of the Durham conference. They would do well to adopt the Durham line as their own policy toward the Southern white people. It is a far cry from the Booker T. Washington line which accepted permanent humility and segregation as a basis for race relations. On the other hand it gives the Negro possible goals to work for during the war, and furnishes a positive program rather than one of vague and negative bitterness. The strength of the Durham statement is its honesty in refusing to accept the principle of segregation, and its realism in admitting segregation to be an established fact, a deeply rooted Southern institution too substantial and too much in the forefront of the thoughts of white Southerners today to be successfully resisted by Southern Negroes.

The fault of overcompensation grows out of the fact that Negro newspapers are money-making businesses: their first function is to put out a readable, and salable, product. Negro publishers are apt to be primarily business men whose interest in race welfare is secondary to their interest in selling newspapers. It is not they, but the men they hire, who make their papers worth-while; the editors, the columnists, the reporters. These are the men who are qualified to speak of the sufferings and aspirations of Negroes, for they are still part of the race. Some of their publishers have been rich men so long that they have almost forgotten what it feels like to be a Negro. The only one with whom I have become personally acquainted is as pleasant individually as his counterparts in the white publishing field. But he is also a patronage politician, a political reactionary and an anti-Semite. And I soon saw it was a travesty to speak to him about race issues. The fact that he had had to battle his way up against ruthless odds made him like this, but it did not change the fact that he was what he was. He was exactly like the majority of white newspaper publishers. His newspaper was guilty of certain faults and excesses which paralleled those of the average white newspaper. He had rounded up a good staff of writers and for that reason his newspaper was somewhat above average, by both white and Negro newspaper standards. Furthermore, its big issue was not anti-liberal, anti-labor, pro-big-business tub thumping—the pattern of most white newspapers—but advancing the cause of an abused minority in a democracy. This gave it a certain intrinsic worth which redeemed many of the faults which grew out of its commercial character. And it seems to me that this is not an unusual pattern in the Negro press.

THOMAS SANCTON

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CLIPPING SINCE 1895
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Savannah, Ga., News
October 4, 1948

being held in the county jail at Beaufort, but nature of charges against them was not learned.

Paul Robeson to Sing, Speak Here Tomorrow

Paul Robeson, famous negro singer and actor and one of the most ardent supporters of Henry Wallace, will speak and sing in Savannah on Tuesday evening of this week at the Municipal Auditorium before a public rally sponsored by Locals 870 and 888 of the Mine, Mill Smelter Workers Union, J. P. Mooney, MMSW international representative, announced yesterday.

Known throughout the world not only for his singing and acting, but for his association with many liberal causes, Robeson has had many honors bestowed upon him in recognition of his artistic and social contributions. These include honorary degrees from Rutgers University, Howard University, Hamilton College and Moorhouse College.

Robeson is expected to review political developments in the United States during his remarks to the rally, which will begin at 7:30 p. m. Admission is free.

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Savannah, Ga., News
October 4, 1948

... with blond hair, blue eyes, fair complexion, and slightly protruding front teeth. He was wearing a medium blue suit with pin stripes, a white shirt, tan shoes, and blue socks.

Auditorium Incident "Shocks" J. L. Barfoot

Late last night, James L. Barfoot, Progressive party candidate for the governorship of Georgia, issued the following "personal statement" to the Morning News in regard to the incident at the auditorium:

"As a Georgia citizen and as a guest in the historic city of Savannah, I was shocked and deeply humiliated at the action of certain local authorities in refusing the people of Savannah the privilege of hearing the world renowned artist, Paul Robeson.

"In defense of our state, I would like to say publicly that I know the great majority of the people of Georgia will not approve this kind of police censorship.

"My faith in the Progressive Party's future was redoubled when the audience, colored and white, displayed a genuine reluctance to leave. Dozens of people came to me to ask if somehow the concert could not go on.

"This expression of a democratic people's will is what made Georgia great. It has enabled the Progressive Party to place its national candidates, Wallace and Taylor, on the ballot in Georgia, and it will enable the Progressive Party to place its state candidates on the ballot, thus assuring the voters a real choice in the general election November 2."

SOUTHERN
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This Clipping from
Savannah, Ga., News
October 1948

... or indulgence in personal attacks are not acceptable. The Morning News reserves the right to condense or reject.

Negro Dislikes Robeson Tactics

Editor Morning News:

Approximately one thousand persons gathered at the City Auditorium Tuesday night with only one objective in mind, and that was to hear Paul Robeson sing. The fact that it was rumored that he was to speak in the interest of the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for the presidency of the United States was lost in the fact that Paul Robeson—the hero of "Emperior Jones," world traveler, famous singer, and actor, was to appear in our city.

By the strange twist of events it now appears to some of us that Robeson did not come to Savannah to sing, but that he came for the purpose of forcing us to disregard and violate our existing laws.

I have never claimed to be a leader of my race, in fact I have no leadership aspirations. I merely exercise my constitutional rights to express my opinion as I see it. But even if the intentions of our visitors were good, they adopted the wrong approach. The City Auditorium has been the scene of many great affairs which afforded equal accommodations for white and colored; among them were The Southernairs, Rolland Hayes and the Silas Green Show. The Rev. R. M. Gilbert has packed the auditorium on many occasions without the occurrence of a single unpleasant incident, and everybody went home after enjoying a pleasant evening.

But now our visitors have come to tell us that we were all wrong and our acts heretofore were "un-American." This is as a man and wife who have lived together for years peaceable and then a visitor comes in to tell them how to live. The sincerity of our visitors would be better understood if they came to us for the purpose of contributing to our educational program, and aiding us in the promotion of better race relations, rather than frustrating it.

In the event our visitors should desire to return or to go to any other section of this country, it will be well for them to remember the words of Paul, "When in Rome do as the Romans." We honor Paul Robeson as being a great educator and humanitarian but we do not believe these qualifications will justify him for his interference in our private lives, or in trying to force changes without our consent.

Savannah. L. L. SCOTT.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CLIPPING SINCE 1885
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from

Augusta, Ga., Herald
October 8, 1948

livestock and wholesale meat prices. As the agency issued its report, hog prices at major Midwestern markets began recovering from 25 to 75 cents of recent losses.

Robeson Meetin When Segregat

SAVANNAH. —(AP)— An estimated 1,000 persons, nearly all Negroes, who assembled Tuesday night to hear Paul Robeson sing and speak at the municipal auditorium, dispersed after announcement that the meeting would not proceed unless the audience was segregated. A few boos from the crowd followed the announcement but there was no disorder.

There were less than 50 white persons at the rally which advance notices said was to be held under the sponsorship of the Mine, Mill Smelter Workers union.

Robeson did not make an appearance as the meeting broke up before the hour he was scheduled to appear. There were a half dozen uniformed policemen in the crowd.

FOLLOWING announcement by Herschel V. Summerlin, manager of the auditorium, that the meeting could not proceed unless the audience was segregated, the crowd, after a few "boos" filed out slowly but quietly.

A spirited discusison took place between Summerlin and J. P. Mooney, international representative of the sponsoring union, as the audience left the auditorium. Mooney previously had announced to the audience that an order had been issued by the mayor and chief of police that the meeting could not go on unless the audience was segregated.

CHIEF OF POLICE Truman F. Ward denied Wednesday that police officers at the auditorium had used physical force to close the meeting.

"There was not even an ugly word spoken; no force was necessary.; not a policeman had a nightstick." Chief Ward declared in denying a report that policemen had swarmed over the auditorium and pushed speakers about.

SOUTHERN
SS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Savannah, Ga., News
October 6, 1948

SEGREGATION RULE BREAKS UP RALLY

Robeson Schedued to Sing And Speak

CROWD PUT AT 1,000

Union Official Declines to Separate Races

The Paul Robeson rally, scheduled for 7:30 last night in the city auditorium, disbanded in an orderly fashion shortly after assembling when H. V. Summerlin, manager of the auditorium, refused to allow the curtain raised because the sponsors declined to permit segregation of whites and negroes in the seating arrange-

Mr. Summerlin said that J. P. Mooney, international representative of the Mine, Mill Smelter Workers, CIO, approached him some time ago and asked for use of the auditorium for last night for a union rally, not specifying that Robeson was to appear on the occasion.

Mr. Summerlin said he agreed to allow the auditorium to be used by Locals 870 and 888, MMSW, sponsors of the affair here. On Sunday, the auditorium manager said, after hearing that Robeson was to be present, he telephoned Mr. Mooney and reminded him of the segregation laws, upon which Mr. Mooney is said to have promised to have ushers at the auditorium last night to separate the races.

However, according to Mr. Summerlin, when the approximately 1,000 persons—about 150 of whom were said to be white—gathered, they took their seats without reference to color. Mr. Summerlin ordered stagehands not to pull the curtain until segregation was effected, whereupon Mr. Mooney took the microphone and began speaking to the audience about the "un-Americanism of the policy of segregation," reportedly stating that separation of whites and colored would not be allowed.

It was then that the auditorium manager, Mr. Summerlin, announced that the meeting could not proceed, and asked the crowd to withdraw quietly. Police Lieutenant L. S. McCord, in charge of a police detail at the auditorium, said Mr. Summerlin's request was carried out.

The auditorium manager said that he recognized few white Savannahians in the audience, and that, in his opinion, most of them were from out of town.

Groups of negroes stood quietly about in the vicinity of the auditorium for thirty or forty minutes after leaving the building. Those questioned expressed disappointment at not being able to hear Robeson sing, but no resentment at the turn of affairs. Several volunteered the statement that they were not interested in Robeson's political message, but had looked forward to his singing.

Robeson himself had not arrived at the auditorium when the meeting broke up, having been scheduled to make his appearance about 8:30 p. m.

after the preliminaries had been finished.

In a release to the Morning News late last night, the meeting's sponsors alleged that "city police forcibly broke

a single man carried a nightstick then or at any other time.

Lieutenant McCord added that the lights were not cut off until the last person was out of the auditorium.

"They led us to believe right up until the last moment that they were going to practice segregation, as they had been informed long beforehand by Mr. Summerlin, by Chief Ward, and by myself that they would have to do or the meeting could not be held," the officer stated.

When one of the meeting's leaders insisted on going out in front of the curtain and trying to talk against his orders, the lieutenant said he told an officer to bring the man back. The officer so instructed only took the man by the arm and led him back, walking side by side, he added. The union statement had said the man was "seized by Detective Walker, who pushed and half carried him behind the curtain."

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after the preliminaries had been finished.

In a release to the Morning News late last night, the meeting's sponsors alleged that "city police forcibly broke up" the session.

"City police shoved speakers from the microphone, cut off the electrical current, seized and shoved other speakers off the stage and officers swarmed over the auditorium with nightsticks as the meeting commenced," the union statement read.

"That is an absolute lie," Police Lt. L. S. McCord stated for publication when informed of the statement. "There was no force used whatever. It was not needed."

The police official said there were only five policemen at the auditorium when the meeting began and that not a single man carried a nightstick then or at any other time.

Lieutenant McCord added that the lights were not cut off until the last person was out of the auditorium.

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ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from

Albany, Ga. Herald
October 7, 1948

Hewin, Franklin, and Billy Thompson, Montgomery.

Robeson Boomed For U. S. Office

SAVANNAH, Oct. 7 (AP)—For the sake of world peace, says the Progressive Party candidate for governor of Georgia, the Negro singer Paul Robeson should be Secretary of State.

James Barfoot, the gubernatorial candidate, last night addressed a party rally at the Negro Masonic Temple, attended by a sprinkling of white persons in the audience of about 500.

With Robeson sitting nearby, Barfoot, a former teacher at the University of Georgia, declared.

"I would like to see Paul Robeson Secretary of State. No two nations of the world would go to war if he were."

The rally was not interrupted by police, who Tuesday night stopped a meeting in the City Auditorium, at which the noted Negro singer was to appear, when sponsors declined to abide by the city's segregation law. Police officials explained that since last night's meeting was in a a private building the segregation law did not apply.

Both meetings were sponsored by two locals of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union affiliated with the CIO. Union spokesmen charged the police used violent methods in halting the meeting in the City Auditorium—a charge that Police Chief Truman F. Ward stoutly denied.

Clark Foreman, a leader of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said the officers shoved speakers from the microphone and swarmed throughout the auditorium with night sticks.

Ward replied that Savannah police have not carried night sticks for some time and reported to no violence because none was required."

Robeson received an ovation at last night's meeting.

than 250 yards from the

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ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
December 8, 1948

E-10

Segregation Is Necessary, McGill Says

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 8—(AP)—Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution says the South has brought most of its woes on itself so far as civil rights legislation is concerned.

In an dddress before the Birmingham branch of the American Association of University Women, McGill said yesterday.

"Until our Negroes are given more opportunity to acquire skills and are paid accordingly, we will be vulnerable to FEPC and held down economically."

The reason there is a demand for Congress to enact an anti-lynching law, the editor continued, is that the South has not always abided by its own laws.

"There would be no such demand if the South had always done what was recently done in Wetumpka," he said. (Two white men were sentenced to terms of 45 years last week at Wetumpka, Ala., on charges they raped two Negro women).

As for the poll tax, he said it would soon disappear, "there is no valid argument for it."

"I don't believe the South's racial and economic problems can be solved through federal controls," McGill said.

"I believe we in the South must have segregation. But we have not been honest enough to say we are going to maintain segregation because of our . . . population ratio; that, even so, in educational and public health facilities, both races will get equal treatment.

"That is why we are now vulnerable, why so-called civil rights legislation will be in troduced."

He criticized the States' Rights party as "a negative party" which is on "a dead end street politically."

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This Clipping from

Savannah, Ga., News
October 21, 1948

permission to publish signature. The signature which must be that of the real name of the writer, must be accompanied by the correct address or telephone number. Discussions of race, creeds or indulgence in personal attacks are not acceptable. The Morning News reserves the right to condense or reject.

In Praise of Southern Negroes

Editor Morning News:

The excellent article by L. L. Scott in the People's Forum October 8, I believe, expresses the majority opinion of the Savannah negro population who are good Christians and real Americans.

Since the unfortunate incident at the City Auditorium several prominent negro leaders have told me that the only thought in the minds of their people was to hear Paul Robeson sing.

Those of us who live in the South well know and understand this desire on their part.

The Southern folk songs and negro spirituals are among the most beautiful music we have when rendered by the melodious voices of some of these people whose love of music is known throughout the world.

Many of these men and women proved their love and loyalty to their country and their fellowmen when they went forth on the battlefield, as soldiers and nurses, willing to make the supreme sacrifice for their country.

The exemplary manner in which these people conducted themselves at the auditorium is the best repudiation that could be given to Communism and outside interference in our section.

By their conduct they have proved that loyalty and patriotism are above race, creed and color.

In these crucial times may all of us conduct ourselves so that we may be worthy to follow in the footsteps of the Master, Whose love enfolds us all.

BYRDENA K. FALLIGANT
(Mrs. Philip L. Falligant).

Coffee Bluff.

tion for Kids

11-10-56

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Fiscal Year - October 1, 1956--September 30, 1957

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Estimated 1956-57
Income:			
Contributions from Individuals, organizations, Churches, etc.	$ 14,000.00	$ 31,865.00	$ 45,970.00
Dues	500.00	356.00	350.00
New South Subscriptions	6,000.00	6,222.17	10,000.00
Sale of Literature	3,000.00	1,325.48	1,500.00
Honararia	1,000.00	1,567.80	1,000.00
Interest Income	800.00	2,432.00	1,000.00
Fund for the Republic	25,000.00	25,000.00	10,000.00
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds - 1955-56	12,100.00	8,350.00	4,350.00
Unexpended Balance in Christopher Reynolds Fund - 1955-56			3,300.00
Unexpended Balance in State Funds for 1955-56			6,000.00
Surplus - Prior year	2,500.00	3,022.17	
Sub-Total	64,900.00	80,140.62	83,470.00
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget	28,180.00	18,868.40	16,861.00
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	99,009.02	100,331.00

Estimated expenditures for four months of fiscal year 1956-57 -- October 1, 1956 to January 31, 1957, in comparison with budget and actual expenditures for fiscal year 1955-56.

Expenses:	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Proposed 10/1/56-1/31/57 4 Months	% Change in rate of Expenditures
Salaries	$ 61,600.00	63,122.74	23,317.00	10.8%
Social Security Tax	800.00	889.08	467.00	**
Travel	7,500.00	8,469.39	2,834.00	
Printing New South & Postage	6,500.00	6,285.43	2,133.00	
Printing - Other	2,000.00	1,146.28	400.00	
Rent	1,680.00	1,680.00	560.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	2,775.94	833.00	
Postage	2,000.00	1,049.40	400.00	
Books & Subscriptions	300.00	399.97	100.00	
Accounting Fees & Legal	500.00	565.00	167.00	
Ins. & Misc. Expense	300.00	244.61	100.00	
Office Supplies & Equip.	2,900.00	2,243.45	833.00	
Annual Meeting & Executive Committee Meetings	2,000.00	2,169.03	2,000.00	
Special Meetings - Women's Work	2,500.00	1,000.00	2,400.00	
Printing Special Pamphlet		1,004.22		
	$ 93,080.00	93,044.54	36,544.00	11.0%

* Increase covers within-grades promotions for staff.

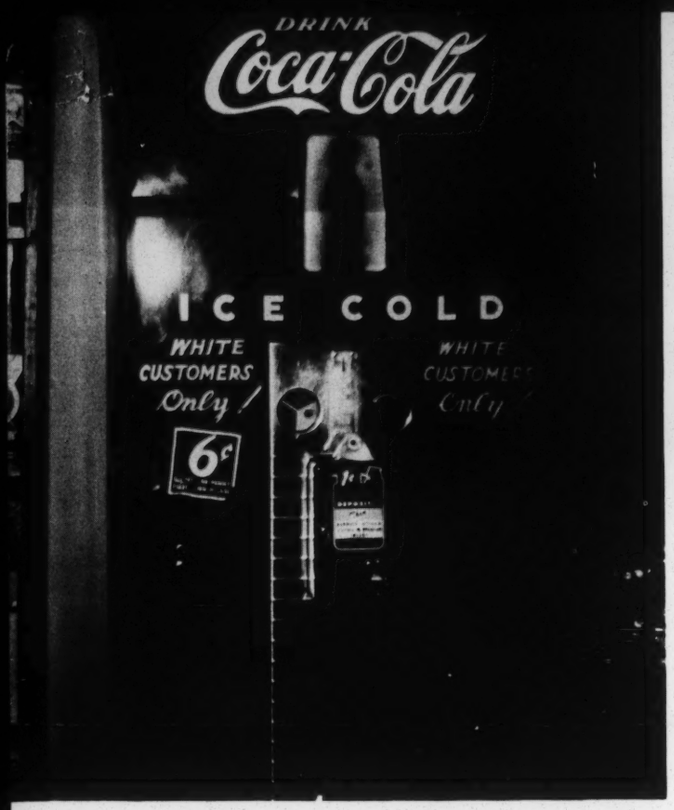
** Slight increase

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES

	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Proposed 10/1/56-1/31/57 (4 Months)
Administration and Overhead			
Salaries	$ 24,100.00	24,912.65	8,534.00
Social Security Tax	800.00	889.08	467.00
Annual Meeting & Executive Committee Meetings	2,000.00	2,169.03	2,000.00
Travel	7,000.00	8,469.39	2,667.00
Rent	1,680.00	1,680.00	560.00
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	2,775.94	833.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	2,500.00	2,243.45	833.00
Postage (other than New South)	2,000.00	1,049.40	400.00
Printing (other than New South)	2,000.00	1,146.28	400.00
Audit Fees	500.00	565.00	167.00
Miscellaneous Expense & insurance	300.00	244.61	100.00
Sub-Totals	$ 45,380.00	46,144.83	16,961.00
Information Services and New South			
Salaries	$ 21,750.00	22,247.78	9,299.00
New South, printing & postage	6,500.00	6,285.43	2,133.00
Envelopes, addressograph plates, etc.	400.00	(Included in Printing & Postage)	
Books and Materials	300.00	399.97	100.00
Sub-Totals	$ 28,950.00	28,933.18	11,532.00
Laison - State Organizations			
Salaries	$ 9,750.00	10,086.42	3,417.00
Women's Work			
Salaries	$ 6,000.00	5,912.36	2,067.00
Travel	500.00		167.00
Meetings	2,500.00	1,000.00	2,400.00
Sub-Totals	$ 9,000.00	6,912.36	4,634.00
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	92,076.79	36,544.00
Special Project *			
Program Development (John Hope)			
Salaries	$ 3,000.00	4,270.00	1,500.00
Consultants Travel & Fees	4,000.00	3,899.89	2,167.00
Travel	1,500.00	1,883.24	1,500.00
Total	$ 8,500.00	10,053.13	5,167.00

* Funds available from 1956 grant of $17,000.00 from New World Foundation

11/10/56



NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido St., Suite 404
New Orleans 12, La.

LWD
HMS
file

A Lane College official was arrested and fined for taking this photograph.

January 13, 1961

JACKSON, Tenn.--A college dean was arrested and fined because he photographed a Coca-Cola vending machine for "white customers only."

After Preston E. Stewart, Jr., Dean of Men at Lane College, photographed the Coca-Cola machine in Ham House, a Jackson sporting goods store, the proprietor asked him to leave. As Dean Stewart was walking to his parked automobile, the proprietor called a policeman on a nearby corner and had the Dean arrested.

Dean Stewart was charged with disorderly conduct and fined $15.00. At the trial both the policeman and the proprietor testified there was no disorder. Said Judge Holt, in concluding the case, "There is too much tension in Jackson and it must be stopped."

Attorneys for Dean Stewart were H. T. Lockard and Odell Horton of Memphis, Tennessee.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., in a letter to the president of the Coca-Cola Company concerning the incident, asked for an explanation of the company's policy with respect to discriminatory practices on the part of its distributors.

Note to Editors: In reproducing the above photograph, please give credit as follows: Photo by Preston E. Stewart, Jr., Courtesy of SCEF.

JF

Keep Public Schools, Emory Educators Ask

Sunday Journal & Const.

250 Faculty Members See Gains for Reds Otherwise

Nov. 30, 58

By KAY McLEOD

More than two-thirds of the faculty members at Emory University Saturday issued a statement opposing the closing of public schools anywhere in the nation.

They said such interruption of the education of American youth could result in the loss of an entire generation of specialists and allow communism to gain in the vital battle of education.

The Emory statement, signed by 250 of the university's 360 full-time faculty members, said that closing public schools would result in "irreparable damage . . . not only to the people of any particular community, but also to the state and nation at large."

The educators declared:

"Even a partial interruption during one year of schooling will result in a decrease during the following years of the trained specialists.

* * *

"IF SUCH an interruption continues even for a few years, the services of an entire generation . . . will be lost.

"This will amount to nothing less than willful discrimination by people of this region against themselves and their own children."

Dr. S. Walter Martin, president of Emory did not sign the statement, but said, "I do agree with the sentiment of the document."

He said he had been given a copy of the statement for information and his signature was not requested since only full time teaching faculty members were asked to sign.

Emory is concerned over the possibility of many faculty members leaving the university should public education facilities be closed to their children, Dr. Martin said.

* * *

THE STATEMENT said that "many industries will not find it possible to remain . . . where there are no stable public educational facilities for children of employes and no adequate supply of high school and college graduates for these industries.

"Furthermore, new businesses and industries will be reluctant to come to such a section. This is bound to have an unfavorable effect on the economic welfare of the state and all its citizens."

The number of trained specialists such as physicians, dentists, nurses, county agricultural agents, engineers, scientists, lawyers, librarians, clergymen and teachers would be greatly reduced should any interruption in public education be allowed, the statement warned.

"The folly of a weakened educational system cannot be afforded in the face of "Russia's systematic attempt to overawe us educationally. . . . To close the public schools in any city, county, state or region of America at this critical stage of world history is to play directly into the hands of communism," the report warned.

* * *

THE EDUCATORS said that although private schools contribute greatly to education, "both history and contemporary experience clearly indicate that the major portion of the educational load can be adequately borne only by the public school system."

Emory is a private university owned and operated by the Methodist church. There are no Negro students at the university, and no official statement has been made as to whether or not qualified Negroes would be admitted if they applied.

The Emory faculty statement, following by a week the manifesto signed by 311 Atlanta clergymen calling for preservation of public schools, makes no mention of race, segregation or integration.

* * *

SEVERAL of the Candler School of Theology faculty signed both the manifesto and the Emory statement.

Dr. Martin said Saturday a 15-man committee has been appointed to study the possibility of setting up an elementary and high

Turn to Page 6, Column 1

Sunshine Raises Hopes For Record Sales Event

By FRED HARTLEY

Saturday's crisp, sunny weather brought hordes of shoppers to Atlanta stores for the second day in a row and raised hopes that the 1958 Yuletide shopping spree is off to a record start.

Reports of Friday's sales from Atlanta merchants varied, with some posting healthy gains over last year, others reporting dips and still others holding their own. Most merchants agreed that the chill downpour in the late afternoon cut the potential total.

Rich's, Inc., reported another record-breaker for the day after Thanksgiving. For the third year in a row, sales ran above the million-dollar mark. Volume for Friday was 7 to 8 per cent over the corresponding day last year, spokesmen said.

* * *

SEARS, ROEBUCK & Co.'s main Ponce de Leon store reported a "satisfactory" day Friday and a considerable pickup in traffic Saturday.

Other retailers, observing "encouraging" crowds in their stores Saturday, believed the second day of the big sales promotion would offset any adverse effects of Friday's weather.

Merchants were virtually unanimous in the prediction that sales of the entire 1958 Christmas shopping season would exceed last year's volume.

* * *

FRANKLIN SIMON & Co. said sales there about equaled last year's. Prospects for record sales Saturday appeared "excellent," a spokesman commented.

A spokesman for Regenstein's said, "We made our day Friday, and Saturday should be a good day."

A Rich's official remarked that "never in my 18 years here have I seen such crowds. They came early and stayed late."

Rainy weather Friday was responsible for an unusually large volume of automobiles on downtown streets. These taxed parking facilities and slowed traffic flow.

Text of Statement By Emory Faculty

Here is the full text of the Emory statement:

We the undersigned, who are full-time members of the faculties of Emory University, are opposed to the closing of the public schools in any section of the United States. We wish to point out the irreparable damage that will result from the closing of public schools, not only to the people of any particular community, but also to the state and nation at large.

Every citizen should realize that even a partial interruption during one year of schooling will result in a decrease during the following years of the services of trained specialists such as physicians, dentists, nurses, county agricultural agents, engineers, scientists, lawyers, librarians, clergymen and teachers. If such an interruption continues for even a few years, the services of an entire generation in such profession and skills will be lost; and this will amount to nothing less than wilfull discrimination by the people of this region against themselves and their own children.

* * *

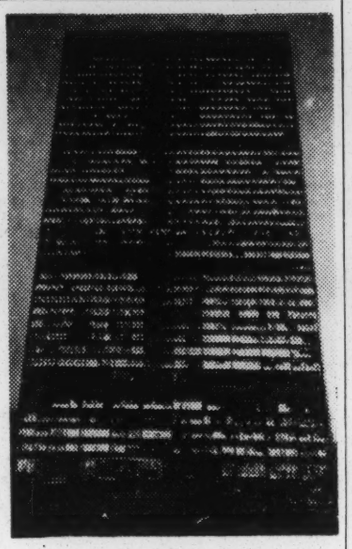
WE AS CITIZENS should also realize that many industries will not find it possible to remain in any section where there are no stable public educational facilities for children of employes and no adequate supply of high school and college graduates for these industries. Furthermore, new businesses and industries will be reluctant to come to such a section. This is bound to have an unfavorable effect on the economic welfare of the state and all its citizens.

Those of us who are educators are seriously concerned with the consequences of Russia's systematic attempt to overtake us educationally, an attempt that has been alarmingly successful, as recent events have indicated. We cannot afford the folly of a weakened educational system, and we can even less afford no education at all. To close the public schools in any city, county, state, or region of America at this critical stage of world history is to play directly into the hands of communism.

* * *

EVEN APART from such considerations, an interruption in public school education would detract disastrously from its role in providing our children with a comprehension of the natural world around them, in appreciation of the heritage of civilized men and an understanding of the society in which they must live.

Although private schools contribute greatly to education for democracy, both history and contemporary experience clearly indicate that the major portion of the educational load can be adequately borne only by the public school system. We therefore earnestly appeal to our fellow citizens not to allow the closing of our schools, but to save them, strengthen them and improve them.



United Press International Photo

SKYLINE SYMBOL

New York City, Nov. 29—Tower skyward as dusk falls across the city, the United Nations Secretariat Building is impressively aglow with light as another busy day draws to a close.

Scout Leader Stiles Dies in Canada

OTTAWA, Nov. 29 (AP)—Dr. John A. Stiles, 82, former head of Canada's Boy Scout movement, died in a hospital Saturday after a long illness.

Dr. Stiles resigned as dean of the faculty of applied science at the University of New Brunswick in 1919 to become assistant dominion scout commissioner. In 1930 he was appointed the first chief executive scout commissioner in this country. He retired in 1946.

Dr. Bonner President of Research Uni

Dr. J. C. Bonner, director the Department of History Georgia State College for W en, was named president of Georgia Society of Historical search Saturday.

Dr. Bonner, an outstan Georgia historian and au succeeds Miss Ida Belle liams of Swainsboro as of the society.

Also named at a meetin society at the Atlanta Club were district vice pre Dr. Spencer B. King Jr. con, Mrs. Leonard Wal Madison, Mrs. Aubrey M of Rome, Col. William Blue Ridge, Webster N Douglas, Miss Ida Belle W of Swainsboro, Dr. John of Carrollton, Mrs. Lester of Cornelia, Dr. Henry T. of Decatur and Mrs. Mary

EMORY

Continued From Page 1

school program for the approximately 200 children of the faculty.

"We have so many faculty people who could get jobs anywhere else, and would, if their children did not have schools to attend. If the schools close, we will certainly try to do something for the children," Dr. Martin said.

He also said the committee is studying a proposal that Emory set up a subfreshman program to offer opportunity for some 1,000 rising seniors from Atlanta Public School System to complete their education.

Signers of the Emory Faculty statement include: W. C. Archie, dean and professor of romance languages; William Ragsdale Cannon, dean of the Candler School of Theology and professor of church history and his

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Barbara Ames
William W. Amis
W. C. Archie
Orico Attauc
Patsy Atwater
Ralph Baer
James A. Bain
Woolford B. Baker
Albert Edward Barnett
Heinz Bauer
William A. Beardslee
Alvin V. Beatty
W. Duane Belt
Immanuel Ben-Dor
Francis S. Benjamin Jr.
William Bevan Jr.
O. Francis Binkley
Jack S. Boozer
Alvin Boskoff
G. H. Bourne
Boone Moss Bowen
David Brandes
George F. Brasington
Gerhard A. Brecher
William E. Brillhart
Jacqueline D. Brimmer
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James A. Gould
Edward Grace
Willard H. Grant
Stephen W. Gray
Donald Ross Green
John Willis Gregory
Albert Griffin
John A. Griffin
Donald F. Groth
Joseph E. Guillebeau
Helen Hagan
Barnard L. Hallman
Mabel Hamrick
F. Lane Hardy
Marvin H. Harper
Martha Ray Harris
Charles R. Hart
Charles Hartshorne
Curry T. Haynes
Richard L. Henderson
Garland Herndon
Marion Hines
Richard Hocking
Newton C. Hodgson
Lynwood M. Holland
Charles D. Hounshell
Miriam Howell
Ronald F. Howell
Sara Nell Howell
Charles M. Huguley Jr.
Asa A. Humphries Jr.
James M. Hund
Jane A. Russell
Steven E. Mayer
Nancy S. Meleen
C. E. Miller
Faith S. Miller
H. Prentice Miller
Hugh Miller
James A. Miller
Elizabeth Mills
Barbara Montgomery
Neil C. Moran
Martha E. Morehead
Rachel O. Murrah
George Neely
J. Carlton Nunan
Ward Pafford
Evangeline Papageorge
Merrill M. Parvis
Justus R. Pearson Jr.
Garland Perdue
Carl C. Pfeiffer
Robert B. Platt
Alberto Porqueras
R. Waldo Powell
Frederick Carl Prussner
James Rabun
Charles Gray Jr.
Agnes L. Reagan
Allen Rebuck
Ellis Heber Rece
Bryan L. Redd Jr.
John M. Reiner
James I. Robertson Jr.
James V. Rogers Jr.
Robert H. Rohrer
Evelyn Rowe
E. Earl Royals
Theodore Runyon Jr.
Nina E. Rusk

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EMORY

Continued From Page 1

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H. Prentice Miller, dean of the Lower Division and associate professor of biochemistry; Ellis Herber Rece, dean of students and professor of Bible and religious education, and Mack Boyd Stokes, professor of systematic theology and associate dean of the school of theology.

The signers included members of the faculties of the schools of medicine, nursing, business administration, law, theology, basic sciences, art and sciences and graduate studies, representatives of Emory-at-Oxford and more than 95 per cent of the 135 members of the schools of arts and sciences and graduate studies signed.

3 WINNERS

Continued From Page 1

ting down on her pay. She has three children, 9 to 14. Her husband is a mechanic.

The Kents moved here last July 4 from Bessemer, Ala. She has been working my puzzle all along, and came close to winning several times.

* * *

MRS. MOOREHEAD, "old enough to retire" from the legal division of the Veterans Administration, said she had been entering the contest "just to pass the time away."

"I can't believe it," she said. "It never occurred to me that I might win anything."

But there she was, one of my three winners.

We have a new puzzle next week, you know, and the jackpot again starts at $500. So all you puzzle lovers turn to Page 22A and get busy.

* * *

WANT TO KNOW why you missed last week, all of you except my three winners?

No. 9 across should have been SHIN, not SKIN.

No. 20 across should have been LOT, not POT.

No. 28 across should have been HEM, not GEM.

No. 5 down should have been DUET, not DUEL.

No. 11 down should have been RUST, not RUSH.

No. 24 down should have been FEW, not NEW.

So there you are, and here we go again. Good luck.

Archbishop Improves

LONDON, Nov. 29 (AP)—The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, is making satisfactory progress after a hernia operation, his office announced Saturday. The 71-year-old leader of the Anglican church, underwent the operation Friday.

strengthen them and improve them.

in 1946.

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Lyle E. Campbell
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Robert W. Carney
William A. Cassel
Frank J. Charvat
Marion T. Clark
Cooper C. Clements
H. Lawrence Clever
Joseph M. Conant
Melvin L. Conrad
George F. Cooper Jr.
R. Linton Cox Jr.
Howard R. Cramer
George P. Cuttino
R. A. Day Jr.
William J. Dickey
Arthur T. Dietz
John F. Doby
Edward R. Dorney
Elizabeth Donovan
Margaret C. Drummond
R. Bingham Duncan
Eugene Dutton
Virgil Y. C. Eady
Marshall R. Elizer
Patrick F. Elliott
Stanley Ellis
Thomas H. English
Trevor Evans
Frank W. Fales
O. Floyd Feely Jr.
Arva Colbert Floyd
Ada Fort
Herbert E. Francis Jr.
Roland Mushat Frye
Robert W. Funk
E. Clinton Gardner
Allen K. Garrison
Warren E. Gauerke
Alex H. Gay
Hazel Ann Gill
James A. Gentry Jr.
John H. Goff
Abner Golden
Jacob H. Goldstein
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Miriam Howell
Ronald F. Howell
Sara Nell Howell
Charles M. Huguley Jr.
Asa A. Humphries Jr.
James M. Hund
Ernest L. Hunt
Walter Isaac
Augustus W. Jackson
Charlotte Jackson
Evalene Parsons Jackson
Elizabeth H. Jenney
Harold L. Johnson
William H. Jones
Gerald Ray Jordan
G. Stanley Joslin
Elliot Juni
Grant E. Kaiser
Edith Karush
Ruth C. Kelly
Arthur T. Kittle
Roger Klein
Mabel Korsell
Edward T. Ladd
Maurice Curtis Langhorne
Frank Lanni
Yvonne Lanni
Andrew Lasslo
Claiborne G. Latimer
Luis Leal
Ted F. Leigh
Ernest S. Lent
Charles T. Lester
William Lewis
Franklin N. Littell
Bruce Logue
John B. Lyon Jr.
Guy R. Lyle
D. J. McCorquodale
Thomas E. McDonough
James R. Major
William C. Mallard
William Mallard
Cynthia Mallory
Leon Mandell
Harold W. Mann
Edwin T. Martin
Romeo J. Martin
W. Roy Mason Jr.
Joseph J. Mathews
James William May
Steven E. Mayer
Nancy S. Meleen
C. E. Miller
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H. Prentice Miller
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Evelyn Rowe
E. Earl Royals
Theodore Runyon Jr.
Nina E. Rusk
Jane A. Russell
Annelle Samply
Robert L. Scranton
Raymond Shapira
Walter H. Sheldon
Samuel M. Shiver Jr.
James W. Simmons
Alfred G. Smith
Garland G. Smith
James M. Smith
Philip E. Smith
Ernest L. Snodgrass
Nan L. Springstead
John C. Stephens
Peter A. Stewart
V. W. Steward
Mack Boyd Stokes
John Paul Strain
Walter A. Strauss
Edmund W. Strozier
William A. Strozier
George Szabo
Morris Tager
Neil C. Tappen
Claude Holmes Thompson
William M. Tucker
Barbara S. Uehling
Arthur L. Underwood
Douglas A. Unfug
Nancy W. Walls
Judson C. Ward Jr.
Theodore R. Weber
Sam C. Webb
E. Chappell White
William Tate Whitman
Bell I. Wiley
M. C. Wiley
Alfred E. Wilhelmi
Harriet Williams
Harry L. Williams
Mary Margaret Williams
William R. Williams
R. Hugh Wood
Paul Worley
James Harvey Young

Families who plan together, are more and
becoming conscious of teaching the lesson of th
their children by opening an account fo
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to add to their savings reg
This method has already begun to build funds for
education of these children who must compete in a worl
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ATLANTA JOURNAL May 18, 1961

Southwest Group Urges Racial Calm

The Southwest Atlanta Community Council has appealed to citizens and civic organizations for help in maintaining law and order when schools desegregate this fall.

The council met Wednesday afternoon to put its appeal in the form of a letter to every civic, religious and educational group in southwest Atlanta.

The letter was said to be, in part, a result of the efforts of OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September) to create "a climate of calm, dignified acceptance of desegregation in the fall."

Rev. W. H. Rittenhouse Jr. addressed the council at its luncheon meeting. "I, as a pastor, am going to back the law of the land whatever the law is," he said. "We've got to put into people (the proposition) that here is a law, and now are we going to face it and act congenially and act like people ought to act."

The Rev. Mr. Rittenhouse is pastor of Sylvan Hills Baptist Church.

* * *

THE COUNCIL based its letter on the premise that "in September of this year the 11th and 12th grades of the Atlanta public schools will be desegregated."

"This is a fact we must face. There is no alternative short of closing our schools . . . the first assumption or condition that we must accept is that desegregation is a fact in law," the letter said. "Our purpose in writing this letter is to alert our community service groups, through their leadership, to the great need for a sane approach to this problem."

The council, which is headed by Ed S. Cook Jr., area school superintendent, said it was not attempting to change anyone's personal views on segregation.

* * *

HOWEVER, said the letter, laws must be obeyed whether they are liked or not. Outlined were courses individual citizens should take.

1. Stay calm and exercise "mature and calculated judgment."
2. Act always within the law.
3. Discourage and attempt to calm those of his friends who get emotional over the situation.
4. Support proper authorities as they attempt to preserve order.
5. Inform police of "cladestine" atempts to violence or intimidation.
6. Encourage children to see "the virtue of these same precepts."

* * *

THE LETTER said community groups should:

1. Arrive at, and clearly state, aims and position, publicly, if possible.
2. Adopt resolutions condemning acts of violence and intimidation.
3. Not take sides with "extremists."
4. Conduct a program of education of members and the general public.

"Let's strive with all the sincerity of our beings to preserve peace and tranquility through our time of testing," said the letter. "We can profit from the mistakes and the tragedies of our sister cities."

"We must back up our school officials, cooperate with the police department and discourage those who kindle strife," the letter concluded.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION May 20, 1961

Obey School Edict, Atlanta Bar Asks

By BRUCE GALPHIN

The governing body of the Atlanta Bar Association called on all Atlantans Friday to abide by the federal court's school desegregation orders next fall and maintain the peace.

"There would be chaos and anarchy if each citizen were free to choose which decisions of the courts he would obey," an official statement of the group's executive committee declared.

The statement, adopted unanimously by the executive committee, was the strongest position yet taken by the group on the school question. Previously it had endorsed open-school legislation.

A spokesman explained that the committee had decided several weeks ago that a clear-cut statement of law was necessary because:

1. The public was being misled by statements of self-styled constitutional authorities.

2. The full impact of desegregation would be coming home to Atlantans when the School Board in June announces assignment of Negroes to formerly all-white schools.

The executive committee chose what it called a "blue-ribbon"

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Continued From Page 1

panel to draft the statement. Those chosen were Robert B. Troutman Sr., chairman; Edward S. White, Randolph Thrower, Robert B. Sams, F. M. Bird and Joseph L. Abraham.

The statement follows:

"The U.S. District Court sitting in Atlanta has entered an order which ends compulsory segregation of the races in the Atlanta public schools. It will become effective upon the reopening of the schools in September. The questions decided in the case have been before the courts for a long number of years and have been determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, in litigation, in which all parties at interest were heard.

"The District Court had no choice in the matter. The judge adopted the only course open to him in conformity with his oath of office and in conformity with controlling law.

"It is no longer a matter of preference or choice. The judgment is conclusive and binding. It is the fundamental law under our constitutions and under our American system.

"We remind every citizen of the fundamental fact that our very lives, our liberty, our rights to our homes and other property are dependent upon our system of law. Obedience to the decisions of our courts, which protect these rights, is the heart of our system. This is true whether an individual agrees with the court or not. There would be chaos and anarchy if each citizen were free to choose which decisions of the courts he would obey.

MUST BAR HATRED

"Civilization cannot exist without order, and order cannot be maintained without law. Atlanta, as a great and civilized city, is dependent on the determination of its people to avoid the hatred, bitterness and destruction that accompany lawlessness, and the fear and insecurity generated by disrespect for law.

"We recognize the special responsibility of lawyers to encourage respect for law and for our courts. The Atlanta Bar Association, therefore, calls upon all persons in this community to conduct themselves as good citizens, to obey the order of the District Court, and to give sincere help to our school officials as they endeavor to perform their difficult duty under it."

Virginia – Dope

The Southern PATRIOT

(Reprinted from)

Vol. 23, No. 7

September, 1965

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Accents are Southern

Experiment in Virginia

(By Staff Correspondent)

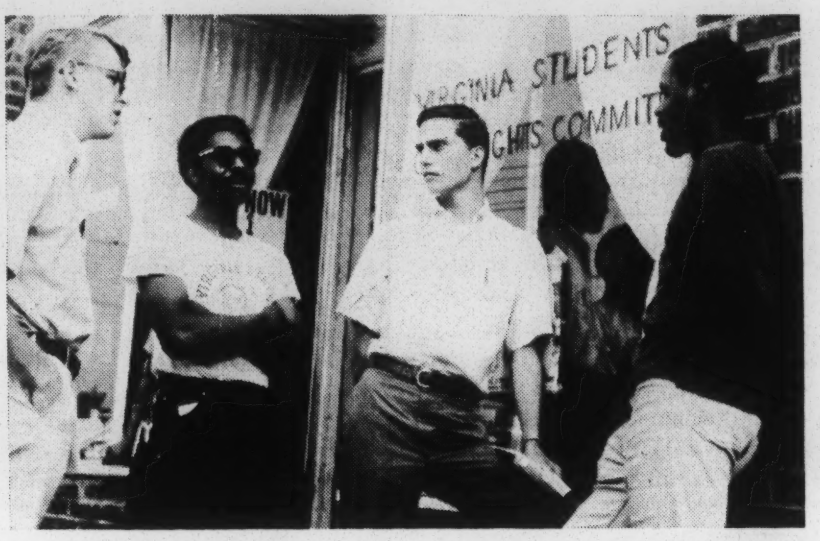
BLACKSTONE, Va. — It's very much like the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project in miniature—except that the accents of most of the workers are Southern.

This is the 1965 Summer Project of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee (VSCRC), headquartered in Blackstone and fanning out through six Black Belt counties.

Through the summer, 20 young people worked in the project, 15 of them white, virtually all students in seven Virginia colleges, most of them native Southerners.

Ben Montgomery, chairman of VSCRC and a student last year at Hampton Institute. tells how it came about:

"We began talking at a statewide student conference called by SNCC last fall. We decided we didn't need to go to Mississippi to find work that needed doing. We had problems right here."



—*Southern Patriot Photo*

DISCUSSING VIRGINIA'S 'CONTROLLED SOCIETY' and what to do about it, some members of the Virginia summer student project gather in front of their Blackstone headquarters, (from left) Howard Romaine, University of Virginia, Lucius "Duke" Edwards, Virginia State College, David Lubs, University of Virginia, and Ben Montgomery, Hampton Institute.

The area they chose, Virginia's Black Belt, lies south of Richmond, the state's Fourth Congressional District. Negroes make up 47.9 per cent of the District population and are a majority in 10 of its 18 counties. Last June only 18.6 per cent of those eligible were registered to vote.

Median income for the entire district is $3,532 a year—putting it 405th among the 435 congressional districts in the nation; from one fourth to one third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 a year. The area is rural, the main crop tobacco.

To the casual observer, however, there is nothing at all like Mississippi's vast flat stretches of cotton fields sprinkled with tiny cabins and then one big mansion where the owner lives. The country here is prettier—hills and greenery and variety.

"The problems are covered up better," explains Lucius "Duke" Edwards, a project worker. "Many people think Virginia Negroes are free just because nobody is shooting at them every few nights."

Edwards says that if Mississippi is the "closed society," Virginia is the "controlled society."

Traditionally, this state has been run from the top by the few. Registration and voting figures are among the lowest in the nation, for white as well as Negro. The government is highly centralized. Real power lies with circuit court judges elected by the legislature; the judges appoint key local officials including those who control schools and welfare.

Even local elected officials are beholden to centralized power, because a state compensation board annually fixes their salaries. The whole system was made to order for machine control, which Virginia has long had.

How do a handful of idealistic college students go about tackling such a formidable force to let some fresh air of democracy in?

You start somewhere, these students say—in one county, now six counties, later more. And you work, you have faith—and when you get discouraged you start all over.

The first thing these students did, last winter, was research. No civil rights project in the South has been more carefully prepared for than this one. They collected facts and figures on the area. Then they visited some local people.

Then they talked among themselves. Stanley Wise of the SNCC staff met with them. By summer they were deeply imbued with the SNCC philosophy that an organizer is not a missionary who goes out to help "the people" but a catalyst who helps people help themselves.

"Our job," explains Howard Romaine of the University of Virginia, "is to find out what people want and need and help them organize themselves."

So this summer they spent a lot of time just listening.

Voter registration was an obvious objective, but far from the only one. Crop allotments were a big issue, for there is often evidence of discrimination.

Lack of jobs is a major problem for Negro young people; most of them leave, a Lunenburg County youth told the *Patriot* reporter, because they think they will find a job in the North. They rarely do, so usually come back—and join the Army as a last resort.

And sometimes the problem was just food.

"Let's don't talk about civil rights, honey, let's talk about food," one woman told Anne Romaine (Howard's wife; there were two young married couples on the project). This woman had four children and was really hungry. So that set the students to trying to get surplus food into the county.

SCOPE, the summer organizing project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also had workers in this area (they were from out of state), and a Presbyterian group had a tutoring project. They all worked together.

What is the reaction of local Negroes to these white students who come to their homes—not Northern students but white Southerners?

"They just don't believe it," laughed Duke Edwards, himself a Negro. "They ask where they are from, and the kids say

Virginia Project....

(Continued from Page 1)

Staunton or Lynchburg, or somewhere else in Virginia—and they can't believe it."

Trust, of course, does not come overnight, but it is not impossible, and real relationships grew.

As for the white students themselves, they are an inspiring group; full of the contagious joy of those who have found their way out of the sham of the Southern segregated world. Unlike the mavericks of earlier generations, they are beginning to have the numbers that make them know they are part of a real movement.

There is Howard Romaine, native of Louisiana who was studying bio-chemistry when he discovered the sit-ins and Mississippi and the movement and couldn't get his mind on the chemistry anymore ("It bugged me, man, it bugged me.") There is Nan Grogan, cheerleader at a Virginia high school, social leader at Mary Washington College—until she worked in an Atlanta slum on a YWCA project, saw poverty first-hand, found SNCC, went to Mississippi.

And so on down the list—each with his own story, breaking away, finding freedom.

Nan Grogan thinks they feel it all more deeply than many Northern students who come South. She worked in Mississippi last summer and was amazed during the winter when she visited another summer worker in New England and found that his interest in the movement had cooled.

"They went home to be heroes, had dinners given in their honor, all that," she explains. "If you are from the South and work in the movement, you may go home to ostracism and pain. So you think a long time and when you make up your mind you really believe."

One future objective of the Virginia project will be to organize among the poor white people as well as the Negroes of this impoverished region and to bring them together.

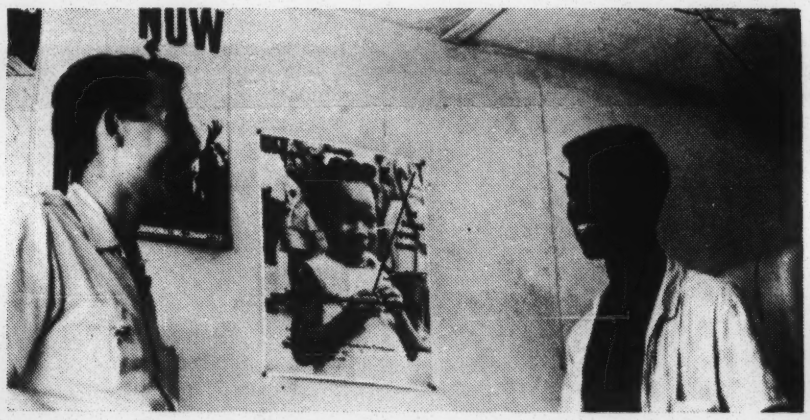
There is also talk of literacy schools, political action to support independent candidates for both local and state offices, and community organizations to make use of anti-poverty programs in a way that makes them really belong to the local people.

The project will continue; some summer workers will stay. Those returning to campuses will be telling their experiences, attempting to bring other searching young people to the wide world of emancipation and social commitment. There will be weekend organizing projects during the year, and hopefully many more on the job next summer.

Here perhaps is the greatest significance of this project: not only Southern black and white students working together, but working in communities close to home and thus bridging the gap that so often separates the intellectual from his fellowman.

(The Virginia student project is not the child of any national organization, so has limited financial resources. You can make a tax exempt donation through the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn., which is supporting them. Make checks to SSOC, and mark them for VSCRC.)

Southern Students Organize



—*Patriot Photo*

THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's SCOPE workers jointly set up an office, library and community center in Victoria, Va. Here SCOPE worker Bill Monnie of West Virginia Wesleyan College (left) talks with a local civil rights worker, John Boyd.

HELPING LOCAL PEOPLE learn the mechanics of organizing is part of the Virginia students' work. Here two project workers, Howard Romaine (left) and Bill Towe, show Richard Wallace and Lawrence Fowlks how to run the mimeograph machine.

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Black Power

The Future of "Black Power"

A Movement in Search of a Program

by Andrew Kopkind

In the six months since the Meredith marchers first cried it aloud, "black power" has won a certain acceptance, if not by logical argument then by default. Integration has been whipped by the front-, side-, and back-lash; the war on poverty is in retreat; reform politics stopped abruptly on November 8 and may not start again in this generation. Even so, black power remains an untested evocation of moods and expectations. If it can be the basis for a program of action, the young organizers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will have to do much of the hard work. Early in December, they met for ten days in the Catskills to make their plans.

SNCC staff conferences are always something between psychodrama and guerrilla school. People wander in and out of meetings, and in and out of town, at all hours. No one is quite sure when a conference will end, if at all. When it is over, none of the participants can say exactly what happened; as in Marienbad, reality is a very personal thing. But SNCC meetings have had an effect on the country hugely out of proportion to their public visibility. The first ones, in the early 'sixties, formulated the strategy of direct action and established sit-ins as practically a way of life for young Americans. Out of the next set of meetings came the rudiments of black political movements in the South, and led to the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Out of SNCC's experience, as well as its romanticism, came the notion that the very poor, and particularly rural Southern Negroes, are uniquely qualified to direct campaigns for social change. And at the conference last May, Stokely Carmichael was elected national chairman and the outlines of black power were drawn.

The December meeting, logically, would help fill in the outline. But at the beginning, the hundred or so staff members were more concerned with white power than black. Carmichael and others of his particular persuasion arrived to find the conference in the hands of a "nationalist" caucus. Its line was simple: withdrawal. The nationalists wanted the last few remaining white workers in SNCC booted out. They would have nothing to do with white America around them, and if they could not leave it physically, then they would retreat into the fortress of black consciousness.

The Carmichael faction was appalled. "It took them three days to recover, just to the point where they could define their own terms," one worker said. Carmichael and those who came with him out of Howard University in the early 'sixties have never been separatists. "Blackness," Courtland Cox likes to say, "is necessary but not sufficient." They see that whites can help in several ways: on the impersonal (but often controlling) level of money, then as protection against political attacks, and, at the end, as partners in radical social movements. But the major strategic consideration at this point is to get Negroes – the young, the poor, the ghettoized – to believe in their own potential.

"The one thing SNCC is fighting is white supremacy," Charlie Cobb, another of the Howard group, said. "We're fighting the paralysis that it has caused among blacks. We've got to get blacks to unlearn that." Carmichael has been trying to do that since last spring, and his method is the celebration of black power.

A former (white) SNCC member explained it: "You don't get support from mainstream whites, or from Negroes who think they're in the mainstream. You see that the mainstream isn't going to change things, but you aren't strong enough yet to rely on the outsiders. People get bought off, or tempted, or frightened. So you've got to build a whole new culture – of blackness."

SNCC has been more successful in that strategy in a few months than other Negro leaders (except, perhaps, for Malcolm X – posthumously) have ever been. Carmichael "turns on" the people in Watts who kicked Martin Luther King out when he came to quiet the community during the 1965 revolt. He does it by exciting them about their own possibilities in America, and also by painting a historical picture of the development of Africa and the "third world." SNCC people like to talk about a "Black Belt" of a hundred million people, stretching from the Aleutians to the southern tip of the Andes. That view of the world justifies SNCC's charge that the war in Vietnam is "racist," and its characterization of Negro soldiers as "black mercenaries" in the United States Army.

There is a debate in SNCC about whether it is nec-

essary to build its new "culture" on a base of anti-colonialism, or on the history of the struggle of black people in the US. The problem with the former is that as the work of bringing change gets harder, people will engage in fantasies and wait for the Zambian Air Force to save American Negroes.

In one way, SNCC is selecting its own audience, and is sensitizing it to the presence of whites. Much of the audience reacts without the strategic subtlety that Carmichael would like. They have already "unlearned" the lessons of white supremacy; what they have not yet learned (and what SNCC may be failing to teach them) are the tough techniques and discipline of radical political motion. "It's a hard job," one white friend of SNCC said not long ago; "sort of like teaching Trotskyists to be Young Democrats." But Carmichael's new constituents don't want to explain to the young white radicals in their midst that they must work separately, love each other, and develop independently. They just want to bop them on their heads.

The SNCC "nationalists' " hang-up took up half the December conference. They argued that the organization's purpose – as Carmichael himself once wrote – was to "address itself to the problem of helping black communities define their needs, realize their strength, and go into action along a variety of lines which they must choose for themselves." Whites – even sympathetic ones – were not only irrelevant to that mission; they negated the "model" of black movement.

The Carmichael group – composed largely of the veterans of the Southern civil rights campaigns – has its own ambivalence about white-black relationship. But its partisans said that it was at least nonsense, and perhaps self-defeating to worry about the handful of whites in SNCC. The organization was already overwhelmingly black, and it was necessary to keep up contacts with white radicals and somehow important to keep SNCC from freezing. "Organizing in the North is cold," Carmichael said later. "You've got to become like ice. In the South there is some sense of community; in the North everyone is hustling, one against another." Just the effort it takes to "love" whites could have a salutary effect.

The debate dragged on, and a series of votes were taken on the proposal to exclude whites. At one point, former executive secretary James Forman moved to disband SNCC completely; he lost. One long-time white staffer came to talk about a project for organizing poor whites in the South; it was never formally considered. Later, he was asked to leave the meeting while the status of whites in the group was being discussed. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a SNCC stalwart and a powerful figure in the Mississippi Freedom Democrats, was honored at SNCC's annual dinner, whereupon she turned on her old friends, as much in sadness as in anger, for growing "cold" and unloving. By so saying, Mrs. Hamer invoked the shade of Bob Moses (now called Parris), who still hovers over SNCC meetings. The legend of his hard, gem-like humanism is probably much overdrawn, but much of what goes on in SNCC, black and white, touches the Moses myth at one point or another.

Bob Moses was a young black intellectual from the North who went into Mississippi before anyone else, was forced out, but developed the brilliant Summer Project in 1964 and came back. He left a few months later, agonizing over his role as the "leader" he never wanted to be. He does not come around to SNCC conferences these days – no one is quite sure where he is – but he remains the moral touchstone of the older SNCC people, at least.

The final vote on the "white question" was taken at three in the morning. As a compromise, it was phrased so as to allow whites to remain in fund-raising and administrative work, but exclude them from organizing or policy roles. Carmichael voted against it, but the proposal passed 19 to 18; there were two dozen abstentions, and almost half the staff members were not even present.

When they stopped talking about whites, the SNCC workers began to get down to the crucial problem of their organization, and of the whole Negro movement. "We're in a bind," Carmichael said. "How do we 'program' black power?"

SNCC could not yet resolve the dilemma – partly because of its preoccupation with "white power." It may also be the case that conditions are not yet ripe for the development of those simple "programs" that people tell SNCC to develop. The constituency of black people who are aware of their situation in American society, in SNCC's terms, is small. And the larger society is just liberal enough, and just flexible enough, to smother radical programs almost as they take first breath.

Tentative Conclusions

At least SNCC knows it has to grapple with the problem of rhetoric *versus* program, and the conference came to a number of tentative conclusions that established a direction for black radical energies over the next years.

First of all, the focus of new activities will definitely swing to Northern urban areas from the rural South. As SNCC sees it, the failure of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (the "Black Panther Party") and the Mississippi Freedom Democrats to take power is not so much a function of bad organizing as it is of isolation. "The place that really has the power is the North," Carmichael said. That is, it has the troops

who are "cold" enough to disrupt the society and build independent movements.

In Northern cities (and perhaps some urbanized areas of the South, which behave like Northern ghettoes), SNCC wants to start "freedom organizations," with their own political, educational, economic, and cultural components. That may mean third political parties, co-op businesses, freedom schools, and "afro" cultural centers. In the past several months, there are examples of all of them, only a few SNCC-inspired, in many cities. But SNCC's resources for nitty-gritty organizing – and perhaps its will to work in a low key over a long period of time – are thin. There are only two SNCC projects going on with much seriousness in the North – in Philadelphia and New York – and neither is yet much more than a first-step affair. The problem of constructing real institutions, not just rhetorical ones, is almost impossibly hard. So far, SNCC has tried to capitalize on other people's crises – a rent strike here, a campaign for "black control" there (as in the attempt of Harlem parents to take over school policy-making at IS 201).

The concept of "black power" itself is creative enough; it has already been appropriated by firmly "established" Negroes and whites as a basis for less radical reforms. The housing proposals of Professors Cloward and Piven (presented in this journal, December 17) were black power ideas. Many of the plans heard by the Ribicoff committee on urban problems were black power plans, although the planners might look on the term with horror.

But it is hardly SNCC's purpose, much less its intention, just to feed ideas to social engineers and politicians. As much as Carmichael wants to believe it is possible to work with white organizations, he is hard put to find the right ones. He wants "a coalition in which blacks will not be absorbed or betrayed," he once wrote. But that does not include "coalition" with any government agency. The war on poverty, for instance, may give some black people some of the things they need, but to Carmichael it keeps them under white manipulation, and does nothing for the underlying cause of poverty: powerlessness.

Trapped by White Radicals

Even white radical "coalitions," such as might be possible in a Southern political campaign, or a Northern fight for control of housing policy, are suspect. SNCC has always felt threatened, and in a sense trapped by white radicals. Many white middle-class students were first brought into radical roles by SNCC, but it was never clear that the white and black movements were continuous.

Carmichael wants SNCC to be intensely political, in the way that SDS has not been. But he also criticizes the white New Left for thinking, in his phrase, that "what's good for the US is good for black people." His main concern is to give Negroes the chance to make their own decisions and control their own lives. The point isn't that white radicals might make better decisions for Negroes than white conservatives would. The important thing, Carmichael declares, is "self-determination."

What galls SNCC people most is the way white radicals seem to have treated SNCC as a kind of psychotherapy, as a way to work out problems of alienation and boredom and personal inadequacy. A season of organizing in Mississippi, despite (or because of) the dangers and discomforts, was often more therapeutic for the white organizer than the blacks being organized. To SNCC, that was a form of "unconscious racism," manipulation, and white supremacy. What is happening now is that many of those whites feel hopelessly rejected by their Negro friends, like patients whose analyst suddenly leaves town. The feeling leads to mawkish outpourings of self-pity, like a white SNCC veteran's recent article in the *Village Voice:* ". . . I'm mad. It's the kind of anger one might feel in, say, a love relationship, when after entering honestly you find that your loved one's been balling with someone else, and what's worse, enjoying it."

The connection between young white and black activists was never only one way. In fact, SNCC may be more heavily "white" in its ideology than some members care to believe. Carmichael, Cox, Cobb, and many others were first activated at Howard by a young white socialist, Tom Kahn, who is now executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The problem remains for SNCC people to control *their* anger about white insensitivity. Faced with a barely vulnerable "system" and the hostility of whites, the temptation for many Negroes is to swallow all humanist feeling in black anger. Contrary to his popular image, Carmichael and his colleagues in SNCC are trying to do just the opposite. It is a difficult, and a dangerous game. Carmichael, too, has his hang-ups about whites, and he has problems of communicating the urgency of political strategy to his angry followers. He told people at the December conference that he would like to abandon his public role, and return to less visible organizing when his term as chairman expires in May. In its few years of life, SNCC's value has been a unique ability to swing with "what's happening" with black people. That means leading, understanding, and simply moving with the hard edge of the Negro movement. Other organizations have fallen behind, and other leaders have fallen on their faces. SNCC people will have to keep their wits, and their heads, to make a go of it now.

File

AN INFORMATION EXCHANGE ON COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

sponsored by

The Cambridge Institute

October 3, 4 and 5, 1969

at the Marriott Motor Hotel

Route 128 and Massachusetts Turnpike

Boston, Massachusetts

PROGRAM

Friday, October 3

4:00 P.M. - 6:00 P.M. — Registration and Check-in
Informal Cocktails

6:30 P.M. - 8:00 P.M. — Dinner

8:00 P.M. — Welcome to Exchange
James Morey, Cambridge Institute, Center for Community Economic Development

Welcome to Boston
Mel King Director, New Urban League of Greater Boston

8:15 P.M. - 10:00 P.M. — Panel Discussion:

Topic: Community-Based Economic Development in Operation
Moderator: Stewart Perry, Cambridge Institute, Center for Community Economic Development

Panel Participants:

De Forest Brown, Jr.
Executive Director,
Hough Area Development Corporation
Cleveland, Ohio

Alex Mercure
State Program Director
Home Education
Livelihood Program
Alberquerque, New Mexico

Franklin Thomas
Executive Director
Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corp.
Brooklyn, New York

Charles Sherrod
President, New Communities, Inc.
Albany, Georgia

De Leon McEwen, Jr.
President
Rochester Fighton Corporaton
Rochester, New York

Saturday, October 4, Continued

12:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.	Lunch
2:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	Workshops
5:00 P.M.	Cocktail Parties and Discussion
6:30 P.M. - 8:00 P.M.	Dinner
8:00 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.	Open Meeting

Forms of Cooperation among Projects

Coordinator: Robert Browne

Director, Black Economic Research Center

Vice Chairman, Black Economic Development Conference

*Shapiro Forum, Olin-Sang Building, Brandeis University

8:00 P.M. - 10 P.M. Open Meeting

General Subject: Foreign Experiences with Community-Based Development

*Golding Auditorium, Brandeis University

Moderator: Peter Edelman, R. F. Kennedy Foundation

Panel Participants

Edward Boorstein, Economist, Monthly Review	(Cuba)
Shimon Gottschalk, Florence Heller School, Brandeis Univ.	(Israel)
Gerry Hunnius, Praxis Corporation	(Yugoslavia)
Matt Edel, Professor of Economics, M.I.T.	(Latin America)

*Transportation will be provided to and from Brandeis

Saturday, October 4

9:00 A.M. - 10:30 A.M. Panel Discussion:

Topic: Can Community-Based Programs Grow in a Private Enterprise System?

Moderator: Geoffrey Faux, Chief, Economic Development Branch
Office of Economic Opportunity
Policy and Evaluation Division

Panel Participants

Andrew Bennett
Economic Development Administration
Dept. of Commerce

John McClaughry
McClaughry Associates, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Eugene Foley
Dreyfus Fund
New York City

David Keller
Director, Urban Loan Program
American National Bank
and Trust Co.
Chicago, Illinois

10:30 A M. - 12:30 P.M. Workshops:

Rural Workshop A
Moderator: Alex Mercure, State Program Director, H.E.L.P.

Rural Workshop B
Moderator: Robert Swann, Consultant, New Communities, Inc.

Urban Workshop A
Moderator: Willard R. Johnson, Director, Circle, Inc., Boston

Urban Workshop B
Moderator: Bernard Gifford
Chairman of the Board, Fighton Industries

Sunday, October 5

9:00 A.M. - 11:00 A.M.	Informal Meetings Session #1 (Trading of Experiences)

A number of small groups of experienced practitioners in various fields have been assigned to discuss particular topics of concern to development project managers. A final determination of both topics and participants will be made on the basis of interest expressed through the lists included in the welcoming brochures. A finalized list of these sessions, with the respective suites being used, will be distributed on Saturday.

11:00 A.M. - 11:15 A.M.	Coffee Break
11:15 A.M. - 1:00 P.M.	Informal Meetings Session #2
1:30 P.M. - 2:30 P.M.	Lunch
2:30 P.M. - 4:00 P.M.	Panel:

General Subject: The Future of Community-Based Economic Development.
Moderator: Robert Browne

Panel Participants

Geoffrey Faux
Chief, Economic Development Branch
Policy and Evaluation Division
Office of Economic Opportunities

Gar Alperovitz
Co-Director, Cambridge Institute
Cambridge

Irving Levine
Director, American Jewish Committee
New York City

Mel King, Director
New Urban League of
Greater Boston

Herman Gallegos
Director, Southwest Council of La Raza

4:00 P.M.	Adjourn

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Probably Dirksen himself had no idea of the power of the explosive he touched off. That explosive is the profound loathing of the Constitution that has always imbued the mentality of low-grade Americans. Their hatred may be without excuse, but it is not without reason, for the Constitution is not adapted to them. The Convention that wrote the Constitution seems to have included a handful of lunk-heads, but in the main it was composed of exceptionally intelligent, exceptionally well-informed, and exceptionally bold men who designed a governmental structure adapted to a bold and intelligent nation. Aware that they were undertaking what had been tried repeatedly, but never successfully, they had what it took to plunge ahead.

But they were dealing with the America of 1787, and it is not necessarily true that an organic law admirably adapted to that country at that time is as well suited to this country at this time. The Preamble they wrote states six reasons for the existence of the United States and every one of them was based on hope, not experience – union, justice, tranquility, defense, welfare and liberty were not, but were to be achieved. To adopt the metaphor of Warren G. Harding, they drew to a pair of deuces and filled – hair-raising poker indeed.

They had been through a desperate war, it is true, but only one, and its outcome had made them, for the moment, relatively safe from foreign aggression, and therefore free to experiment with political theory. Contrast that with the situation of the American of 1970. Beginning in 1917, he now lives in the 53rd successive year that might be characterized by the famous French phrase, Terror is the Order of the Day. He has long been inured to a foreign policy into which he is not drawn by his hopes, but propelled by his fears, and his domestic policy has been colored by that lurid glow. Even the brilliant Roosevelt-Truman episode was tolerated by the "silent majority" – silent because it can think of nothing to say – less because it was seen as an advance toward triumph than because it seemed to be the only possible flight from ruin.

No doubt the hardier spirits among us have been forged and tempered by the ordeal, but not those of inferior quality. Fifty-three years of fright have reduced their minds and hearts to a jelly-like mass whose only spontaneous action is to quiver. How can a governmental structure designed for a bold and confident people be anything but a sad misfit when it is imposed on a people not drawn by their hopes, but driven by their fears? The proposed Dirksen Amendment was consciously aimed at the Bill of Rights and perhaps at the Fourteenth Amendment, but it opens the way to reconstruction of the whole framework of the republic.

Possibly a resolutely cheerful philosopher might convince himself that a thorough-going reconstruction of the Constitution might be not a bad thing, seeing that the parallel advance of time and technology has rendered some of its provisions anomalous. That is true, as the 25 amendments attest, and nothing short of radical surgery could excide the most preposterous of them, the indestructibility of the states and the repudiation of excellence by single-class citizenship. Population is already crowding to the water's edge – the Lakes, the Gulf and the oceans – and it seems likely that much of the area between the mountains will presently have as year-round inhabitants only the relatively small number of technicians required to operate its mechanized agriculture. Thus division of the continental United States into 48 pseudo-sovereignties no longer makes sense. Again, while equality of all men in the eyes of the law is the mudsill of democracy, their equality in any other eyes is simply not a fact. No man can excel in intellect or character if no other man is his inferior. Privilege is abominable, but prerogative is another matter and, in theory at least, the difference should be embedded in the structure of the government.

But that either of these genuine reforms would be adopted by a new constitutional convention is beyond the bounds of credibility. Deformation, not reformation, is far the more probable outcome simply because a nation as badly scared as this one is at present cannot do anything sensible and its most serious attempts at political philosophy are almost certain to eventuate in political lunacy.

Gerald W. Johnson

N.R. 3-7-70

The Nixon Watch SR@ Edw Fed Sen

Sham or Surrender?

It was 7 p.m. on February 23 and time for Harry Dent to get back to his work at the White House, after 90 minutes of the kind of easy talk he loves, when I said to him in parting: "If what you have been telling me is correct, a lot of people in the South are going to wake up one day soon and realize that this Administration has double-crossed them." Harry laughed and said that he didn't think so. What he had been telling me was correct, nobody was being double-crossed, and – with soft and friendly emphasis: "You tell your Atlanta friend that I think he's wrong."

The Atlanta friend is Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council. He and Harry Dent are very different white men: Anthony working with the Council for racial integration in every phase of the region's life because he thinks it is right; and Dent, sometime assistant to Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and now the President's Special Counsel and political coordinator, working (he really does) to reconcile the South to a necessary minimum

of integration because he thinks it is inevitable and in the Republican interest. I had talked to Anthony by telephone from Washington that afternoon and (without naming him) had quoted the gist of what he said to Dent. "There is just the most widespread feeling down here," Paul Anthony said, "from black militants right across the board to segregationist whites, that the white South is winning this thing and that the Nixon Administration has turned its back on desegregation." White "liberals" – politicians, businessmen, editors, community leaders of every sort – were running for cover. "Nigra" and "nigger" were suddenly back in style among upper-class whites who had been training themselves for years to say "Neegro" and "black" (bless that word, so easy to pronounce). There was outspoken satisfaction, among segregationists and professed integrationists alike, that so many blacks were coming to their senses and seeing that integration, especially in the public schools, wasn't all that it had been cracked up to be and beginning to fight to keep their black schools black. "And they're saying these things to *me*," Paul Anthony said, speaking of some of his white acquaintances, and "assuming that of course I agree with them." This, to him, was conclusive evidence that the positions taken by the Nixon Administration and in Congress in the past few weeks had profoundly changed the Southern scene.

Not so, said Harry Dent. If all that was happening, if that feeling about the Nixon Administration existed in the South, it was based on a big misunderstanding. The President's policy on the racial integration of public schools had not changed at all, and there were not going to be "any big changes" in that regard in the South or anywhere else. Everybody down there, in his own South Carolina and the rest of the South, understood by now that the law and the court orders had to be enforced and were going to be enforced. Maybe with "a little more understanding" of the difficulties, more sympathy, "better communication" – but enforced all the same. That was what Vice President Agnew's Cabinet committee on integration was all about. It was true that he, Harry Dent, had suggested a while ago that the President create some kind of committee or commission to study the effects of required integration as it had been applied so far in the South, and recommend ways to make the process easier for all concerned. But it was news to him that his old patron, Senator Thurmond, had suggested the same thing to the White House at about the same time; the Senator must have done it through Bryce Harlow, the President's chief communicator with Congress. The only man he knew of around the White House who had made a similar suggestion was Leonard Garment (this with a kindly smile, saying without saying that I knew as well as he did that Len Garment is regarded by people like me as one of the few approximately kindred souls on the White House staff). The idea for the Cabinet committee – the President officially dubbed it "an informal Cabinet-level working group" – had emerged, so far as Harry knew, from the office of John Ehrlichman, the Assistant for Domestic Affairs.

How was the Agnew group going "to review in detail," as the President had put it, "the efforts of the Executive Branch" to further compliance with integration laws and court orders without getting into the hair of the people who were supposed to be enforcing them at the Departments of Justice and Health, Education and Welfare? And what could the Cabinet group really do in and for a county like Darlington, in Harry's South Carolina, where the school authorities had been ordered by the courts to integrate now and where the whites had boycotted the schools, except try somehow to take the heat off? Well now, said Harry, those were good questions and he didn't know the answers and he doubted that anybody else at the White House did – yet. But there would be answers, and they wouldn't be the kind of answers that my Atlanta friend and, according to him, a lot of other people in the South were expecting.

I asked Harry, in his capacity, as one of Mr. Nixon's certified political experts, whether I was right or wrong in my impression that the establishment of the Agnew group and everything else that had happened in this area recently, including the President's qualified but at the same time "full support" of the Stennis amendment calling for uniform application of integration laws in the South and everywhere else, was in fact a political response to a political problem. Dent knew what I had in mind: the Supreme Court's recent demand that school segregation by law and deliberate official action be ended now, once and for all, and the outraged Southern reaction that in turn had revived George C. Wallace's hottest issue and lent fearsome force to his threat that Nixon would not carry a single Southern state in 1972 unless he began to "do right" by the South. Why, yes – Harry answered – of course there was a political problem and of course it had to be dealt with and was being dealt with. But that didn't mean that the law and the court orders were not going to be enforced. What it really meant was that this Administration was determined to enforce them in such a way as to get the problem over with, get it solved and out of the way, not only before 1972 but by the fall of this year, before the congressional and state elections. If I didn't believe it, ask John Mitchell. That was what the Attorney General had been saying at the White House, in the discussions preceding the formation of the Agnew group and the various statements on the Stennis and other integration amendments: get that problem solved, get it out of our way, and the only way to do that was to enforce the law in a way that the South would understand and accept. It could be done and it was going to be done. "You'll see," Harry said.

What I and everybody else actually saw, among

other things not quite according to Harry's script, was the summary firing of Leon Panetta, HEW's chief integration enforcer, and the selection of one of his determined foes in that department, General Counsel Robert C. Mardian, to be the staff director of the Agnew Cabinet group. In obedience to the President's directive, he is the man who is to "review in detail" the enforcement practices and policies of Justice and HEW. In doing so Mardian is bound to oversee Panetta's successor in a fashion and to an extent that HEW Secretary Finch never allowed him to do. Mardian makes splendid speeches, all about the duty of school authorities to enforce integration and break up deliberate segregation. He told Louisiana school board members in January that integrated education is "as American as apple pie." Panetta, Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, and some others who had to work with him at HEW didn't care for Mardian's pie. Mardian recommended last March, in a secret memorandum that ceased to be secret, that the department relax its strict school guidelines without announcing it and so avoid a fuss. He has been heard to say in department meetings, too often for the comfort of officials dedicated to real enforcement, "Now don't get me wrong, I'm not for segregation" and, "Now don't get me wrong, I'm for Negroes and equal rights." His HEW associates, those who agreed with him and those who disagreed, didn't get him wrong and one may doubt that the White House people who chose him for the Agnew staff job got him wrong, either. He is there to do the job that Paul Anthony in Atlanta and Southerners everywhere now know is going to be done.

John Osborne

CAMBRIDGEinstitute

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October 1969

THE CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE draws together intellectuals and activists, mainly from the Boston area, for research and action projects. These projects cover a variety of areas but they all seek to develop programmatic ideas about social change and to translate such ideas into reality. The Institute is particularly involved in efforts to develop new forms of community control over local economic and political institutions.

The Institute has only been in operation since February 1969, but it has already planned and launched a variety of projects, either directly under its own aegis or indirectly through one of two associated enterprises: The Center for the Study of Public Policy and the Center for Community Economic Development. These projects include the following:

A systematic investigation and analysis of community-based economic development projects across the country, and a three-day information exchange on the "state of the art" of the various models of community-based development; four task forces on community control as related to (1) workers control, (2) community ownership, (3) regional coordination, and (4) national planning; a New Towns project in Vermont involving an interdisciplinary team of students, planners and Institute staff; the Urban Family Study based on interviews with 100 white working-class families in the Greater Boston area; higher education curriculum reform in the social sciences; an anti-military industrial complex project combining research and action aimed at inhibiting military production and learning how to reallocate resources so as to accomplish conversion; an investigation of communal child-rearing arrangements designed to alter the present position of women and/or children in society.

In addition, the Institute itself is one of the main projects. Ultimate control over it is vested in a largely self-perpetuating board of trustees, but for most purposes the Institute is governed by its Fellows. The Fellows include the entire staff of the Cambridge Institute, both "professional" and "nonprofessional." The Fellows determine the intellectual agenda of the Institute, nominate the co-directors, and take responsibility for the day-to-day management of its intellectual and financial affairs. The Fellows are committed to the development of a more egalitarian salary scale than prevails in other organizations of this type. They have also established a new division of labor between professionals and nonprofessionals which ensures that nobody spends his entire work week in subordinate roles. By experimenting along these lines the Institute hopes to test the limits of innovation within America's competitive market economy.

Thus the Institute can be defined experimentally in two senses—both as an experiment with strategies to achieve a new society and as an experiment in new mixes of thought and action. It is neither, therefore, a counter-university nor only a think-tank. Its activist objectives are defined in relationship to social change, not in the abstract.

If it aims to change the world, if its primary focus is thought, it holds that it can honor its role only if its intellectual work leads to action.

It is a place, finally, meant to sustain those who work there over the long haul, for it is clear that the tasks that have been set out are by definition enormous.

National Perspectives

GAR ALPEROVITZ

On the Future of Democratization

By now, most of us understand that one of the more significant features of our times is the growing demand that people be given a chance to participate in the major decisions—and by logical extension, the basic institutions—that shape their lives. One sees this development among a broad variety of groups in American society—the so-called new class, the under class, the blacks, even working and middle-class white communities.

It is not a phenomenon isolated to college campuses and urban ghettos. Nor is it to be understood as a simple phenomenon, grasped immediately on one level of experience. At times it might appear contradictory. On the one hand social observers have spoken of "participation" and "doing one's own thing;" on the other hand (usually in opposition to the young or militant who seek these goals), of "responsibility" and "facing up to one's decisions." These views are in reality separate facets of the same phenomenon, a development which revolves around a concept that is in the process of becoming a political reality. The central question of each is: "How can decision-making be shared— *truly, responsibly,* and *democratically?*"

There is no simple answer to that question obviously. There may not in fact be any answer possible in the short run. The problems inherent in shared decision-making will prevent real participation in our major institutions in the immediate future. In the long run, however, I think a way may possibly be found to overcome these problems. And for those interested in "the *future* of democratization"—the next 30 to 50 years in American history—it may be worth considering the longer run issues, beginning with the question: "From where we are starting now, is there anything happening which may suggest new directions for bridging the gap between present and future?"

Where *are* we now? Just who is and who is not permitted to "do their own thing"? And who is and who is not "responsible" to anyone besides themselves? The place to begin is at the point where the real power resides.

A.A. Berle, a noted writer on corporations in America, and professor of law at New York University, commented a few years ago on the fact that roughly 500 of the largest domestic business corporations control about two-thirds of the non-farm economy. (More recently and more explicitly, *Fortune Magazine's* issue on the leading 500 corporations reported that these top 500 claimed 64 percent of total U.S. industrial sales. Their proportion of profits in this field was 74.4 percent.) To grasp the reality that 10 percent of the country's corporate entities control roughly two-thirds of the non-farm economy you might reflect on what it means, on average, for ten companies to control two-thirds of the wealth in each state.

Berle observed:

> This is, I think the highest concentration of economic power in recorded history. Since the United States carries on not quite half of the manufacturing production of the entire world today, these 500 groupings, each with its own little dominating pyramid within, represent a concentration of power over economics which makes the medieval system look like a Sunday school party. In sheer economic power, this has gone far beyond anything we have yet seen.

I think Professor Berle's comment is rough, but a broadly fair representation of reality. Clearly, to any careful observer the power of a very small number of very, very large corporate units is incredibly great. Recognition of this raises questions, even from the least radical perspective: who controls these corporations? Who is responsible for what they do? *To whom* are they responsible? Should *they* be permitted simply to "do their own thing," for that is largely the claim they make, even as many of their leading spokesmen denounce the young when they assert the same privilege.

At the Threshold of a Political Concept

Given the countless conflicts *against* the central institution of the Redevelopment Agency, *against* City Hall, *against* the Welfare Board, *against* the School Board, we are slowly approaching the threshold of community control as a matter of principle.

In any given community, the process is agonizingly slow. Those fighting the Redevelopment Agency or the School Board, for instance, are often so involved in the specifics of the heated, immediate struggle, that they have no time to think about the longer trend. Moreover, frustrations and setbacks make it hard for many to realize that their efforts throughout the nation are already laying the base for a much higher order of political evolution. Nevertheless, slowly throughout the nation the idea of community control is being elevated to something quite different from a specific demand; it is slowly reaching the level of a general political concept, particularly in the black community.

As more ordinary citizens grasp the principle, there is no reason that it cannot be broadened, deepened, and, above all, *generalized.* It can be extended to the idea of community control of *economic* development; then to the concept of community ownership of businesses, then to the principle of cooperative community property.

As the conflicts which teach the concept go forward, there is reason to hope that the institution of the Community Corporation may take on a new importance. The idea of a democratically controlled corporation, as the writer Milton Kotler has shown, is of critical importance. The corporation is little more than a legal line drawn around a neighborhood to establish a geographically defined corporation which may undertake a variety of social services. Its crucial feature is the principle of one man, one vote, which as in community unions and cooperatives, establishes a democratic body; indeed, it is a form of cooperative. In its present form (most frequently as a dispenser of poverty money), it has many drawbacks, for it is often merely an administrative agency of the *status quo.* But, of course, so long as any institution, including the Community Corporation, is dependent upon outside funds and outside decisions, it is rarely more than a community-controlled institution in name alone.

Were it independent, however—were it anchored democratically in the community and sustained by an independent source of funds—it could be a very dif-

Cell Const

TITUTION, Wed., Mar. 18, 1970

SRC (file)

Mrs. Tilly Dies; Civil Rights Leader

Mrs. Dorothy Rogers Tilly, who gained worldwide recognition as a crusader for civil rights and human justice, died here Monday.

Funeral services will be held at 11:30 a.m. Wednesday in the chapel of Patterson's Funeral Home at Spring Hill. Burial will be at Westview Cemetery.

Mrs. Tilly is survived by a son, Eben F. Tilly of Atlanta and a brother, Emory A. Rogers, of Glenside, Pa.

Born in Hampton, Ga., in a Methodist parsonage, Dorothy Tilly was the prototype of a Southern lady. She was a mild-mannered, diminutive woman with a fondness for roses in her hats. But her active interest in human justice and civil rights led one national magazine to describe her as a "woman beyond her times."

Mrs. Tilly was the only Southern woman to serve on President Harry Truman's Civil Rights Commission and co-authored the committee's famous report, "To Secure These Rights."

One of the triumphs of her career was the Georgia Training School for Delinquent Girls, a school established in the mid-1930s by Negro women's organizations but twice denied supporting state funds until Mrs. Tilly gathered the signatures of 28,000 Georgia women and persuaded legislators to override the objections of Gov. Eugene Talmade and appropriate funds.

Her interest in equal opportunity and treatment for Negroes was sparked by her husband, the late Milton Eben Tilly, a chemical manufacturer who believed strongly in human rights.

"Duri[illegible] the [illegible]

4-27-70

SRC (Spec)

'CRAVEN RETREAT'

THE VIEW FROM MADDOX COUNTRY

REESE CLEGHORN

Mr. Cleghorn edits South Today, *a monthly digest published by the Southern Regional Council. He is the author, with Pat Watters, of* Climbing Jacob's Ladder, *which Harcourt, Brace & World published last month in paperback.*

Atlanta

Some years ago, when I was sitting in a restaurant in Oxford, Miss., a plastic place where William Faulkner usually jerked out the juke box plug before dining, it occurred to me that at least some of the problems of mankind might be solved by a very simple plan. It was during one of the neap tides of integration crisis at the University of Mississippi, and the restaurant was filled with students. The pleasantries and *non sequiturs* of their conversations drifted over the booths; there was an appealing kind of soft inexactitude about it all, whether the subject was dormitory life or a misspent weekend. I had recently returned to the South after a period in New York, during which I had encountered City College students, head-on. What, I remember thinking, would happen if one could bundle up half the students of Ole Miss and deliver them to City College, to be replaced by a like number of City College students? It was, I thought at the time, a plan of such great potential benefit to all that it should be brought to the attention of the highest authorities in the land: perhaps even the chief federal marshal. The soft under-craniums of Oxford obviously needed the abrasiveness and intellectual effrontery, and of course the liberalism, of those Northern cousins; and clearly City College students could profit from any softening influence whatever.

Now I realize that, far ahead of my time, I was thinking about the biggest bussing scheme of them all, something neither Abraham Ribicoff nor George Wallace would tolerate for a moment. Besides, I am no longer at all sure that the plan has merit. Southern liberals have traditionally been "kept in their place" with apparent evidence that their models and superiors, the folks to be emulated and the ones whose respect ought to be earned, were of another breed: the men of the North. I now doubt my Ole Miss-City College plan because I am no longer sure that tough Eastern under-craniums produce anything better than soft Southern under-craniums. Maybe, in the spirit of the times, I am becoming a Southern ethnic.

As I look at school integration seven years later, I am aware that it is more than ever a subject whose appearance varies, depending upon where you sit. To be exact and not altogether frivolous: I sit in an old house on Peachtree Way in Atlanta. We are just around the corner from a handsome little white building of Corinthian grace, which was the national headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan in its glory days; now it is a Catholic rectory. I am a WASP; this is a kind of Catholic ghetto. Atlanta is a Southern city; it has a Jewish Mayor and a black Vice Mayor. Not many blocks from us is a new $5 million, neo-ante-bellum governor's mansion which would have done justice to Kwame Nkrumah in his palmiest days. It is inhabited by a man who, according to official Georgia protocol, is His Excellency—Gov. Lester G. Maddox. In my yard, an albino squirrel is at play; one white squirrel among the gray.

That is where I sit, not in the "rational" confines of a university or a court of law but surrounded by a Southern sea of workaday incredibilities, and they are visible. Most of the nation's people live amid absurdities and incredibilities and irrationalities at least as great, but they are not as visible. And so I am less startled than some people to see Senator Ribicoff and Senator Stennis arm in arm; Governor Maddox and Roy Innis pulling at the oars together; "militants" like Julius Hobson concurring with George Wallace, and Prof. Alexander Bickel of Yale advancing propositions very much like those advanced by the Great Constitutional Lawyers who used to be hired by Southern states to fight for the preservation of white supremacy. (They did not purport to be arguing against equality or against Negroes, but simply for "equal treatment for the South," for consideration of the wishes of the [white] people, for a realistic, nonemotional acceptance of the fact that integration would not work.)

My view is from "Maddox country." Some of the more obstreperous and enduring political segregationists on my particular turf are immensely enjoying the thought that the Nixon Administration, despite recent protestations, is engaged in "craven retreat" (Leon Panetta's accurate words) and "benign neglect" (Daniel P. Moynihan's words) in dealing with racial problems, now that the 1970 Congressional elections draw near. They may enjoy the spectacle even more in 1972, when George Wallace probably will sweep those Deep South Presidential votes which the "Southern strategy" is intended to capture. It does not occur to them that the Nixon Administration is simply trying "to be fair to the South" because it is now pretty well integrated. This does not occur to them because it is absurd and they are realists, if anything. They sit where I sit, in "Maddox country," and they know what is going on in the South. They know and enjoy political scheming of the most craven variety. They know the Administration's descriptions (and most Southern Senators' descriptions) of the civil rights retreat are mere self-serving piffle. They do not believe the explanations fool even Connecticut Senators: the white supremacist spirit of the South is rising again, isn't it, and Senator Ribicoff would like to be elected Vice President or appointed to the Supreme Court, wouldn't he? So their reasoning goes. My Senator, Herman E. Talmadge, has just praised Senator Ribicoff as a courageous man.

That is the view from Maddox country. Our Governor's more savvy admirers are not deceived about what is going on politically and, really, neither is a single Southern liberal that I know, black or white. On home

ground they, the same old crowd of white supremacists, and we, the same old crowd of hypocritical, bleeding-heart liberals, are familiar with the politics of the absurd (a state palace for Lester Maddox to live in) and the politics of the craven (a federal government trading the welfare of children for Republican Congressional candidates and electoral votes down South). It is not nearly as difficult to believe what the Nixon Administration is doing, when you view it from Maddox country, as it seems to be when seen from more civilized and less traumatized observation points. It is old stuff. Low profile or not, it is routine political venality.

The admirable efforts of Leon Panetta, while he was still with HEW, and others to enforce the civil rights laws (aren't those the real "strict contructionists"?) have been rebuffed. Now a Cabinet-level committee has been established to negotiate with the white supremacists of the South, with Vice President Agnew as chairman and a 1964 "Southern strategy" Goldwaterite, Robert Mardian, as staff director. The Supreme Court is being changed. It is now clear that Senator Ribicoff's move in assisting Senator Stennis' efforts to weaken the pressure for school desegregation in the South has had a falling-domino aftermath. Professor Bickel's now celebrated *New Republic* article urging compromise with Southern white supremacists and black separatists—and that was the true thrust of it, whatever he now says—has established an intellectual fabric—squishy soft in its reasoning and erroneous in its facts about South and North, but respectable in its origins—which will be used for bad ends by many lesser men. From Maddox country it is also clear what a federal policy of "benign neglect" would mean: a repetition of the Compromise of 1877, so that "local control" in the form of the Maddoxes and Wallaces could survive. What we would get, in reality, would be benign neglect of the Constitution, as we had for a century after enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment. President Nixon's recent policy statement on school desegregation stressed that local boards frequently can handle these matters better than the federal government. The statement was, with a few exceptions, a declaration of nonleadership rather than of leadership at the federal level; and there is every evidence that the action will not match the words even on the matter of eliminating the deeply rooted results of almost a century of *de jure* segregation in the South. It was exactly this matter of trying to eliminate *de jure* segregation in the South that brought about the removal of Panetta, the surrender of Finch and the rise of Mardian.

There is even a new respectability for old arguments that Negroes are intellectually inferior: Dr. Arthur Jensen's conclusions on race and IQ might have received little notice five years ago, and none at all if they had come from the University of Mississippi; but they came by way of Berkeley and Harvard, and thus their susceptibility to misuse is greater—as is being demonstrated by the white Citizens Councils (which, incidentally, have recovered from a decade of decline and are growing in strength).

Within the South, these national trends already are damaging the forces for progressive change. Gov. Linwood Holton of Virginia, Gov. Robert Scott of North Carolina, Gov. Robert McNair of South Carolina, Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas, had all strongly urged their publics to accomplish school desegregation in reasonable and orderly fashion; and until the national trend of recent weeks their positions were not fanning the old flames of resistance. Holton and Rockefeller (both Republicans elected with heavy black support, not by the segregationist "Southern strategy") move on as before, but Scott and McNair have had to hedge a bit to protect themselves politically. Perhaps more significantly, Gov. John McKeithen of Louisiana took for a time a more or less moderate position on race; now he is trying to outdo Wallace as an advocate of the neo-segregationist position. Wallace is claiming credit for moving the Administration, and Gov. Albert Brewer is forced once again to be a yes man to Wallace's position, even while running against him for another term. In Georgia, Maddox's style often offends the increasingly middle-class electorate, but his position on school desegregation has been strengthened; opponents no longer can argue that his posturing is ridiculous because the battle is over.

As if to assert that the nation may yet be converted to a Southern point of view—not the growing Southern

"But Now, Maybe if You Black Children Would Just Sit in the Back of the Bus."

viewpoint that integration is right and fair but the old view that was thought to be dying – Governor McKeithen recently put full-page ads in *The New York Times, Newsweek* and other publications. His pitch cynically lifted the thoughts, and even the words, of some Northern liberals and used them to justify the South's worst inclinations. "Full Partnership," the ad's headline proclaimed, by which it meant that Louisiana wanted full partnership in the Union. Louisiana has attempted to obey the law, the ad said, and now all it asks is that it "be treated the same as any other state in the nation." Governor McKeithen, whose photograph accompanied the copy, even italicized these words: "*We believe in civil rights.*" But if the Governor of Louisiana now believes in civil rights, he does not believe in federal efforts to secure them, and he cannot truthfully cite any substantial Louisiana state efforts to secure them in places where they are denied by strong white supremacist elements.

Not long ago one would have supposed, and probably Governor McKeithen would have supposed, that the nation would scorn such sophistry. But it is exactly the kind of sophistry that is emanating now from some of the country's most prominent newspaper columnists, intellectuals and liberal politicians. I suspect that the Governor's ads, paid for by "voluntary donations from thousands of Louisianans and their neighbors" (just which highway contractors and/or which oil companies operating in Louisiana?) have had some impact. The worst part of the South has always benefited from an unwillingness on the part of civilized men to believe that anyone in America could be as politically craven as politicians frequently are in the South on matters of race. Simply to grant that a man like John Stennis is sincere when he says integration should come to the whole country is outrageous. But Stennis is being believed, so why not believe McKeithen, Wallace or Maddox when they say they believe in civil rights? It was a blessing that Maddox went to Washington, carrying ax handles and causing a scene, just as more dignified Southern spokesmen there were beginning to win their case on the Hill. Governor Maddox's mere presence with his ax handles showed people what it was all about.

Craven politics: The newspapers of Jackson, Miss., and Columbia, S.C., which now have unusually good White House contacts, were the first to report the forthcoming dismissal of Leon Panetta as HEW's chief civil rights enforcement officer. When Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* called the Republican chairmen of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana for comment on Panetta's dismissal, all four laughed. All said they had expected it.

For months the White House staff had been sending memoranda bearing Southern segregationist complaints to the offices of HEW Secretary Robert Finch and Panetta. Now we have confirmation that Paul Jones, who was Georgia's Republican chairman at the time, had even sent a message that if HEW would restore federal school funds for one recalcitrant Georgia school system, he was sure large party contributions from several donors could be obtained in return. The White House sent the message to Finch's office. The message was clear.

In February, a Georgia "freedom-of-choice" group (how ironic that term seems when it describes, as it usually does, those who would not have tolerated freedom of choice in the days of impregnable segregation) visited the White House to speak for its "neighborhood school concept." Harry Dent told them, according to an *Atlanta Constitution* report on February 20, that President Nixon intends to use the Agnew Cabinet-level committee to take command of the Administration's desegregation policies. "And Dent indicated that the President's policies would not make the Georgians unhappy." The group left the White House "reassured," a spokesman said.

So the battle cries of the segregationists are growing stronger, and with good reason. Roy Harris, an old-line Georgia white supremacist and Citizens Councils leader, currently revels in the developments he can report in his weekly political newspaper, the *Augusta Courier*. In a recent issue he noted that Senator Ribicoff had exposed Northern hypocrisy; said white supremacists may win now because of Northern fears of bussing ("a new word on the tongues of nearly everybody"); quoted Vermont Royster of *The Wall Street Journal*, who had written that "the attempt to integrate this country's schools is a tragic failure"; happily reported words from black "militants" Dan Watts and Julius Hobson that seemed to echo his own segregationist viewpoint; and quoted Professor Bickel's article at length. Addressing himself to his segregationist readers, Harris added: "Now, we shouldn't reach the conclusion that the fight is won. The battle isn't over. . . All this means is that we are making some progress and that if we are willing to stand up and fight with sledge hammers instead of powder puffs we are obliged to win. . . . All of us who have been in the thick of the fight from 1954 until now have believed it would take from two to three generations to win this fight. We knew we couldn't win it by ourselves. We have known all along that we had to have the help of the white people outside of the South."

There is no doubt that Harris and others of his viewpoint will verbally "fight with sledge hammers," and some, of course, will physically do it with ax handles, as they did recently in Lamar, S.C. Harris has been consistent. He always did say the fight would take a long time, but that it would be won when real integration began to come outside the South. And it is true that the Southern resistance has frequently outsmarted the federal effort which never truly has been very strong and consistent, precisely because the enforcers always thought the battle was about over, and the resistance always knew it was not.

What is happening now within the South is that Nixon's "Southern strategy" has rekindled all the dying fires. But it is not true, as Harris and Bickel both argue, that integration currently is impossible on a national scale and that, this being the case, it should not be pressed hard in the South. Bickel asked whether it is right to require a small, rural and relatively poor segment of the nation's population (the rural and small-town South, that is) to "submit" to a kind of schooling "that is disagreeable to them (for whatever reasons, more or less unworthy)." This argument revives the "invisible man." A large part of that small,

rural and relatively poor area is black, does not feel that it is being forced to "submit," and usually has found nothing disagreeable about the fact that at last it has begun to make real progress toward school integration.

Yes, we are told, but the "vanguard" of black opinion in the nation is no longer interested in integration. Is Roy Innis "vanguard" and Julian Bond, who disagrees with Innis' kind of separatist position, not? Someone is putting us on. When Innis came to Atlanta recently, he conferred with Governor Maddox and reported the Governor's response to his separatist views on schools was "very heartening and encouraging." He did not consult with Bond, also a Georgia state official; Bond would not have heartened him. Vanguard?

Innumerable examples of successful school integration can be cited. One thinks of Greenville, S.C., where white students welcomed blacks with banners and decent local leadership made things work; or Jackson, Miss., where the school superintendent could report "extremely smooth" transition in a system 47 per cent black; or scores of others. The fact is that the number of places in the South where integration has been self-defeating, once it has arrived, is relatively small.

But these numerous examples are being ignored. Some are dismissed on grounds that they do not involve a high percentage of blacks or are in places where resistance was not strong. Aberdeen, Miss., is a small town with a high school that has been 50 per cent black since last September. There were no incidents when Aberdeen closed an all-black high school and fully integrated grades 10, 11 and 12. Very few whites departed. Despite the big educational lag of black high school students who had never been to a good school, education has proceeded at Aberdeen High School. Team teaching, individual instruction and a number of other devices have been used by a school administration determined to make integration work.

The brightest white students have not been penalized; they have benefited from the increase in individual attention, and apparently they are generally making faster progress than were their counterparts a year ago. The achievement levels of the black students, meanwhile, have been rising. (Remember the Coleman Report?) There have been no unusual disciplinary problems. A black student was elected president of the student body, with a majority, without a run-off against two white students. The athletic teams are fully integrated, and the school has taken pains to see that blacks and whites have shared alike in such hallowed endeavors as the selection of cheer leaders and homecoming queens and maids of honor. A lively student newspaper, far from being mousy about the biggest subject in the local high school, has done a complete job of reporting on the changes and on student and adult opinions about it all.

What is the real message of Aberdeen? It is not that the majority of the town's white people wanted school integration or that it was successfully achieved through some extraordinary assistance in funds and other aid from outside. The real message is that school administrators and officials, confronted finally with integration, and knowing they must make it work or have no public school system, have used all their considerable skills to make it effective.

What happens now to such conscientious people? Enemies of the change may scold them for moving along, questioning whether even in the face of a court order they had to make things go well. If they had stalled, or encouraged the private school, or discriminated within the building, or made life unpleasant for the new arrivals, maybe now the fight against integration could be won. Maybe Aberdeen could have gotten by with token integration. That is the local spin-off from the "Southern strategy."

Except for the spectacle of seeing one of the two national political parties openly playing race politics as Southern demagogues have played it (not the "nigger-nigger" and States'-rights Southern demagogues but their successors, who speak of belief in civil rights and disbelief in guidelines, or racial balance or federal force), the most disturbing aspect of the new national trend is the blithe adoption of Southern segregationist terminology and terms of discussion. Now we hear nationally, not just in "Maddox country," that *the goal* should be "quality education." That should always be the goal of education, of course; but now the term is used to oppose integration, as Southern demagogues have always used it. Now we also hear that it is "time to end the civil war," as Geoffrey and Roscoe Drummond wrote in a recent newspaper column. By this is meant that the federal government should stop leaning hard on the South (if it ever did); and this in turn means it should stop leaning hard on white supremacists in the South. We now hear frequent references to school integration as "racial balance," a term which usually is altogether misleading because it describes a goal and a result hardly ever involved in plans abolishing the dual school systems of the South. And finally, bussing is now at the center of debate, although school integration in the South has steadily reduced bussing. What has happened to the terms of the national discussion? They, too, have been captured by Southern neo-segregationists.

There is another dimension in this shifting of the terms of debate. It has to do with emphasis on "lowering our voices," to use President Nixon's term, at the moment when voices should be raised. People who raise their voices loudly against the politicizing of the school desegregation process—people who, like Panetta, rightly call it "craven retreat"—are now dismissed, even in some liberal quarters, as intemperate zealots. We are urged not to attribute the worst motives to the Nixon Administration, the nation's racial situation being so delicate. On the contrary, voices should be raised, loudly, *because* the racial situation is delicate and because this playing politics with children further widens the racial gap. It is no service to the country to counsel a quiet rationality that does not permit calling political opportunism exactly that and which is too refined to entertain the thought that Richard Nixon and Lester Maddox can operate with the same motivations.

All of these developments (the developments in the media and academic worlds may do more than the "Southern strategy" to reverse the nation's progress) suggest that the South is once again being cut adrift. And of course the white supremacist element—which is hardly ever called that now, although the country is

quick to name black power when it appears—wants the South adrift. Then we can have "local control," "self-determination" and "neighborhood schools." Do Southern liberals have a right to expect those at the end of their life lines, those in places of power in Washington and New York and other cities ouside the South, to continue to hold on? I don't think white Southern liberals have any such right; with relatively few exceptions they have not been the real heroes or the real sufferers in the struggle. But black Southerners can claim that right. The nation still has not made good on the promissory note they hold. People in power, whether it be governmental, intellectual or communications power, ought to be garnisheed to make good. Those in places of influence who do not think so ought to be moved out of the way.

And I think they will be. In Maddox country it is clear that the struggle, as Roy Harris says, is not over. He is calling in his reinforcements. So should we. Behind those who are tired and discouraged and prone to tacitly accept the racist underpinnings of arguments made by John Stennis and Roy Innis, there are younger replacements, many of whom have been tempered in the Southern civil rights movement. They know that reconstruction sometimes must precede reconciliation, and that as long as John Stennis represents a million Mississippi blacks our concern must be mainly for them, not for him.

There seems to be good evidence that the current activism of college students, generally described as student radicalism, is progressing not mainly toward a major force of organized radicalism in America but toward a tough new reformism with *perspectives* that are, in the present milieu, radical. The student radicalism already has yielded perspectives of truth, but not yet a functional politics. On the other hand, liberalism is ineffectual today exactly to the extent that it lacks those radical perspectives. We have learned that, without them, liberals are capable of producing Vietnams and Chicagos, and the kind of reasoning process that now has shifted the terms of debate on the schools. Liberals who lack a radical perspective—a perspective slicing through the nation's erroneous pretensions about itself, its institutions and the world, and comprehending that civics books are usually filled with facts that add up to lies about how government works—are incapable of dealing effectively with the main processes of public life in America. Let them be replaced by an influx of the new liberals (the label "liberal" perhaps will not be used): people who are not radically destructive but creative. If that happens the earlier liberalism, which for a time became our national orthodoxy, will not be followed by a middle American copout or a drug-culture dropout but by a liberalism that has been made functional again.

Mr. Nixon's "silent majority" did, after all, give him less than half the votes in the 1968 Presidential election, and this after eight years of Democratic rule and in the midst of one of the most unpopular wars in American history. What is there to prove that the nation, though it may have been ready for a pause, will long accept a retreat that is patent political opportunism? I may be wrong, viewing the scene through all the strange prisms of Maddox country, but even in the disarray of liberalism Spiro Agnew does not look like the wave of the future. ■

'I AM CURIOUS—BLUE'

Night Thoughts of a Police Chief

JOSEPH PAUL KIMBLE

Mr. Kimble is the Chief of Police of Beverly Hills, Calif.

If one were asked to characterize this past decade, it might be fair to say that it has been a period of thrashing about. A search for stability, a longing for the "normalcy" of the pre-nuclear years, has rendered a substantial part of our population uncomfortable, unsure and extremely anxious. As a result, the arc of our social spectrum grows wider and wider. And, like a tired metronome, opinion becomes increasingly disposed to stick at one or the other extreme.

In many ways it is a relief to identify the sources of one's discontent by a simplistic "Them vs. Us" identification. As we gulp our social and political tranquilizers, as we readjust our conscience, the world momentarily resumes the sound and shape and shadows of the distant past.

We come to depend upon these periods of euphoria as an escape from the hurting present. We come to rely upon the prescriptions of the vocal extremes. After a while we cease to question the efficacy of what we ingest. It becomes easier to let others think for us; it becomes more comfortable to let others act for us. The only volition we cling to is the right to reject—to reject, or even hate, anyone or anything that might threaten our great and sovereign state of Rationalization. It is understandable, then, that certain segments of the population, when they find that the reasonableness of *their* great crusade is doubted, threatened, or even attacked, react with indignation. The greatest blow of all, of course, is to find a comfortable perch on the radical Right, or the radical Left, jeopardized by those subversive young people of the radical middle! The foregoing characterization is not intended to be facetious—the fact is that the anguished protestation of modern youth is largely directed against the ideology of extremism in *either* sector. It is also directed against the silent, ambivalent middle, that by default perpetuates the extremes.

At the risk of generalizing, I would say that the majority of American youth are protesting the addiction to

SRC (spec)

March, 1970: Two buses that had been filled with Negro youngsters on their way to a newly integrated school, after they were stoned

SRC SRC Edu-Fed

(spec)

Southern Integrationists Feel Betrayed—by the North

By PAT WATTERS

ATLANTA.

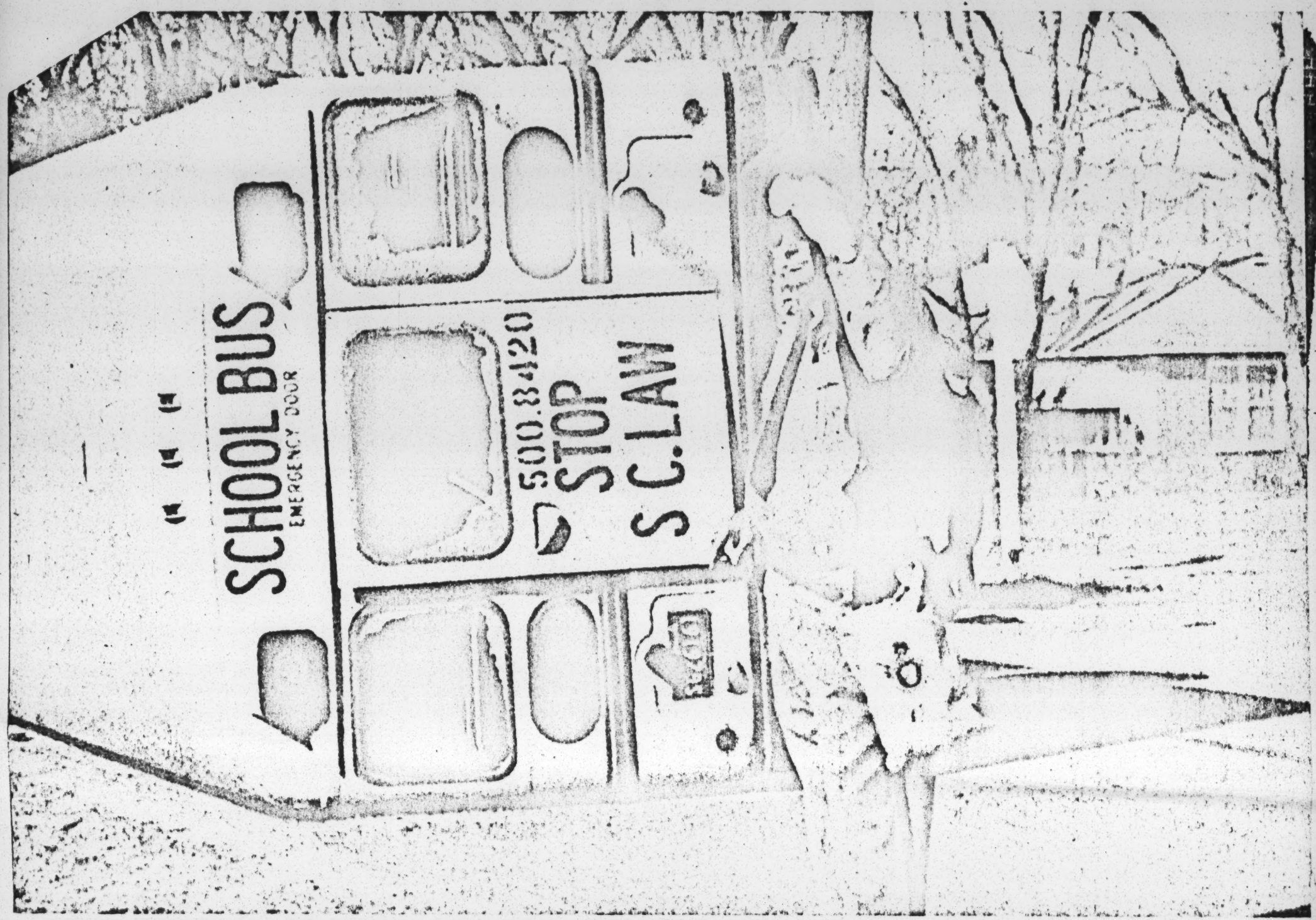
The enemy is no longer the racism of the state house. The opponent is now those who occupy the White House. . . . Most of us, white and black alike, who joined the struggle for racial justice in the 1950's and 1960's will stick it out. . . . We shall not surrender merely because there is a new President on the block, an old idea in town, a new slavery in the wings, a new generation of despair. . . . We will win not because of rationality—for what was there rational in a young Negro minister's hopeless boycott of a bus company? What was rational in students ordering a cup of coffee in a five-and-dime store? What chance was there in the streets of Birmingham? What rationality was there in those raised clubs at Selma's Edmund Pettus bridge? We will win simply because we must.—CHARLES MORGAN, a white Southerner speaking at a conference in Washington, D. C., on "New Strategies for School Integration," March 13, 1970.

Right! Right! I believe that!—A Negro woman attending the conference, whose son and daughter were recently beaten while attempting to integrate a school in the Deep South.

SOUTHERN integrationists — white ones who have risked ostracism from their society and black ones who have, many of them, risked their lives — feel betrayed by the apparent retreat in the rest of the country from the goals of interracial justice. Just when their own struggle seems paying off in terms of fuller and more meaningful integration in many areas, they see the Nixon Administration as courting infamy in history, failing the responsibility of leadership in this most vital of all national problems and following the blind-alley politics of a Southern strategy; they see whites and blacks of all classes in other sections increasingly hostile to each other; and they see with particular scorn "liberal" pundits, politicians and intellectuals folding without a fight for principle, each with his own set of instant rationalizations.

It makes a man like me, a white Southern integrationist, mad. But it doesn't really surprise me, or make me any less willing to keep fighting for integration, or very much less sure of victory—and I think I speak for most Southern integrationists, black as well as white. Northern allies are bemoaning the end of "the Second Reconstruction," and predicting a new era of racist repression in America. But Southern integrationists, living with the memory of the first repression, have never fully trusted or entirely depended on the

May 3, 1970



and overturned by angry whites in Lamar, S.C. The children escaped before the mob capsized the buses, but several were cut by glass.

"We shall not surrender merely because there is an old idea in town, a new slavery in the wings, a new generation of despair"

national Government as the only means of achieving a just society down here. This time there are enough of us to make it much harder for men of no principle to sell us out to the racists for political gain. This time we are not going to take it lying down.

I AM talking about a relatively small number of people and I base whatever confidence I feel on the strength of resistance they are capable of sustaining. They are people, black and white, who for a long time have given much of their lives and themselves to the struggle for integration. What they have accomplished is reflected in the climate of opinion among whites and blacks of the general population. Certainly nowhere near a majority of Southern white people could be classified as confirmed believers in integration—but far more than ever before have ceased to be rigid segregationists. Probably a majority accept in varying degrees the token desegregation that has occurred in nearly all areas of Southern life. Likewise, nowhere near a majority of black Southerners were ever involved to the hilt in the great sacrifices and suffering through which the movement's victories were achieved. But far more of them than in other parts of the country are generally considered still to believe in integration, still resistant to separatism—probably all but the most sophisticated of the urban middle class.

Southerners who attended a conference in Washington, D. C., last March of integrationists from all over the country were notable for being less frightened and less dismayed about the current crisis than their fellow countrymen. The meeting was called by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund to develop new strategies for school integration. In one of the workshops I sat next to Miss Barbara Jordan, a brilliant Negro lawyer and politician from Texas, and listened to one Northerner's gloomy analysis of desegregation prospects in his own state. When he ended with the comment that no move for social progress was any longer "viable" in America, Miss Jordan uttered a loud protest. "I just don't believe that," she said to me. "I see so much progress every day back home in Houston."

It is not that she or any of us is fooled about the distance Houston or the rest of the South has yet to go toward the goal of a sane, just society. It is just that we have known all along how very far we had to go, and how far we have come. Such understanding of the realities of the racial struggle has seemed all along to us to have eluded many Northerners, including our allies in the struggle. They have just not realized how strong and resilient and stubbornly persistent the racist mentality, nor how tough and skilled and en-

(Continued on Page 104)

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Southern integrationists feel betrayed

(Continued from Page 27)

during the opposition to it must be.

So we really have never been overly reliant on our Northern allies, never overly impressed with the depth of dedication of many of them. None of this, though, is to ignore or disparage those Northerners who have stuck with us from the beginning, and do understand the menace of racism in all the nuances. Without them, we would have been lost, and now we need them more than ever. But as Negroes in the movement say of whites they trust that he or she has "a black heart," we tend to think of those good allies of ours as fellow Southerners.

We are sorry, of course, to see the fair-weather friends start to fade away, but we do not regard it as a crucial loss. Far more hurtful to our cause and much more painful was the loss a while back of some of the most effective allies we ever had: the young Freedom Fighters who developed, after bitter experience with Southern racism, the black separatist movement.

The white Northern liberals were willing to pull back from a total commitment to integration when it became clear that the goal could not be attained in a few years; we Southern integrationists were more aware of the obstacles we were all up against and never believed that victory was imminent. After a single summer or even several years of battling the rawest kind of entrenched Southern white racism, such young people just gave up. They gave up not only on the South, but also on all of white America, saying that it is hopelessly racist.

I happen to think they gave up too soon, but can certainly understand and sympathize with how they felt. And it was not just Southern racism, that killed their faith, but Northern liberalism's acquiescence in this Southern racism as well. Most of them say that the breaking point came at the Democratic national convention in 1964, when liberals wanted them to accept a compromise with a Mississippi white delegation which they considered a part of the racist repression that denied democracy to Negro Mississippians and murdered some of those who sought it.

So far, the most prestigious intellectual rationalization of the emerging neo-racism was an article by Professor Alexander Bickel of the Yale Law School. Writing in The New Republic (Feb. 7, 1970), Bickel says, in effect, that the integration ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954 was an impossible dream, that to pursue it is only to "fuel the politics of George Wallace" and that it is not worth the cost anyway.

According to Bickel, integration has not worked in the South because the flight of whites to private schools has led to "resegregation." He argues further that it cannot be accomplished in the North because some black leaders now prefer to have their own schools (with "local control") and because it would be impossible to transport large numbers of inner-city Negroes to schools in the white suburbs. To impose on the South what cannot be accomplished in the North, concludes Bickel, would be unfair.

Of all the cogent rebuttal to the article, the only two responses that seemed to me to answer him fully without being obsequious to the "liberalism" of the author and The New Republic were from Southerners — Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman and Charles Morgan, Jr.

In lawyer's language that nevertheless breathed terrible Southern scorn, Mrs. Edelman replied in The New Republic:

"To say that we should not vigorously pursue Southern school desegregation because we cannot achieve Northern desegregation is ridiculous. That is like saying because we cannot convict every criminal we should prosecute no criminals. Legal rights have been established in the South. Millions of black children's educational futures depend on them. To abandon them is morally indefensible and tragically defeatist . . . The Bickel piece is simply another in a long line of excuses to cloud the real issues and to renege on outstanding commitments already made . . . A great disservice has been done that will not quickly pass. For again we blacks are shown how flimsy our position is . . . We do not defuse the George Wallaces by selling our principles and becoming more like them—we defuse them by clear and resounding repudiation, with a national tone and policy that makes it clear the Constitution is not a political football. . . ."

Writing in South Today, a publication of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Morgan answered more in the emotional tones that Southern integrationists know to be the real basis for judging such an article:

"Professor Bickel's article is The Article of national retreat, a convenient, if gossamer, cover under which bona-fide racists, black and white, and the merely mistaken men of South and North might respectably gather prior to an all-out and undisguised attack on desegregation . . . Professor Bickel may not understand the use to which his thesis will be put. He does not seem to understand much about the South . . . Criticism of the Warren Court seems a necessary ingredient of demonstrable scholarship among some law professors who feel that if they are not brighter than the Court — which is, of course, the true teacher as well as maker of constitutional law — then they are either not bright enough to teach or, alternatively, to be appointed to the Court if fortuitously asked."

Mrs. Edelman, a skilled young Negro lawyer, fought racism through years of grueling and sometimes dangerous work in Mississippi; now, as director of the Washington Research Project, which seeks to improve Government programs on behalf of the poor and minorities, she is one of the most tough-minded of a number of Southerners who are working in other parts of the country for the cause. Mr. Morgan is a lawyer who in 1963 had to leave Birmingham, his boyhood home, because of business and terrorist retaliation against a speech that he made denouncing the racism of his respectable friends and holding them responsible for the bombing of a Negro church where four young girls attending Sunday school were killed. Since then, as director of the Southern regional office of American Civil Liberties Union, he has won important safeguards for the emerging democracy of the South in the courts, particularly his successful suits to eliminate discrimination in jury selection.

Such people have heard every conceivable excuse for not doing what is right and just about race in the South, or for not taking a stand, and have rejected them. They listen now to Northerners discovering their own excuses and are not impressed.

INTEGRATION, PEACEFUL: As a Negro classmate watches, white children arrive for their first day at a previously all-black junior high in Yazoo City, Miss. Right, a white girl waits to register at a grammar school in West Point, Miss., which also had no whites before a court order.

The Southern integrationist's experience with the realities of "the Second Reconstruction" prevents his too deeply despairing of its demise. What the nation attained during the decade and a half after 1954, when it once again considered itself committed to racial justice, is not to be understated or disdained. But it has been overestimated. In effect, we got court decrees and laws that reinvigorated the Bill of Rights and in a very real way gave democracy a chance in the South for the first time. But the Bill of Rights had been there all along. The great crime done by the nation to the South after the First Reconstruction was failure to enforce this most basic law — and this failure has in various degrees been continued with the new laws and decrees.

From the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education onward, in each new judicial or legislative demand for abolition of segregation, the South could have moved in one of two ways—toward full integration, or the way, time after time, that it did go. What was achieved (and accepted) was tokenism, the barest minimum of compliance. The top to the bottom of white Southern government and society bent most of their meager resources and all their considerable will during this crucial time to exploiting every gullibility, uncertainty, hypocrisy and inability to understand racism in the rest of the country, neglecting, all the while, problems of terrible magnitude.

The South, already the least equipped of any section to deal with its problems, has been in a state of flux and turmoil as a result of feeble enforcement for 16 years. It has been distracted and handicapped from performing the most basic functions, like educating children and, most tragically, even feeding many of the poorest of them, and this has been disastrous to the white as well as the black South. As the nation is now paying for the first great betrayal of the South after Reconstruction in its problems with poor, undereducated Southern blacks and whites who have migrated to other parts of the country, so will it pay in some future time for what its more recent failure of responsibility to enforce the law has done to another generation of Southerners.

All that was needed at any step along the way was firm and fair enforcement. All that is required now is to see through the rationalizations of a President who poses as a stern "law-and-order" man and yet demurs at enforcing the laws against segregation—with the excuse that the task is too difficult and delicate.

President Nixon's deplorable statement on school segregation in March was full of ambiguity he probably is compelled to employ while trying to follow a Southern strategy in the party of Lincoln. But to Southern integrationists long accustomed to double talk by moderates back home, the President's meanin

seemed all too clear. He vowed strong dedication to the constitutional and "human" terms of the 1954 school integration decision. But then he categorically denounced busing, the necessary means for achieving integration in many instances. He called for stern opposition to illegal school segregation, while pointing out that segregation caused by "housing patterns" has not been declared illegal by the Supreme Court. (If this *de facto* situation is condoned, it could, by skillful gerrymandering, or simple lying, make all segregation, in the South as well as the North, legal.)

He made a distinction between the "claims of integration" and "those of education," a distinction which integrationists and the Brown decision would deny exists. He preferred "good faith" compliance to "educational disruption," and in the lexicon of Southern race relations that means only one thing—segregation as usual. Finally, he seemed to confirm a negative interpretation of his ambivalent statement by proposing to spend part of a $500-million allocation in 1971 and a billion dollars in 1972 not to implement integration but to improve "racially impacted" schools (those that are all black or mostly black).

Southern integrationists are too familiar with the practical effect of all this. In the early 1950's cities and towns in our region built new Negro schools that were even better than the white ones, trying to foster the case for "separate but equal"—a concept honored previously only in the breach. Even after separate but equal was declared unlawful, the whites, still frenziedly building, could cry plaintively, "Why, the niggers already got the only air-conditioned school in town!" Now the Nixon Administration proposes its own version of the same idea which amounts, in Charles Morgan's words, to "separate but quality."

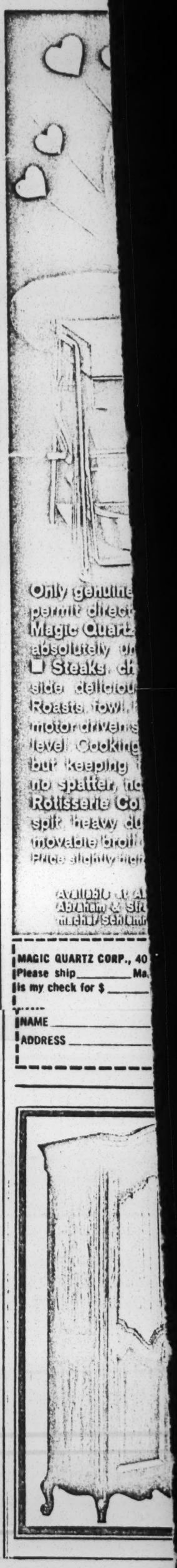
AGAIN, we Southern integrationists have not been fooled by the Administration's ambiguity about race relations. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert Finch, is one of the symbols of the Administration's respectable streak, and we have seen many Southerners of good will in the same sad plight that he is in. Such men serve the racists and the ends of racism by providing them with a respectable front. A man in such a position can do little to further the goals he believes in, and yet he fears what would happen if he should give up what little influence for sanity he might have.

That other supposedly good influence in the Administration, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, seems to us, at best, not to understand the South or racism, and, with his recommendation that racial problems be treated with "benign neglect," he placed himself among the worst of those erstwhile friends who hurt more than help us. Such friends were a major factor in the failure of enforcement that plagued us when there was supposed to be no ambiguity about Federal intentions. Even with men like them in power in the late 1950's and early '60's, when majority opinion in the nation was said to support our cause, Southern integrationists saw clearly that "all deliberate speed" was mostly deliberation and no speed; again and again, we saw the Justice Department unwilling or unable to protect the rights, and all too often the lives, of those seeking to abide by the Constitution. Only after the murder of great leaders or the kind of racist mayhem that occurred in Selma, Ala., were public opinion and the Congress stirred enough to pass the civil rights legislation that we got.

At dismal conferences after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act representatives of Federal agencies explained the guidelines by which they would, presumably, enforce its various sections. These well-intentioned bureaucrats knew they would be dealing with the most respectable elements of Southern society — officeholders, educators, businessmen, lawyers, judges, and so on; they simply could not comprehend that *these* were the racists—and that they were capable of lying, cheating, stealing, destroying, betraying trust and honor, and, ultimately, abetting murder in the interest of racism.

I HOPE it is not unfair or unkind to say that what the Southern interracial cause has lost so far in the retrogression of the rest of the nation is mainly good intentions. In men like Paul Rilling, who resigned as director of the Southeastern Regional Office of Civil Rights of H.E.W., protesting the Nixon Administration's racial policies, we lose good friends, but little in terms of needed enforcement. Too often, the best such men could give beleaguered, wronged Southern integrationists (for example, black parents whose children faced daily humiliations and beatings in schools with token integration) was sympathy and expressions of mutual frustration.

But how much do we stand to lose from the men of bad intent who have embraced, and likely will embrace in increasing numbers, the Administration's approach to race relations? Southern integrationists were not surprised in 1964 when the Goldwater campaign, that homegrown rightist movement which threatened to become the mainstream of national politics, merged so smoothly with en-



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trenched Southern racism; the attraction was mutual—and dangerous. The grip on real power that these two camps have in the present Administration already has been felt in the weakening of what enforcement there had been and in the encouraging of new strategies of racist intimidation. (A Negro minister who said he was brutally beaten by state troopers and sheriff's men at the Brandon, Miss., jail after a civil rights demonstration last February quoted one of the troopers as telling him, "It is a different ballgame now.")

THE legal reforms won in the past decade and a half provide the weapons that Southern integrationists will use to continue to fight. The power of the vote and the courts are most important. Not insignificantly, both have already been threatened from the top of the Nixon Administration. Fortunately, neither attempt at retrenchment has met with full success.

Congress, in its tax-reform legislation, put severe restrictions on funds foundations may grant for voter registration and still enjoy their tax-exempt status. "This is a punitive measure," protested Vernon Jordan, a Negro Southerner, in futile testimony before the Senate Finance Committee. "Today we see the friend turning upon us and becoming an ally of the racists we confront daily in the South." Jordan was then director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, which helped register more than a million Negroes who had been disfranchised before the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The new tax law hampers but will not stop the voter registration effort.

The Nixon Administration made an even more dangerous attack when it sought to eliminate from the Voting Rights Act a requirement that Southern states with a record of previous disfranchisement of Negroes get Justice Department approval of any change in state registration laws. Those who finally defeated this move were aware that it would have opened the way for white racists to impose again the notorious tests and procedures whose discriminatory administration before the 1965 act was the main means of depriving Negroes of the vote. In this, Congressional liberals showed more than the ordinary grasp of the realities of racism.

Perhaps the Supreme Court did, too, when, despite the efforts of the Administration to get another delay, the justices last October unanimously ordered 30 Mississippi school districts and 14 others across the South to carry out plans for integration immediately. For the most part, the districts achieved orderly compliance without too much difficulty—just as we have known all along they could. The transition has, of course, not been without trauma, including some racist terrorism and the exodus of many whites to makeshift, racist private schools. But the decision, coming after 16 years of defiance and dishonesty, moved the South into what may well be its consummate racial crisis, the final confrontation between racism and the Constitution.

For the first time, school systems, large and small, have been taking the steps that they might have taken from the beginning to achieve real integration. They seem to have done so out of fear of—if not respect for—the Supreme Court. Many white Southerners still need the excuse that they are being forced to do what they know is right about race—and their response to the Court has at least been made ambiguous by the default of the executive branch. But the Federal judiciary has had many Southern school officials under court order for more than a decade. Many Southern integrationists have thought all along that one or two exemplary exercises of the power of the Federal courts to fine or jail lawbreaking officeholders would achieve far more, and be more just, than the executive department's reliance on depriving the children of Federal school aid. It was the old segregationist Governor of Georgia, Marvin Griffin, who said, as his reason for not courting the risk, that being in jail "kind of crimps a Governor's style."

GOV. CLAUDE R. KIRK Jr. of Florida stated the same sentiment less colorfully when he declared that paying a $10,000-a-day contempt-of-court fine for continuing to block integration of Manatee County schools "would not solve the problem." His seizure in April of school officials' power in order to block an integration plan on grounds it called for too much busing was the most serious resistance to the new Supreme Court ruling. And Federal Judge Ben Krentzman's response, the threat of the fine, was perhaps the most effective handling of such lawlessness in all the history of schoolhouse-door grandstanding by Southern governors.

The case, however, heightened the conflict between the executive and judicial branches regarding school integration. Governor Kirk was confident that the Justice Department would support his appeals, aimed at the Supreme Court, for modification of the Manatee plan. "I urge parents, students and the public to be patient and work with us and the Department of Justice now that we are working together as two separate sovereigns before a court," he said, confidently.

The Justice Department

had earlier indicated enmity to busing when it entered a "friend of the court" brief in the Charlotte, N. C. school integration case. This remarkable brief went so far as to suggest that United States District Judge James B. McMillan might have committed "an abuse of discretion" in ordering a busing plan thorough enough to achieve racial balance in Charlotte. The brief, filed by Assistant Attorney General Leonard, was described by The New York Times as "in line" with the President's segregation statement. The courts had already delayed from April 1 to Sept. 1 implementation of the plan, which civil rights lawyers had expected would provide a national model. The Justice Department brief listed court rulings which, it said, caution the courts against upholding any plan for achieving a precise, system-wide racial balance that would "require a school board involuntarily to make unreasonable increments in transportation expenditures, the number of students bused, distances traveled, and the like."

Civil rights attorneys are seeking in appeals to bring all Southern school districts under the new Supreme Court ruling by next fall. The practical effect of the national retreat may well be determined by the outcome of the conflict between the executive branch and the judiciary in this matter of busing.

The Senate's rejection of both of the so-called strict constructionists from the South nominated by the President to the Supreme Court was thus a stunning rebuke to Southern-strategy politics. But the Senate seemed more to repudiate the mediocrity than the racial attitudes of the kind of Southerners the President was forced to choose among. In the context of the Southern strategy, his preference for a "conservative" had to mean an enemy of integration; it is a secondary matter that such Southern "conservatives" are, none of them, of the caliber of the Court. Law-abiding Southerners, happy as they were over the defeat of the President's first two choices, would have felt a good deal better if the Senate majorities had more plainly stated opposition to the segregationist records and predilections of both men.

Once more, liberalism showed its ignorance of the strategies of racist politics. Avoidance of the real issue allowed the President the demagogic opportunity to say the two men were rejected because they were Southerners. Southerners have been among those quick to argue with the logic of that charge, and to suggest various highly qualified Southern judges who would have no trouble getting Senate confirmation, among them United States District Judge Frank Johnson, Jr., of Montgomery and Judge John Minor Wisdom of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

NEGRO Southerners, by and large, support the Supreme Court's recent integration order. They may be even more disillusioned than Northern black people, but they value education. Many still agree with the preponderance of sociological evidence that integrated experience is a necessary ingredient of education. But beyond that, virtually all know out of their Southern experience that the white power structure will put the most money, the best equipment, where white children go to school—*and they want in.*

For this reason, they have, for the most part, been leery of a plan brought to them on a recent tour of the South by Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. Innis is a New Yorker who believes that blacks attending integrated schools run by whites are damaged emotionally and educationally. He proposed that Southern school districts be carved up to give black communities local control—with tax money divided according to the number of pupils in separate black and white districts.

Negroes know that Mr. Innis is not the enemy, even if to some he seems to be playing into the enemy's hands. They know that whites, who still have power in the South, are not going to give them anything worth controlling. Even segregationist governors with whom Mr. Innis met in his filibuster through the South seemed cool to the CORE plan—partly no doubt because they are aware that he lacks support among Negro voters. The one community that semed interested was Mobile, Ala., where Negroes are perhaps more frustrated than anywhere in the South at the success of white resistance to integration. Southern integrationists have been bemused by rumors that the Justice Department likes the CORE plan and may have suggested Mobile to Mr. Innis as a likely place to push it.

If Southern integrationists have regarded the Innis invasion as another example of Northern innocence about Southern racism they were for the same reason neither overly discouraged by the initial success of the Stennis Amendment to the education appropriation bill, nor much encouraged when it was finally taken out of the bill. To them, the measure introduced by Senator John Stennis of Mississippi was a typical ploy, which was on one level, no more than an effort to perpetuate a hoary article of Southern racist faith: that the nation ought to get the mote of racism out of its own eye before messing with the beam in that of the South. The amendment's statement

OOD, ANGRY: A line of Georgia high-ay patrolmen block Negro demonstrators who ought to enter a gym in Sandersville where ov. Lester Maddox delivered an anti-integration eech. "Negro Southerners are far more angry than eir brothers who talk the rhetoric of revolt."

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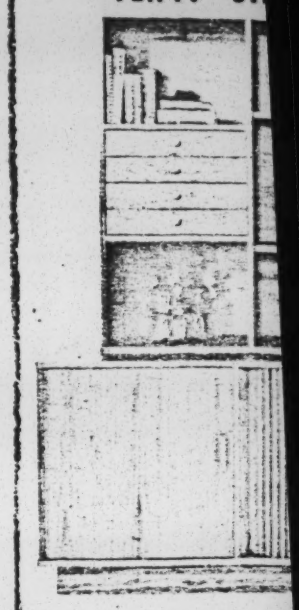

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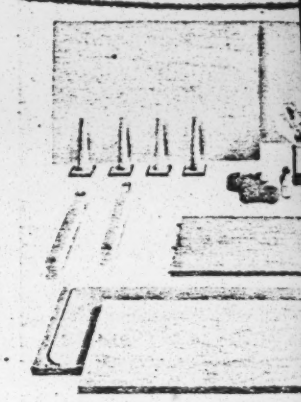

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The realities of racial struggle have eluded many Northerners

that, as a matter of public policy, school desegregation enforcement should be uniform throughout the country was not without ironic overtones for those of us not impressed with enforcement in the South. Most of all, it served to show the naïveté of Northern liberalism and the sad spectacle of Senator Abraham Ribicoff's supporting it because he deplores Northern hypocrisy.

How could he have thought he advanced the cause of integration by supporting anything having to do with John Stennis? Hypocrisy of Northern liberalism is enshrined already in two provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which seem contradictory to Southern integrationists. One demands an end to *de jure* segregation of schools, a Southern condition, and the other forbids busing to end *de facto* segregation, a Northern condition. All that a Southern integrationist can say to the North about its *de facto* segregation is the simple truth we know about all segregation, and this most humbly: Regardless of how it comes about, *de jure* or *de facto*, it is wrong and hurts both races; it is an institutional expression of racism, and it must be ended because the cost of not ending it will be the life of the nation.

James Baldwin evoked the Negro spiritual's metaphor of "the fire next time" to sound the same warning. But those who have lived in the South (like people who have lived in South Africa, Rhodesia, or Nazi Germany) know an even more dreadful vision than the apocalypse; they have experienced the death of the spirit that comes when racism rules. In the South we have seen so much needless suffering, the blight cast on so many lives. No one escapes—whites least of all. You can see it in the faces of both black and white, in the very way they walk and hold their bodies—joyless, stunted, sexless. We have felt racism's blight at work on our friends, our very families, our own secret lives. Numbness, even more than fire, threatens America if it fails to build a just interracial society.

Negro Southerners are, I think, far more angry than their brothers in the rest of the country who talk the fashionable rhetoric of revolution. They do not indulge such talk much, are still trying to fight within normal frameworks. But if the policies and mood of the nation should finally, with consummate folly, force them outside, they would be capable of real and effective insurrectionary action—far more so than the constant talkers of it. "If I can't have my freedom," they are saying, "nobody else in the United States is going to have any either."

THE nation may, indeed, desert them—but it does so at its own peril. At the conference on new school integration strategy, Negro Southerners recited the dreadful recent versions of the dreary old story of white racist terrorism. I talked with two of the Negro high school students from Lamar, S.C., who were on school buses attacked by a white mob which state and Federal police had allowed to gather on the grounds of an integrated school—men and women armed with bricks, chains, clubs.

"My first feeling was of death," said Clarence Brunson, 18 years old. "I could see myself dying. There was no chance to fight back."

Annette Johnson, 16, said: "I was scared to death they would come in and kill us. They were on one side of the bus. The patrolmen were on the other. We were scared to go out either side."

Here, then, is the perspective for viewing the racist retreat in the rest of the country—in terms of two decent, middle-class teen-agers afraid for their lives as a result of having acted within the law, and being just as afraid of law enforcement officials as of the mob, and having a rational reason in Southern reality for both fears.

This, too, is the perspective for judging apologists for the racist retreat, from the President on down, in their tender concern for the sensibilities and conveniences of children, except when it comes to the need for integration—this symbolized in the hysteria over busing. For the sake of sanity, we integrationists cling to our ingrained sense of Southern sardonic humor: To travel country roads of the South this very day, as I have recently done, is to see in broad daylight constant and flagrant busing of children as it has been going on for a century — white pupils being transported past black schools to white schools, and vice versa. And of course the busing hysteria is only one more example of the segregationist Southerners' ability to embroil the rest of the country in secondary considerations. They will always concede the first point—what the law says. But they will obfuscate and litigate endlessly over the second—how the law might be enforced.

In the South today, some schools ordered by the courts to be fully integrated are in point of fact all-black in enrollment; parents of the white children have put them in those shabby and inadequate private schools thrown up by the racists to avoid integration. Sadly, such white children suffer. But the public school is at last a lawful one. The black children are at least enjoying whatever the school district can afford to put into education. And these schools remain open to the white children any time they want to come back on an integrated basis.

(A Mississippi school principal expressed relief that the worst segregationists among his white pupils had retreated to the private schools; without them, he said, the transition to integration would be less difficult, though some of them were already trickling back into the public school and that seemed the likely thing to happen generally. White Southerners, like black ones, have proved time and again since 1954 that education of their children is the most important thing to them, more important than living up to the ranted expectations of their racist leaders.)

The solicitude that the President and others have expressed about the rigors of busing seems based on the same misplacement of values that allowed segregated schools to exist against the law in the South. If some children are inconvenienced by having lawful schools, this is nothing compared with the harm done by unlawful ones, by the debilities to both races and all classes from the separation and isolation of children, one from the other.

This is the essence of what the South has to tell the nation about racism. You can't have priorities higher than the Bill of Rights. You can not have just a little bit of denial of freedom. It is all or nothing. The Supreme Court's order of full integration brings the South at last to this all-or-nothing reality.

Maybe the Supreme Court realized that it was now or never not merely in the South but in all America for this ultimate confrontation with racism. As it has been in the South, then, so let it be in the nation. Already Senator Walter F. Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, has emerged as a new kind of Northern spokesman for integration in the current crisis, unfooled and possessed of the same essential understanding of the issue that Southern integrationists have. "I do not know what the politics of human rights is today," Mondale said recently. "I sense that it's less popular than it's been for a number of years. But unless we sustain it, the cause of the country is lost."

Maybe most white Americans are as bad as the Southern Congressmen and the black separatists think—but I don't believe it. I don't take that dim a view of my fellow Americans, any more than I do of my fellow Southerners. I see now more and more Southerners coming to grips with the reality of racism, really overcoming the racist conditioning of their childhood; and I see many, many children in a new generation —black and white—growing up together and sharing not just a culture, as we always have in the South, but sharing in rights and dignity as well. More and more, such progress will depend on forcing the confrontation between the madness of racism and the sanity of America's idealism. In such a showdown, I believe most people will opt for sanity. The greatest irony in the current crisis of faith in America is that it will lead the nation to its own final showdown between sanity and insanity. ■

PICTURE CREDITS

1—DENIS CAMERON
23—DRAWING BY ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM
24-25—TASS FROM SOVOFOTO
26-27—ASSOCIATED PRESS
30-31—PHOTOREPORTERS
34-35—CHARLES A. GERRETSEN FROM BLACK STAR; THE NEW YORK TIMES (BARTON SILVERMAN); SOVFOTO
40—THE NEW YORK TIMES (JACK MANNING)
46—UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
55—ASSOCIATED PRESS
56-60—UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
62—JOHN PHILLIPS FROM LIFE
70-75—KEN REGAN FROM CAMERA 5
83-85-86-92-95—DRAWINGS BY SUSAN PERL
88—THE NEW YORK TIMES STUDIO (BILL ALLER)
98-99—TASS FROM SOVFOTO
100—UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
104-105—THE NEW YORK TIMES (GARY SETTLE)
106-107—UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
108—KEN REGAN FROM CAMERA 5
110—TIM KANTOR

Southern Regional Council's Report on IRS Book Probe

Following is an advance copy of a report by Reese Cleghorn, editor of "South Today," which will appear in the next issue of that publication of the Southern Regional Council, a research and information agency in the field of human relations.

The federal government, through the Treasury Department, has begun a systematic effort to obtain the names of people who check out library materials about explosives and, in some cases, books loosely described as "subversive" or "militant."

Investigators of the Treasury's Internal Revenue Service has been quietly visiting libraries for at least two months seeking the information. The result is believed to be the nation's first coordinated effort to gather intelligence information that makes Americans suspect because of what they read.

Numerous librarians and officials of the American Library Association, questioned during the past few days about the Treasury agents' visits, confirm that the investigations have sought the titles and the names of borrowers of books listed under the heading "explosives" in library catalogues and, in some cases, titles suggesting contents related to guerrilla warfare. Beyond that, in at least one library system an agent simply requested that the librarian provide the names of people who have checked out "militant or subversive" books. When she refused, the investigator angrily lectured her on refusing to cooperate with the government.

Resistance by Librarians

In another library, agents succeeded in obtaining the names of people who had checked out books on guerrilla warfare by Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionist, and Francois Sully. The librarian willingly provided the names, which included those of two teen-agers who apparently were working on term papers.

The federal agents in some cases, upon meeting resistance by librarians, have suggested that they might obtain subpoenas for the information, which presumably would place the burden upon the librarians themselves to laboriously extract the desired information from microfilmed records. An in another case the

As for obtaining the names of borrowers, he further said: "You are getting into a fringe area as to whether this kind of information could be useful. If this is public information, our people are going to look for it anywhere they can find it. I don't know whether this kind of information is available to the public or not. Some libraries may not care. Others could." On whether agents would seek subpoenas if librarians objected, he said: "I doubt it. This would be going out on a fishing expedition."

Mr. Serr was asked where lists of borrowers would go, if they were gathered by agents. "They might not even go further than the investigator," he said. "We make no effort to program anything like that through IRS computers."

He said his division has been asked by the McClellan Committee "to collect certain information on explosives, the number of bombs, and so on. We have asked our people to give us certain information about what the local requirements and rules are with regard to explosives. I am sure they have been doing a certain amount of research, to find out how things are run."

Following are the particulars of a number of Treasury efforts to obtain library information:

On July 1 and on other days at about that time, investigators called at libraries throughout metropolitan Atlanta. In a few cases, they found immediate cooperation, but in most they were turned back—temporarily, at least—by the objections of librarians and the difficulties of obtaining information from highly-systematized microfilm records. How persistent they will be in pursuing the names they are seeking remains to be seen.

Access to Micro film

Carlton Rochell, director of the Atlanta Public Library, was attending the American Library Association convention in Detroit when an investigator identified as Charles D. Lowe visited the city's main library. The investigator was told that it would be impossible to immediately obtain the names of borrowers of particular books but that, if he desired, he could have access to the large numbers of microfilm reels which re-

brary, Mrs. James N. Wood. Mrs. Wood then informed the Southern Regional Council, and that initial disclosure began inquiries that led to others and ultimatey to confirmation of a national pattern.

No Specific Books

Mrs. Brown later said the agent mentioned no specific books or authors. "He was concerned with the phrase 'militant and subversive material,'" she said. "That kept coming into the conversation. I have heard that in other libraries in the system specific books were checked." He had been in the library for some time, apparently checking the catalogue of books, before talking to Mrs. Brown. "He came to me to ask how to identify the 'users of militant and subversive materials,'" she said.

She also recalled that he asked her whether the library would "flag" certain "subversive" books so that agents could easily determine who had checked them out. "I said I would resist such a move as severely as I could," she says. "I said I would do so only if commanded to do so by the director of the system. . . . I explaned that I happen to be an old-fashioned librarian and that anyone coming in the door of the library I am in charge of can read what he wants and in privacy."

It was at that point, Mrs. Brown recalls, that the encounter became a personal conflict. "He said, 'I detect a feeling of hostility on your part. I don't believe we should pursue the conversation.' I said I didn't feel hostile toward him but toward what he was doing. He hit the roof. He shouted: 'Do you mean to tell me that you would allow patrons to use militant and subversive material at this library toward the purpose of overthrowing the government?' I refused to answer. I told him that was as if I asked him whether he had stopped beating his wife. He was livid when he left, and I was, too."

Names Provided

An agent who called at another branch in the DeKalb County system, Brookhaven, found it easier to obtain what he wanted. The borrower records at the Brookhaven branch are less complex than at some other libraries. It is a relatively simple matter to correlate the numbers of patrons with

First Amendment rights. He responded to a request to withhold action until it could be established whether the agents' visits were a local phenomenon or part of a national pattern.

Milwaukee Inquiry

Mrs. Judith Krug, director of the American Library Association's Office for Intellectual Freedom in Chicago, knew of only one instance of Treasury inquiries when she went to the library association's annual conference in Detroit during the first week of July. It involved the Milwaukee Public Library, and at the convention one session heard a brief report on that episode.

"Then I started hearing comments about other places," Mrs. Krug said. "I know there was one reference to such an occurence in Colorado and one in Wyoming, but this was second hand. It was very frightening to me. The Intellectual Freedom Committee discussed it only in very general terms." Just after the convention, she was told about the Atlanta incidents "and I saw it fit exactly the same pattern," she said. "The only other time I ever heard of federal agents' asking for records was in connection with President Kennedy's assassination, when records of the New Orleans Library were used in an effort to determine what Lee Harvey Oswald had been reading."

Miss Vivian Maddox, assistant city librarian in Milwaukee, relates this sequence of events which began the first week of May:

"A Treasury Department agent appeared here, asking a supervisor about books on explosives. He was sent to my office, and we had a lengthy talk. He said if we were served with a subpoena for the records we would have to do all the work, but if we would just let them do it, they would do the work. I still refused. An assistant city attorney called the next day and said the library's records are all public. I asked him: 'Are you bringing this up because of the Treasury Department request?' He said, 'Yes.'"

Written Legal Ruling

Miss Maddox said Milwaukee's head librarian, Richard E. Krug, then talked to the city attorney's office and asked for the legal ruling in writing. It arrived a day or

that some of the books in which the Treasury Department was interested would, in fact, inform a reader how to make explosive devices.

The Board of Trustees of the Milwaukee Public Library met during the first week of July and considered a resolution that might prohibit release of information about borrowers in the absence of a court order or strong evidence of a serious need for the information. But the resolution was delayed, pending consultation with the city attorney's office. Thus, in Milwaukee, the matter remains unresolved, and the Treasury Department already has obtained the names of borrowers.

Librarians' Reponse

In Detroit last March, the main public library was visited by federal agents in connection with a book that had been found in a Chicago apartment where police had discovered a supply of explosives. The book, on how to handle firearms, had been stolen from the Detroit Library. Mrs. Clara Jones, director of the library, said, however, that she knows of no general inquiry by federal agents about her library's books and borrowers.

In another Georgia incident, Dr. Lawson ascertained that two Treasury agents visited the Cobbs County-Marietta Public Library, 20 miles from Atlanta. He said the acting director there, Mrs. Josephine Stratton, was asked about the book retrieval system, check-outs, and books on bombs and explosives. "They also found a book written by an ex-Communist, eight or nine years old, listed in the catalogue," Dr. Lawson said. "But it had been lost. They had preceded this visit with one to the county police department."

These various inquiries into the federal agents' efforts suggest a widely varying response on the part of the librarians. In some cases the agents found ready cooperation; in some, direct rejection; and in some, permissive responses grounded, however, in the knowledge that microfilm record-keeping systems themselves impose a formidable obstacle to obtaining the information desired.

Association's Position

The posture of the Ameri-

brary is a very personal matter. A library is a man's university, where everyone is equal. I find it very frightening when someone starts inquiring about how you are using your mind."

Serious Encroachment

She said she will present a policy statement to the library association's governing council when it meets in January, with hopes that it will reject any inquiries such as those made by the Treasury Department. "We will fight the subpoenas, too," she said. "We want people to call us if they are visited by agents, and to call us if they get subpoenas."

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, a physician in Charlotte, N.C., who is president of the Southern Regional Council, said he found the Treasury agents' listing of book borrowers to be shocking evidence of a serious new encroachment upon individual freedoms. The council, a research and information agency in the human relations field, in the past has concerned itself periodically with Southern states' intrusions upon civil liberties related to reading matter.

Dr. Wheeler said:

"It is deeply disturbing to see evidence that the federal government, which in recent years often has been the protector of our liberties in exactly this sphere, is now gathering the kind of information that only a totalitarian regime would ordinarily attempt to justify. I relate this gathering of information about reading matter to earlier reports that various government agencies are systematically compiling fragmentary information on huge numbers of law-abiding citizens, who suddenly have become 'persons of interest in computerized files in Washington.

"I agree with a recent statement by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. that even the existence of these concentrations of suggestive but often insignificant shreds of information can have a severe intimidating effect upon the public."

might obtain subpoenas for the information, which presumably would place the burden upon the librarians themselves to laboriously extract the desired information from microfilmed records. An in another case, the agents, after a refusal from a librarian, contacted the city attorney's office, which opened the library files by advising the librarian in writing that, contrary to library tradition, all library records were public information.

Inquiries for this report have revealed that the agents' activities are not simply localized, pertaining to specific investigations, but part of a nationwide campaign to gather the names of readers of certain kinds of books.

Before the inquiries, the American Library Association, through its Office for Intellectual Freedom in Chicago, knew of one library's experience with the investigators but was unaware that the Internal Revenue Service was gathering the information elsewhere.

Enforcement Powers

It has now been confirmed that the IRS is gathering the information nationally, through its Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, under a very broad construal of IRS enforcement powers authorized by the Gun Control Act of 1968. That act defines destructive devices (including explosives, mines, missiles and poison gas) and provides that anyone manufacturing them must file an application with the Secretary of the Treasury and purchase a tax stamp.

Librarians are uncertain about what is done with the names of readers once the IRS has obtained them. In recent weeks, Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (Democrat) of North Carolina, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, has charged that the use of government computers to amass files on suspect citizens is in itself a threat to Americans' freedoms.

Request for Information

When asked whether agents have been gathering names of book borrowers, Harold Serr, director of the IRS Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, said: "I wouldn't swear that they haven't, because when you are looking for information you go wherever you can find it. But unless they are working on a particular person, I don't think it would be worthwhile to find information that way." Although his office has not specifically directed investigators to gather names of book borrowers, he said, "it's possible that some investigator is looking for this."

brary. The investigator was told that it would be impossible to immediately obtain the names of borrowers of particular books but that, if he desired, he could have access to the large numbers of microfilm reels which record some 150,000 book transactions each month.

When Mr. Rochell returned to his office this week, he told supervisory staff members that the library's record were private. "I said that I feel when a situation involves a member of the public and his reading matter, this is a trust between the librarian and that person," Mr. Rochell said. "We won't provide such information unless required to by subpoena."

On July 6, Mr. Rochell called Robert P. Lane, who is Georgia chief special investigator for the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the IRS, to inquire about the agents. "He said they were doing this in connection with the Gun Control Act of 1968, destructive devices section," Mr. Rochell subsequently related. "He said the idea of visiting the libraries was provided as an "investigative lead' by his regional office. They were trying to find out, first, what is available in the libraries and, second, who might be reading it."

Concern Expressed

Mr. Rochell asked whether the IRS had specific books in mind." He said they really didn't, that they were looking to see what might be available." Mr. Rochell said he expressed his concern about the whole process and that Mr. Lane said he would relay this concern to the regional office.

In addition to the main office, the agents visited only one Atlanta system branch, insofar as Mr. Rochell could immediately determine. It was the Inman Park branch, which serves a lower-income area that is racially transitional and where a substantial number of "longhairs" and Cubans live.

Agents made a much more extensive visitation the same week to branches of the library system of DeKalb County, a largely middle-class "bedroom community" that includes some of Atlanta and a large part of its suburban population. At first, there was some incredulity and suspicion that the agents might be right-wing extemists with phony credentials. "I thought at first they might have been John Birchers," one librarian said.

Mrs. Tomlin E. Brown, in charge of DeKalb's Avis G. Williams branch, was so shaken by the experience that the next day she talked about it to a visitor to the li-

what he wanted. The borrower records at the Brookhaven branch are less complex than at some other libraries. It is a relatively simple matter to correlate the numbers of patrons with the numbers on the check-out records for particular books.

Mrs. Matty Dodson, head librarian at the Brookhaven branch, said the agent checked the catalogue and asked about borrowers of two books: "Guerrilla Warfare," by Che Guevara, and "The Age of the Guerrilla," by Francois Sully. "One of these books had gone out only twice." Mrs. Dodson said. "The one by the man with the C-H-E name had gone out nine times since 1962. He got the names of the ones who had checked it out in 1968 and 1969." There were only two names, Mrs. Dodson said: Both of teenagers who, she thought, were working on term papers.

At the Scott Candler branch in the DeKalb system, Mrs. Barbara Moeller says, an agent whose name she wrote down simply as "Benson," with the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, noted that there were no catalogue listings under "explosives" but did say there were two books he was interested in. "He didn't say what they were." She said at this branch, names of borrowers were not obtained immediately because they are on reels of film and a substantial amount of time would be required to find borrowers of a particular book.

'Legitimate Agent'

Mrs. John Hale, who is in charge of DeKalb's branch libraries, said when asked about the Treasury investigators: "I think they called on all branches. Our libraries are so small they wouldn't have much on these subjects. . . . The man was a legitimate agent of the government. That we found out."

After the agents' visits to the DeKalb branches, Mrs. Brown contacted Dr. Venable Lawson, of the Emory University Library School in suburban Atlanta, who is chairman of the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the Metropolitan Atlanta Library Association. Still believing that the whole matter was so bizarre that the libraries' visitors might have been imposters rather than federal agents, Dr. Lawson checked one agent's name he had been given, "Charles D. Lowe," and learned that the local Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division does have an agent with that name.

Dr. Lawson was prepared to ask his local committee to denounce what he considered grave intrusions upon

Written Legal Ruling

Miss Maddox said Milwaukee's head librarian, Richard E. Krug, then talked to the city attorney's office and asked for the legal ruling in writing. It arrived a day or two later, she recalled. Mr. Krug then ordered release of the information. The library has information indicating that the agent who first called was M. Michael Geraty.

It was later ascertained that the Treasury Department's interest in Milwaukee had been narrowed to 15 books, principally volumes on explosives, and 10 borrowers of them. Circulating records for the period, January, 1969, through April, 1970, were checked. In Milwaukee, Miss Maddox said, no general interest in "subversive" or "militant" books was expressed. She said the agent, however, not only threatened a subpoena but also suggested the librarians should cooperate because of national unrest and disturbances. Miss Maddox believes ing systems themselves impose a formidable obstacle to obtaining the information desired.

Association's Position

The posture of the American Library Association is clear, however. In its "Library Bill of Rights," the association holds that information about what people read is held in trust and should not be divulged. "How would it be," said one librarian, "if we readily released, for instance, names of people who have checked out books on sexual deviations? That would create suspicion about people that would have no basis at all."

Mrs. Krug of the American Library Association expressed the view of many librarians when she said: "I'm very upset. the Library Bill of Rights says it is the responsibility of library service to provide materials on all sides of all questions and issues and to make them available to everyone. We also feel that the use of a li-

NY Times
6/1/70

JAMES DABBS, 74, LIBERAL IN SOUTH

SRC

Ex-Head of Regional Council Gained Fame as Author

James McBride Dabbs, a product of plantation aristocracy who became one of the leading Southern exponents of integration, died Saturday at Rip Raps, his family's ancestral plantation near Mayesville, S.C. His age was 74.

"He got along with all the people down there," said an old friend yesterday, "the white people as well as the black people. Over the mantelpiece in the plantation house he had two Confederate muskets and over them a citation of the Detroit chapter of the N.A.A.C.P."

His friends recalled that he was as proud of this citation, the first he received from a major black organization, he was of his Southern heritage —a grandfather raised cotton and tobacco on 10,000 acres at Mayesville, 50 miles east of Columbia, S. C. By the time of Mr. Dabbs's, death however, the plantation had been reduced to 175 acres and the sprawling manor house.

For nearly a decade, until 1964, Mr. Dabbs was president of the Southern Regional Council, one of the most influential liberal bodies in the South. He served as a member of the executive board until his death.

Famed for His Books

Mr. Dabbs gained national renown for his writings, particularly his last major work, "Who Speaks for the South?" a comprehensive examination of the evolution and mystique of the Southern identity.

His answer was that the Southerner speaks for himself in his love of America and love of the world. The Southerner's character, Mr. Dabbs wrote, "is as distinctive as the balmy air blowing inland across the sea-islands of South Carolina."

The other works of Mr. Dabbs also unite his theology (he was an elder of the Presbyterian church) and his quest for the reality of his own heritage. His work

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The other works of Mr. Dabbs also unite his theology (he was an elder of the Presbyterian church) and his quest for the reality of his own heritage. His works were "The Southern Heritage," published in 1958; his first book, with Carl Julien, "The Pee Dee Panorama," on life in the cotton-field uplands of South Carolina; "The Road Home;" and his final work, "Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction."

For a large part of his life Mr. Dabbs was a professor of English at Coker College in Sumter, S.C. But he traveled and spoke extensively throughout the country on civil-rights issues and the need for harmony among the races.

It was his connection with universities and his concern with the problems of youth that led to his membership in the National Student Association and even the Students for a Democratic Society in which, friends said, he was an honorary member until his death.

Held Many Offices

He was also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, a member of the executive committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and a member of the Delta Ministry of Mississippi.

But his first loves were his 175-acre cotton and tobacco plantation, his family and his concern for the need for the traditional way of life of the South to conform to 20th century realities.

"Segregation is not the Southern way of life," he said in an interview 10 years ago. "That's a myth. It's the very opposite of our historical tradition. Today the South is moving into a new world and it's afraid it may lose something of value. But the thing of value is not segregation."

In 1964 Mr. Dabbs spoke out against Gov. George C. Wallace's candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. "Do Southerners really believe this?" he asked in a television interview. "No, not really . . . but they like to see the old play re-acted." He expressed the view that the South was viewing the Wallace candidacy with "dissatisfaction and disgust."

Shortly before his death, he liked to feel that "the ice was breaking throughout the South," with the old way of life giving way to a new.

He is survived by his wife, Edith Wells Mitchell Dabbs; two sons, James McBride Dabbs Jr. of Atlanta, and Army Lieut. Richard Dabbs of San Antonio, Tex., three daughters, Miss Dorothy Dabbs of Atlanta; Mrs. Robert Haas of Valhalla, N. Y.; Mrs. Richter H. More Jr. of Jonesboro, Tenn.; six grandchildren; two sisters, Miss Sophie Dabbs and Mrs. Walter W. Thompson, both of Mayesville; and a brother, McBride Dabbs, also of Mayesville.

MRS. MAX RIEGELMAN

Constitution 6-11-48

RALPH McGILL

Robeson's Georgia Appearance

There isn't any question but what the Communists have tremendous influence with direction of the Wallace third party campaign.

The Daily Worker, Communist paper, says the Communist Party is chiefly responsible for the creation of the party and its direction.

The Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, has so testified out of his personal knowledge of the Communists in the Wallace party.

Therefore, it is significant that the Macon group backing Wallace has announced plans to bring Paul Robeson, Negro singer and long-time fellow traveler and Communist-applauder, to Macon for a concert in the interest of raising money for the campaign.

Robeson is a trouble-maker and a trouble-hunter.

Person He also is a great artist, one of our best. America was good to him, in a measure greater than that accorded the average person, of whatever race.

Robeson admittedly, by his own words, devotes his time and abilities to fellow-traveling Communist interests in order to create trouble. That's why he is, we believe, coming to Macon.

Let's look at his background and his life and see if he is a mistreated man.

Background His father was a slave, and therefore had a right to bitterness and a hostile attitude toward America. But his father knew that it was not his fault he had been a slave and that no shame was thereby attached to him. He knew, too, that he had been freed by a country which had fought a bloody war to end slavery. He became a minister and preached the gospel, living a useful, respected, honored life.

Robeson was born in New Jersey in 1898. He entered Rutgers University at the age of 17 and had an unusually fine record. He was a star athlete and made the all-American football team his last two years. He was an honor student. He went to Columbia and studied law. But when he got out he practiced only a while and quit, saying he was discriminated against and had no chance.

Lie There are many stories to give the lie to that. Two come immediately to mind. One of the outstanding lawyers in Philadelphia, and a man of wealth and position, is Raymond Pace Alexander. Another is William Henry Hastie, now Governor of the Virgin Islands, and a national figure in legal circles. In Atlanta, Austin Walden, working under circumstances much more restrictive than these, has made a genuine success as an attorney. There are many other such examples, including others in Southern cities.

They, too, without doubt have known bitterness, frustration, anger and humiliation. But they have continued to be good Americans and have devoted much of their energies, as have others, toward making the future easier for others of their race. This was what Robeson's father did for him.

Success Robeson went to the stage. He was a success. In the play "Emperor Jones" he had a chance to sing. His voice and his ability gave him opportunity to become one of the nation's great artists and, from the time of "Showboat," to be acclaimed as one of the greatest of our baritones. And the movies took him. He became wealthy. His University gave him an honorary master's degree in 1932. No door Robeson wanted opened was closed to him.

He went to Russia.

In 1936 he said, in an interview with the Communist Daily Worker:

"Home" "I've lived in Europe and America and I've almost circled the globe, but for myself, my wife and my son, the Soviet Union is our future home. For a while, however, I wouldn't feel right to go there and live. By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it."

He put his son in school in Russia. He became a propagandist for Russia. No agent of the Communist Party has been more active in its behalf than he. Yet this country continued to honor his talent. He starred in Othello. But either on order or by choice, he drew away from the stage and the movies. More and more he became a trouble-maker, following the Communist technique of hitting the front pages with "discrimination" stories. More and more he was "barred" from auditoriums by methods which shouted their prearrangement. No Communist has served the Communist Party in this country as well as he.

Macon Macon, or any other community which may be involved, will make a great error if it does not open its doors to Robeson. By all means let him appear. If that is done the Communists may try to find other ways for him to make trouble. Let the community so tested patiently avoid that, too.

Atlanta showed the way—when Sen. Taylor, Wallace's V. P., acting out the fellow-traveler line, came to Atlanta following the Communist success in Birmingham, which stupidly arrested him. He ate in a Negro restaurant. Atlanta thoughtfully assigned a Negro policeman to see to it that no one bothered him and Taylor, looking hopefully over his shoulder for trouble, got none and no headlines developed from Atlanta.

Robeson is a bad American and, by his own words, an enemy of this country.

But let us not fall into the Communist trap.

Let him sing and let those who go to hear him sit where they will.

7-70

Books in Review

SRC (spec)

Regional History

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. By PAT WATTERS. *Pantheon. 390 pp. $7.95.*

Reviewed by DAVID DONALD

THOUGH SOUTHERN historical scholarship has gained in depth and precision during the past generation, no recent interpretation of the region has equaled W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South.* The best Southern historians have been engaged in writing learned, but basically uninterpretive, studies like George Tindall's *The Emergence of the New South,* or in composing thoughtful, but necessarily brief and inconclusive, essays like C. Vann Woodward's *The Burden of Southern History* and David M. Potter's *The South and the Sectional Conflict.* For the full sweep of Southern history we still have to turn back to Cash's classic, even though it is now nearly thirty years out of date.

The South and the Nation, by Pat Watters, ought to have been a book that would supplement, if it did not replace, *The Mind of the South.* Resembling Cash in so many ways, Watters has the qualifications to write another major interpretation of the South. A native Southerner, he knows the people of his region and speaks their language. He has the true Southerner's amazing repertory of anecdotes, which he tells more skillfully than even Cash did. As reporter for the Atlanta *Journal* and, since 1963, information director for the Southern Regional Council, he has had unparalleled opportunities to observe every racial crisis in the South during the past decade and to interview the principal participants in most of them. A liberal, Watters writes of his section with a deep love for its virtues and with a sense of personal outrage over its barbarities.

Yet *The South and the Nation* is not a success. For many of its failings Watters is clearly to blame. He deliberately avoided "painstaking scholarly research in the cumulated findings of other people" in order to present his personal evaluation of the South, based upon "feeling and intuition more than on solid fact or certain knowledge." Cash did the same, and he wrote so well that he convinced readers that his feeling and his intuition were truth. Watters, on the other hand, is a poor, sometimes a slovenly, writer. His book is chaotic in structure and repetitious in argument.

Then, too, Watters writes from a very limited perspective—that of the liberal white Southerner living in Atlanta. Rarely does his range of vision extend beyond the state of Georgia. Cash, too, knew only a small part of the South, but he made us believe that what was true for the Carolina Piedmont held for the section as a whole. Watters, on the other hand, would have written a better book had he limited himself to the one state which he knows so well. His best pages are those evoking the sights and smells of the northwestern Georgia hill country, and his funniest, most devastating stories are those pricking the cultural pretensions of Atlanta.

Race as well as geography limits Watters's range. Like most other Southern whites, he has difficulty in writing about Negroes. By virtually ignoring the blacks, Cash could avoid analysis of how Negroes thought and felt, but a 1970 account of the South cannot present black men as passive participants in an all-white drama. Frankly admitting limited knowledge, Watters tries to describe the black community: "We will enter these beguiling, treacherous places as I force myself to act as a reporter, full of the knowledge that I am as ignorant of them as the freshly arrived Northern reporter is ignorant of the city South that I know so well." The intent is admirable, but the performance is flat. Sensitive to the nuances of white behavior, Watters views all blacks as alike—and as admirable. Even his language is stereotyped when he speaks of Negroes. Black leaders of the civil-rights movement, he says, showed the world "the best of the Southern heritage, its beauty of belief and great braveness," and he praises "the great and beautiful strengths of Negro culture."

BUT THE larger difficulties with *The South and the Nation* stem not so much from the author as from the subject. We no longer have a fixed vantage point from which to observe the South. Had Watters's study been written in the late 1950's, it could have had a simple theme: the South was becoming urbanized and industrialized; it was ending the segregation of schools and public facilities; it was conceding to black men the right to vote—in short, it was happily approaching the national norm. The spokesmen of change and progress were men like Martin Luther King, Jr., the young leaders of SNCC, and the few Southern white liberals who supported racial justice. Struggling against the tide of history were the bad men of the South, like "Bull" Connor of Birmingham, or Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma.

Looking back from 1970, it is clear that the pattern of events during the last two decades was far more complex and ironical. Watters shows how urbanization, far from bringing happiness and prosperity, has transformed Southerners into a "grim and grey people," living in a cultural wasteland. The end of *de jure* segregation of schools has promoted seg-

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DAVID DONALD, *who is currently with the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, reviewed the Arno Press series,* The American Negro: His History and Literature, *in our April issue.*

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regated housing patterns and the consequent *de facto* school segregation already prevalent throughout the rest of the country. Registration of Negro voters and the election of a handful of black officials resulted in the reduction of the political power of Southern Negroes. We cannot even have the satisfaction of discovering behind these developments the malign influence of "villains whose overthrow will assure the end of evils." Instead, the responsibility was diffused among "the planters, the power structures of small cities and large, those possessive old men whose ugliness in a crisis reflected the anger and dismay and panic they felt at seeing their prized possession tampered with, the cotton mill owners, the faltering labor leaders, the ineffective liberals, the corrupt Negro leaders, the emasculated educational elite, the very policeman whose presence makes us shudder and say, 'I hate cops.'"

What has happened, in short, is that the South has become more and more like the rest of the nation. At the same time, the country as a whole is becoming increasingly Southern—most conspicuously in the now universally acknowledged racism of American society. The strength of Watters's book lies in his realization that he is describing a section that is about to disappear, but it is hard to write a good book about "the South and the Nation" when there is so little that remains distinctive.

Lore & Learning

THE BRITISH FOLKLORISTS: A HISTORY. By RICHARD M. DORSON. *University of Chicago Press. 518 pp. $17.95.*

PEASANT CUSTOMS AND SAVAGE MYTHS, 2 volumes. Edited by RICHARD M. DORSON. *University of Chicago Press. 751 pp. $22.00.*

Reviewed by ROBERT ACKERMAN

THERE ARE many anthropologists at work today but few folklorists. With the exception of the efforts of a few American academicians, folklore seems to have run its course so far as intellectual or cultural pretensions are concerned, and the pursuit is now back in the hands of the amateur enthusiasts, where it all began in England three centuries ago. Precisely because the study of folklore has flourished and declined (it was yet another casualty of the First World War), it is now possible to render a retrospective judgment on its activities and accomplishments. Richard Dorson, professor of history and folklore and director of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University, and one of the few scholars with the requisite overall knowledge of the field, has set himself this task. His effort, the first comprehensive history of British folklore ever written, is crammed with information that will be useful to anyone interested in 19th-century intellectual history, particularly the origins of anthropology in England; in the final analysis, however, it falls short of the mark.

Like Hercules, folklore has always found its strength in its contact with the earth, that is, with the "lore" that its workers have turned up; perhaps because of this naturally empirical cast, it has always depended upon other disciplines for its key metaphors (e.g., evolution, "survivals") and general theoretical formulations. One would think, then, that any account of folklore's rise and fall would necessarily touch on many interesting questions in modern intellectual and social history, for folklore has been deeply involved in the formulation of many key ideas, such as the "folk" (obviously), the primitive, social evolution, and the origins and nature of myth and religion. Unfortunately, Professor Dorson, perhaps out of professional piety, has elected to write a collective biography—note the title—of his specialty and not a critical history. This is not to say that he abstains from passing judgment on the men and work he discusses, but the biographical method he employs—although doubtless easing the task of ordering the masses of material—has acted to swamp many of the most interesting questions in a welter of rela-

ROBERT ACKERMAN *reviewed Joseph Campbell's* Flight of the Wild Gander *in our issue of December 1969.*

Bruce W. Eggler: The Old, the New and the Never-Never South

SRC

The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythology by Paul M. Gaston

(Knopf; $7.95)

The New Republic 4/26/70

Among the many myths with which the South has been burdened, by both its critics and its apologists, since the Civil War, none has been more persistent, or more harmful, than the "New South" myth that was promulgated after the war by many Southern journalists, businessmen, and politicians. These men wished to persuade skeptical Northerners that the South had indeed changed and should no longer be subjected to Yankee interference in its affairs, especially its racial policies. For the Old South—where cotton was king, Negroes were slaves, and the Union was threatened—was "dead," and (in the words of South Carolina's Edwin DeLeon as

early as 1870) "for that vanished form of society there can be no resurrection." Already, DeLeon said, there had emerged a progressive, growing "New South, whose wants and wishes, ends and aims, plans and purposes, are as different from those of 1860, as though a century . . . divided the two."

As expressed by its leading spokesmen, like Atlanta *Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady, the New South program was to encompass social, economic, and intellectual regeneration. The old staple-crop agriculture was to be replaced by scientific, diversified small farms; outside capital and immigrants were to be used to develop the region's "unmatched" resources; outmoded agrarian values would give way to more "modern" ideals of hard work and business success. With poverty thus virtually eliminated, a prosperous South would quickly convince the North that it was no longer the home of rebels, and wished only to bury sectional animosities and cooperate (on an equal footing) in the business life of the nation.

A South resuming its rightful leading place in national affairs would, of course, not tolerate any further outside interference in full sectional autonomy on racial policies, but it would undertake to grant its blacks all the (tightly restricted) rights and freedoms they "earned" (e.g., the most prominent and "responsible" would be allowed to vote), and to provide equal, though separate, public facilities for both races. Conservative whites would be placated with numerous obeisances toward the glories of antebellum days (the result of which was to be the full flowering of the ultra-romantic, idealized myth of the Old South).

In short, no one – Northern white, Southern white, Southern black – had any just cause to fear or doubt the advent of the New South, or, in one enthusiast's words, "the coming El Dorado of American adventure." Concluded another New South leader, "Man never before conceived of such possibilities as the future holds out to us." Unfortunately, all too many readers, then and since, have taken the New South men at something near their word. This audience (including many historians) has tended to accept uncritically Grady's and the others' claims about their own high ideals and worthy aims. Even though industrialization and other forms of "progress" in the South in fact proceeded slowly, it has been frequently assumed that their advocates in the 1870s and 1880s were just visionaries before their time.

It is the greatest merit of Paul Gaston's penetrating study that such a simple, happy view of the New South movement will never be possible again. For Gaston convincingly shows that there are as many mythical elements in the popular images of the New South as in those of the preceding Reconstruction period. The plans and hopes for industrial development were so riddled with contradictions and false premises, Gaston asserts, that their fulfillment was almost impossible. New South promoters eagerly seized upon each new mill or factory as evidence of great progress, and Grady exclaimed in 1889 that "the day of the mighty harvest is here!" but actual economic gains were slight, and the South made little headway compared to the rest of the nation.

Just as economic opulence remained a merely fictional accomplishment, so, of course, did the South's "solving" of the Negro's plight. Grady might pledge that the Negro problem could be left to the South "with the fullest confidence that the honor of the Republic will be maintained [and] the rights of humanity guarded," but he also demanded that "the supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever . . . because the white race is the superior race." Far from being the "last and surpassing miracle of human government," the racial program of the New South was, in Gaston's words, a hodgepodge of "dreams of equal treatment of allegedly unequal races in separate societies devoted to mutual progress." That program, not too surprisingly, led directly to the disfranchisement, total segregation, and further impoverishment of Southern blacks, and to the zenith of anti-black terrorism and lynchings. Meanwhile, Northern whites – influenced by the growing xenophobia and Social-Darwinist racism of the time, disillusioned with what they had been told of Reconstruction's results, soothed by the accommodating words of Negro spokesmen like Booker T. Washington, and convinced by years of reports and promises about the "New South" – largely did nothing.

The dream of the New South had been of an industrial Utopia; the reality was all too often company towns, low wages, child labor, and urban poverty. The dream had been of modern, scientific agriculture; the reality often remained depleted soil, low prices, and rural poverty. The dream had been of a powerful, respected, economically independent South; the reality was continuing dependence on Northern capital and subservience to Northern monopolies. The dream had been of combining needed progress with the admitted virtues of some Old South values and mores; the reality was often materialism and Babbittry. The dream had been of racial harmony and cooperation under white rule; the reality was rancor, hatred, and naked oppression.

In view of its dismal achievements, it seems astonishing that the favorable reputation of the New South crusade has endured for so long. Yet in the 1890s the myth that all was right, or rapidly becoming right, helped suppress agrarian revolts in the South; in the 1930s it fueled anguished outcries at the official finding that the South was still "the nation's No. 1 economic problem." Many in the South had convinced themselves that the old dreams of progress, prosperity, sectional reconciliation, and racial harmony were accomplished facts. The myth was so

firmly established as to blind the region to how far it still had to go to attain its goals.

Although the myth of a New South had sometimes been consciously manipulated by its promoters, it was far more than a mere tool of exploitation. Like all true myths, it answered deep-felt psychic needs in the South – the need to build pride in past and present, the need to develop a sense of shared goals, the need to escape the South's "un-American" heritage of poverty and defeat and failure, the need to assuage nagging guilt over the condition of the Negro. Those same psychic needs exist today, and the myth of the New South lives on, in almost the same words as a century ago, in the speeches of public figures and the writings of regional apologists.

There have been several "New Souths" since Henry Grady's day, but the line of descent is direct. Probably not a single month has passed since *Appomattox* that some orator or writer has not proclaimed at least the imminence, if not the full-bodied existence, of a New South – a South turning its back on the past, casting off old prejudices and injustices, moving resolutely to march in step with the rest of the nation, if only the rest of the nation would give it the time and peace it needs. Today we hear the same cry from "moderate" governors like John McKeithen of Louisiana, a con-artist supreme who quotes Martin Luther King to justify segregation, or from a Southward-looking President like Richard Nixon, whose insistence on not discriminating against "the South" will perpetuate discrimination against Southern blacks.

Since such "forward-looking" and conciliatory words still sound more attractive than the open racism and defiant "Never!" of a George Wallace, the temptation is still strong to believe them, and the myth they reflect. But those familiar with the South know that despite many elements of newness, many encouraging signs of change, there is an awful lot of Old in even the newest New South. Paul Gaston, tracing the New South movement with greater thoroughness than any previous historian, not only tells us why the original New South dreams are still not fulfilled; he also prepares us to recognize and to understand the mythical and the misleading elements in even the most contemporary proclamations of a New South.

New box -

"Virginia Dare File"

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SRC

indiscriminate killing of other human beings and that this mass killing is given public sanction.

But the Viet Nam war is not what I would hope we will come to discuss although I feel, unlike others of the staff that it does play an important role in the events of the days, a role that we can not play ostrich to and not suffer from the consequesnces, which I think are perhpas similar to the consequences we think thaat the average white middle-class southerner must suffer from his inaction regarding the problems of racism and poverty he is confronted with hopefully, each day.

No, what I want to discuss is the role of the SRC now that there is no movement to interpret, that there is no poverty program to speak of to criticise, and there is no action coming form the people to pressure for change. Can we continue to be a reporting agency in this situation? Or do we need to raise issues as well as comment on issue raised by others, especially when no one else is at the present time raising any? Rather than tell our middle-class readers how bad it is in the ghetto or miississiippi has the time come when we need, yes we, the respected SRC, to get down into the ghetto and into Mississippi and show that it is now unrespectiable to do so? Is there reason to think that it is a waste of 400,000 a year for our human relation's council to try and soften feeling and try to ready the middle-class whites and Negroes of the South for change, when there is not even helf of that being spent on trying to bring about the changes that the HRC's are equipped to interpret? If we believe, like we must believe if we are in touch with reality that there must be some broad and substantial social, Political and economic changes in our society ~~and economic institutions~~ if we are ever to solve or begin to solve the racial problems of the South or the nation, then what are we doing to bring about these changes? And should we be inviting men who represent these institutions of the society to join our board of directors or should we be confronting them with the need to make these basic changes.

INTRODUCTION

This study represents eleven solid weeks in the field interviewing a total of 164 people of which 142 were International Directors, Representatives, Local Union officers and rank and file members of 11 southern states. In every state opinions were sought from at least one individual from the ranks of attorneys, clergy newsmen and social action groups whose integrity and interest in the Labor Movement are unquestionable.

In order to present the picture as simply as possible, a full report on each state will be found in the following pages, together with a final summary. It should be duly noted that in accordance with an agreement between the Southern Regional Council and the Jewish Labor Committee any references to Textile and Garment Unions will be only of a general nature.

ALABAMA

With a total population of a little over three million people, approximately 36% of whom are negro, it is estimated that about 300,000 are employed in industry or trades. Of this figure there are about 120,000 who are members of legitimate trade unions, the largest number being in Birmingham, with substantial memberships in Mobile, Montgomery, Gadsden, Florence-Sheffield, Anniston and Tuscaloosa. An accurate breakdown on white-negro membership is unavailable, but it seems safe to hazard the opinion that negro membership will comprise about 40% of the total. This is about 4% higher than the population percentage. Should the present trend of farm migration to urban areas continue, the potential trade union membership among negroes will rise correspondingly.

Alabama is considered one of the hard core black belt states traditionally segregated, with legislative and political power concentrated in the central and southern counties. A sharp contrast is noted in North Alabama where there is little interest in White Citizens Councils and where there has been no racial disturbance within the labor movement.

Historically the Building Trades and Craft Unions, with the Railroad Brotherhoods dominated the Labor Movement until 1933 when an organizing campaign by the United Mine Workers was rapidly and eminently successful. The Steel Industry which, with Railroad and Utility Companies, dominated the economic life withstood an organizing effort for several years before the Steelworkers Union won exclusive bargaining rights at TCI in late 1942. These two Unions, Coal and Steel, together with Rubber, CWA, Packinghouse, Wood and Textile, comprise the bulk of Industrial Unions.

Although the Supreme Court Decision on the public school issue in May 1954 did provoke considerable discussion, it was usually temperate and one is hard put to isolate any event or incident which could be said to have aroused the turmoil and disturbance of the past ten months.

Responsible individuals, both in and out of Labor, are of the opinion that the Till Case in Mississippi provided the spark for rapid organization and expansion of White Citizens Councils. Furthermore, with a substantial WCC membership amid the working people, in February 1956 the Negro Boycott of Montgomery buses, the Lucy Case at the University of Alabama, and President Meany's Civil Rights statements lit the fuse for the explosions that followed. In rapid fire order incidents

occurred in Montgomery, Birmingham, Anniston, Talladega and Tuscaloosa.

It will be remembered that in late February and early March many resolutions and messages were sent to President Meany condemning him for his statement of AFL-CIO policy, and other resolutions and messages were filed with the International officers of the Complaintants' Union. A considerable number of these originated in the Birmingham district, the inspiration of which is easily traced.

A UAW local union representing approximately 4200 workers was in factional difficulties arising from an assessment by the International Union dating back to the spring of 1955. A substantial number of its members resigned so that by January 1956 they barely had a majority paying dues. Somehow this became known to a White Citizens Council advocate, Elmer Brock of Montgomery, Alabama, a member of the Painters Union. He incorporated a new union and put on a membership drive among the disgruntled workers finally obtaining the necessary 30% interest to file a petition with NLRB. It was subsequently held that the present contract held by UAW is a legal bar until April 1957.

In the meantime Brock also attempted to raid a

steel plant whose bargaining rights for approximately 200 people were held by the Ornamental Iron Workers. A rapid campaign and speedy election by NLRB showed the Iron Workers a winner by two to one. This stunning defeat had the proper reaction in the UAW local and its membership began to climb slowly back to normal. It is now felt that a NLRB hearing will never be held.

It should be properly noted at this time that Elmer Brock was expelled by the Painters International Union in August 1956.

In the same WCC movement in Montgomery was one Jack Brock, a brother to Elmer, a former president of the Alabama State Federation and a member of the Typographical Union. As the WCC grew in Montgomery Jack Brock used the Alabama Labor News, slyly purporting to be an official labor journal, as a WCC propaganda rag and negro hate sheet. With the now famous Montgomery Bus Boycott by negroes to shoot at, Jack Brock and his cronies were able to stir up considerable trouble amid the movement in that area, notably the Bus Drivers Union, CWA, ITU, Oil, and the Central Labor Union. It must be stated here that forceful and intelligent action on the part of the responsible leaders of the Union have cleared away the trouble for the present in CWA. The situation in Oil is better, as is CLU.

The success of the ten months old boycott has kept the bus drivers bitter, owing to layoffs, and charges

were filed against Jack Brock by his International Union. It is understood that final expulsion is imminent.

The public rioting at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa was well supported by trade union members although there is no evidence of the segregation issue arising officially in any local union. Equally disturbing is the strong and bitter emotionalism prevailing in Anniston which prompted the individuals who attacked Nat King Cole during his performance at the Birmingham Civic Auditorium.

It is reported that the Steelworkers Union has conducted its own survey on this subject but since no findings have been made public it may be well to point out an incident here which is typical of the community, particularly the huge TCI Steelworks and its 25,000 workers.

One of the steel locals having a membership of 800 workers circulated a petition through the mill, signed by more than 50% of the members, condemning the Civil Rights policy. The matter was not brought before the local union and not a single local union officer supported the effort. An investigation showed that an individual member started the movement at the instigation of a Birmingham attorney representing the interests of WCC advocates.

Many factors have prevailed to indicate a tranquil era but the strong spirit of segregation is merely dormant. The Southern Federation of Labor, Southern Aircraft Workers, Incorporated, and the Southern Crafts, Incorporated still exist and will definitely grow and expand should any group provide them with intelligent leadership and funds.

It is pleasant to report that conditions in Mobile are excellent, under the circumstances. The Labor Movement there seems to be enjoying better than average leadership and there is no evidence of recent racial problems.

ARKANSAS

This state has been traditionally considered an agricultural state but industry has been moving into it somewhat rapidly during and since World War II. It is still predominantly an agricultural state with a population of approximately two million, 35% urban and 65% rural. The negro population which is about 25% is concentrated in the central and southern sections. There seems to be about 35,000 trade union members most of whom are affiliated with the newly merged AFL-CIO Council.

This division of the population again points up the usual pattern. In the larger urban areas of Little Rock and Fort Smith located in north central and northwestern Arkansas relations are somewhat peaceful and even progressive.

No evidence was found of any racial strife in these two cities, nor were any advocates or members of WCC found, although a few are known to be there. The leaders of the newly merged AFL-CIO State Council seem to be doing a very good job on political action and education. It should be noted that these people have their hands full fighting the Anti-Union forces of industry and, should an opportunity present itself, management can be expected to inject the racial subject

in an effort to divide the working forces.

It is quite a different story in the southern part of the state, especially in Pine Bluff and El Dorado, where trade unionists are strongly pro-segregation. Some of this can be explained by the traditional customs of the area and by the record of poor schooling obtained by the average worker. Being in the more highly productive agricultural section with many large cotton and rice plantations is also significant. Economic fear seems to have some bearing on the thinking of the people in this area also. As one rank and file member of a building trade union put it, "A lot of us people remember back to World War I and the drive in the early twenties to run the unions out of town. A lot of contractors are townspeople used 'nigger' help and paid them very cheap wages. We had a hard time keeping our unions and 'niggers' are still thought of as scab workers."

Another member, a Local Union officer, seems somewhat fearful of organized negro groups, saying in effect that through NAACP and other groups the Negroes are practically a bunch of Commies that are out to capture control of the country. This man also expects the negroes to retaliate immediately for past abuses which

they have suffered, thus having a sort of fear complex that drives him into the militant pro-segregationists' group. There seems to be a substantial number of union members in this section who are active members of WCC.

Another source of trouble rises through the location in the state of runaway and sweat shop employers who are not averse to using any means, including racial strife, to maintain the cheapest possible wage costs.

FLORIDA

This land of sunshine, tourists and playgrounds is also becoming somewhat of an industrial state with a present population of approximately three million, 28% Negro and highly urbanized. The increasing needs and desires of tourists and pensioners are bringing in the suppliers and manufacturers. Another radical upsurge has been provided by the development of the frozen foods industry, particularly the citrus industry. With thousands of plants, mostly small and widely varied already in the state, it is entirely possible that Florida may become a key industrial state of the South.

One of the most rigid of the "Right-To-Work" states, its labor movement began as did all others in the region with the advent of the Railway Brotherhoods and Building Trades, followed by the Printing and Communications Unions. It was not until World War II that there was any semblance of industrial Unions which arose in the shipyards and Airline terminal shops, other than the seafaring and longshoremen trades.

In the past few years the major can companies have erected several plants in the vicinity of Tampa for the ever-growing food packing industry and the Steelworkers Union has most of them organized.

In the Tampa and Miami areas no evidence could be found of any unusual interest in the matter of racial segregation, which is due mainly to the large groups of Spanish-Americans. Those in Tampa are in the main of Cuban descent and also in Miami with an increasing supply of Puerto Ricans present in the labor supply. The Cubanos in Tampa were formerly found almost exclusively in the cigar industry which at one time was highly organized. So far as can be determined, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights policy has not been injected into the lengthy hotel strike in the Miami area.

The only incident found here was a rather peculiar attempt to seat a negro delegate in the Dade County Central Labor Union by the Hebrew Butcher Workers, contrary to the usual established procedure. Charges were filed against that Local and its Business Agent for unbecoming conduct but there seems to be little concern or interest in the matter by the general area membership.

It should be recalled at this point that the Communist Party obtained a substantial foothold in the labor movement during the mid-forties, mostly in CIO Unions, being driven out by 1948 after a great deal of effort. During that period when the Ku Klux

Klan made a brief spurt for prominence it received substantial support in central and northern Florida, using the CIO as a whipping post for Anti-Communist and racial tirades. Although the K. K. K. had all but expired by 1950, the Communistic negro-lover CIO theme was successfully used to defeat Senator Claude Pepper in the Congressional primaries of that year. This area of prejudice was found in Lakeland, Orlando and northward. Today the situation remains about the same. Most of the Anti-Negro sentiment comes from this area where the negro population is the largest and where industry is limited mainly to food packing (including meat), lumber and small plants in the needle trades. With only a small percentage of them organized, the working people have a low figure of vote registration and industrial management enjoys the benefits of demagogic politicians and Anti-Union legislation, both local and statewide. The recent boycott of Tallahassee buses by Negroes has further inflamed the white segment in this half of the state and the general support and membership of WCC remains strong.

In Jacksonville where the largest number of Negroes can be found in an integrated local there

has been no trouble as yet. The Shipyard Workers Amalgamated Local, with several employers under contract, shows that keen interest and participation by Negro members has created no particular problems. All their difficulties are economical rather than social.

The Pensacola labor movement is mainly a segregated one with both races apparently satisfied with their present and past status in this respect.

It is quite evident that the strongest support for WCC and pro-segregationists lies in that poorly organized area of central and northern Florida.

GEORGIA

The largest state east of the Mississippi River, Georgia is well endowed with industries and natural resources. From the mountains in the northeast to the swampland of the southwest, three and one-half million people grind out their daily needs. For some it is no chore at all. Many families with holdings in Coca-Cola, Banks, Cotton Mills and the Lumber Industry enjoy only the best things in life. Newnan, Georgia for instance was reported only a few years ago to have more millionaire residents per capita than any city in the United States.

For the vast majority, however, including one and one-quarter million Negroes, realities and necessities rear their ugly heads. The infamous County Unit political system seems to be the ideal system for the coalition of economic power in the hands of industry and the social prejudice exhorted by politicians.

Although still considered an agricultural state, Georgia is becoming highly industrialized. Hardly any town of 2500 or more inhabitants can be found without at least one cotton mill, fertilizer plant, shirt factory or wood milling plant and comparatively few are organized. The Labor Movement is found mainly in Atlanta, Augusta, Macon, Savannah, Brunswick,

Albany and Baindridge with a huge aircraft plant at Marietta and a General Electric plant at Rome.

The population figures again follow the usual pattern with the majority of the Negroes residing in the central and southern sections. In the Atlanta metropolitan area one finds a complete picture of trade unionism with every major organization represented to some degree. One of the oldest industrial unions in the South is located there and it remains solidly pro-segregationist. Every white supremist movement of the past generation has been firmly supported by these people in spite of the fact that they have furnished labor with many leaders, including Regional Directors. A present member of this Union proclaims himself the leader of the Ku Klux Klan. Responsible leaders among the Building Trades, when questioned, firmly stated that they had no racial problems. "We just ain't gonna have no niggers messing around our Union", was the way one man put it. While another was willing to admit Negro members, he was equally firm in denying him a voice or office. It is reported that many members in Atlanta are interested in the Southern Federation movement and that several attended their last meeting in Birmingham, Alabama

Another union, attempting to enforce its Civil

Rights policy, has been attacked severely, the mildest criticism being pointed to its impractical application and direction. Other industrial integrated unions have not had any incident or controversy brought to official notice but, nevertheless, admit to rather strained relations on the job with communication of the races becoming less and less frequent.

The cities of Augusta, Macon, Brunswick, Bainbridge and Savannah are mainly represented by Building Trades and Crafts Unions with Savannah having the largest membership by far in industrial unions.

Augusta is a hot bed of WCC. The local White Citizens Council there has a regular mailing list of trade union members which it uses frequently. The WCC also uses the Georgia Power Company Auditorium for public mass meetings. The Plasterers Union is the only craft accepting Negroes. All other Negro union members are found in the Laborers and Hod Carriers.

Savannah is quite unique and the opposite to the rest of the state. One of the oldest locals in the state is a Negro Bricklayers Union which is properly respected. Although practically all local unions are segregated, the on-the-job relations are

integrated and so accepted without fuss. The relations between the races at the Central Labor Union are excellent.

When questioned, one Negro local union officer stated the opinion that both races were better off with separate locals because of the social aspects and also because it provided each race the responsibility of conducting its own affairs while lending some degree of dignity to their respective officials. The Negro members take considerable pride in this. A prominent attorney, well-versed in labor practices, could not recall any situation in Savannah where racism was controversial. There have been problems but not in the sense of Klanism or White Supremists.

There is considerable speculation now prevalent throughout the state as to whether pro-segregationist forces can and will capture the State Federation and how they will operate it or, failing this, whether or not they will disaffiliate and join the Southern Federation.

Whatever happens, Georgia is expected to be a source of trouble for some time to come.

LOUISIANA

This land of cypress swamps, shrimps, sugar cane and sazerac lends a prodigious setting for the mouth of"Ole Man River". The nearly three million people, 37% Negro and about 550,000 in the working force, maintain a pronounced tradition of several cultures.

Northern and central Louisiana have the typical agricultural background as have its neighboring states while, until the last decade or so, industry was limited to an occasional sawmill.

Western Louisiana has enriched itself with the location and recovery of oil and natural gas, uplifting an agricultural region not quite so productive as elsewhere.

Southern Louisiana is made up of swamps, sugar cane and New Orleans. Settled by Old World Spaniards French and Acadians, and clinging heavily to their Catholic Faith, they fish and trap in the swamps, refine sugar from the huge canefield plantations and progress in the ever-growing seaport of New Orleans. Being a transfer point, seagoing vessels and Mississippi River barges, the Crescent City enjoyed an advantage that has slowly pushed it up to a city of over 600,000. With the coming of World War II and the increasing need for ships and shipping, New Orleans became a focal point and a prime target for the Communist Party which proved rather troublesome until the last few years.

Seeking new industry to take up the employment gap of wartime plants and services, a number of varied industries were located in the New Orleans area, one of the largest being an Aluminum plant of Kaiser Aluminum Company which also operates a plant in Baton Rouge.

The location and expansion of industry was somewhat of a boon for the Building Trades which are fairly well organized. The Communistic tactics of the past two decades contributed somewhat to even firmer segregation in most of these Unions, except of course those which are lily-white either by Constitution or tradition. Negro members can be found in the bricklayers, plasterers, machinists and carpenters as well as those crafts that hold industrial union type agreements. It is reported that some railroads operating here have Negro trainmen as well as firemen and they are now accepted in their respective Unions.

Aside from the Canefield Strike two years ago, a viscious and degrading example of a tyranny exercised over a helpless Negro group, the present conditions in the Sugar Refining Industry seem the most serious. With a heavy Negro membership they have recently

emerged from a prolonged strike in two of the largest Companies where white scabs were used in the place of Negro strikers. After the strike settlement, recall of the strikers was very slow and serious tensions developed as a white man was fired to make room for a Negro striker. The announced Company policy of getting rid of all its Negro workers further aggravates a bad situation. From the interviews held in the group, one can only conclude that outside forces have aided a weird administration of its responsibilities by the Packinghouse Union and has created a deplorable situation.

Owing to the heavy Catholic population, it is not startling to learn that several priests have made themselves available to the Labor Movement, providing considerable aid in their growth and always expounding the Human Relations principles of their Faith. This may explain in part why there is a noticeable lack of interest and support for WCC in this area.

In Baton Rouge, Capitol of the state and home of Louisiana State University, one may still get a glowing resume of Huey Long's career along with his shave, shoeshine or short beer. While the central

bodies of the Labor Movement function quietly and efficiently without incident, the big noise here is Standard Oil. Wtih an Independent Union this Company has the most progressive employment policies of any industrial operation in the South. With considerable integration already in effect it is reported that integration will become plant-wide when, as and if Negro workers qualify themselves - a policy accepted without question by the workers.

Since the Oil Industry has an excellent wage scale, it would seem that economic justice will cure some of the social ills, at least.

Moving northward and westward to Monroe, Alexandria and Shreveport, one enters the state's stronghold of White Citizens Councils and pro-segregationists.

Trade Unions in Monroe are reported to be firmly pro-segregationist, as are those in Alexandria. Although nothing was heard about racial problems within the Union, it is stated that Union members belong to and support the WCC.

In Shreveport, where industry is more diversified, the picture is some different in that there are several substantial Local Unions with integrated

memberships. Although no evidence of internal dispute on the subject was found, one local union officer remarked, "We're trying not to pay any attention to this ruckus and hope it dies down. There's been so much fuss in the papers, mostly by people who don't know what they're talking about, that the present relations ain't what they used to be. Seems like each race has one eye cocked on the other'n and that could make trouble."

Lake Charles in Southwestern Louisiana appears to reflect somewhat the same attitudes found in Shreveport. No trouble as yet but a mounting wariness which, unless diverted, could slowly develop into a seriously tense situation.

MISSISSIPPI

This state with a population of a little over two million - Negroes numbering nearly half - is the most rural in the South with an urban population of less than 30% according to the 1950 Census. Needless to say, it has the smallest non-agricultural working force and the smallest trade union membership.

Its Labor Movement has also suffered the most in the past two years of mounting racial tensions. Although industry continues to move into the state trade union organizing is stopped cold, fighting hard to hold what it has against the raids of reactionary and oppressive management plus the emotional appeals of the WCC.

The recent Anti-Negro sentiment has had little effect along the Gulf Coast, which seems to be true in most of the towns located on the Gulf Coast and Atlantic Seabord. But, leave the Coast, and there's hell to pay. Provided with a very poor public school system for both white and negro, it seems that most of the people were whipped into a state of perpetual fear by the events of the Till Case and the mushrooming White Citizens Councils immediately thereafter.

During the past few years state labor leaders had gradually built up a practical legislative program

to which the majority of legislators paid serious heed. At least labor was being heard with dignity and respect. This has now completely disappeared. Several legislators candidly told labor that they could no longer be seen talking together, even socially. These progressive, civic-minded legislators have been bluntly warned to stay away from labor or suffer the consequences, political, economical or even physical.

Any effort by labor at the present to qualify and register its membership - especially Negro workers - is dangerous, according to one rank and file member of an integrated local in Southern Mississippi who was warned by WCC advocates with threats of physical violance if not heeded. With a public record of several economic reprisals and murders, it is not difficult to understand the fear that exists today. CWA perhaps is more exposed to intimidation than any other Union in the state. With only a handful of members working together in small isolated towns, the community pressure is simply too much to withstand. It is to the credit of this International Union and its leadership that they have not suffered a loss of membership in these trying times.

Further proof of this embattled situation is the

almost complete ostracism of labor by the public.

Eighteen months ago state labor leaders received and accepted numerous invitations to speak to church, school and civic groups to outline the educational, political and civic policies of trade unions. Not a single invitation has been extended by these groups in the past few months.

It cannot be denied that this racial furor has cost the labor movement at least ten years of progress in the State of Mississippi.

NORTH CAROLINA

This state with a total population of over four million - 27% Negro - and a working force of nearly a half-million, presents a startling and perhaps tragic contrast. Standing twelfth in the Nation for total wage-earners, it lies near the bottom in regard to wages earned. Undoubtedly the fact that only a little over 50,000 people, or approximately 12% of the working force, belong to trade unions is the main cause for this deplorable situation.

For many years North Carolina was considered the most liberal and progressive state in the South. But a conservative trend has steadily dropped down to the point where some people now consider it reactionary.

Starting with the Frank Graham senatorial race in 1950 when racism was maliciously used, race relations have gradually worsened until today the rigid segregated school issue proposed by the state government has been overwhelmingly adopted - this, in spite of the respect accorded a number of outstanding intelligent citizens and several progressive newspapers.

With about 40% of the total working force employed in the Textile Industry that still remains

unorganized for all practical purposes, there are many thousands of people employed in furniture and wood products all over the state who are also unorganized.

The best organized industries are the Building Trades, Transportation, Communications and the Tobacco Workers with small interests in Chemicals, Garments, Textiles, Steel and varied products.

While the Labor Movement generally has an integrated membership, there are spots of segregation, notably in Transportation, Building Trades and Textiles.

The Textile Industry has traditionally maintained a segregated employment policy except for menial occupations and its operations are scattered throughout the state. Having only Company or Industry policies to guide them for the most part, this huge block of the working people are firm segregationists.

The Building Trades, long established and seemingly proud of their traditional autonomy, resent any interference with their local policies.

A rank and file craftsman in Raleigh put it this way, "That George Meany oughta keep his damn

mouth shut. He don't know nothin' about the South and, besides, I ain't gonna let a plumber tell me what I gotta do." These sentiments were practically seconded by his fellow members in Winston-Salem and Charlotte.

The unhappy history in the Reynolds Tobacco Company of Winston-Salem is consistently revived to substantiate a segregationist viewpoint. The present organizing campaign at Reynolds is being closely watched by trade unionists all over the state and many are hopeful that it will be lost. "We don't want them Commie 'niggers' using the Union to take over the Labor Movement in North Carolina. They run the white people out of the Union there before and they'll try to do it to us if they get the chance", commented a bus driver in Charlotte.

Racism was injected in an internal political situation in Durham a few months ago. Long noted for its liberal and progressive policies, the Durham Labor Movement succumbed to emotional pressures and several leaflets of white supremists character were widely distributed and the victim, an outstanding liberal leader was easily defeated. The race issue was also used to defeat all of labor's friends in general elections. When it is noted that labor has the major vote in that area, such tactics and results become significant.

An official of a fair sized integrated industrial union in the southern part of the state charges that NAACP is interfering with the Union affairs and inciting Negro members to make unusual demands on the local union. As a consequence, the white members are resentful and relations may become strained.

The recent merger failure of the AFL and CIO state bodies may well leave the rank and file membership looking to state politicians and White Citizens Councils for guidance on Race Relations and, if so, serious conditions may develop.

SOUTH CAROLINA

With a population of a little over two million - 40% Negro - South Carolina has a working force of approximately 350,000 people, 10% of whom are members of a trade union, thus being one of the worst states in the South.

Standing at or near the bottom on schooling and percapita income, the worker has a tough row to hoe.

Prominent public and political citizens with national standing are staunch advocates of States Rights and White Citizens Council movements and, in such a climate, Industry enjoys a favorable position for the exploitation of workers.

Comparatively small groups of trade unionists in Greenville, Spartanburg and Columbia struggle to better their lot. But frustrations are found where union members insist on preserving the social customs and traditions of segregation. In some areas - notably Columbia where new and progressive leadership is evident - efforts are being made to center the union member's attention on his economic plight. It is hoped that development of educational and public relations programs will accomplish this or, at least, lessen the effect which WCC advocates now have.

CWA seems to be the most progressive International Union in the state and has shown the best results from its educational policies. However, there are few negroes found in this industry and the full value of the Union's Civil Rights Policy is lost except for such influence it may exerwise in the state CIO Council.

It might be well to point out here that both the state CIO Council and the South Carolina Federation of Labor hold integrated conventions and that it becomes something of a paradox to find rigid segregation at some local union levels.

In the old seaport of Charleston segregation is maintained in almost an Ante-Bellum manner. Aside from two or three plants, all unions are segregated even though the plant or craft is integrated. A typical example is the RWDSU where the membership is about 60% Negro with two functioning locals, white and negro. The executive boards of each local meet goether periodically and the relations are cordial. Each local enjoys the dignity of having its own officers and considerable emphasis is laid on the social and fraternal functions which could not be had in an integrated local. As one Negro member states, "The White Folks has to take the lead and we does the following."

The Textile Industry practically dictates the economic life of this state and, as elsewhere, is highly unorganized. An old veteran in Columbia put it thusly, "There ain't no use trying to do much down here until Textile is busted open. When we get 100,000 members in this state we can begin to figger on going somewheres."

Until then, it will be difficult to combat the influence of White Citizens Councils and obtain a fair degree of dignity and understanding for all the people.

TENNESSEE

From the mountains in the east, across the rolling blue grass area to the Mississippi River Delta, a narrow strip of land known as Tennessee contains three corresponding cultures for its nearly three and one-half million inhabitants.

Approximately 400,000 people are employed in industry and services and almost 100,000 of them are trade unionists. The overwhelming majority of its 650,000 Negro citizens are found in the central and western sections.

Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia is an old line railroad and craft town where labor strength has been limited and where they have lived mostly to themselves.

Nearby Johnson City and Kingsport have substantial industrial plants organized and, with a sparsely settled Negro community, there has been no word of racial strife.

Running down to the Knoxville area, the pattern as to industry and trades remains about the same with the Negro a little more evident. It will be recalled that the Ku Klux Klan showed considerable strength here during its brief flurry in the late forties. That such an emotional climate exists there, was made only too plain during the recent racial disturbances

at nearby Clinton. Knowing that the huge Atomic Plant there is completely organized, it seems safe to assume that National AFL-CIO has had a full and complete report on that situation from its regional office in Knoxville. Some three weeks previous to that incident no evidence of racial strife was found although a White Citizens Council was known to be active.

Chattanooga presents a somewhat different picture in that industrial plants and industrial unions have existed there for a longer period than any other town in the state. Labor harmony at the leadership level has existed for quite some time but the movement has been plagues with chronic victims of the fanatical and cultist variety. Witness one Mr. Canada, presently espousing the WCC in press and public with great zeal and fervor, yet having consistently been slapped down by his local union and CLU. The nearest thing to victory which Canada and his cronies can claim is an incident in CLU last spring when that body adopted a resolution supporting public school integration and it was rescinded at the next regular meeting. Although nearly every union there is plagues with similar "problem children", most of the unions can point to a history of comparatively peaceful co-existence.

Nashville, the state Capitol, lies in the rich blue grass area in the central part of the state and has a long history of Railroad, Crafts, and Building

Trades Unionism.

Interest in industrial trade unions seems to ebb and flow and one is hard put to find a suitable reason for it. One of the best reasons advanced points out that most of the industrial activity in Nashville is small privately-owned operations with no big plant or industry to act as a bellwether. Consequently, it has been difficult for an International Union to organize and endure for any length of time in a low wage area such as this. So far as can be determined, some trade union members belong to WCC and many members express segregationist sympathies.

Memphis, located on the Mississippi River in the extreme southwestern corner, is a different "kettle of fish" entirely. Here, one finds the largest membership of WCC among trade unionists and also the most militant. The Negro population is also greater here. Practically every International Union located here has faced serious racial incidents during the past few months and many have noted increased Anti-Union policies among the smaller and locally-owned operations.

The more prominent incidents have occurred in the two large UAW plants and the large Firestone Rubber plant. International Representatives were defied on Civil Rights policy and considerable talk of disaffiliation was reported. It is known that these people turn out for all WCC rallies and mass meetings and it is charged that

Memphis sent a substantial delegation to the Southern Federation of Labor meeting in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Firestone plant probably presents the more dangerous situation because of the number of women in its membership. With a mingling of the sexes, Anti-Negro and White Supremist arguments reach the wildest and most fantastic levels. Intermarriage, free love and rape become common fears repeated over and over again.

A significant point of the Memphis problem is the contrasting views of the leadership. One representative of an International Union insists that a sound practical educational program conducted by the International Union will soon clear up the atmosphere, while others charge the International Unions and the National AFL-CIO with being the cause of the trouble and that local leadership can best solve the problem.

Whatever the answer, Memphis seems in dire and hasty need of it.

TEXAS

In this huge sprawling land where most of its eight million people consider Texas a country in its own right, fantastic growth and expansion has occurred during the past decade.

The eastern half of the state has drawn the bulk of this expansion and there also one finds practically all of its one million Negro residents. Out of its approximately 800,000 workers, Organized Labor claims a membership of over 300,000 in Building Trades and Crafts, Oil and Chemical, Aircraft, Steel and Metals, Transportation, Communications and Service Trades - not necessarily in that precise order.

There is much evidence of racial strife and segregationist sentiment and practices but it must be said that the Labor Movement here can be judged in the overall picture as the most capable and progressive in the entire southern region.

From the viewpoint of one of the most liberal observers in the state, Negro organizations have been both beneficial and detrimental. They aided substantially in initiating the opening of full job opportunities in the Oil Refinery Industry but their efforts in other areas have been considered harmful with excessive demands at an untimely period.

By attempting to follow the same pattern in a different area and industry the result was somewhat of a failure and ill-feelings created which precipitated a wildcat strike. It took the supreme efforts of state leaders together with the International Union representative to quell the uprising. Mansfield, Texas - site of the recent public school incident - is a community where many Aircraft Workers live and it can be assumed that some of these workers participated in that demonstration. This happened in spite of the fact that shortly prior to this at the Consolidated Aircraft plant in Fort Worth the IAM and the Company co-operated fully to halt the dissemination of WCC literature and suspended the workers who persisted with WCC propaganda.

At nearby Dallas, numerous incidents have occurred including personal altercations between White and Negro workers, yet responsible labor leaders and observers feel that race relations within labor will not get out of hand. They point to the political success enjoyed by COPE during the recent state elections in spite of Anti CIO-NAACP propaganda.

Another spokesman states that conditions in Eastern Texas in the Longview area are better than

he has ever seen them.

The Houston area has expanded so rapidly that it is rather difficult to catch up with what is going on. Here, where Negroes are more populous, there have been many incidents of racial strife but mainly on an individual basis. There is a sharper interest in and support for WCC than in northern Texas and many local unions are controlled by pro-segregation forces.

Perhaps a brief synopsis of the Carpenters Council here can illustrate the changing tempo of the area. About two years ago the internal affairs of this Union were in such turmoil that the International Union was forced to place it under International administration, sending in one of their most capable and intelligent officials as Administrator. He found membership dwindling and members idle. Using the facilities and personnel of the University of Texas for training stewards and by diligent organizing, conditions in one year's time were such that all demands for Carpenters could not be met and for the first time Negro members were accepted and put to work. There was little grumbling on the part of White members. It cannot be said that all Union members are so minded but it is felt that economic problems and Union security will be placed above individual emotions.

In reference to the upgrading of Negroes in the Oil Refineries, it must be made clear that the International Union put a lot of effort and money into that situation and there is no doubt that the existing conditions would not prevail without that strong backing.

By geography and temperament, Beaumont, Port Arthur and Orange are closer to the so-called "Solid South". Individual emotions and philosophy are somewhat akin to that found in western Louisiana. Since the Oil Industry is also prominent in this area, it is expected that the racial pattern established in the Houston-Baytown area will be followed but not without more reluctance and resentment.

Qualified observers feel that, should there ever be any serious incidents in Texas, they will most likely occur in this East Texas area.

In passing, it should be noted that some people consider the Latin-Americans to be nearly as serious a problem as the Negro.

VIRGINIA

Those people who have in recent years referred to the Old Dominion state as a border state have very likely been shocked back to reality by the recent events over the public school issue. These events clearly show that its three and one-half million residents continue to observe the age-old patterns - i.e. Where the Negro population is heavy the problems are many and attitudes tend to be sharp. In these areas of low Negro population, public customs are slowly changing.

From the few individual Negroes interviewed out of a total population of some 800,000 come the usual opinions, varying from frustration to a grim determination for equality.

The Virginia Labor Movement draws its 100,000 members from a working force of about 400,000 and the AFL and CIO State Councils have been successfully merged with headquarters in the Capitol City of Richmond.

Richmond has a fairly good trade union membership and it is faced with all the complexities of the changing times. Many of the old established unions cling rigidly to their segregated habits but show no objection to participating in integrated conferences

and conventions. Incidentally, it has been announced that at the next AFL-CIO State Convention there will be an integrated banquet - and integrated hotel accommodations are a faint possibility.

In the Tobacco and Aluminum plants here, you find segregated locals which is firmly approved by the majority of each race. It is reported, however, that some of the Negro members are now considering a request for a full and completely integrated local. If it comes about, it will be opposed by the present officeholders who enjoy the dignity their positions accord them. Organizing policies of late have been on an integrated basis and this trend is expected to continue without objection or incident.

In the Tidewater area of Newport News - Norfolk - Portsmouth a segregated policy is more strictly observed. Only those local unions with a 10-15% minority of either race are integrated and all others are segregated. Past and present CLU policies show a strong pro-segregation inclination. An opinion that outside agencies, such as the Virginia Committee on Human Relations, would be of benefit to the Tidewater Labor Movement was expressed by several CLU delegates. From Negro Representatives, Local Union Officers and members it was learned that they expect more benefits and privileges as a result of the AFL-CIO Merger,

both from state and national levels. Most Negro members will continue to exercise patience although a few expressed militant demands for immediate action.

Traveling west to the Lynchburg-Roanoke area, one finds the racial policies and restrictions less confining. A lower Negro population is again advanced as a basic reason for present practices. Another reason given for bettered conditions is that industrial unions are more prevalent.

In spite of this, one would hesitate to predice smooth sailing in the near future in the face of possible troubles over the school issue.

Further West and through the northern area widely scattered and isolated plants have been organized on an integrated industrial basis. No particular incidents or problems were reported from or concerning them.

SUMMARY

During the course of this survey there were several startling coincidences observed which seem worthy of comment.

First, and perhaps most important, was the deadly serious demand for remaining anonymous. Aside from a few of the outstanding leaders and observers who are friendly to Labor, the people interviewed seemed to be "looking over their shoulders", and flatly stated they would deny being interviewed if identified. This was not confined to any one group, Union, area or race, but was general throughout the region.

Second, there was an overwhelming desire for educational programs. Although differing widely concerning the type of program - whether the respective International Unions or National AFL-CIO should conduct them and when, where and how - there is nonetheless solid agreement on the basic need and also the fact that, whatever means is used, top level agreement between the International Unions and National AFL-CIO is necessary in order to provide a co-ordinated program in the field. This would tend to eliminate conflicting ideas and interpretations reaching the public.

Third, and quite surprising, were the many comments by rank and file members in the Building Trades and Crafts complaining of too much local union atonomy

and power. It is their opinion that in this day and time of big business and big Unions the International officers have more responsibilities toward the rank and file and should exercise more and proper authority. A deplorable lack of proper communication between local unions is cited as one reason for the above opinion. Another is that one local union may have a desirable educational program while the local union officers of a nearby local will refuse to permit one.

In conclusion, it must be said that a sense of uneasiness hangs over most of the region. Although many expressed confidence that their union could successfully handle any racial problem, and pro-segregationists stated positively that they could maintain their position, persistent questioning brought forth admissions of concern. Everyone seems to be awaiting action by the High Command.

LABOR STUDY

- Morton T. Elder

MISSISSIPPI — Fair, not so cold Sunday. Fresh to locally strong northerly winds on the coast becoming gentle to moderate variable Sunday.

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Southern Politics

'56 Legislature Meets Tuesday; Aims To Curb S

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 31 (UP) The 1956 Mississippi Legislature convenes here Tuesday with its sights set on holding the line on spending and going the limit to preserve segregation.

The 189-member body — 114 of them new at lawmaking—is expected to remain in session for at least four months to wrestle with an ambitious administration program and weighty school and segregation problems.

Hot Speaker's Race

When the session opens at noon, attention will be turned to the House chamber and the heated race for speaker. In the Senate Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin goes in for his second, four-year-term as presiding officer and Sen. Earl Evans is virtually assured of being elected president pro-tem.

But veteran House Speaker Walter Sillers, forceful and conservative Delta lawmaker, is opposed by a rising young attorney who contends the people want a change in their politicians or they would not have elected his friend J. P. Coleman as governor last summer.

Both Confident

William Winter, 32, of Grenada, and Sillers, 67, of Rosedale, both claim confidence of victory. Sill 's said he had enough votes from the 149-member House to win in a walk-away but Winter said he must be counting some Winter votes.

The new session will hear a report from outgoing Gov. Hugh White who is expected to stress economy and continuance of the sweeping school equalization program which was born during his administration and virtually dominated it.

Slow Start

The session is expected to be slow getting started. It will have two weeks to do nothing in the way of enacting major legislation before the new administration takes over. Coleman will be inaugurated on Jan. 17. Traditionally, the Legislature waits to hear the governor's inaugural address before tackling important bills.

Coleman has announced he will push legislation to tighten state control of utility rates, authorize public recall of law enforcement authorities, repeal the "black market" liquor tax, keep old age pensions at the highest level the state can afford and make legislative and other governmental meetings

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SUNDAY EDITION

Sunday, January 1, 1956 Price 10c No. 105

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LEAC Program

Ready for immediate consideration are a series of bills proposed by Coleman and the Legal Education Advisory Committee for helping maintain segregated schools. Included are bills to abolish common-law marriages, repeal the compulsory school attendance law and set up a permanent state authority for maintaining racial segregation.

Coleman is backed by the committee in blocking any attempts to implement a new constitutional amendment permitting the Legislature to abolish public schools and set up a private system in order to keep them segregated. Coleman said should that become necessary, and he doesn't believe it will, he will call a special session.

Nullicifation

A fight may come up on a new issue in Mississippi politics, the "nullification or interposition" proposal whereby the states would declare the Supreme Court de-segregation decision null and void. Some legislators have said they would sponsor legislation along that line but Coleman has opposed open defiance of the federal government. There has been so much confusion over the old states' rights doctrine that opinion has yet to be solidified among the lawmakers.

The new administration and most legislators are committed to holding the line on spending, even though the balanced budget calls for appropriations of 19 million dollars over current expenditures.

The biggest jump is in education which will require almost 10 million in new money, chiefly because of the upgrading of teacher salaries and transportation.

Attempts will be made to amend the new school equalization program, passed over strong opposition. Some legislators hope to cut off mounting cost.

Thompson — five feet,

Politics, Southern

Miss. Solons Face Hot Issues; Legislature Convenes Jan. 3

Governor-Elect Takes Office Jan. 17; Plans Clamp-Down on Gambling

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 31—A 60 per cent new Mississippi legislature Tuesday will usher in the four-year administration of Gov. James Plemon Coleman, first candidate in 32 years to win the office in his first race. It usually takes three campaigns to emerge victor.

The lawmakers will be in session two weeks before the 41-year-old Mr. Coleman sheds his official role as attorney general to assume the No. 1 office on Jan. 17. Simultaneous inauguration of a new administration is impossible, as the new governor is not officially elected until done so by the House of Representatives.

Of the 189 members of the House and Senate, 112 are new for an all-time turnover.

Same Chief in Senate

The presiding officer of the Senate remains unchanged with the reelection of Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel. A new president problem, the No. 3 ranking state official, will be elected by the Senate with Sen. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton slated for that office after relinquishing the chairmanship of the finance committee to Sen. William Burgin of Columbus.

Speaker Walter Sillers of the House is a candidate for reelection for his fourth term. The Bolivar Countian, member of the House since 1916, is opposed by Rep. William Winter of Grenada County, who begins his third term Tuesday.

Gov.-elect Coleman is "hands-off" of the contest in which Mr. Sillers claims sufficient pledges from the 140 members to assure his reelection. He claims "at least 90" votes.

Mr. Winter has accused the ultra - conservative Mr. Sillers with being a "Republican," and not once in the past 12 years having supported the presidential naminee of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Sillers has answered the accusation, asserting he is a Jeffersonian States' Rights Democrat, and bases his "political faith" on the policies outlined in 1952 by the Democratic Party of Mississippi. Those principles, were ratified by the House and Senate in 1952 and [illegible]ced in the laws of Mississippi. [illegible]ey are based on "states' rights [illegible] opposed to Federal Government encroachment in the internal affairs of a state."

Mr. Winter has promised to back the national party leaders in 1956.

Under a law passed in 1947, a Mississippi Democrat can vote a national Republican ticket

MISSISSIPPI

without losing his status as a simon-pure Democrat on the state level.

In contrast to the legislative personnel, the scheduled issues are tattered from numerous legislative conflicts. And at final adjournment, expected around April 15, some of them will still be unsolved.

There is no time-limit on Mississippi legislative sessions.

The No. 1 item in the new governor's program calls for steps to seek enforcement of the state's prohibition and anti-gambling laws, with emphasis on the latter. There is no state-level enforcement agency, and none is favored by Mr. Cole an. However, he said if it becomes necessary for him to act, he will declare martial law in a county, move in with the National Guard, and take over the sheriff's office until "the outlaws have been driven out."

A crime detention laboratory to work with sheriffs in solving the many unsolved crimes in Mississippi also is favored by the new governor.

Another "must" on his program calls for strengthening of the powers and personnel of the present three-member Public Service Commission elected by districts. Gov.-elect Coleman wants its regulatory authority expanded to include natural gas and electric power companies, now without state-level regulation and subject only to municipal ordinances.

'Tightly' Balanced Budget

A controversy is developing on that issue. The present commission, which regulates telephone, telegraph, railroad and bus companies, has for years been inadequately staffed. A plan is to assess the utilities for its operation and employ rate experts.

Mr. Coleman "hopes" no new or increased taxes will be necessary. He has approved a "tightly" balanced budget at 183 million dollars for the new biennium commencing July 1. However, it takes into account a carry-over surplus of 10 million dollars, and unlike the past, leaves no "cushion" for emergencies.

Facing the lawmakers on that score are plans of state departments to get them to raise the amounts recommended by the Budget and Accounting Commission, along with efforts of the 265 incorporated municipalities to have earmarked to them the three million dollars paid in fire insurance premium taxes. The insurance taxes already have been figured in the "tightly" balanced budget for state purposes.

Another $1,600,000 in the anticipated revenues also is threatened. The strong County Supervisors Assn. is on record against a budget commission recommendation to "peg" general fund disbursements for the state aid rural road program at five million dollars annually. That program is now getting $5,800,000 a year from the general fund.

Success of those two efforts would leave the budget out of balance $4,600,000. On top of that, public schools want two million more than the 78 million dollars programmed for them, while the colleges want an additional two million to the 12 million down for them.

There is one thing certain—the new Legislature will have to reenact a 14-per-cent "emergency" surtax on big business, enacted earlier this year to help finance a new Negro-white public school equalization program with automatic repeal June 30.

Labor vs. Management

Also scheduled for a fight is an effort to repeal the 1954 right-to-work law.

Labor wants the workmen's compensation benefits raised from $25 a week to $30, and the death benefit upped from $8,600 to $12,000.

Management is organized to resist any change in the right-to-work law, as well as for creation of a State Department of Labor.

A perennial effort to gain a new apportionment of the Legislature is in the making. However, little chance of that effort being successful is given it.

Legalization of liquor is definitely "out." Gov.-elect Coleman has said he will veto any such proposal.

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATIVE TEST

N.Y.T. 1/3/56

Segregation, Finances, Law Enforcement Top Issues for New Administration

By Politics

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 2—The new Legislature will swing into action tomorrow as a new state administration faces major problems.

Segregation, law enforcement, finances and regulation of public utilities loom as top matters for consideration by the 189 legislators, 60 per cent of whom are newcomers.

Despite the abundance of controversy, J. P. Coleman, who takes office as Governor Jan. 17, expects to push through his program with ease.

Mr. Coleman, an unpredictable political figure, shattered precedent last summer by winning the governorship on his first try. He has made it clear that he intends to be in command on Legislature matters.

Mississippi has been noted for legislative independence, and political observers are interested in seeing how closely the Legislature goes along with the 41-year-old Governor-elect, a former "country plow boy."

Mr. Coleman has kept a "hands off" policy in the fight for the powerful post of House Speaker, which will be decided on opening day. Walter Sillers of Rosedale, the Speaker for twelve of his forty years' legislative service, is opposed by 32-year-old William Winter of Grenada County. Mr. Winter has had eight years in the House. Both have assured the Governor of their cooperation.

Lieut. Gov. Carroll Garten, who was re-elected overwhelmingly, will preside over the forty-nine-member Senate. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, former chairman of the Finance Committee is unopposed as president pro tempore of the Senate, the state's third highest political office.

Hugh White, the outgoing Governor, will address a joint session of the Legislature Wednesday. He is expected to summarize the accomplishments of the last four years, which have been marked by vast industrial expansion.

Mr. Coleman has advised legislative leaders to hold off on the segregation problem until he assumes office. His program is expected to run into problems growing out of the desegregation ruling of the United States Supreme Court. This segregation-conscious state has a population of 2,000,000, half of which is Negro.

Mr. Coleman will outline his course of action on segregation in a message Jan. 17.

The State's proposad budget of $183,000,000 for the next two years is $20,000,000 more than the expected income from taxes. The Legislature will grapple with a request for new revenue by the Budget Commission.

Mr. Coleman has stated his determination to force the removal of any public official who fails to abide by his duties in local law enforcement.

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The Clarion-Ledger

Mississippi's Leading Newspaper For More Than A Century

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Attacks Upon State By Outside Cliques Deplored by White

Supreme Court Usurpation Might Go Into Personal Rights, Retiring Governor Tells Solons

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Gov. Hugh L. White, in a final message to the Mississippi legislature at noon Wednesday, urged "earnest and full cooperation to the new administration, headed by a young and able governor."

The chief executive's voice broke as he recounted the accomplishments of his administration now ending and as he recalled the contributions made to his administration over the years by the legislature.

"The people of Mississippi, members of the legislature, and public officials have been good to me over a long period of years," White recalled. "My labors are almost ended, and I hope that in some way they have contributed to our growth and well-being."

Mississippi's 74-year-old twice-governor had just been introduced by his young lieutenant governor colleague of the last four years, Carroll Gartin, as "a man who is perhaps making his last official appearance."

The talk was made before the joint assembly of the legislature presided over by the lieutenant governor.

Gov.-Elect J. P. Coleman, just returned from the Cotton Bowl game in Dallas, Tex., was not present, having gone to Ackerman to take his family home.

The joint session unanimously elected Mrs. Julia Starnes as the librarian and Mrs. Ellian Minyard as legislative postmistress, positions both have held for several terms.

Shortly after the joint assembly was dissolved, both houses adjourned until Tuesday afternoon at 2 o'clock. Salaries for the first period and mileage were paid.

Lt. Gov. Gartin announced that he will at that time announce his committee appointments.

Speaker Sillers will announce his committee appointments within the next two or tthree weeks, pending study of applications from members.

Both houses of the legislature approved legislative operational funds amounting to $455,000 for the session, $105,000 for the House contingent fund and $90,000 for the Senate contingent fund, or a total of $650,000.

Gov. White in his farewell address to the legislature, deplored attacks made upon our state by outside interests in the last several years and the infringements on state's rights by the U. S. Supreme Court.

"If the U. S. Supreme Court can usurp unto the federal government the right to direct and control a state's public school system as it has attempted to do in the school segregation cases, then it cau usurp unto the federal government

(Continued On Page 6)

Stennis Suggests 'Voiding'

It's A Word Less Offensive Than 'Nullification' He Says

Senator John C. Stennis said in a telephone interview from Washington Wednesday that Mississippi should seek allies in the fight to maintain segregation.

"It would be a mistake for one state to act alone," the senator said to Lamar Falkner of the Jackson Daily News.

And in seeking to unite with other states for the fight, Mississippi should discard words like "nullification," Stennis maintained.

He pointed out that to many Americans the word, "nullification," carries a connotation of lawlessness. And he stressed that Mississippi and the other states with similar problems should design the language in which they phrase their fight against integration in a manner calculated to win friends rather than to repel.

Stennis urged that all states who desire to safeguard the control of the state over its internal affairs, chief among them segregation, coordinate legislative moves toward amending the U. S. Constitution.

Returning to the nullification question, Stennis said, "We are dealing with a grave matter that can not be solved by one state alone."

The nullification proposal, which calls for the Mississippi legislature to void the U. S. Supreme Court ruling concerning segregation in the public school, was made some weeks ago here in a statement authored jointly by Stennis' fellow-Senator James O. Eastland, Congressman John Bell Williams, and Lincoln County Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady.

If the states jointly sought amendment of the Constitution the move would be a constitutional process, Stennis continued; as to how far the language of such a resolution should go is a matter of opinion, he said, adding it should certainly cover the voiding of the Supreme Court decision.

"But," Stennis said, "the word, 'nullification,' is not necessary and for my part I would advise against the use of that particular word. In some parts of the nation, that particular word carries a meaning of lawlessness and the use of force-the very opposite of what is intended by the people of Mississippi."

Touching on other matters of importance to the outcome of the segregation question, Stennis lauded the work of the Citizens' Councils, although he professed not to be a member of one because his home county, Kemper, as yet has not organized; expressed his belief that the Justice Department, currently investigating the work of the councils, will not find any basis for charges of illegal or subversive activity; added that if any council attempts to set itself up as a court, he opposes it; blamed the NAACP for instigating the Justice Department investigation; predicted a civil rights fight at the Democratic national convention this summer; and revealed that he himself hasn't picked a candidate for president since his choice, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, decided not to run.

And concerning his stand on the nullification issue as opposed to that of Eastland and others, Stennis said he saw "no split in basic issues."

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN .....Editor 1921-1948 R. H. HENRY..... Editor 1871-1921
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR..... Manager T. M. HEDERMAN, JR..... Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

Politics, Southern

Challenges Face Coleman

Today at noon as James Plemon Coleman is sworn in as Governor of Mississippi, he comes immediately to face challenges and problems of a magnitude greater than those present in many years.

Governor Coleman will be inaugurated in the simplest, least pretentious ceremonies in the memory of most Mississippians, since there will be no formal parade and there will be no military uniforms displayed by his record-breaking number of colonels.

There will be color and pageantry aplenty, of course, and these are due Mr. Coleman, whose remarkable victory at the polls last summer set a number of political records for the Magnolia State.

But the restraint shown in the inaugural plans is in keeping with the man and his problems and challenges as he takes over the reins of our state government.

The segregation problem is, in many minds, the No. 1 challenge to the new governor. We do not underestimate this situation, but we feel that the degree of unanimity prevalent on this question would tend to reduce it to the No. 2 spot.

This could leave the top challenge to be that of the schools and their financing. Mississippians are inclined to underrate this problem, we fear.

Our state ranks 48th in the nation in support of schools but we are not at the bottom of the list by any means in our proportionate tax-support for schools. And yet the present rate of tax support is not enough, because, for one thing, we have "borrowed" from the future to maintain support at the current level.

Our common schools cry for more financial support — and the institutions of higher learning are not silent in this regard. Faculty losses to neighboring states are harassing our colleges as well as elementary and secondary schools. And our new medical school in Jackson must have adequate support if it is to fulfill its purpose.

Greater support funds or curtailment of service also are the alternatives facing some of the state departments which serve our people.

Money, money, money is asked, — but taxes are the only sources of revenue, and our state levies are, proportionate to income, already high.

Out of these major problems spring many additional ones of almost equal importance, none of them simple and none of them without elements of controversy and contest. It is well that the new governor is a man of strength and with the ability to pick up burdens and then lay them down. He will have plenty of practice in the days ahead.

Fortunately for Gov. Coleman, our people have given him strength in the men who will assist in carrying on the state government, beginning with Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, and running down the list of elective officers. The appointments already made or reported ready to be made by Gov. Coleman, are of high order.

The legislature has made a start at cooperating with the new executive by rushing his "recall" bill through the lower house and will doubtless complete the job in the senate. This measure will place a greater weight of responsibility on local voters for law enforcement, and may tend to take that problem off the governor's hands to some degree.

Mr. Coleman has indicated he will deal with the segregation problem at some length in his inaugural address. On this and all other subjects Mississippians will listen with the closest attention. We trust he and the lawmakers will come up with the solutions of most benefit for the greatest of our people.

Rep. Smith's Bill Has The Support Of State Majority

Rep. Frank Smith of Mississippi is on the right track in his demand for curbing flagrant abuses of present tax laws and regulations by organizations engaged in political pressure and propaganda. The delta Congressman has introduced a bill in Congress which would go far toward drying up many unsavory groups arrayed against the South.

The Smith bill would require the Secretary of the Treasury to make public the names of contributors to tax-exempt organizations. It would also require such groups to submit independent audits, furnish lists of all administrative officers and expenses, and addresses of persons and organizations to which grants of money are made.

Rep. Smith is particularly anxious to curb racketeering in racial issues. Some tax-exempt groups specialize more in promoting racial tensions than racial harmony. Under terms of his proposal, the Secretary of the Treasury would use his authority to cancel the tax-exempt status of all organizations which have abused privileges under present law.

We know of no more fertile field for Congressional inquiry than those groups which Rep. Smith has in mind. Much of the friction and ill will now existing between the races in this country may be laid directly at their door. It is urgent that the able delta Congressman's measure receive fullest consideration. By no stretch of the imagination can hate-peddling be construed as a tax-exempt activity.

Party of the United States of America —What It Is, How It Works — A Handbook for Americans."

This timely and informative brochure is a powerful argument against the fallacy that the Communist Party of America is merely a political group with no designs against the safety of our Republic. This fallacy, unfortunately, persists in some minds today, despite the increasing seriousness of the Red menace.

The Eastland Committee's publication describes exactly how the Communist conspiracy works, how the subversive machine directs Red policy and tactics, how discipline is enforced and how Communism draws many unwitting dupes into its trap to serve sinister ends. This official booklet is utterly lacking in hysterical or bombastic tone but on the contrary is a calm, forceful and reasoned expose, completely documented in every detail.

Washington sources indicate that the Eastland Committee's "Handbook for Americans" has about exhausted its first printing, due to widespread public demand and favorable comment by the patriotic press. Mississippians can well take pride in our energetic and dedicated senior senator whose name is assuming and increasingly ominous ring to those seeking to undermine the nation security. The booklet issued by his committee as a public service is "must" reading for all who are determined to preserve our traditional freedoms from Communism.

Pol. - Miss
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Here Is Full Text Of Gov. Coleman's Inaugural Address Tuesday

51st Governor Pledges State Will Keep Races Separate For Four Years

The following is the complete text of Gov. J. P. Coleman's address at his inauguration at noon Tuesday:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the joint assembly, my friends and fellow Mississippians:

The solemn oath of office which I have just taken in your presence as the duly elected Chief Executive of more than two million people was sworn without mental reservation. This being my ninth time to have taken an official oath, I consider it appropriate to tell you that my Mother's Bible was open at the third and fourth verses of the 24th Psalm, which reads as follows:

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his Holy place?

"He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully."

Humbly grateful to my dear friends, the people of Mississippi, that they should have trusted me for these next four years with the grea responsibilities of the governorship, I give them my solemn pledge that this Admisistration will be kept absolutely free of those things which both defame and degrade

Seeks Cooperation

I congratulate you, the Members of the Legislature, upon your selection to serve in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. From the meetings held with you immediately after our election, as well as your performance since the assumption of your duties, I have, without exception, gained an abiding faith in your patriotism, in the purity of your motives, and in the sincerity of your desire to be of unselfish service to our State in these perilous times I know the people expect it of us that we shall at all times cooperate with each other and work together in harmony for the common good. I know you do not expect to disappoint them in this hope. That much good shall come of our work together is my fondest hope and my most earnest prayer

It is a fact proven by political history that governors and legislators sometimes go out of office personally and politically less popular than when they went in. Possibly this fate may await us. In any event, I want to say here and now that I shall at no time, under any circumstances, play politics with the high duties conferred upon me by the will of the people of Mississippi. Regardless of all consequences, and regardless of what may hereafter be said, it is my sincere desire that the governor and most unanimous action on the Recall Bill, I want to congratulate the people of Mississippi for having elected a Legislature which already has proven its ability to go immediately to work and act promptly upon matters which are of the greatest importance. I am deeply gratified, and I believe the people are also, that this Legislature and its chosen leadership have manifested their firm intention not only to be a working Legislature but to put into effect those things which the people approved at the polls last August. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the attitude which you have taken and for the action already accomplished.

Executive Clemency

One of the great responsibilities vested in the governor is that of granting or withholding suspensions of sentence and pardons to those convicted of crime. Because of the sixteen years of my life which have been devoted to the enforcement of the law and the protection of the public, I feel very deeply the importance of this subject. Our people are overwhelmingly law abiding, yet great pressures are brought to bear in behalf of pardons and suspensions for those who have not obeyed the law. It will only be in the rarest cases that executive clemency will be extended. Certainly, to prevent miscarriages of justice, I shall exercise the power of supension and pardon. In all other cases, I hope the people kindly will not press me for something which my conscience will not permit me to do.

I shall deliver a special message at a later date on the matter of paroles, but in the meantime I want to urge this Legislature to give serious consideration to the establishment of a system of adult probation. This was one of the planks in my gubernatorial platform, and legislation for this purpose has already been introduced. It was my sad duty a number of times while I was serving as Circuit Judge to be compelled to send men to the penitentiary whom I believed could have been thoroughly reformed and rehabilitated without being sent to the penitentiary. Again, I urge the Legislature to give this subject its most serious consideration.

Public Utilities

In October 1954, I became the first of the candidates for governor to advocate effective state regula- doubled. The farmer today is like the man standing with one foot in a bucket of ice and the other foot in a tub of hot coals — the average temperature may be fine but there can be no doubt of his painful situation.

Since Mississippi is predominantly an agricultural state, the situation which I have described is not only a stern warning with reference to our entire economy but puts us on notice that we must practice the greatest economy and conservatism in the expenditures of the state government.

Improve Economy

We must devote every ounce of our skill and energy toward improving the economic position of the farmers of our state.

We must likewise leave no stone unturned in our efforts to improve the industrial position of Mississippi. Great work has been done by our BAWI Board. Economically speaking, I tremble to think of where Mississippi might have been at this time, had it not been for this splendid program and the wonderful work it has caused to be done. Despite the most excellent work of the BAWI Board, according to the figures of our State Employment Service, Mississippi in the last two yeaars has suffered a decrease of 1,000 in the number of non-farm workers in our state.

So, despite the splendid efforts of the past, Mississippi is faced with terrific decline in farm income and some decline in the number of non-farm workers employed in our state.

What can the Governor and the Legislature do to improve this situation? I strongly recommend the following:

First, that both the House and the Senate, as speedily as possible, set up special committees of their membership to deal with the economic welfare of our state, and thorough consideration to the economic conditions confronting both agriculture and industry in Mississippi.

Second, that the Agricultural and Industrial Board, for better concentration upon the problems at hand, be divided into two separate agencies, one an agricultural board, the other an industrial commission.

Employ Experts

Third, that when this reorganization shall have been effected the Governor and these agencies be granted sufficient funds and be authorized to employ the best experts available, whether or not they are now residents of Mississippi.

Fourth, that the Agricultural Board and the Industrial Commission be directed to make an all-out drive toward improving agriculture and attracting every possible worthwhile industry to our bord- port, maintain and improve our school program.

Like support will enthusiastically and devotedly be given our junior and senior colleges.

Insurance

Heretofore, the State of Mississippi has had no major problems insofar as insurance was concerned. Even now our problems are only with a segment of the insurance industry and my remarks and recommendations are not to be construed as an indictment against the insurance industry as a whole. On the contrary, I would like to compliment our fine Mississippi companies in the great work they are doing. Mississippi agents are among the finest in the nation. The vast majority of foreign companies as well as their representatives operating in Mississippi are above criticism, and their business operations are indeed conducted upon a high plane.

There are other insurance companies, however, which have cast a blight on the entire industry and have wrought chaos in their own state as well as other states in which they do business. Minimum requirements have enabled speculators to organize so-called insurance companies with little or no assets, and inadequate supervisory authority has allowed them to run rampant to the detriment of the insurance-buying public. While we have had only one insurance company failure in Mississippi, I can say with pride that not one single policy-holder has suffered by reason of the failure of a company domiciled in this State. Even now, however, the insurance department of a neighboring state has been forced to call an immediate examination of all home companies which, by reason of their low organizational requirements, number in the hundreds. Even now speculators from other states are considering Mississippi as their next hunting ground, depending upon the low organizational requirements of this state to enable them to organizie so-called Mississippi companies with their money and under their management. I am recommending to the Legislature that they carefully consider the enactment of laws that will raise the requirements of the organization of all types of insurance companies in Mississippi to a degree that will guarantee both sufficient capital and surplus so necessary for the successful operation of any business.

The greatest problem with which we are confronted is the deluge of mailed advertising from mail-order insurance companies not licensed in Mississippi. Multiplied thousands of dollars go out each month to these fly-by-night companies over which neither the State Insurance Department nor the state courts has jurisdiction. It would be futile to recommend state legislation to curb their activities since only the National Congress has control over citizen of our state bound up in what I am now about to say, but we are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country. I am moved, therefore, by a deep realization of the gravity of this message.

My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1955, I said in my official platform:

"There will be no necessity to abolish public schools, nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

This position was given the overwhelming support of the people of Mississippi at the ballot boxes last August.

I further told the people that if elected governor, with the cooperation of a good Legislature, we would maintain the separation of the races WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING OUR STATE, ITS ECONOMY, ITS CUSTOMS, AND ITS PRACTICES, IN A DAILY UPROAR OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. I say to this audience and to those who are listening by radio and television that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exacty the same manner and form as we know it today.

Time For Calmness

I want to say to the Members of the joint assembly that our services here will not be judged by those minor skirmishes which can contribute nothing to the permanent preservation of our rights. If the rules of racial separation are intact when we leave office, our place in history will be secure. If we should fail, there is nothing which will excuse that failure in the eyes of the people of Mississippi. Let us then exercise all possible soundness of judgment, sincerity of purpose, and calmness of mind, to the end that we shall not fail.

You may be called upon to consider the adoption of Resolutions dealing with this problem. In the immediate future, I shall deliver a special message to the Legislature on this subject; it cannot be adequately handled here. In the meantime, I am keeping in almost daily contact with the Governors of the other Southern States in the hope that whatever resolutions you may adopt will harmonize with those of our sister states. Unity must be preserved at all costs, and I urge the assistance and cooperation of all persons and groups to the end that we may present a united front in this all important one searches the entire history of all Nations, peoples, governments, and minority populations there will be found examples of extinctions, enslavements, torture, and exile, but there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another. With all due respect to the mighty power of the United Sates Government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done.

What have integrated schools in other sections been worth to the negro? Have you ever thought about the fact that a negro can attend a mixed school in most of those states, but few of those states will hire him as a teacher? The State of Connecticut does not have twenty-five negro eachers. The City of Albany, the capital of New York, the home of Harlem, employs only three negro teachers. The city of Newark employs 2200 school teachers, but only 70 of them are negroes, and none is a principal.

Sympathy For Negroes

I am pledged to the maintenance of the separation of the races at all costs, but I want to say this further word to the negroes of Mississippi. As Governor, I shall always give sympathetic consideration to any of your problems which deserve the assistance of the state government. If you accept this opportunity, it will mean better days for all of us. If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours.

Now for a word to our white citizens, When I formally opened my campaign at Ackerman on May 10th of last year, I said that "those who propose to mix the races in our public schools had might as well try to dip the Atlantic dry with a teaspoon".

I am just as confident of the correctness of this statement now as I was then. We must keep cool heads and calm judgment in the face of all the provocation which is being hurled upon us from almost every direction. The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment, and to render us incapable of defending ourselves. How devoutly it is to be hoped that a people who have had the strength, the courage, and the vision to surmount the terrifying trials of the past will not now allow themselves to fall victims to these tactics of today. The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous —so we have nothing to fear unless it be "fear itself".

Unspecific Ruling

To the few who have unjustifiably substituted fear for confidence, please let me remind them that even the United States Supreme Court did not undertake to say how or when its decision of May 17, 1954, could or would be en-

Cotton Gets Next to Flannel

Patrick H. Cotton of Memphis, one of Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman's out-of-state colonels, gets fitted in the handsome three-button charcoal gray flannel business suit and the gray and white tie that will be seen in great numbers around Jackson Tuesday for the inauguration. Cotton, general traffic manager of Gordon's Transports Inc., is one of 1,200 colonels on Coleman's staff.

Colonel, Suh, It Fits Fine

George Gouras (right), owner of the Mayflower Restaurant of Jackson, one of the 1,200 colonels of Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman's staff gets fitted in hat and tuxedo by Sandy Walters of 2302 St. Charles St., salesman at Lewis Wilson's Clothing Store where the uniforms were bought. (Staff photo by Phil Stroupe.)

Amended Recall Bill Gets 42 To 4 Senate Approval

By HAROLD FOREMAN

J. P. Coleman takes the oath of office as Mississippi's 51st Governor Tuesday with one of the strongest planks in his platform having been given a vote of approval by both branches of the state legislature.

both houses indicated certain final approval within the not too distant future. If the House refuses to agree to the Senate amendments, a joint committee will be appointed to iron out the differences.

The important Senate amendment changing the makeup of the council was offered by Sen.

and work together in harmony for the common good. I know you do not expect to disappoint them in this hope. That much good shall come of our work together is my fondest hope and my most earnest prayer

It is a fact proven by political history that governors and legislators sometimes go out of office personally and politically less popular than when they went in. Possibly this fate may await us. In any event, I want to say here and now that I shall at no time, under any circumstances, play politics with the high duties conferred upon me by the will of the people of Mississippi. Regardless of all consequences, and regardless of what may hereafter be said, it is my sincere desire that the governor and the legislature during this four year period may lay aside all selfishness, all possible ulterior motives, and accompish much for the general welfare of our State.

Demosthenes described the cause of Greece's downfall in these undying words: "What has ruined Greece? Envy when a man received a bribe; laughter when he confessed it; Mercy to the convicted, and hatred to those who denounced the crime; all the usual accompaniments of corruption."

Time of Crisis

So I say to you, the Members of this joint assembly, that probably more than at any other time since 1876, the people need you; they realize they need you. Justice and good government need you. In this, I know you will not fail. Let us remember that the man who tries to do something and fails is infinitely better than he who tries to do nothing and succeeds.

Under our Constitution, the Governor is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the State; he may require information in writing from the officers of the executive departments on any subject related to the duties of the respective offices; he shall, from time to time, give the Legislature information of the state of the government, and he shall recommend for consideration such measures as may be deemed proper and expedient.

Law Enforcement

In addition to the foregoing duties and powers of the governor, Section 123 of the Constitution provides:

"The governor shall see that the laws are faithfully executed."

It is interesting to note that this constitutional requirement of the governor was included in our first constitutional requirement of the Constitution of 1817. It was repeated in the constitution of 1832 and even the Carpetbaggers and Scalawags did not dare omit it from the Constitution of 1869. It has continuously been port of the supreme law of our State from its birth to the present hour. I do not interpret this to mean that the governor should attempt to take over in matters of purely local concern; at the same time it is clearly the solemn oath of the governor to see to it that crime and criminals shall not oppress the God fearing, Christian people of Mississippi. My views and my past record on this subject are too well known to require emphasis here. Suffice it to say, those views and this record will unswervingly be adhered to in the next four years to come. Criminals and their sympathizers may as well take notice, and this notice will hold good until the day I shall go out of office.

I shall at the first appropriate opportunity deliver a special message to the Legislature on the necessity of strengthening and improving all phases of our law enforcement machinery.

In view of the prompt and al- [illegible] want to urge this Legislature to give serious consideration to the establishment of a system of adult probation. This was one of the planks in my gubernatorial platform, and legislation for this purpose has already been introduced. It was my sad duty a number of times while I was serving as Circuit Judge to be compelled to send men to the penitentiary whom I believed could have been thoroughly reformed and rehabilitated without being sent to the penitentiary. Again, I urge the Legislature to give this subject its most serious consideration.

Public Utilities

In October 1954, I became the first of the candidates for governor to advocate effective state regulation of all public utilities, including electric power companies, natural gas companies and telephone companies. All of the candidates for governor took a similar position, and I think there is no question that the overwhelming majority of both houses of this legislature keenly feel the pressing need for action in this field.

Mississippi is the only state in the union which, to date, has made no effort from the state level to regulalate electric power companies and natural gas companies. For lack of the necessary accountants, rate experts, and valuation engineers, our eefforts at telephone rate regulation have been almost worthless. Under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court the legislature has no way to prevent these utilities from appealing rate making decisions to the courts. The only remedy for the situation, and one which is readily available to us, is to have a regulatory body so well staffed and so well trained that the rates, when fixed, will stand the test of reasonableness in the courts. If this legislature should adjourn without taking these necessary steps in behalf of the people of Mississippi, and leaving the consumer in that same attitude he has been forced to occupy in all past years, it would, in my judgement, be one of the greatest failures of your service here. From meetings and discussions already had with you on this important subject, I have no doubt that you will deal successfully with this problem.

Agriculture And Industry

One of the great goals of this administration must be to lead the people of our state upward to higher levels of income. This will require a most critical examination by this legislature of agricultural and industrial conditions in our state. Being myself a farmer, and being one whose people have never followed any other occupation, I am greatly distressed over the condition of our agricultural economy at this present time. Everybody in Mississippi knows that during the last few years our people have been leaving the farm by the thousands. They have not left because they did not love the land nor because they did not prefer to farm, but because it became absolutely impossible for them to make a respectable living for themselves and their families. The continuous increase in the cost of everything the farmer must buy and the continuous decline in the prices of what the farmer has to sell are rapidly approaching the disaster point. Our cotton acreage in Mississippi is now below what it was in the year 1879. We are met face to face with a most serious threat to the economy of our state. Farm prices are now the lowest since the pre-war year of 1941. Yet, production costs are 30 percent above what they were in 1947. Since 1947, farm mortgage debt has

Industrial Board, for better concentration upon the problems at hand, be divided into two separate agencies, one an agricultural board, the other an industrial commission.

Employ Experts

Third, that when this reorganization shall have been effected the Governor and these agencies be granted sufficient funds and be authorized to employ the best experts available, whether or not they are now residents of Mississippi.

Fourth, that the Agricultural Board and the Industrial Commission be directed to make an all-out drive toward improving agriculture and attracting every possible worthwhile industry to our borders.

Fifth, that the Governor, the Legislature, and all responsible officials of our state conduct our government on such a high plane of service, economy, and stability as to leave no doubt in the minds of the capitalists and industrialists of the nation that Mississippi is an outstanding, safe place in which to locate and operate, and where they will receive fair and equitable treatment under fair and just laws.

Sixth, that the education of our younger people be so encouraged and improved as to make us more capable of progress in all fields of economic employment.

We have made indescribable progress in this short quarter of a century. The challenge now is to take advantage of the infinitely greater opportunities of the next quarter of a century to come.

Education

In the recent campaign for governor I made it very plain to the people of Mississippi that I thoroughly endorsed the public school program recently established in our State. As one who had to work and obtain his formal education in depression days, and thus knowing the true value of education, I hope I assume the governorship with the unlimited faith and confidence of the educators, the parents, and the school children of Mississippi. The progress which we are making in the education of our children should be a source of unfailing pride to all progressive Mississippians. It is likewise a complete answer to agitators who would criticize or detract from our efforts to rid ourselves of illiteracy and its consequences. Because of the interest, the sacrifice, and the support of the people of this State, I believe we can point to a record of educational progress second to none. That record of progress has been made; it cannot be challenged.

I would particularly like to direct the attention of our own Negro citizens and those outside Mississippi to the following figures:

The average salary of our white teachers has increased from $710 in 1940 to $2,447 in 1954. The average salary of Negros teachers has increased from $224 in 1940 to $1,814 in 1954, an increase of 800 percent within fourteen short years. We now have over 3,000 licensed white teachers and nearly 7,000 licensed Negro school teachers in Mississippi. This year we are paying thirteen millions of dollars in salaries to the Negro school teachers and nineteen millions of dollars in salaries to the white school teachers. Moreover, where Mississippi provided transportation for no Negro children in 1939, this year we have transported Negro students in all-steel buses at a cost of almost two million dollars. All children have been furnished free text books.

Insofar as lies within the power of the Governor, I am happy here and now to pledge the full resources of this Administration to sup-

the Legislature that they carefully consider the enactment of laws that will raise the requirements of the organization of all types of insurance companies in Mississippi to a degree that will guarantee both sufficient capital and surplus so necessary for the successful operation of any business.

The greatest problem with which we are confronted is the deluge of mailed advertising from mail-order insurance companies not licensed in Mississippi. Multiplied thousands of dollars go out each month to these fly-by-night companies over which neither the State Insurance Department nor the state courts has jurisdiction. It would be futile to recommend state legislation to curb their activities since only the National Congress has control over their mail order operations. My sole only recommendation in this instance is not to the legislature, but to the people against buying such insurance. I shall likewise recommend to our friends in the National Congress that they do everything in their power to enact Federal legislation that will give us relief from so-called fly-by-night insurance companies over which we in Mississippi have no jurisdiction.

A review and renovation of our insurance code is practically mandatory.

MY PROGRAM

The program upon which the people elected me Governor was thoroughly discussed in the campaign and is well known to the members of the joint assembly. The limitations of time prevent a full discussion of every point here. I shall have printed copies of that program placed on the desks of the individual members of the Legislature, and I know you will read them.

I must take advantage of this opportunity, however, to remind you that I advocated, and I still advocate, repeal of the black market tax, a constitutional amendment forever guaranteeing our homestead exemption program, assistance to the aged to the full extent of our financial ability, strict economy in government, the promotion of rural electrification, fair legislation toward labor and management, and a constitutional amendment limiting special sessions of the Legislature to thirty days.

I must especially urge upon you the necessity for a permanent program of financial aid to our municipalities, and I know this most important problem will have your full sympathetic attention.

For reasons well known to all informed Mississippians, I most earnestly urge the necessity of repealing our absent voter laws except as to members of our Armed Forces and employees of common carriers engaged upon a scheduled run.

Segregation

My friends, I come now to a discussion of that governmental question which continuously for months has been uppermost in the minds of the people of Mississippi, and which no doubt is destined greatly to vex and harass us in the years immediately ahead. I refer to maintaining the continued separation of the white and negro races in accordance with those customs which the experience of ninety years has taught us all, while and colored alike, to be for the welfare of all concerned.

As I launch into this discussion, I address a message not ony to you, my fellow laborers in the Legislature, but I am also speaking directly to the white and negro people in Mississippi. I am likewise speaking to our fellow citizens in the other forty-seven states of our Nation. Not only is the future well-being of every white and negro

sible soundness of judgment, sincerity of purpose, and calmness of mind, to the end that we shall not fail.

You may be called upon to consider the adoption of Resolutions dealing with this problem. In the immediate future, I shall deliver a special message to the Legislature on this subject; it cannot be adequately handled here. In the meantime, I am keeping in almost daily contact with the Governors of the other Southern States in the hope that whatever resolutions you may adopt will harmonize with those of our sister states. Unity must be preserved at all costs, and I urge the assistance and cooperation of all persons and groups to the end that we may present a united front in this all important

In his message to the South Carolina legislature, delivered on last Thursday, Governor Timmerman said:

"I think it advisable that we give consideration to joining, if possible, our sister states at an appropriate time in a lawful and formal protest against the effort to destroy our form of government. but I would caution against premature action."

We have plenty of time, you will be kept fully informed of all developments, so I respectfully request that all action of this kind be with-held until you shall have heard my special message.

With the indulgence of those present, I should like now to address a word to the remainder of the Nation. I want to tell you that during the next four years the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a State of law and not of violence. I want to remind you that for over ninety years the white and the negro people of Mississippi have lived side by side in peace and harmony. I would like you, our friends outside Mississippi, to know that the great overwhelming majority of the white people of Mississippi are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of any murder, violence, or any other wrongdoing toward anyone. History shows that the first white man ever to be legally hanged in Mississippi was executed for the murder of a negro slave. I repeat that while we, the people of Mississippi, are unalterably determined as a matter of right and justice that the necessary rules of society shall be maintained, we do not any more approve of violence and lawlessness than you do.

Problem Acute Here

We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other State in the Union. It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation you would look upon it as we do.

Despite all the propaganda which has been fired at us, the country can be assured that the white people of Mississippi are not a race of negro killers. Official statistics for the State of Mississippi for 1954 show that in that year, the last for which we have figures available, eight white people were killed by negroes and only six negroes were killed by whites, while 182 negroes were killed by members of their own race. In other words, there were thirty times as many negroes killed by members of their own race as by members of the white race.

Now, for a word to those loyal negro citizens of Mississippi who love their State and who are unwilling to be made the victims of propaganda from professional agitators.

I must remind you that when

most every direction. The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment, and to render us incapable of defending ourselves. How devoutly it is to be hoped that a people who have had the strength, the courage, and the vision to surmount the terrifying trials of the past will not now allow themselves to fall victims to these tactics of today. The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous —so we have nothing to fear unless it be "fear itself".

Unspecific Ruling

To the few who have unjustifiably substituted fear for confidence, please let me remind them that even the United States Supreme Court did not undertake to say how or when its decision of May 17, 1954, could or would be enforced.

Let me remind them that in all the southern states, including South Carolina and Virginia, there is not a single negro child going to school with white children as the result of the compulsion of any court order. A few negro children are going to school with white children in the south, but only in those miserably few districts where local authorities volunatarily allowed it to be placed into effect — no court order was involved. Even in the very cases which were heard in the United States Supreme Court itself, no mixing in the public schools in those districts has yet been accomplished, nor is there any actual prospect of it.

Our pupil assignment law, which has been on the statute books since 1954, and which has not yet been challenged, is, in my opinion, within itself, a complete remedy at the present time We shall not be found without that resourcefulness necessary to any future remedies which may be required I know and you know that while there is no magic remedy for the Supreme Court decision there are multiplied means and methods, all perfectly legal, by which we can and will defeat integration of the races in our state

The time has come for us to invoke the great principle enunciated by Thomas Jefferson when he said:

"Never let us do wrong, because our opponents did so. Let us, rather, by doing right, show them what they ought to have done, and establish as a rule the dictates of reason and conscience, rather than of angry passions."

As for myself, I face this problem, like all other problems, in the assurance given us in Chapter 1, Verse 7 of II Timothy:

"For God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of sound mind."

No Need For Fear

We the people of Mississippi are of sound mind, there is no occasion for the excitement of fear, and we are confident of our power.

Since May 17, 1954, the plans, approach, and legal action maintained by our State Government have been completely successful. We have not begun to exhaust the resources at our command, so let us, with supreme confidence, take a leaf from the book of that great man, Elbert Hubbard, who said:

"Go as far as you can see, and when you get there you'll see farther."

As for myself, I face the future, not with fear but with confidence, not in panic, but in calmness born of the strength of our position and the weight of our power I hope the people without surrendering any part of their alertness, will join me in this feeling.

May God, in his inexhaustible wisdom and mercy, guide us as we move forward together toward a better day in our beloved Mississippi.

George Gouras (right), owner of the Mayflower Restaurant of Jackson, one of the 1,200 colonels of Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman's staff gets fitted in hat and tuxedo by Sandy Walters of 2302 St. Charles St., salesman at Lewis Wilson's Clothing Store where the uniforms were bought. (Staff photo by Phil Stroupe.)

Amended Recall Bill Gets 42 To 4 Senate Approval

By HAROLD FOREMAN

J. P. Coleman takes the oath of office as Mississippi's 51st Governor Tuesday with one of the strongest planks in his platform having been given a vote of approval by both branches of the state legislature.

In the first major test of strength of the Coleman administration, the Senate late Monday afternoon approved the administration sponsored recall bill by a vote of 42 to 4.

The measure permits the recall of elected county officials, such as sheriffs, who "wilfully fail, neglect or refuse to perform their duties as required by law."

In urging passage of bill, Coleman made no secret of the fact that it was aimed primarily at stamping out the sale of liquor in legally dry Mississippi, and also to wipe out gambling.

To recall a county official, a petition bearing the signatures of 30 per cent of the county's qualified voters would first have to be secured. In the case of supervisors, justices of the peace and constables the petition would have to bear the signatures of 51 per cent of the county's qualified voters.

The petition along with a statement of charges as to why the elected official should be removed from office would be presented to the Governor, with the accused official and the voters being advised of the charges and filing of the petition.

Council To Decide Charges

The Governor would then appoint a three-member council to decide the merits of the charges and decide whether an election should be held to determine whether the accused official should be ousted or retained.

The Senate accepted 25 amendments to the bill, most of a minor or clarifying nature, but one calls for a radical departure in the selection of the council from the method specified by the House when it passed the bill last Wednesday by a vote of 113-23.

Under the House terms of the bill, the three member council to rule on the merits of a recall petition would consist of the Governor, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and an associate supreme court justice with the Governor serving as ex officio chairman. In the event the accused official should be from the same district as the chief justice, a second associate justice would replace him on the council.

The House bill further specified that the findings of the council "shall be final and not subject to review."

Senate Allows Appeal

The Senate amended the bill to provide that the council should be composed of three chancery court judges appointed by the Governor, none of whom shall be from the same district as the accused official, and also struck out the provision denying the right of appeal.

In amending the bill, sponsors were thwarted in their hopes to have the measure ready for Coleman's signature when he takes office at noon Tuesday.

But despite the many amendments, the overwhelming vote in both houses indicated certain final approval within the not too distant future. If the House refuses to agree to the Senate amendments, a joint committee will be appointed to iron out the differences.

The important Senate amendment changing the makeup of the council was offered by Sen. Wilbur [illegible] of Macon. But despite approval of the amendment, when the bill came up for final passage Lucas did not vote, but merely answered present.

Four Opposed

The four Senators voting against the bill were: Robert Everitt of Ruleville, who represents Sunflower, Humphreys and Washington counties; W. F. Martin of Bentonia who represents Yazoo county; Standard Morse, Jr., of Gulfport who represents Harrison and Stone counties; and W. F. Rosenblatt, Jr., of Fort Adams who represents Amite and Wilkinson counties.

Sen. Ellis Bodron of Vicksburg, the blind legislator who represents Hinds and Warren counties, paired his vote with William G. Burgin, Jr., of Columbus who represents Lowndes county, with Bodron voting nay and Burgin aye.

Among the other amendments accepted by the Senate was one offered by Sen. Kelly Hammond of Columbia to prevent the removing of a name from a petition after it is once signed.

Other Senate amendments would:

Provide that no recall election is valid unless a majority of the qualified voters in the county participate.

Provide that persons who are not qualified voters and who sign petitions shal lbe guilty of a misdemeanor instead of a felony.

Prevent officials who resign or who are ousted by election after petitions are circulated shal lnot be appointed deputies by their successors.

One amendment was decided by Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin casting the deciding vote.

This was on an amendment by Morse specifying that anyone circulating or signing a libelous petition could be held criminally liable if unable to prove that he acted in good faith. When the Senate voted it was split 24-24. Gartin then voted against the amendment and it was defeated.

One Senator, who asked not to be identified, said "several of us voted for the bill because we know that when it's tested before the supreme court it will be found unconstitutional."

One Recall Attempt Only

One section of the bill, approved provides that no county official could be recalled before he serves at least one year of his elected term, and that if the recall election fails no further attempt at recall could be made during the official's four-year term of office.

Sen. Stanton Hall of Hattiesburg steered the bill through the upper chamber which resolved itself into a committee of the whole.

The bill provides that to recall supervisors, justices of the peace and constables, the petition must bear the signature of 51 per cent of the qualified voters. An effort by Sen. D. F. Dambert, Jr., of Belmont to lower this requirement to 30 per cent, the same as required to recall sheriffs and county clerks, failed.

Politics & Southern

Coleman, At Inaugural, Pledges To Keep Segregation

24th Psalm Used By New Official

The following is the complete text of Gov. J. P. Coleman's address at his inauguration at noon Tuesday:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the joint assembly, my friends and fellow Mississippians:

The solemn oath of office which I have just taken in your presence as the duly elected Chief Executive of more than two million people was sworn without mental reservation. This being my ninth time to have taken an official oath, I consider it appropriate to tell you that my Mother's Bible was open at the third and fourth verses of the 24th Psalm, which reads as follows:

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his Holy place?

"He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully."

Humbly grateful to my dear friends, the people of Mississippi, that they should have trusted me for these next four years with the grea responsibilities of the governorship, I give them my solemn pledge that this Admisistration will be kept absolutely free of those things which both defame and degrade

Seeks Cooperation

I congratulate you, the Members of the Legislature, upon your selection to serve in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. From the meetings held with you immediately after our election, as well as your performance since the assumption of your duties, I have, without exception, gained an abiding faith in your patriotism, in the purity of your motives, and in the sincerity of your desire to be of unselfish service to our State in these perilous times I know the people expect it of us that we shall at all times cooperate with each other and work together in harmony for the common good. I know you do not expect to disappoint them in this hope. That much good shall come of our work together is my fondest hope and my most earnest prayer

It is a fact proven by political history that governors and legislators sometimes go out of office personally and politically less popular than when they went in. Possibly this fate may await us. In any event, I want to say here and now that I shall at no time, under any circumstances, play politics with the high duties conferred upon me by the will of the people of Mississippi. Regardless of all consequences I shall do my duty as I see it.

Since the overwhelming and almost unanimous action on the Recall Bill, I want to congratulate the people of Mississippi for having elected a Legislature which already has proven its ability to go immediately to work and act promptly upon matters which are of the greatest importance. I am deeply gratified, and I believe the people are also, that this Legislature and its chosen leadership have manifested their firm intention not only to be a working Legislature but to put into effect those things which the people approved at the polls last August. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the attitude which you have taken and for the action already accomplished.

Executive Clemency

One of the great responsibilities vested in the governor is that of granting or withholding suspensions of sentence and pardons to those convicted of crime. Because of the sixteen years of my life which have been devoted to the enforcement of the law and the protection of the public, I feel very deeply the importance of this subject. Our people are overwhelmingly law abiding, yet great pressures are brought to bear in behalf of pardons and suspensions for those who have not obeyed the law. It will only be in the rarest cases that executive clemency will be extended. Certainly, to prevent miscarriages of justice, I shall exercise the power of supension and pardon. In all other cases, I hope the people kindly will not press me for for something which my conscience will not permit me to do.

I shall deliver a special message at a later date on the matter of paroles, but in the meantime I want to urge this Legislature to give serious consideration to the establishment of a system of adult probation. This was one of the planks in my gubernatorial platform, and legislation for this purpose has already been introduced. It was my sad duty a number of times while I was serving as Circuit Judge to be compelled to send men to the penitentiary whom I believed could have been thoroughly reformed and rehabilitated without being sent to the penitentiary. Again, I urge the Legislature to give this subject its most serious consideration.

Public Utilities

doubled. The farmer today is like the man standing with one foot in a bucket of ice and the other foot in a tub of hot coals — the average temperature may be fine but there can be no doubt of his painful situation.

Since Mississippi is predominantly an agricultural state, the situation which I have described is not only a stern warning with reference to our entire economy but puts us on notice that we must practice the greatest economy and conservatism in the expenditures of the state government.

Improve Economy

We must devote every ounce of our skill and energy toward improving the economic position of the farmers of our state.

We must likewise leave no stone unturned in our efforts to improve the industrial position of Mississippi. Great work has been done by our BAWI Board. Economically speaking, I tremble to think of where Mississippi might have been at this time, had it not been for this splendid program and the wonderful work it has caused to be done. Despite the most excellent work of the BAWI Board, according to the figures of our State Employment Service, Mississippi in the last two yeaars has suffered a decrease of 1,000 in the number of non-farm workers in our state.

So, despite the splendid efforts of the past, Mississippi is faced with terrific decline in farm income and some decline in the number of non-farm workers employed in our state.

What can the Governor and the Legislature do to improve this situation? I strongly recommend the following:

First, that both the House and the Senate, as speedily as possible, set up special committees of their membership to deal with the economic welfare of our state, and thorough consideration to the economic conditions confronting both agriculture and industry in Mississippi.

Second, that the Agricultural and Industrial Board, for better concentration upon the problems at hand, be divided into two separate agencies, one an agricultural board, the other an industrial commission.

Employ Experts

Third, that when this reorganization shall have been effected the Governor and these agencies be granted sufficient funds and be authorized to employ the best experts available, whether or not they are now residents of Mississippi.

Fourth, that the Agricultural Board and the Industrial Commission be directed to make an all-out

port, maintain and improve our school program.

Like support will enthusiastically and devotedly be given our junior and senior colleges.

Insurance

Heretofore, the State of Mississippi has had no major problems insofar as insurance was concerned. Even now our problems are only with a segment of the insurance industry and my remarks and recommendations are not to be construed as an indictment against the insurance industry as a whole. On the contrary, I would like to compliment our fine Mississippi companies in the great work they are doing. Mississippi agents are among the finest in the nation. The vast majority of foreign companies as well as their representatives operating in Mississippi are above criticism, and their business operations are indeed conducted upon a high plane.

There are other insurance companies, however, which have cast a blight on the entire industry and have wrought chaos in their own state as well as other states in which they do business. Minimum requirements have enabled speculators to organize so-called insurance companies with little or no assets, and inadequate supervisory authority has allowed them to run rampant to the detriment of the insurance-buying public. While we have had only one insurance company failure in Mississippi, I can say with pride that not one single policy-holder has suffered by reason of the failure of a company domiciled in this State. Even now, however, the insurance department of a neighboring state has been forced to call an immediate examination of all home companies which, by reason of their low organizational requirements, number in the hundreds. Even now speculators from other states are considering Mississippi as their next hunting ground, depending upon the low organizational requirements of this state to enable them to organizie so-called Mississippi companies with their money and under their management. I am recommending to the Legislature that they carefully consider the enactment of laws that will raise the requirements of the organization of all types of insurance companies in Mississippi to a degree that will guarantee both sufficient capital and surplus so necessary for the successful operation of any business.

The greatest problem with which we are confronted is the deluge of mailed advertising from mail-order insurance companies not licensed in Mississippi. Multiplied thousands of dollars go out each month to these fly-by-night companies over which neither the State Insurance Department nor the state courts

citizen of our state bound up in what I am now about to say, but we are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country. I am moved, therefore, by a deep realization of the gravity of this message.

My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1955, I said in my official platform:

"There will be no necessity to abolish public schools, nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

This position was given the overwhelming support of the people of Mississippi at the ballot boxes last August.

I further told the people that if elected governor, with the cooperation of a good Legislature, we would maintain the separation of the races WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING OUR STATE, ITS ECONOMY, ITS CUSTOMS, AND ITS PRACTICES, IN A DAILY UPROAR OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. I say to this audience and to those who are listening by radio and television that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exacty the same manner and form as we know it today.

Time For Calmness

I want to say to the Members of the joint assembly that our services here will not be judged by those minor skirmishes which can contribute nothing to the permanent preservation of our rights. If the rules of racial separation are intact when we leave office, our place in history will be secure. If we should fail, there is nothing which will excuse that failure in the eyes of the people of Mississippi. Let us then exercise all possible soundness of judgment, sincerity of purpose, and calmness of mind, to the end that we shall not fail.

You may be called upon to consider the adoption of Resolutions dealing with this problem. In the immediate future, I shall deliver a special message to the Legislature on this subject; it cannot be adequately handled here. In the meantime, I am keeping in almost daily contact with the Governors of the other Southern States in the hope that whatever resolutions you may adopt will harmonize with those of our sister states. Unity must be preserved at all costs, and I urge the assistance and

one searches the entire history of all Nations, peoples, governments, and minority populations there will be found examples of extinctions, enslavements, torture, and exile, but there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another. With all due respect to the mighty power of the United Sates Government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done.

What have integrated schools in other sections been worth to the negro? Have you ever thought about the fact that a negro can attend a mixed school in most of those states, but few of those states will hire him as a teacher? The State of Connecticut does not have twenty-five negro eachers. The City of Albany, the capital of New York, the home of Harlem, employs only three negro teachers. The city of Newark employs 2200 school teachers, but only 70 of them are negroes, and none is a principal.

Sympathy For Negroes

I am pledged to the maintenance of the separation of the races at all costs, but I want to say this further word to the negroes of Mississippi. As Governor, I shall always give sympathetic consideration to any of your problems which deserve the assistance of the state government. If you accept this opportunity, it will mean better days for all of us. If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours.

Now for a word to our white citizens, When I formally opened my campaign at Ackerman on May 10th of last year, I said that "those who propose to mix the races in our public schools had might as well try to dip the Atlantic dry with a teaspoon".

I am just as confident of the correctness of this statement now as I was then. We must keep cool heads and calm judgment in the face of all the provocation which is being hurled upon us from almost every direction. The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment, and to render us incapable of defending ourselves. How devoutly it is to be hoped that a people who have had the strength, the courage, and the vision to surmount the terrifying trials of the past will not now allow themselves to fall victims to these tactics of today. The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous —so we have nothing to fear unless it be "fear itself".

Unspecific Ruling

To the few who have unjustifiably substituted fear for confidence,

ing faith in your patriotism, in the purity of your motives, and in the sincerity of your desire to be of unselfish service to our State in these perilous times I know the people expect it of us that we shall at all times cooperate with each other and work together in harmony for the common good. I know you do not expect to disappoint them in this hope. That much good shall come of our work together is my fondest hope and my most earnest prayer

It is a fact proven by political history that governors and legislators sometimes go out of office personally and politically less popular than when they went in. Possibly this fate may await us. In any event, I want to say here and now that I shall at no time, under any circumstances, play politics with the high duties conferred upon me by the will of the people of Mississippi. Regardless of all consequences, and regardless of what may hereafter be said, it is my sincere desire that the governor and the legislature during this four year period may lay aside all selfishness, all possible ulterior motives, and accompish much for the general welfare of our State.

Demosthenes described the cause of Greece's downfall in these undying words: "What has ruined Greece? Envy when a man received a bribe; laughter when he confessed it; Mercy to the convicted, and hatred to those who denounced the crime; all the usual accompaniments of corruption."

Time of Crisis

So I say to you, the Members of this joint assembly, that probably more than at any other time since 1876, the people need you; they realize they need you. Justice and good government need you. In this, I know you will not fail. Let us remember that the man who tries to do something and fails is infinitely better than he who tries to do nothing and succeeds.

Under our Constitution, the Governor is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the State; he may require information in writing from the officers of the executive departments on any subject related to the duties of the respective offices; he shall, from time to time, give the Legislature information of the state of the government, and he shall recommend for consideration such measures as may be deemed proper and expedient.

Law Enforcement

In addition to the foregoing duties and powers of the governor, Section 123 of the Constitution provides:

"The governor shall see that the laws are faithfully executed."

It is interesting to note that this constitutional requirement of the governor was included in our first constitutional requirement of the Constitution of 1817. It was repeated in the constitution of 1832 and even the Carpetbaggers and Scalawags did not dare omit it from the Constitution of 1869. It has continuously been port of the supreme law of our State from its birth to the present hour. I do not interpret this to mean that the governor should attempt to take over in matters of purely local concern; at the same time it is clearly the solemn oath of the governor to see to it that crime and criminals shall not oppress the God fearing, Christian people of Mississippi. My views and my past record on this subject are too well known to require emphasis here. Suffice it to say, those views and this record will unswervingly be adhered to in the next four years to come. Criminals and their sympathizers may as well take notice, and this notice will hold good until the day I shall go out of office.

I shall at the first appropriate opportunity deliver a special message to the Legislature on the necessity of strengthening and improving all phases of our law enforcement machinery.

In view of the prompt and al-

don. In all other cases, I hope the people kindly will not press me for for something which my conscience will not permit me to do.

I shall deliver a special message at a later date on the matter of paroles, but in the meantime I want to urge this Legislature to give serious consideration to the establishment of a system of adult probation. This was one of the planks in my gubernatorial platform, and legislation for this purpose has already been introduced. It was my sad duty a number of times while I was serving as Circuit Judge to be compelled to send men to the penitentiary whom I believed could have been thoroughly reformed and rehabilitated without being sent to the penitentiary. Again, I urge the Legislature to give this subject its most serious consideration.

Public Utilities

In October 1954, I became the first of the candidates for governor to advocate effective state regulation of all public utilities, including electric power companies, natural gas companies and telephone companies. All of the candidates for governor took a similar position, and I think there is no question that the overwhelming majority of both houses of this legislature keenly feel the pressing need for action in this field.

Mississippi is the only state in the union which, to date, has made no effort from the state level to regulalate electric power companies and natural gas companies. For lack of the necessary accountants, rate experts, and valuation engineers, our eefforts at telephone rate regulation have been almost worthless. Under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court the legislature has no way to prevent these utilities from appealing rate making decisions to the courts. The only remedy for the situation, and one which is readily available to us, is to have a regulatory body so well staffed and so well trained that the rates, when fixed, will stand the test of reasonableness in the courts. If this legislature should adjourn without taking these necessary steps in behalf of the people of Mississippi, and leaving the consumer in that same attitude he has been forced to occupy in all past years, it would, in my judgement, be one of the greatest failures of your service here. From meetings and discussions already had with you on this important subject, I have no doubt that you will deal successfully with this problem.

Agriculture And Industry

One of the great goals of this administration must be to lead the people of our state upward to higher levels of income. This will require a most critical examination by this legislature of agricultural and industrial conditions in our state. Being myself a farmer, and being one whose people have never followed any other occupation, I am greatly distressed over the condition of our agricultural economy at this present time. Everybody in Mississippi knows that during the last few years our people have been leaving the farm by the thousands. They have not left because they did not love the land nor because they did not prefer to farm, but because it became absolutely impossible for them to make a respectable living for themselves and their families. The continuous increase in the cost of everything the farmer must buy and the continuous decline in the prices of what the farmer has to sell are rapidly approaching the disaster point. Our cotton acreage in Mississippi is now below what it was in the year 1879. We are met face to face with a most serious threat to the economy of our state. Farm prices are now the lowest since the pre-war year of 1941. Yet, production costs are 30 percent above what they were in 1947. Since 1947, farm mortgage debt has

membership to deal with the economic welfare of our state, and thorough consideration to the economic conditions confronting both agriculture and industry in Mississippi.

Second, that the Agricultural and Industrial Board, for better concentration upon the problems at hand, be divided into two separate agencies, one an agricultural board, the other an industrial commission.

Employ Experts

Third, that when this reorganization shall have been effected the Governor and these agencies be granted sufficient funds and be authorized to employ the best experts available, whether or not they are now residents of Mississippi.

Fourth, that the Agricultural Board and the Industrial Commission be directed to make an all-out drive toward improving agriculture and attracting every possible worthwhile industry to our borders.

Fifth, that the Governor, the Legislature, and all responsible officials of our state conduct our government on such a high plane of service, economy, and stability as to leave no doubt in the minds of the capitalists and industrialists of the nation that Mississippi is an outstanding, safe place in which to locate and operate, and where they will receive fair and equitable treatment under fair and just laws.

Sixth, that the education of our younger people be so encouraged and improved as to make us more capable of progress in all fields of economic employment.

We have made indescribable progress in this short quarter of a century. The challenge now is to take advantage of the infinitely greater opportunities of the next quarter of a century to come.

Education

In the recent campaign for governor I made it very plain to the people of Mississippi that I thoroughly endorsed the public school program recently established in our State. As one who had to work and obtain his formal education in depression days, and thus knowing the true value of education, I hope I assume the governorship with the unlimited faith and confidence of the educators, the parents, and the school children of Mississippi. The progress which we are making in the education of our children should be a source of unfailing pride to all progressive Mississippians. It is likewise a complete answer to agitators who would criticize or detract from our efforts to rid ourselves of illiteracy and its consequences. Because of the interest, the sacrifice, and the support of the people of this State, I believe we can point to a record of educational progress second to none. That record of progress has been made; it cannot be challenged.

I would particularly like to direct the attention of our own Negro citizens and those outside Mississippi to the following figures:

The average salary of our white teachers has increased from $710 in 1940 to $2,447 in 1954. The average salary of Negros teachers has increased from $224 in 1940 to $1,814 in 1954, an increase of 800 percent within fourteen short years. We now have over 8,000 licensed white teachers and nearly 7,000 licensed Negro school teachers in Mississippi. This year we are paying thirteen millions of dollars in salaries to the Negro school teachers and nineteen millions of dollars in salaries to the white school teachers. Moreover, where Mississippi provided transportation for no Negro children in 1939, this year we have transported Negro students in all-steel buses at a cost of almost two million dollars. All children have been furnished free text books.

Insofar as lies within the power of the Governor, I am happy here and now to pledge the full resources of this Administration to sup-

sippi as their next hunting ground, depending upon the low organizational requirements of this state to enable them to organizie so-called Mississippi companies with their money and under their management. I am recommending to the Legislature that they carefully consider the enactment of laws that will raise the requirements of the organization of all types of insurance companies in Mississippi to a degree that will guarantee both sufficient capital and surplus so necessary for the successful operation of any business.

The greatest problem with which we are confronted is the deluge of mailed advertising from mail-order insurance companies not licensed in Mississippi. Multiplied thousands of dollars go out each month to these fly-by-night companies over which neither the State Insurance Department nor the state courts has jurisdiction. It would be futile to recommend state legislation to curb their activities since only the National Congress has control over their mail order operations. My only recommendation in this instance is not to the legislature, but to the people against buying such insurance. I shall likewise recommend to our friends in the National Congress that they do everything in their power to enact Federal legislation that will give us relief from so-called fly-by-night insurance companies over which we in Mississippi have no jurisdiction.

A review and renovation of our insurance code is practically mandatory.

MY PROGRAM

The program upon which the people elected me Governor was thoroughly discussed in the campaign and is well known to the members of the joint assembly. The limitations of time prevent a full discussion of every point here. I shall have printed copies of that program placed on the desks of the individual members of the Legislature, and I know you will read them.

I must take advantage of this opportunity, however, to remind you that I advocated, and I still advocate, repeal of the black market tax, a constitutional amendment forever guaranteeing our homestead exemption program, assistance to the aged to the full extent of our financial ability, strict economy in government, the promotion of rural electrification, fair legislation toward labor and management, and a constitutional amendment limiting special sessions of the Legislature to thirty days.

I must especially urge upon you the necessity for a permanent program of financial aid to our municipalities, and I know this most important problem will have your full sympathetic attention.

For reasons well known to all informed Mississippians, I most earnestly urge the necessity of repealing our absent voter laws except as to members of our Armed Forces and employees of common carriers engaged upon a scheduled run.

Segregation

My friends, I come now to a discussion of that governmental question which continuously for months has been uppermost in the minds of the people of Mississippi, and which no doubt is destined greatly to vex and harass us in the years immediately ahead. I refer to maintaining the continued separation of the white and negro races in accordance with those customs which the experience of ninety years has taught us all, while and colored alike, to be for the welfare of all concerned.

As I launch into this discussion, I address a message not ony to you, my fellow laborers in the Legislature, but I am also speaking directly to the white and negro people in Mississippi. I am likewise speaking to our fellow citizens in the other forty-seven states of our Nation. Not only is the future well-being of every white and negro

the rules of racial separation are intact when we leave office, our place in history will be secure. If we should fail, there is nothing which will excuse that failure in the eyes of the people of Mississippi. Let us then exercise all possible soundness of judgment, sincerity of purpose, and calmness of mind, to the end that we shall not fail.

You may be called upon to consider the adoption of Resolutions dealing with this problem. In the immediate future, I shall deliver a special message to the Legislature on this subject; it cannot be adequately handled here. In the meantime, I am keeping in almost daily contact with the Governors of the other Southern States in the hope that whatever resolutions you may adopt will harmonize with those of our sister states. Unity must be preserved at all costs, and I urge the assistance and cooperation of all persons and groups to the end that we may present a united front in this all important cause.

In his message to the South Carolina legislature, delivered on last Thursday, Governor Timmerman said:

"I think it advisable that we give consideration to joining, if possible, our sister states at an appropriate time in a lawful and formal protest against the effort to destroy our form of government; but I would caution against premature action."

We have plenty of time, you will be kept fully informed of all developments, so I respectfully request that all action of this kind be with-held until you shall have heard my special message.

With the indulgence of those present, I should like now to address a word to the remainder of the Nation. I want to tell you that during the next four years the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a State of law and not of violence. I want to remind you that for over ninety years the white and the negro people of Mississippi have lived side by side in peace and harmony. I would like you, our friends outside Mississippi, to know that the great overwhelming majority of the white people of Mississippi are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of any murder, violence, or any other wrongdoing toward anyone. History shows that the first white man ever to be legally hanged in Mississippi was executed for the murder of a negro slave. I repeat that while we, the people of Mississippi, are unalterably determined as a matter of right and justice that the necessary rules of society shall be maintained, we do not any more approve of violence and lawlessness than you do.

Problem Acute Here

We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other State in the Union. It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation you would look upon it as we do.

Despite all the propaganda which has been fired at us, the country can be assured that the white people of Mississippi are not a race of negro killers. Official statistics for the State of Mississippi for 1954 show that in that year, the last for which we have figures available, eight white people were killed by negroes and only six negroes were killed by whites, while 182 negroes were killed by members of their own race. In other words, there were thirty times as many negroes killed by members of their own race as by members of the white race.

Now, for a word to those loyal negro citizens of Mississippi who love their State and who are unwilling to be made the victims of propaganda from professional agitators.

I must remind you that when

handle dry wit a teaspoon.

I am just as confident of the correctness of this statement now as I was then. We must keep cool heads and calm judgment in the face of all the provocation which is being hurled upon us from almost every direction. The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment, and to render us incapable of defending ourselves. How devoutly it is to be hoped that a people who have had the strength, the courage, and the vision to surmount the terrifying trials of the past will not now allow themselves to fall victims to these tactics of today. The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous —so we have nothing to fear unless it be "fear itself".

Unspecific Ruling

To the few who have unjustifiably substituted fear for confidence, please let me remind them that even the United States Supreme Court did not undertake to say how or when its decision of May 17, 1954, could or would be enforced.

Let me remind them that in all the southern states, including South Carolina and Virginia, there is not a single negro child going to school with white children as the result of the compulsion of any court order. A few negro children are going to school with white children in the south, but only in those miserably few districts where local authorities volunatarily allowed it to be placed into effect — no court order was involved. Even in the very cases which were heard in the United States Supreme Court itself, no mixing in the public schools in those districts has yet been accomplished, nor is there any actual prospect of it.

Our pupil assignment law, which has been on the statute books since 1954, and which has not yet been challenged, is, in my opinion, within itself, a complete remedy at the present time We shall not be found without that resourcefulness necessary to any future remedies which may be required I know and you know that while there is no magic remedy for the Supreme Court decision there are multiplied means and methods, all perfectly legal, by which we can and will defeat integration of the races in our state

The time has come for us to invoke the great principle enunciated by Thomas Jefferson when he said:

"Never let us do wrong, because our opponents did so. Let us, rather, by doing right, show them what they ought to have done, and establish as a rule the dictates of reason and conscience, rather than of angry passions."

As for myself, I face this problem, like all other problems, in the assurance given us in Chapter 1, Verse 7 of II Timothy:

"For God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of sound mind."

No Need For Fear

We the people of Mississippi are of sound mind, there is no occasion for the excitement of fear, and we are confident of our power.

Since May 17, 1954, the plans, approach, and legal action maintained by our State Government have been completely successful. We have not begun to exhaust the resources at our command, so let us, with supreme confidence, take a leaf from the book of that great man, Elbert Hubbard, who said:

"Go as far as you can see, and when you get there you'll see farther."

As for myself, I face the future, not with fear but with confidence, not in panic, but in calmness born of the strength of our position and the weight of our power I hope the people without surrendering any part of their alertness, will join me in this feeling.

May God, in his inexhaustible wisdom and mercy, guide us as we move forward together toward a better day in our beloved Mississippi.

Sec. Politics
Chatt. Times
1/18/56

GOVERNOR STATES MISSISSIPPI FIRM

Says State Won't Integrate, Urges Rest of Nation Not to Judge Hastily

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17 (AP) —Gov. J. P. Coleman told his state and the nation today that Mississippi will keep segregation without violence and despite the federal government.

In all history ". . . there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another," he said in his inaugural address.

"With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are not willing to have it done," the 42-year-old governor declared.

He urged the rest of the nation to consider Mississippi's position before passing judgment. ". . . we are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country.

". . . The white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers.

"We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the nation."

Negroes form 45 per cent of Mississippi's population.

The tall, husky governor succeeded Gov. Hugh White.

Coleman, one of the youngest governors in Mississippi history, reviewed some of his campaign planks and called for stricter regulation of public utilities; better law enforcement; aid to farmers, and fewer pardons and paroles.

He also asked support for repeal of the black market tax on illegal liquor; a constitutional amendment limiting special legislative sessions to 30 days; promotion of rural electrification, and a constitutional amendment guaranteeing homestead exemptions, now provided by statutes.

INDIVIDUAL JOURNAL GRINDING IN YOUR CAR

Miss. Chief Vows No Mix, No Row

See Times Letter

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17 (UP)—Gov. James Plemon Coleman promised today to give Mississippi four years of sound government and segregation without a "daily uproar of confusion and uncertainty."

The 42-year-old former farm boy from Choctaw County held a steady hand to a cold clear sky after his inauguration as Mississippi's 51st governor and said:

"I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today."

Coleman said Mississippi is now prepared to maintain separation of the races on all levels "without keeping our state, its economy, its customs, and its practices in a daily uproar of confusion and uncertainty."

He pledged the "full weight" of the state government would be used to keep Mississippi a "state of law and not of violence."

At Courier
1/18/56

Politics, Southern

Clarion Ledger 1/16/56

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New Executive s Given Oath

He's One of State's Youngest Governors

By CHARLES M. HILLS

James Plemon Coleman, 42, self-educated farm boy, lawyer and immediate past attorney general, Tuesday at noon took the oath as the 51st governor of Mississippi.

Chief Justice Harvey McGehee, of the State Supreme Court, administered the oath before a joint session of the state legislature.

Approximately 1,200 colonels appointed to his staff by the new governor, attended the event.

At the request of Gov. Coleman himself, the outgoing Gov. Hugh L. White and Coleman's close personal friend and circuit judge ov-

COLEMAN'S SPEECH ON PAGE 6

er the new governor when he was a district attorney, Judge John F. Allen, Kosciusko, stood beside him as Coleman took the oath.

In relinquishing the office of governor, White presented Gov. Coleman to an audience of some 2,000 people assembled on the New Capitol grounds.

As the oath was taken by the incoming governor, the Mississippi National Guard fired a 21-gun salute heard to the outskirts of the city.

Prior to the inauguration, bands from Mississippi State College and the University of Mississippi gave concerts for the large audience. As the inauguration ceremonies neared, both bands struck up the grand old tune Dixie, as the audience stood and cheered.

Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, as presiding officer over the joint assembly of the legislature, introduced a number of distinguished guests, including Robert Ellington, Nashville, Tenn., commissioner of agriculture in that neighbor state, who was here representing Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee. Mrs. Ellington accompanied him.

(Continued on Page Three)

(Continued from Page One)

Another prominent guest was Earle Cocke, Atlanta, Ga., past national commander of The American Legion and now a vice president of Delta Airlines.

The elective state officials, who received the oath on Monday, sat in a body at the inaugural.

In the afternoon, Gov. and Mrs. Coleman held open house at the Mansion here, with hundreds of Mississippians passing through the more than a century-old edifice that has housed a majority of the governors of this state.

Speaker of the House of Representatives Walter Sillers and Mrs. Sillers were prominent in the list of honored guests for both the inaugural and the reception.

There was no parade on the downtown streets of Jackson and

Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee. Mrs. Ellington accompanied him.

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Gov. Coleman's 45 minute speech was described by many legislators as a masterpiece. Some disagreed with parts, but they were apparently in the minority.

He spoke at some length on the segregation issue, declaring that "I am pledged to the maintenance of the separation of the races at all costs."

The new governor counseled "strength, courage and vision to surmount the terrifying trials" of attempts to desegregate in the state and said that the pupil assignment law now on Mississippi's statute books, is in itself "a complete remedy at the present time."

Coleman urged that no bills be introduced in haste on the segregation issue and stated that he will in the "immediate" future have a special message for the legislature on the subject of maintaining segregation will be delivered.

"We have plenty of time and you will be kept fully informed on all developments, so I respectfully request that all action of this kind be withheld until you have heard my special message," Coleman told the legislature.

"I say to this audience... that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence... the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today," he declared.

He repeated his campaign assertion that there will be no necessity for abolishing the public school system to prevent mixing of the races in classrooms.

Coleman called for repeal of the absentee voter laws except for a member of the armed forces, as a move to clean up elections.

He asked further guarantee of homestead exemptions, repeal of the black market tax, assistance to the aged, strict economy in government, promotion of rural electrification, labor management legislation and a constitutional amendment limiting special sessions of the legislature to 30 days.

A permanent program for financial aid to municipalites was also strongly advocated by the new governor.

Regulation of fly-by-night insurance companies and refusal of the citizenry to deal with mail order insurance concerns was asked by the governor.

Higher educational standards were asked in order that our youth might maintain the progress of this state.

Improvement of the economic standards of the farmers was suggested as a major need.

Regulation of the public utilities and placing all under control of the State Public Service Commission was asked of the legislature.

Only rare cases of executive clemency will be granted, the incoming governor promised. Honest law enforcement is high on his agenda, he said. A probation law was asked as an urgent need.

John Herbers Reports

Politics, Southern

New 'Segregation' Bill Sacri

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 21 (UP) —If Mississippi is going to put up a maximum defense against racial integration then her citizens must be willing to risk sacrificing certain personal freedoms they now enjoy.

That is the thought behind the criminal libel bill introduced in the House this week as one of the Legal Education Advisory Committee's segregation measures. That idea was discussed on the floor when the bill was being considered by the committee and apparently had unanimous approval of the membership.

The bill provides a fine of $1,000 and-or one year prison term for persons convicted of intentionally communicating "defamatory matter" to a third person. Defamatory matter is defined as "anything which tends to expose a person to hatred, contempt or ridicule, to degrade or disgrace him in society, or to injure him in his business or occupation."

Same Penalty

The same penalty applies to persons convicted of using insults or obscenities "calculated to lead to breach of the peace," or written communic

To defend himself charges a person mus he said or wrote is t communicated with g

So far, there has be comment outside the on the bill. It is just "segregation" m e a s pushed through legis

MISSISSIPPI— Sunday, cloudy with occasional rain and warmer. Gentle to moderate east and southeast winds. Light rains, possible snow in the north portions.

The Delta Dem

60th Year United Press (UP) Greenville, Mississippi

MISS. COUNCIL ON HUMAN REL.
1104 LYNCH ST.
JACKSON 3, MISS. 8-16-56

acrifices Personal Freedoms

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ation" measures being
through legislative channels.

The bill was drafted after state officials were swamped with obscene telephone calls from persons objecting to the state's stand for segregation and after a number of insulting circulars on the same subject were distributed in the state. Mississippi apparently had no law to convict persons guilty of such practices, and this bill was intended to fill the gap.

Poses Question

Gov. J. P. Coleman was asked this week if the measure couldn't also be used against persons or publications criticizing the government in "fair comment." Coleman said he didn't think the bill ever "would" be used in that way.

Some commitee members had said that was a chance that would have to be taken to further assure separation of the races.

As a "segregation bill" it was doubtful that it would run into serious opposition. Legislators are not apt to risk being branded as against segregation, whatever the merits of a particular piece of legislation.

emocrat-Times

SUNDAY EDITION

Sunday, January 22, 1956 Sherman Marches Ag..... Price 10c No. 123

So: Peter 11/23/56
Chat. Times

EASTLAND DRAWS MORE ATTENTION

Mississippian Emerging as Controversial Senator for Rights Stand

WASHINGTON — (NANA)— U.S. Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss) is fast emerging as one of the nation's most controversial politicians.

The Mississippian currently is under heavy fire from Negro organizations and civil liberties groups for his outspoken advocacy of the absolute segregation of races.

Many leading newspapers are severely critical of Sen. Eastland's conduct of the investigation of alleged Communist infiltration of newspapers, magazines, TV and radio and other purveyors of news, by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, which he heads.

He incurred the wrath of AFL-CIO leaders by urging Southerners to fight all attempts by the new "one big union" to organize workers below the Mason-Dixon line.

Some accuse Eastland of using the Internal Security subcommittee as a "front" for the "revival of McCarthyism."

In answer to his foes, Eastland pledges himself to carry out the following quote from his speech to the founding convention of the Federation for Constitutional Government (FCG) in Memphis Dec. 28:

". . . to fight the court (supreme), to fight the CIO, to fight the NAACP, and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction."

To Push Defiance

The newly formed FCG's avowed purpose is to initiate and push defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court's ban on racial segregation in public schools.

It is "strictly a coordinating, information development organization," according to FCG chairman John U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist.

Barr also says that the FCG will "try to influence . . . and help" such groups as the white citizens' councils, claiming 65,000 members all over the South; the States Rights Council of Georgia, and the Committee for Individual Rights of Virginia. All are vigorously fighting the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision.

Eastland says that the FCG "will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise, and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and the West."

Overtures Made

It is known that FCG leaders already have made overtures to enlist the support of such northern ultra-right-wing outfits as Mervin K. Hart's Economic Council and Edward A. Rumpley's Committee for Constitutional Government.

Barr denies that the FCG will engage in politics. But Eastland, one of the driving forces in its formation, says the FCG "will at-

ator, Eastland has sponsored no important legislation. He has, however, been a loquacious opponent of prolabor laws and public health legislation. He has participated in several Senate filibusters against a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission and other civil rights legislation. In addition to his chairmanship of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, he now is a member of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee.

A majority of the Washington press corps rate the Mississippi Democrat quite low among Senate intellects. The newsmen feel that Eastland allows the Internal Security subcommittee counsel, Sourwine, to dictate subcommittee policy, strategy and tactics.

Several reporters who have covered Eastland's activities for years also believe that the senator and Sourwine maintain close liaison with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and many of the Wisconsin Republican's more rabid supporters.

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The senator's answer to his press critics is far less forthright. They charge that the Internal Security subcommittee's inquiry into alleged penetration by Reds of news media, as it is being handled by the Mississippi Democrat and the subcommittee's chief counsel, Julien G. Sourwine of Nevada, is intended to harass and embarrass newspapers that have editorially opposed all that Eastland and his supporters advocate—in particular, the widely respected and influential New York Times.

In substantiation of their accusation, The Times and other papers pointed out that 14 of the 18 witnesses called before the Eastland subcommittee last week were past or present Times employes.

At the close of the three-day hearings, Sens. Eastland and William E. Jenner (R-Ind), former chairman of the subcommittee, replied in part:

"At all times when our pursuit of the trail of Communist activity has taken us into this field (press), the subcommittee has been fully cognizant of its duty to avoid any step which could fairly be interpreted as an effort to exercise congressional pressure on the American press. At the same time we have been seriously aware of our responsibility not to flinch from uncovering the activities of subversive elements just because those efforts involved attempted penetration of media for the dissemination of information and the formation of opinion.

" . . . The committee proposes to explore with thoroughness and conscience leads which have been furnished in these hearings."

How He Looks

At 51 years of age, Eastland is burly, round-faced and has lost enough of his brown hair to appear high-domed. He speaks in a querulous drawl and seems to be constantly champing a large unlit cigar. He is a careless dresser.

His home is in Doddsville, Scott County, Mississippi, where along with politicking and "practicin' a mite of law," he also operates a large cotton plantation. Scott County is in central Mississippi, and its population is predominantly Negro. But Negroes do not vote in Scott County, says the senator.

Eastland was appointed to the Senate in 1943 to succeed the late Pat Harrison. He was elected in 1944 and has been re-elected twice, his current term expiring in 1961. He served in the Mississippi House of Representatives from 1928 to 1932.

In his 12 years as a U.S. sen-

delayed in several Senate filibusters against a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission and other civil rights legislation. In addition to his chairmanship of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, he now is a member of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee.

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At Constr 1/20/5 Southern Politics

Mississippi Bill To Block U.S. Vote Probe Advances

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 19 (AP)—Mississippi's House judiciary committee today approved three segregation bills — one especially aimed at federal officials who might want to investigate Mississippi voting.

The bills—placed on the House calendar for possible vote next week—would:

(1) Make it a felony to libel, slander or defame "any state, county, city, community, their inhabitants, their institutions or their government."

(2) Forbid anyone from encouraging a person to file a lawsuit. It refers to all lawsuits but is especially directed against integration suits.

(3) Make unlawful for any person to deprive citizens of Mississippi of rights guaranteed by the state constitution; set the penalty at a maximum of $3,000 fine and five years in prison; permit the injured person to sue for damages, and permit state or county official to sue for damages against any person who tries to prevent an officer from taking office, carrying out his duty or trying to force an officer to leave his office.

Politics, Southern
Clarion Ledger 1/26/56

House Adopts Bill To Outlaw NAACP Activity In State

BY CHARLES M. HILLS

The lower house of the Mississippi legislature Wednesday afternoon adopted by a vote of 121 to 2 an act making it unlawful for any person representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to spread its propaganda in this state.

Rep. Karl Weisenburg, Pascagoula, co-author of the act, steered it to overwhelming adoption by the House after an impassioned speech decrying the inroads of Communism in the nation and a denunciation of the NAACP as a subversive force.

The act carries a fine of $1,000 or six months in jail if violated.

Weisenburg called to the attention of the lawmakers that he and Daniel D. Guice, both coast county representatives, authored the bill, thus citing that while Pascagoula has 5 whites to one Negro, that section is just as vigorously opposed to de-segregation as any other part of the state with high Negro populations.

He told the House membership that—

"Our country is now engaged in a cold war with the forces of communism. This legislature has commended our Senior Senator for his courageous fight against the subversives in our midst who are trying to destroy our democracy.

"Equally as dangerous as the disciples of communism are individuals and organizations in this country who specialize in promoting discord between geographical areas of our country and between the races.

"The worst of this lot is the NAACP, an organization supposed

NAACP Bill . .

(Continued From Page One)

to be for the advancement of the colored race. This organization has done more to promote the cause of communism in this country than all of the agents of Moscow combined.

"It has exploited unfortunate human tragedies for its own selfish ends, and has been guilty of every type of factual distortion against Mississippi and its people.

"To preserve democracy our federal government has enacted legislation against communist infiltration. On a state level, the legislature should enact like legislation to curb the unlawful activities in this state."

The only two members voting against passage of the bill were Reps. Barron Drewry, of Alcorn and Milton Grisham, of Prentiss, both far North Mississippi counties. John B. French, Panola, announced that he was present but not voting.

Terms of the bill, short and to the point, are as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons within the territorial limits of the State of Mississippi or the jurisdiction thereof to incite a riot, or breach of the peace, or public disturbance, or disorderly assembly, by the State of Missisippi, and nonconformance with the established traditions, customs, and usages of the State

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SECTION 2. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be guilty of misdeameanor and shall be punished by a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) or by imprisonment not to exceed six (6) months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its pasage.

The lower house failed to suspend the rules to consider re-enactment of the 14 percent surtax or tax on taxes, which Rep. Hilton Waits said will yield the state $7,-133,560 biennially, and set the bill for special order Thursday when the House meets at 2.

In other actions of the day, the lower chamber by topheavy votes, often unanimous, adopted several non-controversial items, such as prescribing tax of $25 for operating pool halls outside of municipalities; and a provision under which the secretary of the budget commission will no longer countersign warrants of Veterans Farm and Home Loan revolving fund.

Another act permits institutions to repay emergency repair expenditures from bond issues if expenditures have been made for the purpose the issue was granted.

An increase to $300 of the salary of the Harrison county court reporter was also allowed.

Still other acts, adopted in rapid order included provisions as follows:

Provide punishment for false impersonation of officers or employees of state or any subdivision.

Provide a limitation where due date of an indebtedness does not appear of record.

Make certain provisions regarding counsel appointed for defense in capital cases.

Provide for devotion of title to property under certain conditions.

Amend private sale law to eliminate necessity of report where terms are made certain by decree.

Make unlawful advocating disobedience of state laws.

Change time of holding chancery court in seventh district.

1-27-56

Politics, So.

Clarion Ledger 1/27/56

SECTION ONE

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

POLITICS AS USUAL

Few Mississipians are surprised that Tennessee's Governor Frank Clement has bluntly refused to act toward blocking racial integration in public schools of his state.

Governor Clement has just told a pro-segregation group that "I cannot please you people because I don't think the course of action you favor is in the best interest of Tennessee."

FRANK IS RUNNING

What Governor Clement really meant was that pro - segregation action is not in the best political interest of Governor Clement. In some way, Frank has gotten the idea he is presidential timber, ridiculous as it may seem.

Since he hungers for the Democratic nomination, Governor Clement can't afford to offend arrogant minority pressure groups. Thus Tennessee is doing even less to maintain segregation than Arkansas — if such a degree of inaction can be imagined. Both states are risking racial mongrelization.

ADLAI TO BLAST US?

It has become a favorite pasttime to lambast and ridicule "Eisencrats," but those who do this had better go slow. Their jeers and taunts may boomerang. Drew Pearson, Washington correspondent, has just made this startling prediction:

"Adlai Stevenson, risking a break with the South, will campaign against the state of Mississippi. He'll attack Mississippi's abuse of human rights, such as the kidnap-murder of Emmett Till."

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Most Mississippians who fell for Ike's baloney freely admit their tragic mistake, yet it is doubtful that the racial situation would be any better under Adlai — with Harry calling the signals. It is also well to remember that six of the nine Supreme Court judges outlawing school segregation are Democrats, appointed by Roosevelt and Truman because of radical views.

Having gone to bed with Eisenhower et al may have been a degrading experience but hardly worse than bedding down with such loyal Democrats as Rep. Edith Green of Oregon, Negro Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell and Charlie Diggs, Eleanor Roosevelt, Alger Hiss, Hubert Humphrey, Senator Lehman, John L. Lewis and CIO-AFL labor czars. Yea verily, politics doth maketh strange bedfellows — whether you vote Democrat or Republican.

★ ★ ★ ★

Legislators Push Segregation Bills In Rare Session

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON (UP) —Representatives, apparently bent on pushing a package of segregation bills through as quickly as possible, scheduled a rare Friday session to take up a measure to keep the color line intact in intrastate transportation.

The House was to consider a bill requiring segregated waiting rooms, facilities and accomodations for Negro and white passengers traveling on buses and trains within the state, a move to block the Interstate Commerce Commission's order to abolish travel segregation.

Two other segregation measures, repeal of the state's compulsory school attendance law and requiring teachers and school administrators to list the organizations to which they belong to or contribute funds, gained easy approval in the lower house Thursday.

The Senate began the usual long weekend recess Thursday but the House agreed to a morning meeting today.

Surtax Extension

House approval was given to a two-year extension of the 14 per cent surtax, a levy on a series of existing taxes including income, privilege and oil and gas severances. The vote was 112-10.

Gov. J. P. Coleman called the levy, producer of about 7 million dollars every two years, a "necessity" to the financing of the school equalization program.

Attempts to add $240,000 more in revenue by eliminating exemptions to oil producers on income tax paid were beaten down.

The bill to repeal the compulsory school attendance bill passed 107-5 after proponents said the state would be in an embarrassing position if the federal government should succeed in forcing racial integration in state schools.

Want Good Law

"We don't want a law that will require them to go to a school we might not want them to go to," said Rep. Russell Fox, Caliborne County. Rep. Joe Wroten, Washington, opposed the bill, arguing it told children "who need to be

See—Legislators Push—Page 3

Legislators Push - -

(Continued from Page 1)

educated" that they can skip school.

Rep. Ney Gore, commenting on the bill to require teachers to list their affiliations, said it would give school boards the opportunity to review the information and to say "what teachers will be hired." It passed unanimously.

Other legislative news:

Budget: Coleman will address a joint assembly Monday afternoon, urging that state spending during the next bienium reraim within the proposed 183 million dollar budget. He told his Thursday news conference he did not intend to be the "first governor in 24 years to preside over an unbalanced budget."

Homestead exemption: Senate action was completed on the proposal to forever guarantee the tax exemption plan by making it part of the constitution and it was sent to the House.

Elections: A bill designed to trim the lapse between primaries in state elections to two weeks, compared to the present three, was snt to the Senate Elections Committee for review.

At Constitution 1/31/61

4 Anti-Mix Bills Win Mississippi House; Interference With Rights Is Forbidden

Politics

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 30 (AP)—The Mississippi House of Representatives today passed four more bills aimed at preventing integration.

There was little debate and almost no opposition.

Representatives voted more than 100-1 in favor of the four bills. The bills and their votes were:

1. Forbid persons to interfere with Mississippians' rights under color of authority of any other state or the federal government (124-0).

2. Prohibit stirring up integration lawsuits (122-1).

3. Permit persons to choose customers or clients (124-0).

4. Prohibit disturbances in any public place (119-0).

All four bills now go to the Senate where little opposition is expected.

Most discussions on the four bills came on technical points, that is, whether the wording was strong enough or exactly proper. No one questioned the intent of the bills.

Persons, including FBI agents, who interfere with Mississippians' rights would be subject to a maximum penalty of $3,000 fine and five years in prison.

Attorneys convicted of stirring up integration lawsuits would be barred from practice in Mississippi.

Persons who create disturbances in public places or who refuse to leave after the proprietor so requests would be subject to a maximum penalty of $500 fine and six months in jail.

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., WEDNESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 8, 1956

Coleman Interview

State Needs Man On Supreme Court

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Representation on the U. S. Supreme Court bench is a real need for Mississippi and the South at this time, and, if a Democratic administration takes over, direct attempts will be made toward this end, Gov. J. P. Coleman said Tuesday.

The chief executive also asserted that insofar as he is concerned, the most acceptable candidate for his state is Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

He chided his home state for continually standing up as "aginners" saying that "we have been against everything for so long that it has brought down upon us many of the penalties and troubles that we have and now continue to face."

Coleman flouted talk of a third party, stating that "we have been in a state of uproar since 1948, and we need now to calmly approach our dealings with the next national administration.

On the home front, he expressed great satisfaction with what he termed the quiet and normal status of Mississippi ever since the present legislature convened.

And, on the subject of segregation, he declared that integration will never be put upon Mississippi "except by brute force," and, that "we are now in better shape to defend against de - segregation than ever before.

The Mississippi chief executive fair-treatment of the colored people of this state and elsewhere in the South is "an absolute necessity."

Insofar as attitudes outside this state and the South are concerned, Coleman believes that "the only change is to the good."

He said that suits to enter Mississippi schools are also less likely to be instituted now than at any time in the past, showing that the Negroes of this state are becoming aware that outside influences are not all bent on their welfare, but rather to raise up racial distrust, which they do not want.

Coleman said that if a Democrat is elected president, he has in mind some very good recommendations for the high tribunal's future personnel.

"You would have to resign from the Senate wouldn't you?" a newsman twitted.

"Well, I can't say about that," Coleman laughed.

He said that Stevenson in his opinion is, despite his statement of Monday on de - segregation, "shows an attitude toward the South far friendlier than any other prospective candidate."

Coleman observed in and aside that no candidate can avoid a civil rights plank and hope to get elected president of the United States now, whether he intends to enforce the plank or not.

"I don't think a third party could accomplish much," he said. "We had better stop being against everything and get in the national picture. We have been showing deterioration in our relations with the government since we fought Wilson back in the 'teens. We fought Roosevelt, we organized a third party, we fought Truman, in fact, we have a continuous record as aginners that isn't doing us any good," he cited to newsmen.

But, Coleman thinks the U. S. Supreme Court "is more important to us than the President. We can't get our case heard or settled. We need a man on the U. S. Supreme Court, something we haven't had since 1880."

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Wednesday, February 8, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

The 'Agin'er' State

So Politics

GOVERNOR J. P. Coleman hit a good critical note in his press conference Tuesday when he said Mississippi has been an "agin'er" too long.

Referring to politics, the Governor said that the state should stay in the Democratic party mold rather than branch out into a third party, which would "put us in the same unhappy position we now are in.

"Mississippi has been an "agin'er" for so long that it has brought on many of these difficulties facing us," he said. "Mississipi has been against everything and everybody without accomplishing anything. We can never get our case heard by cussing everybody."

In the past few years, he said, the state "always has been in an uproar," principally over politics and segregation.

He said he was attempting in his administration to return some sense or normalcy to the state.

Governor Coleman's well-aimed remarks were negative in fact but they should be positive in effect. To the hope that he can help bring Mississippi around to accentuate the plus instead of the minus, we add a fervent "amen."

CURBS BACKED IN MISSISSIPPI

2/10/56 Chatt Times

House Passes Five Bills to Keep Segregation—3 Sent to Governor

Pa

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 9 (AP)—The first five of a block of House bills to keep segregation in Mississippi moved through the state Senate today on a resounding majority vote.

Two bills will return to the House for agreement on minor changes and the other three will go to Gov. J. P. Coleman for his promised signature.

The bills were introduced as means of keeping the Negro out of white society, but the word "segregation" never was mentioned.

Instead, Judiciary Committee Chairman Stanton Hall of Hattiesburg said of each measure: "You know what this bill does."

No Questions on Debate

The senators apparently did. No questions were posed; no debate was entertained, and there was little discussion.

The five bills would:

1. Require prospective teachers to list organizations to which they belonged for the preceding five years.

2. Confer the right of choice of customers or clients.

3. Prohibit disturbance of the peace in a public place.

4. Prohibit interference with Mississippi law under color or federal authority.

5. Prohibit stirring up integration lawsuits.

The House session on two tax-raising bills was in marked con-

See Page Twelve, Column One

trast to the almost serene Senate session.

Rep. Hilton Waits of Washington County, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, stubbornly fought an unruly House for passage of two bills increasing insurance premium taxes to raise a little more than one million dollars every two years.

Most of the argument came on a bill covering a broad field but aimed directly at levying a tax on Blue Cross hospitalization insurance premiums.

The other bill covered other types of insurance plans.

But Blue Cross is a domestic company and representatives trooped to the microphone to defend the company.

Argument centered around payment of the tax. All representatives said the consumers would pay the bulk of the tax raise.

But Rep. Joel Blass of Stone County said: "If we tax food, we should tax insurance. We must be willing to pay the price" of government in Mississippi.

Rep. Edgar Stephens of Union County told the House, "No matter what the source of the money, we must have more to run the state."

The state budget commission has recommended a budget of 183 million dollars for the next two years.

In 70 per cent of all fatal automobile accidents, one or both drivers violated one or more safety laws.

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN .....Editor 1921-1948
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR..... Manager
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

He Offers South New Hope

Mississippians along with other Southerners are agreeably surprised and faintly encouraged by Adlai Stevenson's moderate attitude toward the racial problem. His recent statements on this subject may not be all the South could ask but nevertheless Mr. Stevenson's attitude offers some degree of promise.

It is a pleasant contrast from the markedly vindicative attitude manifested by former President Truman, who keeps insisting that the Democratic party does not need the South to win the 1956 election. Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, apparently does not share this conclusion. He continues to extend the olive branch and make concilatory gestures, despite highly vocal protests from leftwing elements of the party. He now says he would not cut off federal funds from segregated schools nor use federal troops to enforce integration.

Mr. Stevenson's recent address in Los Angeles has been especially encouraging to Southerners. Refusing to stoop to demagogic tactics so popular nowadays, he declared that "racial progress depends on the spirit of men, not troops or bayonets." In response to direct questions by California Negro leaders, as to whether he would employ federal might to force integration, Mr. Stevenson opined that such a violent course would be a "tragic mistake."

"It would be a revival of Civil War," he declared, indicating a keen knowledge of Southern determination to resist forced race mixing. "We must go about these things gradually. Troops and bayonets will not change things for the better. The spirit of men will do it. I have every hope that the North and South can live together. That's the kind of America I believe in. I'll do everything possible to bring about unity but I don't believe in a Balkanized America."

Granting that other attitudes expressed by the former Illinois governor are not entirely to the South's liking—notably his opposition to the Right to Work laws—he has gone much further than any prospective presidential candidate toward making friends with Southern whites. This seems especially significant at a time when other political aspirants risk offending the South with painfully obvious efforts to curry favor with NAACP and kindred pressure groups.

The November election is a long way off. Much can and probably will happen between now and the presidential primary. Yet it is becoming increasingly clear to many Southerners and conservatives of other sections that Mr. Stevenson has more than casual knowledge and understanding of the Southern viewpoint. For this reason he will be a good man to observe closely between now and the National Democratic Convention this summer.

Mississippi Solon Tells Many New Money Sources

So. Politics

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 11—Mississippi's search for added revenue for the ever-expanding governmental services is anything but a "needle in the haystack" venture.

That was revealed to the current legislative session this week by Rep. Hilton Waits of Washington County, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee which is responsible for providing tax funds to meet authorized expenditures.

Chairman Waits informed the legislators that exemptions allowed under the state's three per cent sales tax amount to the staggering figure of $13,280,000 for a two-year period, and that concessions made to preferred groups total $4,640,000.

Totaled, the exemptions and concessions during the two-year period for which each Legislature must provide funds amount to $17,920,000.

All except $4,390,000 of the sales tax exemptions of $13,280,000 goes to the farmer groups. Of the $4,640,000 biennial concessions, three million dollars are for the automobile dealers who pay a two per cent sales tax instead of the full three per cent.

Chairman Waits threw out the figures in view of a developing deficit in the "tightly" balanced budget of 183 million dollars for the biennium commencing July 1. He wanted to show the members that there are

MISSISSIPPI

legitimate sources to which they can turn if they have the "intentional fortitude" to apply the tax to all citizens equally.

Not Much Chance

However, there is about as much chance of the farmer exemptions being removed as there is for the Legislature to legalize liquor—even on a local option basis in the 16 counties which voted "wet" in a 1952 referendum.

Indications are that the legislators will be given the opportunity to turn down legalization in the "wet" counties, as a bill has been drafted for presentation to the current biennial assembly. The revenue from that source would more than wipe out a deficit that is rapidly developing in the recommended 183 million dollars budget.

Actually, the budget is out of line 10 million dollars insofar as revenues equalling anticipated revenues. That arises out of the fact that 10 million dollars of the "tightly" balanced budget represents a surplus to be on hand June 30 at close of the current two-year period of operation.

What will happen when the legislators return for the 1958 biennial assembly is that there will be 10 million dollars less to figure on in the new period and an amount that will have to be raised through some taxing scheme.

What has happened since the Legislature convened on Jan. 3 is that three items in the budget for $5,300,000 may not develop.

Pegging Proposed

Gov. Coleman recommended that general fund disbursements for the state-aid rural road program be "pegged" at 10 million dollars in the new biennium, with the other $1,600,000 that would have gone to it being retained in the treasury for other governmental functions. However, the politically potent County Supervisors Assn. has influenced the Legislature against the "pegging."

Also, and despite that the governor's recommended budget carried $1,700,000 from the black market liquor tax, he has now demanded that the "cancer on the state's integrity" be repealed. The tax was levied in 1944 in the face of Mississippi's statewide prohibition statute.

The other likely two-million-dollar loss is threatened in a House bill which prohibits the possession "of beer in any quantity whatsoever" in the 57 dry counties. Gov. Coleman had recommended that personal possession be limited to two cases per person, but when the bill hit the floor, members from the "wet" counties joined with those from the arid areas and eliminated all possession.

Officials estimate that two million dollars of the eight million dollars derived every two years from beer comes from sales made in the dry counties.

Some Exemptions

Some of the sales tax exemptions benefiting farmers listed by Chairman Waits on a two-year period include:

Fertilizer, $2,000,000; bagging and ties, $480,000; planting seed for agricultural purposes, $1,050,000; insecticides, $260,000; boxes, crates and syrup cans, $100,000; poultry, chickens and eggs by producers, $240,000.

Livestock and poultry feed, $4,000,000; sales to Rural Electrification Authority co-ops, $340,000; sales by REA co-ops, $410,000; sales by municipal light plants, $350,000; sales by municipal water plants, $270,000.

Others in the sales tax exemption "family" include:

Machinery and machine parts to manufacturers, $2,500,000; coffins, caskets and burial materials, $280,000; fuel and materials used or consumed by railroads in interstate commerce, $750,000; charges for transporting sand, gravel, fertilizer and cement, $40,000, and fuel used in trucks and pipeline booster stations, $200,000.

Those favored by concessions in the form of lower sales taxes include, other than automobile-truck dealers:

Sales of industrial gas, electricity and coal to manufacturers, 1 per cent, or $880,000 less than if the 3 per cent applied; farm tractors to farmers, 1 per cent, or $600,000 saved, and sales of pasteurized milk by the pasteurizer, 1 per cent, $80,000.

Atl Const 2/12/56

Const 2/18/56

Mississippi Chief Vows to Close School Rather Than Integrate

Bills Signed to Bolster State's Position on Keeping Segregation

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 25—Gov. J. P. Coleman's strongest statement on preserving segregation was made this week in the face of announced plans of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to file integration suits in Mississippi.

"Mississippi will close any white public school or college forced by the courts to accept a Negro student," the governor said. "The people of Mississippi simply will not support those institutions on an integrated basis."

"So, if the courts should open even one school to Negroes, it's as inevitable as the sun rises in the morning that it will be closed," he said. "To allow integration would be to destroy schools."

Authority for abolition of public education statewide, or by school districts, has already been vested in the Legislature by the people in constitutional amendment they ratified last year. No measures to implement the constitutional authority has thus far been adopted, but would if segregation is threatened.

Gov. Coleman said the sooner Mississippi educates its Negro citizens "the better off we will be because they are being roused by professional agitators."

Segregation Bills

Meanwhile, the governor has signed into law five bills passed at the current legislative session to strengthen the state's position in maintaining segregation by legal means. They are in addition to a 1954 pupil-assignment law based on morals, health and community welfare without any reference to race.

Gov. Coleman feels that the assignment law is Mississippi's best challenge against integration. He was bolstered in that position by the upholding in North Carolina of a similar statute.

The governor was not discouraged by the recent New Orleans federal court action in ruling unconstitutional the assignment law of Louisiana. He said it differs from the Mississippi statute in that it mentions race.

A "key" bill in the assignment course calling for repeal of Mississippi's common-law marriage statute is still to complete the legislative rounds. It has been approved by the House, but is pending in the Senate.

Sponsors of the common-law marriage banning feel it will bolster an assignment based on "morals," since children born under such circumstances are classed as illegitimates.

The current bills approved by the governor deal with preserving segregation in educational in-

MISSISSIPPI

stitutions, as well as all over levels.

One prohibits the "fomenting and agitating" of lawsuits, designated at those which would force integration and also makes it unlawful to solicit, donate or accept funds for the purpose of "filing or prosecuting" lawsuits. The measure is aimed at fund-raising campaigns in Mississippi by Negro leaders for prosecuting integration suits.

Prior Memberships

Another bill, designed to determine the memberships held by all public educators, requires them to file affidavits showing the organizations to which they have paid dues or donated to in the past five years. Negro leaders said in a public statement that bill would cause "unrest" among Negro teachers, as many had joined organizations in the past prior to recent controversies placing them in the lime-light in the segregation-integration issue.

The measure applies to all educators in public institutions and does not single out Negroes. It applies equally to college professors.

Three other new laws deal with segregation in other fields.

One requires railroads and bus lines to maintain separate waiting rooms for whites and Negroes traveling intrastate, another permits any public business, including parks and swimming pools, to choose those it will serve and makes those ordered to vacate trespassers and subject to arrest as such.

The third bill tightens the penalties for disturbing the peace in any public place.

One of the strongest of the segregation bills was vetoed by Gov. Coleman. It would have subjected FBI agents to arrest for "threatening or intimidating" any citizens in the "free exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity secured to him by the constitution and laws of Mississippi."

Gov. Coleman had proposed the statute last year after FBI agents entered Mississippi and questioned election officials and county officials in the conduct of last summer's democratic primary election.

However, the governor changed his mind "because of a material change in the conditions which then existed and which promoted the recommendation."

The changes included refusal of the United States Department of Justice to take jurisdiction in the Till murder case because no federal question was found, and Director J. Edgar Hoover's denial of charges against the state by Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Negro leader of Mound Bayou.

Gov. Coleman also pointed out in his veto message that Mississippi has nothing to "hide or fear."

Education: Mississippi (1956)

2.22.56

A VERY PROPER VETO

Gov. Coleman showed good judgment in vetoing the law he had previously recommended seeking to prevent Federal agents from making investigations of alleged civil rights violations in this state.

Recent events have shown conclusively that the Federal government does not intend to listen to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mamie Bradley, or other radical agitators who demand a "civil rights" investigation every time a Negro gets killed, no matter what the circumstances surrounding the killing may be. J. Edgar Hoover is keeping his head squarely between his shoulders and he doesn't seem to mind the insolent and insulting remarks made about him by racial agitators.

The bill may have seemed a good idea at the moment but its authors, among them being Speaker Walter Sillers, wisely concluded that it embodied too much zeal and they cordially approve the Governor's veto.

"It may be safely said that the FBI and its agents still enjoy admiration, co-operation and respect of all law-abiding citizens," says Gov. Coleman.

Immediately following the "Black Monday" decision of the Supreme Court the NAACP leaders were seized with the foolish idea that they could make peremptory demands on the Department of Justice and have its agents harass Southern states with investigations whenever a crime involving a Negro was committed. Now they are upbraiding and bitterly denouncing Attorney-General Brownell and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for not responding immediately to their demands.

Jackson Daily
(2/22/56)

Southern Politics
Ed. mess

MISS. COUNCIL ON HUMAN REL.
1107 LYNCH ST.
JACKSON 3, MISS. 8-16-56

Politics Hit Mississippi Colleges 20

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 25 (UP) —More than 20 years ago Mississippi's state-supported colleges were rocked by politics and removed from the accredited list.

Today, they are in a different kind of turmoil. This time official Mississippi's determination to preserve racial segregation is the agitator.

In the early 1930s Gov. Theodore G. Bilbo was in control of the State College Board. He managed to remove the incumbent college heads and put in his own men. Faculty appointments also were handled on a patronage basis.

The academic world holding that a college should not be a political machine, had the institutions discredited.

Board Reorganized

After Mike Conner became governor in 1932, the Legislature reorganized the board without the governor as a member. He appointed members, but to 12-year terms, and no one governor can control the 13-member board.

Since Bilbo days, the board has won certain acclaim for its administration of the institutions of higher learning.

After the racial issue was whipped up by the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision, however, the board adopted an order to "screen" persons who speak at the institutions.

Apparently the screening was left largely in the hands of the

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MISSISSIPPI — Sunday partly cloudy and mild, fresh to locally strong southerly winds on the coast becoming westerly Saturday night.

ARKANSAS — Cool Sunday, lowest tonight 24 to 32 north and 30 to 38 in south.

The Delta Dem

60th Year United Press (UP) Associated Press (AP) Greenville, Missis

UMAN REL.

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Politics

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presidents, who are responsible directly to the board, which transacts all of its business behind closed doors.

Because of this "official attitude" two professors have resigned more have talked of quitting and a number of scheduled campus speakers have withdrawn.

The issue at point was crystalized at Mississippi State College this week when ministers scheduled on the Religious Emphasis Week program were told they would not be welcome if they discussed segregation.

Freedom of Speech

Four of them withdrew, including the Rev. Duncan Gray Jr., a Mississippian and son of an Episcopal bishop. He had told an off-campus religious group he believed segregation to be un-Christian.

This and other developments have made it clear to all concerned that the racial issue is not to be discussed freely, if at all, in state-supported colleges.

Gov. J. P. Coleman supports the official attitude that this, despite a loud dissent, is no slap at freedom of speech or academic freedom.

"Freedom of speech does not give one the right to holler fire in a crowded theater," he says.

Some educators, however, are holding the view that a ban of free discussion on any subject in colleges is something akin to having unqualified teachers.

Democrat-Times

SUNDAY EDITION

reenville, Mississippi Sunday, February 26, 1956 Price 10c No. 152

Bills Seek to Ban Racial Agitation

Mississippi Legislative Measures Have Effect of Curbing N.A.A.C.P., Keeping Status Quo

CORINTH, MISS., Feb. 7.—Mississippi's house of representatives has passed a bill that makes "advocating, urging or encouraging disobedience to any law of Mississippi, or nonconformance with the traditions, customs and usages of the state of Mississippi," a misdemeanor punishable by a $1,000 fine and six months in jail. The bill was authored by Karl Weisenburg, New York-born legislator from the gulf coast town of Pascagoula. Other adopted bills make it criminal to encourage anyone to file a suit about schools, to threaten to take away any privilege secured by the state constitution, or to require any business to serve all applicants. In effect, these bills outlaw activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi. One of the two house members who voted against the Weisenburg bill charged that it is a "threat to the freedom of the people of the state."

Other Restrictive Measures Are Proposed

Among other bills introduced but not yet acted on are a criminal libel bill making it illegal to write or say anything against any state agency or the state itself, one making playing a game with interracial teams a felony, and one forbidding out-of-state attorneys to practice in Mississippi and penalizing any native attorney who takes a case challenging segregation. A number of cities have adopted ordinances banning unsegregated waiting rooms, and the house has rushed through a bill to the same effect. Alton Massey, outgoing public service commissioner, discovered that the commission had never implemented an 1898 law empowering it to require segregated waiting rooms; so the legislature is set to correct this omission.

New Governor Promises No Change in Segregation

At his recent inauguration as Mississippi's new governor James Plemon Coleman declared that there will be no change in segregation practices during his four-year term. He opposed nullification as contrary to the principles of Jefferson Davis (but later attended the southern governors' "interposition" meeting in Virginia). He asked for regulation of public utilities for this state (the only one without such regulation), for a recall law, for improved education, for economy, and for enforcement of present laws against liquor and gambling. The first measure passed by the legislature implementing Gov. Coleman's program was a bill empowering the governor to permit the recall of sheriffs and other elected county officers.

Former Governor Admits Liquor Laws Were Not Enforced

Testifying in behalf of a friend seeking a television franchise in Biloxi from the Federal Communications Commission, outgoing

Gov. Hugh White stirred up opposition even from longtime supporters when he admitted that he never made any effort to enforce the state liquor laws in the coastal counties. The *Booneville Independent,* which previously had given strong support to White, noted that he also did little to enforce antigambling laws. So far nothing has been done about the violation of law in the series of Delta area murders (see The Christian Century for Jan. 4, p. 25). In March the Tallahatchie county grand jury will consider the killing of Clinton Melton, a Negro, at Glendora. In spite of objections by the Lowndes county Democratic party executive committee, the FBI held schools on civil rights and investigated last summer's election in that county.

Negro College President Addresses Episcopalians

Addressing the annual council of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Mississippi Pres. Milan Davis of Okolona College said: "If you hate me because I am ignorant I'll educate myself. If you hate me because I am dirty I'll clean myself. If you hate me because I am pagan I will become a Christian. But if you hate me because I am black I can only refer you to God, who made me black." This year the council abandoned its annual dinner, which for almost 30 years had been the only such interracial function at Mississippi religious gatherings, and Negroes were not invited to the layman's league banquet. Among the delegates were many members of white citizens' councils. The subject of segregation did not come to the floor. The diocese voted to become affiliated with the state council for alcohol education.

And So Forth

Earl K. Long's election by a heavy majority as governor of Louisiana is seen by many as a victory for his machine over "gamblers, extreme segregationists and friends of the utilities," as well as over former Gov. Kennon's organization, which supported Pres. Eisenhower in 1952. Louisiana is the first southern state to have voting machines in every precinct.

The University of Mississippi withdrew its Religious Emphasis Week invitation to Alvin Kershaw of Ohio after the Episcopal rector announced his intention to devote part of the money he won as a jazz expert on the "$64,000 Question" television show to Negro organizations.

With a contribution of $129 per member, the Wiggins, Miss., Baptist Church led all others in the state Baptist convention in missionary giving last year.

Ministers from 24 counties and 4 denominations attended the first institute for town and country church leaders held Jan. 23-26 at Mississippi State College. Leadership was drawn largely from the college's sociology department.

A Mississippi legislative committee has discovered that interest rates as high as 1,803 per cent are being charged by certain small loan companies in that state.

The Mississippi Light & Power Co., a Dixon–Yates subsidiary, received from the Office of Defense Mobilization a $5 million tax write-off in construction of new generating facilities. Boyd Campbell, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and a director of the company, recently told Oregonians that statements "against Mississippi" by Congresswoman Edith Green were untrue. CHARLES G. HAMILTON.

Southern Has No Application From Negro

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dr. E. R. Jobe, executive secretary of the State College Board, said today he knows of no complete application on file from Negroes seeking admission to white Mississippi colleges.

He made the statement in answer to a question concerning a possible Negro applicant for Mississippi Southern College in Hattiesburg.

In Hattiesburg, Southern President W. D. McCain said the last inquiry on admission by a Negro came last November.

"The boy, Clyde Kennard of Hattiesburg, asked about entering Southern and filed a partial application," he said. "But he did not follow through."

Dr. McCain said no Negro girls have applied or inquired during the year he has been president of Southern.

Dr. Jobe said college board regulations require applications for admission to colleges to include a transcript of previous school records and letters of recommendation from five alumni of the college in which admission is sought.

Jackson Daily News March 1, 1956

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Tuesday, March 13, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

Stall Equalization?

THE REPORTED move to hold off the school equalization program by extending the deadline for consolidation for a year, is not a happy prospect, either from the standpoint of the Mississippi educational system or from the stand our state has taken concerning segregation.

It is obvious that as a whole our school system leaves much to be desired. The sooner we get started improving it the better. The first step is to set up an economically practical framework, and such a framework has to be drawn up in each county in compliance with a general consolidation of smaller schools into larger, less-expensive-to-operate units.

To balk at this is to hold up the whole program. And the program of equalization is our best argument against forced integration. It is certainly the only effective way to maintain segregation, by way of presenting an alternative on a local level.

Furthermore if we do not get the equalization program moving shortly, our inaction will indicate insincerity of our state to do anything about the problem of inadequate education for Negroes. It will be saying, "We only started to equalize schools in order to preserve segregation, and now, with interposition and the Southern manifesto, and Alabama-style rioting we expect to preserve it without equalization."

Such a statement does not we feel, reflect the thinking of most Mississippians—but that is the position we are being put into by those who would delay the equalization program.

State Common-Law Marriages Banned By Senate's Action

Clarion Ledger 3/31/56

Coleman Secures Passage Of Bill To Aid Segregation

(By Associated Press)

The Senate tonight voted 29-10 to abolish commonlaw marriages in Mississippi despite the warning of a senator that the action "would make 10,000 illigitimate children and make 10,000 women live in adultery."

The House approved a similar measure earlier in the session, but it was killed in the Senate Judiciary Committee. To get around the committee, the bill was then introduced as a Senate bill and passed tonight.

A vast majority of commonlaw marriages in Mississippi occur among Negroes, according to Welfare Department records.

Sen. W. B. Alexander of Cleveland, who fought the measure that had the endorsement of Gov. J. P. Coleman, said:

"I have repeatedly asked what possible benefit to maintaining segregation this bill will have and I have had no satisfactory answer. I feel as deeply as any mn in this chamber about segregation but I have never been told how this will help.

"As poor as Mississippi is, this will simply cost us thousands of dollars. The federal government recognizes marriage laws of the states and if we outlaw commonlaw marriages, so social security will be paid to widows and children of these marriages. There is not now a single suit on file to force integration of Mississippi schools. Let's study this for two years and see what its long-range effect might be."

Coleman was visiting on the Senate floor when the measure came up.

Sen. Stanton Hall of Hattiesburg, chairman of the judiciary committee, handled the bill on the floor. He said it was one of the bills Coleman felt the state needed.

Sen. Stanford Morse of Gulfport also fought the bill. He said since the measure is not retroactive "it will be at least six years before this could become effective since no child made illegitimate under this act would be of school age by that time."

Alexander called it a "cruel thing" to illegitimatize children and force them to live in adultery.

He said commonlaw marriages have been recognized among English speaking people for centuries.

Some of the senators said the bill might benefit a measure passed earlier permitting boards of education to assign students to schools.

Mississippi: News On Racial Scene

Memo Pad.

Legislature Enacts Laws Ordering 'No Compliance' with Supreme Court, Rejects Church Gag Bill

BOONEVILLE, MISS., April 11.—The Mississippi house of representatives adjourned the last week in March without considering the senate measure removing tax exemption from any church institution not racially segregated. Thus the proposal, which had passed the senate by a vote of 24-20, with five members not voting, was permitted to die. Fifty-six house members had introduced a similar bill, with the additional provision that tax exemption be removed from any church in which an integrated service was held. But it was not implemented. Rep. Chris Fraser, author of the house bill, declared that the church is the only group in the state which "offends against segregation." It is alleged that both bills were directed mainly against the Roman Catholic Church, but in debate on the floor the Methodist and other churches were mentioned as "guilty of opposing segregation." Gov. James P. Coleman termed the bills dangerous and said that "reforms against integration" should come within the churches themselves.

A 'Belligerent' Legislature

This year's session of the legislature was the most belligerent since 1860. It adopted an "interposition" bill instructing state officials to give no heed to the Supreme Court's decision on public school segregation. It passed a law requiring teachers to list the organizations they belong to or have supported—a law that the state Negro teachers association declared is "an instrument of fear to every law-abiding Negro teacher in the state," one "whose execution under pretensions will lead most teachers as a matter of conscience and economic safety to go underground." The legislature set up a 12-man "state sovereignty" commission, with the governor as chairman, to "protect" the state's rights "not specifically assigned to the federal government, specifically to maintain segregation in every agency and school." The commission has broad investigative powers, and can impose penalties of a $1,000 fine or six months in jail on persons or organizations for refusal to answer any questions or submit any records it may require.

Outlaw Common Law Marriage

A last-minute appeal by Gov. Coleman was rewarded by passage of a bill outlawing all common law marriages. Some legislators had pointed out that the Supreme Court might hold Mississippi's law against racial intermarriage unconstitutional, in which case children of white fathers and Negro mothers united in common law marriage might be able to attend white schools. Rep. Joel Blass was unsuccessful in his attempt to block an appropriation to the state library commission of $5,000 for books on "ethnology." Blass charged that last year, under a similar appropriation, the commission bought such "ethnological" books as *White America* and *Unending Hate,* by Ernest Cox; *Black Mon-*

4/12/56 Home Patrol

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Established 1837

Coleman Pledges Mississippi To Stay In Democratic Fold

MEMPHIS, April 11 (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi said today that unless there is some "strong provocation" at the National Democratic Convention his state will be as solid a Democratic state as ever in its history.

There has been some talk of a possible third party, formed by southern Democrats at odds with the rest of the party's attitude toward integration.

Coleman, here for a brief vacation, also told newsmen that his state never will have integration.

He said that Adlai Stevenson is "by far the most able and, at the same time, the most sympahetic friend" Mississippi has among the presidential candidates and potential candidates.

He said Estes Kefauver and Averell Harriman "have no support at all in Mississippi." Admitting that Kefauver is making some showing, Coleman said "his basic and radical deficiencies, in the finish, will defeat him."

Coleman said recent statements made by Attn. Gen. Herbert Brownell that Mississippi would disqualify Negroes from voting "because they don't know how many bubbles there are in a bar of soap" are a disgrace and an insult to the people of Mississippi.

The governor said he assumed the National Democratic Convention will be in the hands of people "who know the facts of life and who also know that no amount of force could bring about integration in Mississippi."

He said he is going to the convention "in the faith" that the segregation and civil problems can be worked out.

"If not," he said, "we'll take action in the light of the circumstances. I am not going to condemn the convention before it gets into session."

Turning to the situation in his state, Coleman said:

"I think the crisis is definitely past in Mississippi. I think in the next three or four years it (integration) will cease to be a subject of agitation."

The visiting chief executive said the Negroes of his state "are now making more progress and are becoming more valuable citizens than ever before in history in Mississippi. Putting it in a nutshell, the Negroes are perfectly competent to operate their own schools and educate their children and I don't think they want to be deprived of the privilege."

Coleman said there are about 8,000 white teachers and 7,000 Negro teachers in Mississippi.

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Coleman Says Mississippians Not Worried--Will Not Be Stampeded

MEMPHIS (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman says "The people of Mississippi are not worried and are not stampeded by the question of segregation that has been forced upon us from the outside."

The Mississippi governor yesterday told the Memphis Rotary Club his stat "is now the most quiet and most tranquil that it has ever been on the subject.

"We will hold the line on segregation without fail but will not keep ourselves in a daily uproar about it."

In Jackson, other Mississippi officials pledged to continue segregation.

(While discussing the U. S. Supreme Court decision Monday banning segregation in a South Carolina bus case, Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson promised that Mississippi will continue to resist integration efforts at all levels.

(Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin said "I see no change in our traditional separation of the races — for the good of both—in our public conveyances.")

Coleman told the Rotary Club there has been a "new outlook in Mississippi."

He said there has been an about face on the matter of law enforcement.

"There no longer is any clipping of tourists on the Gulf Coast," he said. "There are no gambling casinos, and the Gulf Coast has been surprised to find its business increasing since these were abolished."

Coleman said the new emphasis is on education. He said the last Legislature appropriated 80 million dollars for public school education in the next two years.

Delta Democrat — 4-25-1956

Delta Democrat
April 25, 1956

~~Segregation~~

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day, by Circuit Judge T. P. Brady of Brookhaven; *Whither Solid South?* by C. W. Collins; *Cult of Equality,* by Stuart Landry; and *You and Segregation,* by Herman Talmadge, former governor of Georgia. Gov. Coleman vetoed a bill to forbid the FBI to investigate elections and court trials in Mississippi, explaining that the agency's refusal to investigate the Till murder case indicated that the bill was not necessary. He announced that if any Negro should succeed in enrolling in any college or other school in Mississippi, that school would be closed forthwith. "Mississippi is the sanest it has been in eight years," he said.

Some Attempts at Moral Reform Win, Some Lose

Between its bouts with integration the legislature was busy with matters pertaining to moral and political reform. It outlawed possession of beer in the 53 counties which, through local option, have voted out sale of beer. However, in its first chance to vote on the question since national Prohibition ended in 1933, the legislature defeated an attempt to initiate a constitutional amendment for statewide prohibition of liquor—in spite of evidence from local option results that the majority of Mississippi voters are opposed to sale of intoxicants. After rejecting an amendment which would have authorized the state public service commission to probe deeply into public utilities, the legislators adopted a mild bill regulating such utilities. (Mississippi had been the only state which made no provision at all for regulation of power companies.) When the biennial $2,500,000 appropriation for free textbooks came up, several legislators objected (without effect) to paying 8 per cent of that amount in profits to the only textbook distributing company in the state. That company is headed by Boyd Campbell, a director of a Dixon-Yates power company in Mississippi and until this month president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Compulsory School Attendance Law Is Repealed

The legislature voted to abandon the compulsory school attendance law. Mississippi was the last state to adopt such a law, in 1918. It was never enforced; if it had been, there would never have been enough buildings to accommodate all the children of school age in the state. For the third consecutive time, a legislative session defeated a proposal to reform our inadequate marriage laws. The *Tupelo Journal* blamed failure to enact on the influence of a "handful of money-worshiping circuit clerks." The legislature overruled the state supreme court's decision holding that newsboys come under workmen's compensation coverage. It declared them "little merchants" and independent contractors, and therefore not entitled to compensation if injured at work.

Racial News from the Campuses

The student newspaper at the University of Mississippi has asked the state college board to "lift the magnolia curtain" by doing away with the requirement that campus speakers be screened in advance. A poll of university students showed that one-fourth are against segregation and two-thirds expect the institution to be integrated. . . . Lydel Sims, Memphis columnist, declined an invitation to speak at the university; he gave as his reason its "lack of freedom." Last year, after Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit had condemned segregation in an address at Mississippi Southern College, the legislature adopted a resolution declaring that speakers who disagreed with "Mississippi ways" should not be allowed at state institutions. . . . Only three Mississippi speakers continued their engagements on Religious Emphasis Week programs at Mississippi State College after Pres. Ben Hilbun asked Duncan M. Gray, Jr., Cleveland, Miss., rector and son of the Episcopal bishop of Mississippi, either to withdraw his statement (made in an off-campus sermon) that "segregation is incompatible with Christianity" or not speak on the campus. Mr. Gray went home without further speaking, and the president requested all campus speakers to avoid the subject.

Louisiana's Racial Scene Not So Peaceful

The racial front in Louisiana is not as peaceful as it has been. District Judge Coleman Lindsay issued a temporary injunction forbidding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to meet or take part in any legal action in Louisiana, and the state's attorney's office has demanded all its bank records. The N.A.A.C.P. was unable to stop what it called the "degrading and disgusting" Negro Mardi Gras parade. Louisiana laws on segregation have been invalidated by the New Orleans federal court. Archbishop Joseph Rummel has warned Roman Catholic legislators that they might be excommunicated if they attempt to forbid integration in church schools. In a pastoral letter read in all archdiocesan pulpits, he called racial segregation "morally

Atl. Const

Mississippi's New Party Echoes '48

5/31/56

Pol. Mar

States Rights Slate Revived

By KEITH FULLER

JACKSON, Miss., May 30 (AP)—A group called Mississippians for States' Rights organized today in a noisy, cheering meeting and pledged to qualify independent presidential electors to oppose both Republicans and Democrats.

Delegations from Alabama and Louisiana reported on their similar plans.

AGAINST BOTH PARTIES

The movement was created in Mississippi in opposition to both national parties anticipating neither will present candidates nor platforms accepable to the South.

Backers of the movement hope that by pledging electors to neither major party candidate, enough electoral votes will be diverted to prevent either from gaining a majority. This would throw the election into the House, where a compromise candidate would have a chance, or where the diverted electoral votes could be bargained to force one party to endorse states rights.

The movements do not have the backing of any of the governors of the states involved. Rather, Govs. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, James Folsom of Alabama, Earl K. Long of Louisiana and Orval Faubus of Arkansas all were sharply criticized for what was called the lack of leadership against federal encroachment of states' rights.

Machinery was set up at the meeting for the Misissippi organization to form at the county level and a steering committee will be charged with getting the vote of the people for the independent electors.

LIKE WRIGHT PARTY

The movement was reminiscent of the 1948 States' Rights party which broke off from the Southern Democratic party in a third party. The late former Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi was a vice presidential candidate on that ticket.

Today, W. B. Fontaine, Jackson, former administrative assistant to Gov. Wright was elected permanent chairman of the new group.

Arkansas was represented by Curt Copeland who is under permanent federal injunction against making inflammatory speeches on the race issue.

The Alabama Delegation reported their electors already qualified and will be on the ballot in November. A Shreveport, La., attorney and Citizens Council official, Robert Chandler, said a slate of independent electors would be qualified for Louisiana.

Clarion Ledger 6/1/56 & Miss Pub.

State Invites Racial Probe

Would Welcome Senate Group

A U. S. Senate judiciary subcommittee has been invited to come to this state and see for itself the racial conditions that exist here.

The invitation was issued here Thursday by the State Sovereignty Commission in a telegram forwarded to the sub-committee chairman.

It is an official answer to a recent attack made upon this state by Roy Wilkins, representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in testimony before the judiciary subcommittee on civil rights legislation.

The Sovereignty Commission's reply was in the form of a telegram, signed by Executive Director Ney M. Gore, Jr., to Judiciary Committee members, and reading as follows:

"With reference to charges made against Mississippi and Mississippians by NAACP's Roy Wilkins in hearings before Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on civil rights legislation, concerning alleged "economic reprisals" against Negroes in Mississippi, in the interest of fair play we humbly extend a cordial invitation to the honorable members of the Judiciary Committee to visit Mississippi and see at first hand the evidence completely refuting Mr. Wilkins' scatter-gun accusations, of which the number of successful Negro businessmen in the state constitutes but one piece. If such a visit can be arranged at the convenience of the committee members, we will be happy to cooperate with you in every way in order that you may ascertain the facts."

See Politics

CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING, JUNE 4, 1956

Voice of the People

Letters to the Editor must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

To The Editor

The valiant fight which the people of Mississippi have made on principle against the integration decision of the Supreme Court has been waged with great effort and toil on their part.

Mississippi's Interposition Resolution, passed by the people through their legislators, firmly declares that the above Court decision is unconstitutional and of no lawful effect in this state. In taking this stand, our people have won the admiration and respect of millions of people in this country who love their freedom and who believe in constitutional government.

The people of this state want, and are entitled to have, their State Democratic Convention of July 16th to instruct its delegates to the National Convention to oppose with all their might the adoption of a platform calling for the enforcement of the above Court decision, and to also oppose the nomination of any candidate for President or Vice-President who advocates the enforcement of that decision.

The people having thus courageously set forth in their Interpostion Resolution the noble principles upon which they stand, any delegate who goes to the National Convention should be glad to publicly say before his fellow Mississippian that he will oppose any platform and any candidate voicing opposition to those principles. And if he will not so say, then we will be doing a good job in the protection of our families in not sending him.

Under our State Constitution the delegates to any political convention are the servants of the people and not their masters, for Section 5 of the constitution is in the following language:

'All political power is vested in, and derived from, the people; all government of right originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

In addition, Section 3107 of the Miss. Code, outlining the organization and functions of the State Convention, makes it perfectly clear that the delegates of the people alone are to make the Convention's decisions, and no where can it be found in the law that one man should have a free hand in guiding the state's political fortunes in that convention.

The above Code section also contains the following specific authority for the recessing or adjourning of the State Convention: "And the said convention may adjourn from day to day, or to such time and place, or times and places, as to it may appear proper and desirable."

In 1948, and again in 1952, when the danger to us was not nearly so great as it now is, our delegates to the National Convention went instructed, and the State Convention was each time recessed until after the National Convention. This is a grave and perilous hour in the history of our state, and in order that we may know and see the path ahead before we finally commit the destiny of ourselves and our children let us do the common sense thing of recessing our State Convention until after the meeting of the Democratic National Convention.

Edwin White
Lexington, Mississippi

Through Hazel Eyes

by Hazel Brannon Smith

The political situation in Mississippi is very interesting, to say the least.

Our people want to keep all their rights, states rights we call them. Our politicians want to keep their jobs, particularly our congressmen and Senators want to keep their positions of power in the legislative halls in Washington.

The argument advanced by the professional politicians that we should stay in the Democratic party so that our congressmen and senators can keep these positions has always left us cold. Our politicians have been in power for a heck of a long time and look where we are now.

Where have all our Southern congressmen been while legislation hateful to the South has been passed—and did they not vote to confirm at least the majority of the Supreme Court justices who rendered the fateful decision? (Yes, we know about Jim's fight on Warren.)

The Congress of the United States has the power to make the laws—to prescribe and limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. Why has it not done so?

The Congress has it in its power.

The South has always been, and always will be apparently, the red-haired stepchild of the Democratic party, unloved, unsung, unappreciated.

God speed the day when we have a real two-party system in the South—only then will the vote of the entire section count with either political party.

In the meantime all of the turmoil being stirred up as who will represent what at the Democratic national convention, and which nominee our electors will support, is much ado about nothing because President Eisenhower is going to be reelected anyway.

Why all the fuss and bother?

The truth about the matter is the Democratic party cannot possibly nominate a candidate for president that the South would be happy to support.

on Advertiser

Thursday, June 7, 1956 Number Ten

d For Meeting Next Week

Adoption Of Resolution To Support Southern Manifesto Approved For June 12 Convention

Other Precincts Join Move To Back State's Rights Procedure Line

by E. J. Mays

The Lexington Democratic precinct delegation, meeting in executive session Tuesday morning, resolved and adopted a resolution to send an instructed group of delegates to the Holmes County Demcratic Convention which convenes Tuesday morning, June 12 at the courthouse at 10:00 o'clock.

In so doing they failed to heed a plea from Governor J P. Coleman—as did many other precincts throughout the state—who had asked statewide aid of his 1600 colonels to see that a non instructed delegation be sent to the various rounty and district meets and to the state convention.

The Lexington delegation heard the presentation of a resolution distributed by the State Citizens Councils with Lexington Attorney Edwin White explaining the resolution.

They then immediately ratified —with a single dissenting vote— the resolution and also voted to instruct their delegates to support the Southern Manifesto, whose principles are identical with the resolution presented by Attorney White. They instrocted the delegates to use thc unit rule of voting as well.

Meanwhile over the county, at Goodman, Durant, Tchula and Pickens who have already reported, other convention were sending delegates nt instructed but delegates who had affirmed their beliefs in the resolutions and the principles of the Southern Manifesto.

Tom Tubb, of West Point,

(Continued on Page 8)

Instructed Delegates—

(Continued From Page One)

chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee, explained late Wednesday a ruling handed down to the Mississippi Democratic party regarding the number of delegates that sippi delegation would have and the numberf of delegates that would be seated at the National Convention at Chicago.

In a telephone conversation with Secretary of State Heber Ladner, Mr. Tubb said:

"Mississippi is divided into six congressional districts and each of these congressional districts will be allowed two of the state's total of twelve district votes. Each district will be allowed to send four delegates, credited with one-half vote each, and two alternates to the National Convention from that district. That accounts for the twelve district votes allowed Mississippians from their total of twenty-two to be cast at the natinal convention.

"As a result a total of 36 delegates and alternates will be decided at the district convention, with Holmes County attending the District meeting at Greenwood on Monday, July 6."

Meanwhile the state's other ten votes from the state at large, will be cast by twenty delegates, selected by caucus at the state Convention on July 16 at Jackson with each of the twenty delegates each having one-half vote to cast. Twenty alternates will make up the remainder of the forty delegates allowed from the state at large, giving Mississippi their total of seventy-six delegates and alternates at the National Convention.

In presenting the Citizens Council resolution to the convention Mr. White said:

The resolution circulated by the Citizens Councils of Mississippi does not instruct the delegates to vote against any candidate but instructes them to vote only for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice Presiden who stand for the principles announced in Mississippi's Interposition Resolution, which are in fact the same principles expressed in the Southern Manifesto. In 1948, and again in 1952, Mississippi's delegates went in-

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In mailing out the resolution, the Citizens Councils are not dealing in personalities but are standing on their principle of unflinching and outspoken opposition to intergration.

We have only one weapon with which to make this fight and that weapon is the principle that the Supreme Court of the United States had no constitutional authority to order intergration of the schools in the varius states. The people of Mississippi have been outspoken in their opposition to the decision, and to all groups and persons who attempt to enforce it. Because we are right on principle and have stood unwavering for it, millions of people over this country have joined up in the belief that the Supreme Court exceeded its authority.

No house built on shifting sand can stand, nor can any people wage a successful and courageous fight unless they outspokenly stand on the rock of sound principle. To now support a platfrom or candidate advocating enforcement of the Supreme Court decision, we would abandon the principle upon which we stand and lose not only the respect of millios over this country, but we would lose our own self-respect and by such a show of weakness would invite our enemies to come in and force intergration upon us.

The following delegates were elected to the County Convention to be held at the Courthouse in Lexington on Tuesday morning, June 12, 1956 at ten o'clock:

P. H. McMorrough, Pat Barrett, W. R. Ellis, Jr., William Moses, Wilburn Hooker, T. M. Williams, D. T. Ruff, P. P. Lindholm, H. L. Nichols, Sr., B. S. Darnell, Virgil Ingold, R. K. Farmer, Irby Ellington, Edwin White, D. B. Miles, W. D. Clay Herrin, John Tingle, Jihnson, Ruth Povall, W. Meek, Jr.

The following alternates in case any of the above twenty-one were not qualified voters were: John Martin, George Patterson, Eugene Herrman.

Included in the other delegates who will attend the county convention here Tuesday are: Clarence Robertson, Eph Cresswell, Ralph McGehee and Robert Ray, from the Durant precinct; T. Owen Buford and W. G. McGehee from Pickens; George Mitchell and Stanley Allen from Goodman; Ralph R., Guy Sharpe and James P. Love, delegates; H. B. Jones, N. S. Shelton and Mrs. Sarah Baine, alternates from Tchula.

Other precincts who will send delegates include:

West two delegates; Acona, Franklin, Emory, Bowling Green, Edsville, Eulogy, Ebenezer, Richland, Thornton and Cruger one each.

So Politics

Democrats 'Pressure' Coleman, Post-Chicago Parley Cleared

Mississippi Chief Sidesteps Test; Wins Uninstructed Delegation Plea

Atl Const 6/24/56

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., June 23—Gov. J. P. Coleman has sidestepped what could have been his first major political test since taking office in January.

That decision comes in the face of added patronage and its attendant power given the governor at the recent legislative session.

It also follows Gov. Coleman's "victory" in the county Democratic conventions for an uninstructed delegation to the national convention. Less than 10 of the 82 counties are sending delegates to the July 16 state convention "pledged" against the governor's recommendation for "free agents" being sent to Chicago.

The other counties are on record to vote for delegates without any binding ties so as to be in position to bargain for favorable consideration to Southern customs and traditions.

Opposed to Procedure

Before the conventions, Gov. Coleman had also stated he was opposed to the state convention meeting and then recessing until after the Democratic National Convention. However, he had a proviso in his position, in that he was opposed to the recess proposal "unless" a substantial number of other Southern states took the same action for a "second look" at the national convention actions.

When the governor said he would not oppose a recessed convention on those terms, he felt that most of the Southern states, with exception of South Carolina, had already met and adjourned sine die.

However, when Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson, his former assistant when the governor held that office, came out for a recessed convention—even if Mississippi is alone in the matter—the governor began giving the proposal a "second look."

Then, when delegates to the 1,800 precinct conventions indicated they favored the recess proposal and so expressed themselves in voting for delegates to their county conventions, Coleman began to change his views.

He was also confronted with the positions of many legislative leaders, including Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin and House Speaker Walter Sillers, that the recess convention was a "must." Since those leaders had sided with the governor on the uninstructed delegation proposal, he let it be known he was open to compromise.

Sponsor of the "compromise" is Speaker Sillers. He has suggested a change in convention rules to permit the reconvening of the state convention. Under existing rules, when the convention adjourns there is no way of calling the delegates back in session.

Mr. Sillers suggested that a certain percentage of the Democratic State Executive Committee be authorized to request reconvening of the convention. Gov. Coleman has agreed to support such a proposition.

MISSISSIPPI

The plan calls for a rule change under which 25 per cent of the executive committeemen can petition for another convention "after" the national meeting and one will be assembled.

That proposal also meets with approval of those Democrats who feel that the national convention delegates should have "strings" tied to their credentials. Such as they will oppose any nominee and platform plank calling for enforcement of the U.S. Supreme Court's integration decision.

Gov. Coleman's main reason for opposing the "strings" is that such binds will mean that Mississippi's delegation will not be seated. He also feels with the "strings" attached, the efforts of the leaders will be taken up in the credentials committee trying to get the delegates seated and not free to work for a candidate and platform Southern Democrats can accept.

All leaders agree that if the Mississippi delegates are not seated, or walk out, that the status of Mississippi's congressional delegation on House and Senate committees may be endangered. They fear the Mississippians will be declared "nonparty" members and their strategic committee chairmanships taken from them.

Faced Real Opposition

Of major concern is the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee held by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss). At the moment, he is under attack from Northern party members, along with the CIO and NAACP.

If Gov. Coleman had not agreed to the compromise, he stood to face the opposition of other party leaders in the state convention. With feelings high over the racial issue, Gov. Coleman faced a tough fight. That is particularly true since he has taken issue on some maneuvers by the Mississippi Citizens Councils "dedicated to preservation of segregation."

It was the Citizens Councils which sent out proposed resolutions to the county conventions urging delegates to the state meeting to be pledged to an instructed delegation to Chicago. However, the proposals were approved by the executive committee of the councils and not the rank and file.

Many leaders in the Citizens Councils are strong Coleman supporters and went along with him rather than the organization on the matter of instructing delegates.

Gov. Coleman's present position to favor the rule change to permit a reconvening of the state convention after the Chicago meeting is a sort of compromise with the Citizens Councils. They had also proposed that step.

Although the national convention delegates will be uninstructed, they will have as a "rule and guide" of their actions a resolution to be adopted at the state convention against the Supreme Court's integration decisions, and support of the state's resolution of interposition under which Mississippi refuses to recognize validity of the decisions and is pledged against their enforcement within its borders.

Chance for 'Rechecking'

A statement of principles along strong segregation lines is to be adopted at the July 16 state convention. It will be within that framework that Mississippi's delegates will seek favorable considerations at the hands of the national party leaders.

So with the rule change permitting recall of the state convention and the statement of principles, Mississippi Democrats are assured an opportunity to recheck the actions of the national convention and take their cue and future action accordingly.

Just what the "after" Chicago course will be remains for determination.

It could be that Mississippi Democrats will "go fishing" in November. That is, those who will not again vote the Republican ticket.

Or it could develop that other Southern states will take the same "wait and see" position and in that way influence somewhat the actions taken in Chicago. It was the Southern states that "stayed" with the party in 1952.

Big question facing those states is whether the party will remember that and stay with them in 1956.

A united South could demand that.

E CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1956

Voice of the People

Letters to the Editor must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Dear Editor:

The eyes of the nation will be on Mississippi — cold and curious, intolerant and mocking. At the Democratic National Convention, the business will be as usual, and I am told that Mississippi delegates will be uninstructed as is customary. That this should be so at a time of lethal crisis to the principle of States Rights within the Constitution, to me seems a vicious situation. So far as Mississippi is concerned, it is not a time for the usual and customary political tactics or barter and trade.

At long last, Mississippi has been forced to the "lick log" so skillfully evaded on a national scale, by such stalwart sons of Mississippi as Bilbo, Rankin, Wright, White, etc., all of whom, and regardless of our State political factors, none the less did say the blunt words and perform the distasteful forthright actions, necessary to protect our own state sovereignty. Apparently we must go it blind, and the AP dispatch today says no Mississippian even as an "observer' attended the Southecn States Atlanta caucus to formulate Convention strategy. WHY, and what could be more important? Likewise, I read that at the American Legion Convention, there was no one to officially greet and recognize them in behalf of the State. If coming events cast their shadows before, it is an ill omen, because as surely as God lives, the Legion has never been found wanting, when the chips were down.

Other signposts, to me, was advice from the Republicans that four thousand, three hundred and twenty one news-men have already applied for credentials to cover the convention, — the press, radio, tv, newsreels, still photographers, etc Surely, Mississippi's sacrifice upon the alatr of expediency should have full coverage.

The unshakeable, unimpeachable implacable integrity of the Honorables Fielding Wright and Hugh White prevented the Vaughn-Stevenson combine from in effect, reading Mississisippi out of the Union, inso far as the Convention was concerned. There was no Till case then, not too much supra activity of such things as the NAACP, nor had so many white "little leaders" commenced shouting the songs of those whose bread they eat, so the tensions this time will be at the breaking point, and the only alternative will be that Mississippi be led, like a lamb, to the slaughter, and open not its mouth. Anything, great or small, that will tend to throw the Presidential election into the House of Representatives is the only remedy. Granted that the same forces are present there, it none the less is true that the cross currents of give and take, the power flows at national level are more subject to representative control, than are those of any political convention which springs up as a toadstool and withers in a few days. The House of Representatives lives on forever.

Ike and Adlai see eye to eye on the race question, and this race question is the paramount issue, regardless of the brainwashers most cunning efforts. These anonymous brainwashers have been entirely too successful with certain types of white folk South of the Mason & Dixon Line, if anyone asks me.

Respectfully,
W. L. Hardin Sr.
Jackson, Miss.

Visits In S. C.

7/21/56 · Sunpaper

Gov. Coleman Says South Must Present Unified Front

COLUMBIA, July 20 (AP) — Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi said here tonight that the "South must present a unified front at all times."

Coleman pointed out that the purpose of his visit to South Carolina was "more social than anything else," but added, however, that he would have dinner with Gov. Timmerman later tonight.

When asked if the two governors would discuss politics and specifically the Southern unity issue, Coleman replied, "when Southern governors get together all Southern problems are discussed."

The freshman Mississippi governor stated that he would spend tomorrow and Sunday near Winnsboro in Fairfield County, attending an annual family renunion. Coleman said he hoped to make a special trip to the birthplace of Andrew Jackson.

At a press conference before his dinner date with Timmerman, the Mississippi governor emphasized that at present Gov. Stevenson of Illinois appears to be "our best friend" among the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Coleman called the possibility of Gov. Harriman of New York and Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn) getting the nomination "hypothetical" and declined further comment.

Coleman predicted a Democratic landslide in his own state if the Republicans adopt an "unreasonable civil rights" platform.

Coleman spoke with warm praise for two favortie son candidates — Timmerman and Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas. He called Johnson "a close and personal friend."

Coleman declared that he was in sympathy with Timmerman's Southern solidarity movement but deferred comment on the possibility of a pre-convention caucus to further this action.

He said Missiissppi's 44 delegates to the national convention next month in Chicago are uncommitted at preent.

Commenting on the segregation issue, Coleman asserted that it should always be the practice to "treat the Negro with fairness". But there should always be a "traditional separation of the races."

Coleman will leave here Monday after the traditional annual reunion of the Feaster-Coleman-Mobley famliies near Winnsboro on Sunday. The governor is president of the group and a descendant of the South Carolina Colemans.

Miss-Politics

Clarion-Ledger

Mississippi's Leading Newspaper For More Than A Century

Jackson, Mississippi, Thursday Morning, August 9, 1956 VOL. CXVIII NO. 109

Lily Whites Push Recognition Drive

By GENE WIRTH

A blistering four-point brief supporting the "seating" argument of E. O. Spencer's Mississippi Republican forces was placed this week in the hands of the Republican National Committee.

The strongly - worded document presenting "new facts and fresh leadership" for the consideration of the national party was filed just a few days before the Spencer - Lily White delegation was scheduled to depart for San Francisco to take up the "on the scene" fight for recognition over the Black and Tan faction headed by Negro Attorney Perry Howard.

NEW ORLEANS—John Minor Wisdom, national committeeman for Louisiana, said today he would ask the Republican leaders to put him on the credentials committee where he "can help seat the Spencer-Yerger delegation from Mississippi.

"If the case is decided on its merits, the Spencer group will win," he said. "Howard is not a bona fide resident of Mississippi and the issue does not revolve around the racial question."

The 19-page original brief is further supported by a 148 - page appendice supplement that reveals publicly for the first time a startling account of activities of the Howard group. The broad detailed brief and supplement was prepared by a 7-man delegation counsel composed of W. N. Ethridge, Sr., Graham H. Hicks, B. B. McClendon, Jr., N. W. Overstreet, Jr., Nelson E. Taylor, J. A. White and Lester E. Wills.

The document discloses a pledge entered into in 1952 between the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower group and officials of the Republican National Committee which provided "that the officials of the National Republican Executive Committee will give assurance that they will endeavor to have the Mississippi Republican Party recognized as the official Republican Party in Mississippi."

The Spencer faction is recognized officially by the state as the Republican Party of Mississippi and the group's legality has the convention nominees on the Mississippi ballot.

Mississippi law provides:

"It shall be unlawful for any person or group of persons to set up or establish any political party in this state, except in the manner provided by the laws of this state, and it shall be unlawful for any person or group of persons not lawful members thereof to use or attempt to use or to operate under the name of any other political party theretofore and at the time lawfully existing and operating under the laws of this state, and each and every person participating in such unlawful act, in addition to such other measures or penalties provided by law, may be enjoined therefrom upon application to the courts by any person, or persons, or any political party, official or representative of such political party, aggrieved thereby."

In further support of its argument that the Perry Howard faction could not even list on the ballot as their candidates the nominees of the Republican convention, the Spencer group points to a 1948 statute which provides:

"No political party shall use any name in any campaign literature listing or describing its candidates which does not correspond with the name of said political party registered with the Secretary of State."

Spencer forces contend that the only way the Howard group could avoid conflict with this latter statute would be for their own state convention to nominate the nominees of the Republican national convention. This can not now be done, they say, because the Howard convention adjourned without recess and under the statutes another convention cannot be called until 1960.

The Lily White convention recessed and in all probability will be re-convened after the San Francisco convention.

In their bid for seats and national recognition at San Francisco, the Spencer group contends further that:

The Howard group, listed as

Politics, Miss

Tan faction headed by Negro Attorney Perry Howard.

The 19-page original brief is further supported by a 148 - page appendice supplement that reveals publicly for the first time a startling account of activities of the Howard group. The broad detailed brief and supplement was prepared by a 7-man delegation counsel composed of W. N. Ethridge, Sr., Graham H. Hicks, B. B. McClendon, Jr., N. W. Overstreet, Jr., Nelson E. Taylor, J. A. White and Lester E. Wills.

The document discloses a pledge entered into in 1952 between the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower group and officials of the Republican National Committee which provided "that the officials of the National Republican Executive Committee will give assurance that they will endeavor to have the Mississippi Republican Party recognized as the official Republican Party in Mississippi."

The Spencer faction is recognized officially by the state as the Republican Party of Mississippi and the group's legality has already been upheld by both the state and U. S. high courts.

Spencer forces represent both the so-called Lily White Republican faction and the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower group.

The Spencer faction contends that the Perry Howard faction, even if seated in San Francisco, would be without legal right to campaign in Mississippi or place

the Spencer group points to a 1948 statute which provides:

"No political party shall use any name in any campaign literature listing or describing its candidates which does not correspond with the name of said political party registered with the Secretary of State."

Spencer forces contend that the only way the Howard group could avoid conflict with this latter statute would be for their own state convention to nominate the nominees of the Republican national convention. This can not now be done, they say, because

the Howard convention adjourned without recess and under the statutes another convention cannot be called until 1960.

The Lily White convention recessed and in all probability will be re-convened after the San Francisco convention.

In their bid for seats and national recognition at San Francisco, the Spencer group contends further that:

1. The Howard group, listed as the Mississippi Black and Tan Grand Old Party, did not legally constitute itself as a party in the election of national convention delegates.

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Politics, Miss

Mississippians In Varied Reaction To Adlai Blast

By DOUGLAS STARR
Associated Press Staff

Reaction from Mississippi Democrats ranged Wednesday from "wait and see" to outspoken objection to Adlai Stevenson's suggestion the party platform support the U. S. Supreme Court integration ruling.

Every Mississippi state public official was elected on a promise to strive to continue the state's segregated way of life. None has indicated any evidence of a waiver in this goal.

Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, a Democratic national convention delegate and a leader in Mississippi's fight to keep Negroes and whites separate, rejected Stevenson Wednesday:

"I didn't hear his statement. But if Stevenson came out flat-footedly as the papers have reported he has for the supreme court ruling, I don't think the southern delegation will go for him.

"I, for one, will not, but I speak only for myself."

Stevenson's statement apparently rattled the Mississippi Democratic party.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, leader of the state's Democrats, had hailed Stevenson as the "best friend the South has among the announced candidates."

That was before Stevenson's latest statement.

After the former Illinois governor spoke up, reporters in Chicago asked Coleman about reports Stevenson's camp claimed Mississippi's 22 convention votes leaned toward Stevenson.

"There is a great deal of basis for that," Coleman said. "Or was. Up to this date, he has been the best friend the south has had."

Another delegate, House Speaker Walter Sillers of Rosedale, where Negroes outnumber whites two to one, said:

"If Stevenson advocates the Democratic platform contain a plank approving the decision of the Supreme Court, he is diametrically opposed to my views and I can't go along with him in that respect."

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, one of the founders of the Mississippians for States' Right movement, exploded:

"That's just what could be ex-

(Continued On Page 5, Sec. II)

Mississippians ---

(Continued from Page One)

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McGowan, whom Coleman "read out" of the Democratic party for his states' rights action, said Stevenson's "moderate" views are "just a ruse. Look at his record."

The jurist said he believes "every Southern state should refuse to take part in any form of platform that contains civil rights. If they don't refuse, there'll be an implied acceptance of the plank."

He suggested the Southern states "walk out" if a civil rights plank is included in the platform.

Ross Barnett, of Jackson, twice an also-ran for the governor's chair, said he was "not surprised at anything he (Stevenson) says.

"It's apparent that he has sold out to the minority pressure groups in the larger cities. He has turned his back on the South. . . No true southerner will compromise his principles on segregation."

Former Gov. Hugh White, a delegate who has said he won't be able to attend the convention, put his faith in Gov. Coleman.

Declining comment, White said, "I think Coleman will take care of our situation. They'll hear from him."

And Secretary of State Heber Ladner, another delegate, said he was "unalterably opposed to including in the platform endorsement of the Supreme Court decision on integration. Until the platform is finally adopted, we won't know for whom we will cast our vote."

Mississippi, otherwise uninstructed, is bound to cast its 22 votes in a bloc.

Hayden Campbell, a state senator representing the Fourth District, said in Detroit, "To place too much confidence in Stevenson's southern friendship is foolish thinking. His use of the National Guard as Governor of Illinois to force integration in Cicero and his use of armed force in Southern Illinois in a similar case is a matter of public record.

"This should be sufficient answer to the question of what his actions would be as President of the United States. His militant support of the left of center liberals in this country who spend half of their

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1. The Howard group, listed as the Mississippi Black and Tan Grand Old Party, did not legally constitute itself as a party in the election of national convention delegates. Few county conventions were held.

2. Howard is not a bona fide resident of Mississippi.

3. Voting for delegates at the Howard state convention was not legitimate.

4. The Howard group does not truly represent the Republican voters in Mississippi.

In answer to anticipated Howard arguments that there are no Negro delegates in the delegation from the Mississippi Republican Party, the Spencer group says that all of its party's precinct meetings were fully open to state electors and that if members of the Grand Old Party had desired to participate in the legal Republican organization they could have done so.

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"This should be sufficient answer to the question of what his actions would be as President of the United States. His militant support of the left of center liberals in this country who spend half of their time backing his candidacy and the other half backing Communist causes certainly puts a question mark on his thinking concerning many vital questions facing our nation today.

"I am not up here to do my best to nominate Adlai Stevenson, to do so in my opinion would be a dereliction of duty as I see it, to my state and nation. If Stevenson is the best man the Democratic party can nominate then I think the time for the South to unite behind a favorite son, throw the election in the House of representatives and rescue our government from the radicals and minority groups who are fast destroying its foundation. It might be wise to count Mississippi's 22 votes before they are committed to Stevenson.

Other reaction was of the "wait and see" variety.

State Treasurer Bob Morrow, Tom Tubb of West Point and Bidwell Adam of Gulfport, chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, were bewildered by Stevenson's statement.

They all said they would wait until they get to Chicago and "see the platform."

Chat. Times 8/10

THE CHATTANOOG

SOUTHERNER SEES DESIRE FOR UNITY

Miss Politics

Coleman Says Democrats Want to Respect Views of Region on Rights

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 9 (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman said today Democratic party leaders in Chicogo are "very anxious to have a civil rights plank the South can live with."

In a statement issued through his Jackson office, the governor declared:

"Our position for the first time in 12 years is certainly receiving friendly, sympathetic consideration." He called it a "contrast" with previous treatment of the South.

He said:

"There is no doubt in my mind that the leadership of the party is very anxious to have a civil rights plank the South can live with. They, of course, know we are unalterably opposed to many of the thoughts which have been advanced by liberals and radicals from the North and East. In return for their consideration we are trying to realize too that they have their problems in their states."

Coleman, only Deep South governor on the platform committee which has been meeting all week in Chicago in advance of next week's national convention, has been named to the 10-member subcommittee to work out the civil rights plank.

'Greatly Encouraged

"I am greatly encouraged by the friendliness and consideration uniformly shown the Southern members (of the platform committee) by those from all the rest of the nation," he said.

"Chiefly because of the attitude of the South, I think, no member of the platform committee to this hour has made any public statements or demands as to what the civil rights plank should contain.

"This is in great contrast with experience in previous conventions wherein the matter was actually settled before the convention ever met, and Southern delegates received practically no consideration at all."

The civil rights plank came up for consideration today, with former President Harry Truman among the witnesses. Coleman said he was "sure the people of Mississippi will be pleased to learn" that Truman, "although twice asked the question, did not advocate going beyond the 1948 or 1952 planks on the subject, and said he was willing to leave the matter to the good judgment of the committee."

GOV. HODGES OPPOSES

States' Righters Move Into Action

Miss. Press Politics

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., Aug. 8 (AP)—State Sen. Earl Evans, rejecting Adlai Stevenson for president but conceding he probably will be nominated, today advocated a states' rights slate of presidential electors on the Mississippi Democratic ballot.

The president pro tem of the Senate, speaking at the Neshoba County fair, declared:

1. "There is no possibility for the South to receive any help from either national political party as a result of the presidential election."

2. "Our fight for preservation of segregation, states' rights and all other high principles should be conducted within the Democratic party. . . We cannot afford two strong political parties, much less a third party."

3. Therefore, the Mississippi Democratic convention should be re-convened and name two slates

See Page Eleven, Column Four

STATES' RIGHTERS MOVE INTO ACTION

From Page One

of presidential electors. . . "One slate to be pledged to vote for the national Democratic nominee and a second slate to be unpledged; this second slate should be given authority to vote for a states' rights candidate."

4. "It is altogether possible that several other Southern states" also will put an unpledged but states' rights slate of presidential electors on the ballot. Evans said "the ultimate goal would be to throw the election of a president into the national House of Representatives where each state would have one vote."

"Patriotic states' rights organizations are being formed in practically every state in the union," Evans declared.

Evans said his formula would give Mississippians "an opportunity to vote their conscientious convictions and still remain within the framework" of the Mississippi Democratic party.

The state senator, a Citizens-for-Eisenhower worker in 1952, was a principal speaker today at the county fair which, in 67 years, has built up an unusual tradition of political speeches.

Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss), Ross Barnett, Jackson attorney who made two races for governor, and Secretary of State Heber Ladner are among principal speakers tomorrow.

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 8 (AP)—A States' Rights leader said today voters who wish to kick over their party's traces would be welcomed by groups in 26 states.

Kent Courtney of New Orleans, acting secretary of the Louisiana States' Rights party, said he believed a Southern bolt was possible and he and other independent party advocates had been working "so the South won't be alone like it was in 1948."

Courtney said 17 states outside the South have an independent party framework to catch dissident voters, in addition to nine Southern states.

Coordinated States' Rights movements, he said, range from Massachusetts to California.

The Louisiana States' Righter said he had been appointed "coordinator of new parties for the national committee for the new party," and had toured much of the nation in recent weeks in efforts to fit together the various movements.

8-9-56 Sentinel

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

'J. P. Will Win'

'Suave' Coleman Speaks for South

By TIM PARKER

JACKSON, Miss. (AP).—The street-corner talk in Mississippi is that J. P. will win for the South at Chicago.

J. P. is James Plemon Coleman, Mississippi's eloquent 42-year-old governor. "At Chicago" is a capsule phrase often heard whenever two Mississippians meet. They're talking about the fight to keep the Democratic National Convention from doing things the South doesn't want.

The South doesn't want any interference with its right to segregate the races and say who can vote. She also doesn't want a presidential candidate who believes otherwise.

Coleman, a onetime plowboy whose 6-foot-2 frame is still tight-muscled, is in some ways well set up to speak for the South. He is a militant segregationist, an able constitutional lawyer, a loyal Democrat and he could talk a hound dog into sharing his meal with a raccoon.

As a Deep South governor sitting on the platform committee—which will decide, among other things, on a civil rights plank—Coleman's goal at Chicago is to keep the South, and particularly Mississippi, in the Democratic party without any compromise on segregation and state's rights.

He won the right to make the fight—and some say he also will have to take the responsibility for its outcome — by putting down a a states rights rebellion at the state Democratic convention. The states righters wanted a date set for a recess convention at which Mississippi Democrats could jump the party traces if they disliked the party's presidential nominee. Coleman spiked the move, but made it plain that he's not rushing into anything.

Some of his recent outspoken quotes:

"I know the Democratic party, with all its shortcomings, is the best friend of the South."

But he added: "They could do something (at the convention) which would make it impossible for Mississippi to support the nominee. Mississippi will take no 'loyalty pledge' to support the nominee before seeing who he is."

"I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

But he added that Mississippi is spending a large sums to give the Negro "equal education and opportunity."

"I am opposed to any form of coercion by the federal government. If federal bayonets held over the heads of a prostrate people from 1865 to 1877 couldn't do it, how do you suppose it could be done now?"

But he added: "Spending our time cussing the North is no way of getting anywhere."

"Mississippi is the only state which hasn't given an inch on segregation. She never will."

But he added: "Mississippi is a state of laws, not of violence."

The governor is not a member of the Citizens Councils, formed in the South to oppose integration.

Coleman, who will head the state's 22-vote delegation to next week's convention, still leans toward Adlai Stevenson as the Democratic nominee, although he and others are not happy about Stevenson's civil rights stand.

"Of those actively running," he said, "Stevenson appears to be the best friend of the South." The delegation is bound to vote as a bloc, but otherwise is uncommitted. Stevenson earlier this week called for "unequivocal approval" in the party platform of the Supreme Court's school segregation decision.

By heritage and inclination, Coleman is both a devout Southerner and a devout Democrat.

"I remember when Daddy saddled up his horse and rode through the rain to vote for Al Smith when everyone else wouldn't do it because Smith was a Catholic," he recalled in a recent interview.

But there was no smile when he recalled how the Yankees ravaged the Ackerman, Miss., farm which still is in his family or the South Carolina home from which his ancestors set forth to help settle Mississippi.

"I've got as many relatives in Confederate graveyards as any man living," he said. "My great uncle, Billy Coleman, went to the Confederate Army from Winston County with 180 men. Eleven were left at the surrender."

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, August 12, 1956.

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government. I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson

The Calm Voice

POLITICS, MISS

THE ONLY calming voice we have heard so far from the pre-convention activities in Chicago has been that of Governor Coleman. Mississippi's chief executive seems to have become quite a leading figure as the spokesman of the South, and he spoke calmly and with great confidence in his report to the people Friday night.

We particularly liked his reply to a jibe that he was serving as a member of an "integrated committee" to work on the Democratic party platform. He said he did not name the committee and had no control over who was named to it, and he had heard no accusations that our state representatives, such as John Bell Williams, were serving in an "integrated House of Representatives" just because there were Negroes serving in it.

Back home Senator Earl Evans says he will resign as an elector if Stevenson is nominated. He would accept either Stuart Symington, Lyndon Johnson or Harry Byrd as a candidate. Since none of them have any more of a chance to be nominated than Happy Chandler, and haven't from the beginning, we wonder why Senator Evans ever took the job in the first place.

MISSISSIPPI VOTERS BACK 2 CONGRESSMEN

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 29 (AP) —Reps. John Bell Williams and William Colmer Tuesday won renomination by margins of more than 15-1 on the basis of incomplete returns from Mississippi's Democratic primary.

Williams, 39, seeking his fifth term in Congress, ran far ahead of Wallace Hailey, 34-year-old flight instructor from Crystal Springs.

Unofficial returns from 181 of 292 precincts in the Fourth District gave Williams 7,758 votes to 503 for Hailey.

Colmer, 66, who sought his 13th term, drew far ahead of Wayne L. McClure, 40-year-old Hattiesburg salesman.

Unofficial returns from 275 of 366 precincts gave Colmer 19,069 votes to 1,170 for McClure.

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Established 1837 Clarion Ledger 8-15-56

Southerner

Spencer GOP Group Loses In Contest To Obtain Seating

By GENE WIRTH

E. O. Spencer's Mississippi Republican were packing their bags in San Francisco last night for the long, hot trek back home.

The contest committee of the Republican National Committee voted unanimously late Tuesday to seat a split delegation from the opposing Mississippi factions. The committee verdict gave eight seats to Perry Howard's Black and Tan faction and seven seats to the Spencer group.

Mr. Spencer told The Clarion-Ledger by telephone that his group was refusing to be seated in that manner and would "walkout" and return home unless the verdict was upset Wednesday when it went before the full committee.

He frankly admitted that there was little chance of such an upset and said that he expects to be back in Jackson Thursday.

Mr. Spencer, who, as head of the state Citizens for Eisenhower Committee, delivered 39.6 percent of the state's popular vote to the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket four years ago, viewed the situation darkly. He feels that the action dashed any hopes that the Republican party may have for establishment of a two-party system in the state and will greatly hinder any Mississippi effort for Eisenhower this year.

Mr. Spencer's future political plans are indefinite at this time. He said that he expects to call the Citizens for Eisenhower leaders together as soon as he returns and will be governed by their decision.

Spencer earlier had revealed that the Eisenhower campaign would be conducted within the framework of the Citizens for Eisenhower Committee.

Although defeated and unrecognized by the national party, the Spencer group does have state recognition and control of the party's label on the ballot.

During the Eisenhower administration, the Spencer forces have handled all patronage matters in Mississippi.

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Wednesday, August 15, 1956.

Misinformed On Mississippi

IT is always with something of a shock, however often it happens, to read a mistatement of fact about Mississippi in cold black and white print. It is just as bad to have someone over-simplify an issue or a situation that concerns us.

We have come upon two such instances this week. The first was in a national magazine which contained an article which purported to tell the "real story" about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the article was a statement that in "most Southern states, except Mississippi" Negroes vote, leaving the clear untruth that no Negroes vote in Mississippi. If the rest of the article was as inaccurate as that statement, the NAACP need take no bows for it.

Then on Tuesday a press story out of San Francisco said that "the Mississippi squabble" in which two factions seek to be seated as the lawful delegation to the Republican convention, "mainly boils down to a fight between the regular Republican delegation and a group of 'Lily Whites' which is opposed to Negro members on the delegation."

As we recall the "Lily Whites" even took a Negro delegate along on one of their futile trips to a Republican convention, but that is not the real point. The fact is that the Perry Howard "regulars" are not representative of the registered Republicans of Mississippi, who in 1952 showed unusual strength. That is the real issue in the credentials fight in San Francisco. Not that we expect any different than usual outcome. But it is difficult for people outside Mississippi to understand what is happening here when important issues are so summarily understated.

Politics, Mississippi
(1956)

Miss. Democrats Enjoy Added Accord; Leaders Back Adlai

Republicans Suffer Setback In Convention Delegation Ruling

Politics Miss

8/26/56

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON ,Miss., Aug. 25—Mississippi is back in the Democratic party "bag" in a big way.

Its officials have publicly endorsed the Stevenson-Kefauver presidential ticket in the November general election. Some of them are ready to take the stump in its behalf.

That's a far cry from the positions of those who lead the 1948 states' rights bolt and others who backed the Republican ticket in 1952 for its largest vote in Mississippi history — nearly 40 per cent of the total cast.

Although admittedly not entirely satisfied with the party's candidates and platform, Mississippi officials minimize that position on grounds that preservation of Southern congressional committee chairmanships is of more importance to the state and the South in general.

MISSISSIPPI

They look upon the chairmanships as possibly the last stronghold against speedy enactment of drastic anti-South legislation. Even then, they are frank to admit it may be difficult for the Southerners to hold on to those assignments in the organization of the new Congress.

Key chairmanship around which the Mississippians are rallying is that of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee held by Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Sen. Eastland was the target in an unsuccessful effort to unseat the delegation to the Chicago National Convention in order to "throw" him out of the party and his seniority in its congressional ranks.

The party leaders' support for the national ticket has already been felt by a revived states' rights movement. One of its members estimated that a slate of independent electors qualified by the States' Righters will "do well to get 20 per cent of the votes" in contrast to the 88 per cent a similar ticket polled in 1948. That's about 10 per cent more than the pro-Truman electors got in that election.

As for the Republicans, their electors can count on far less than the 40 per cent they received in 1952. They will likely do well to beat the 2 per cent given that ticket in 1948.

To Tell Course

The "toe-hold" gained by the Republicans in 1952 was lost when the present convention refused to give full recognition to the "lily-white" wing headed by hotel executive E. O. Spencer of Jackson. Instead, the "black-and-tans" under leadership of Perry Howard, Negro attorney of Washington and Jackson, won a majority of the 15 seats and the right to cast the Mississippi vote in the convention.

Mr. Spencer returned to Jackson and is soon to announce his course. He headed the Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952 which was made up mostly of Democrats who didn't like what their party had to offer.

On his return, Mr. Spencer said the convention "had sacrificed some of the real friends of the party in Mississippi for political expediency in order to cater to minority pressure groups in other states."

In contrast, Gov. J. P. Coleman returned from the Democratic convention with a feeling that the South had regained some of its voice in the party councils in defeating a drastic civil rights plank offered by Northern liberals. As adopted, the plank did not go all-out for the Supreme Court's school integration decisions, nor did it support "force" as an implementing feature.

Governor Coleman also pointed out that strong Northern party leaders, anxious for unity, had fought the South's "moderate" position on the floor against equally as strong Northern liberals.

Governor Coleman has publicly announced his full support for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket, and has extended Mr. Stevenson an invitation to keynote a planned Jackson Day fund-raising dinner, as well as for a campaign address.

Official Support

Mississippi's two senators, both of whom hold key committee assignments, likewise have thrown their support to the ticket, along with the congressional delegation.

Senators Eastland and John C. Stennis both have come out flat-footedly for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket with no reservations. They claim a Democratic Congress and Democratic administration are for the best interest of the South.

Most of the state's officials have also thrown in their backing for the party ticket. They include Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin, Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson, Secretary of State Heber Ladner and State Treasurer Robert Morrow.

On the other hand, State Sen. Earl Evans Jr., of Canton, the third-ranking official has quit as a Democratic presidential elector. He has not, however, endorsed the States' rights or Republican positions.

Meanwhile, a provision for reconvening the state convention is not expected to be used. Sentiment is against a second meeting of the July convention at which Governor Coleman beat down an effort to set a date certain for the "after Chicago" meeting.

Bidwell Adam, chairman of the Democratic state executive committee, has said he will not call it in session to determine whether a majority favor recall of the convention. He indicated a majority of the 18 members are opposed to it.

8-27-56
8-28-56

Colmer, Williams Win Re-election to Congress

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 27 (AP)—Rep. William Colmer will return for a 13th term in Congress and Rep. John Bell Williams will have a fifth term on the basis of incomplete returns from Mississippi's Democratic primary.

Chancellor Thomas Ott of the 10th Chancery Court, who was appointed to a vacancy, appeared to have won the rest of the term in the other major office at stake in Tuesday's election, one of the quietest in years.

Politics Miss Gen Primary 8/28/56

One Act May Have Caused Both Of These Headlines

The appearance and wording of two headlines in one Times-Picayune front-page column may have been coincidental but the combination is of amusing interest and spurs speculation of the possible fact that one GOP convention decision and action may have inspired and connected both stories.

The first headline proclaims: "Mississippi GOP Seats Together," and the story reports the placing of the two Mississippi GOP delegations in one block of seats.

The second headline over a separated story printed just under the first announces: "Mississippi's GOP Vote to Fall — Howard."

And that Howard, of course, was Perry W. Howard, Negro attorney and Republican national committeeman.

The Mississippi vote may enhance his reputation as a political prophet, and the seating of the two delegations together may have influenced the vote.

Clarion Ledger 8/26/56

1956
Politics - Miss

State Righters Pick Electors In Mississippi

8/22

Constit

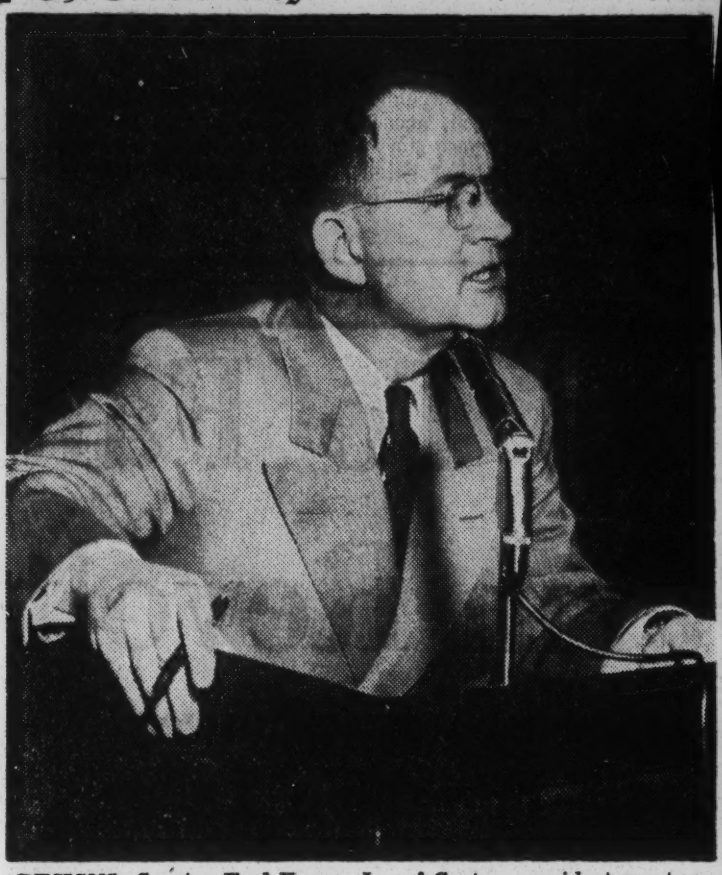
Politics Texas

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 21 (AP)—Mississippians for States Rights, at a mass meeting which drew a crowd of from 150 to 200, today blasted nominees of both major political parties as "obnoxious" and selected their own presidential electors.

Despite the states righters' strong stand for segregation and the Southern way of life, their eight presidential electors were pledged to vote only "their conscientious feelings" in choosing a president and vice president.

The delegates girded themselves for the task of obtaining the necessary 1,000 signatures on the petition to place their electors on the Nov. 6 general election ballot.

The eight electors are: Dr. Monte Q. Ewing of Amory, John Ben Perry of Grenada, State Sen. Thomas Williams of Lexington, W. B. Fontaine of Jackson, John C. McLaurin of Brandon, Dudley W. Conner of Hattiesburg, J. H. Peebles of Greenwood and Clay B. Tucker of Woodville.



RESIGNS—Senator Earl Evans, Jr., of Canton, president pro tem of the Mississippi Senate, has submitted his resignation as a Democratic presidential elector to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

BLASTS NOMINEES

Earl Evans Quits As Demo Elector

Sen. Earl Evans of Canton announced Wednesday his resignation as a Democratic presidential elector with a blast at the party's candidates and platform.

"When I was chosen as a Democratic presidential elector at the State Democratic Convention July 16th," Evans said, "I made a pledge that in event I could not conscientiously support the nominees of the National Democratic Party, I would resign as an elector representing Mississippi.

Evans, president pro tempore of the State Senate and Misissippi's third-ranking official by virtue of being second in succession to the governor's chair, added that "I cannot conscientiously support the nominees of the National Democratic Party."

"Neither can I find even a puny excuse to go along with the platform adopted in Chicago and upon which these nominees are now running," he added.

Evans, who was a presidential elector for Eisenhower four years ago, made his resignation in a letter to Chairman Bidwell Adam of the state Democratic Executive Committee.

"I devoutly believe in the principles of the Democratic Party of Mississippi which were set forth and unanimously adopted at the same convention which elected me as a Democratic elector," he wrote. "But because of the attitude of a number of our Mississippi leaders in the party, I now find it impossible to vote my honest conscientious convictions and remain an elector pledged to the National nominees.

AN OPEN MIND

"I have listened, with an open mind, to the urging of friends who, I am sure, are conscientiously concerned with the seniority standing of our Senators and Congressmen in the Congress. I am advised that these representatives of Mississippi and her people in Washington have been threatened with party Discipline — with the removal of their seniority status — if they bolt the National Democratic Party.

"No one is more concerned than I with regard to the status of our Senators and Congressmen. I have followed the work of each in Washington. They have done a good job, often under severe handicaps, in fighting for Mississippi and her people.

"I fully realize that with respect to socalled civil rights, both major parties are following the line of political expediency in appealing to Negro votes in the heavy voting states.

"I am convinced, however, that the political bosses of both these parties have discovered that the Supreme Court's Black Monday decision is not as popular with the masses of the people as they thought it was before our highest court usurped the prerogatives of Congress to legislate and the right of the people to amend the constitution, in handing down the punitive edict. . . .

A HEAVY HEART

"Personally, I do not feel that the threat to the seniority standing of our Mississippi Senators and Congressmen is as great as it has been pictured by those who say we must stick with the Democratic Party, regardless. . . .

"I am convinced, before God, that the current threat to the party seniority standing of our Senators and Congressmen is of minor importance, when the principles involved are so vital to our people. .

"With a heavy heart and a fervent prayer to God Almighty for the salvation of the system of government that has made these United States the greatest nation in the world, I am submitting to the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee my resignation as a presidential elector."

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Publisher
T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Editor

State Chief Justices Oppose Power Grab By Federal Court

At their annual national convention in Dallas recently, Chief Justices of the 48 state supreme courts have unanimously condemned present trends which concentrate all power in a centralized federal system of government. This trend, the distinguished jurists note, upsets the traditional balance between state and national powers.

The resolution adopted by the Chief Justices is all the more significant because they represent a wide divergency of opinion and philosophy. Some are Democrats, others are Republicans but all agree that today's attempted federal power grab is dangerous and contrary to Americn principles.

The state Justices are especially disturbed at the steady drift away from federal court decisions based on constitutional law. Instead, they complain, the U. S. Supreme Court is marching at a tangent to the fundamentals of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The highest tribunal's members regard themselves more as philosophers than as judges.

Eminently noteworthy has been the statement by Georgia's Chief Justice William H. Duckworth at the Dallas convention. He said that federal justices "use the welfare clause of the Constitution but they concentrate on the word 'welfare' and forget the other word —'general'. Thus they help any special group they please, including labor." (And, we might add, malcontent minorities.)

The U. S. Supreme Court has been a leader in an unwarranted drift toward centralized government, through decisions which consistently deprive states of their constitutional authority. Surely all thoughtful Americans must be impressed by the gravity of this trend, now that it has been unanimously denounced as unwholesome by Chief Justices of all 48 states.

Ole Miss Secretary Has A Fine Record

Alumni, students and friends of th University of Mississippi regret the retirement of beloved and capable W. C. "Chuck" Trotter as financial secretary, a position which he has filled with distinction since 1930.

During his nearly four decades of service with our state's institutions of higher learning, Mr. Trotter has served under four administrations. A native of Winona, he first went to Ole Miss in 1907 as a student. He was captain of the Red and Blue football team and president of the law school during his tenure as a student.

Active in state, civic and educational affairs, Mr. Trotter is a former president of the Southern Association of College and University Business Officers. He had spent three years as secretary of the State Building Commission prior to becoming financial secretary at Ole Miss and was a member of the Board of Trustees for seven years.

Mr. and Mrs. Trotter now retire to their delta farm near Indianola with the thanks and best wishes of Mississippians. "Chuck" [illegible] by the Univer-

cal and Communistic groups and organizations that race segregation must be abolished in the United States to support the nation's respect and prestige in international affairs, that continuance of segregation in the United States is being used effectively in anti-American propaganda in the Far East, creating suspicion and distrust of the United States.

The report of an interview with Mrs. Kume in New Orleans after her Jackson visit during a tour of the South to study the desegregation controversy included this statement:

"Asked if she thought that people in Japan and other parts of the Far East were interested in the race problem in the United States, Mrs. Kume replied negatively.

"I don't think many people are interested in the problem," she said.

Her nationality, education, occupation and status all enhance the potential significance of her statement and make it all the more interesting.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Leters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters end to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Government Only As Good As Its Courts

Dear Editor: Woodrow Wilson, in his book, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, refers to "the famous sentence of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, 'to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men' ". He then adds: "There never was such a government", but also says that "Constitutional Government is par excellence a government of law."

He then explains that all government is a government of men, and is no better than the men to whom it is intrusted. He says: "The gauge of excellence is not the law under which officers act, but the conscience and intelligence with which they apply it, if they apply it all. And the courts do not escape the rule."

And this significant statement: "A constitutional government is as good as its courts; no better no worse. Its laws are only its professions. It keeps them, or does not keep them, in its courts."

MIXING NOT "LAW"

We are now having a glaring example of government by men, if you please by Federal judges. Regardless of what Adlai Stevenson says, the school mixing degree or ukase, is not lak. There is no law in all the Federal Statutes which says that the races must be mixed in schools. The word "school" is not in the Constitution. In fact there were no public schols when the Constitution was adopted.

The Great Republican Chief Justice, quoting Mr. Nixon, cannot tell us when a school is mixed, he can cite no law on the subject; he cannot tell us who is to do the mixing. Neither can he tell us what penalty is to be applied if he races are not mixed. He merely cites in isolated ignorance, viewing

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Mr. and Mrs. Trotter now retire to their delta farm near Indianola with the thanks and best wishes of Mississippians. "Chuck" Trotter will be sorely missed by the University but he can take pride in his contributions to education and in the large number of lasting friendships made there during many fruitful years of service.

Sound Formula For Successful Business

Our state and national economy can expand only if advertising helps to create demands for new services and products, according to a distinguished authority in the sales and promotion field.

Fairfax M. Cone, famous Illinois executive, made this not-surprising declaration at a meeting last week of a journalism association in Chicago. He added that advertising must concentrate on creating public interest rather than merely stressing price.

Of course Mr. Cone is right on both counts. To successfully market new products or increase the sale of established ones, systematic advertising is needed to do the best possible job.

Successful merchandisers have long been aware of basic points which Mr. Cone lists as all-important. As to the best type of advertising, records of long experience clearly show that more sales and more customers can be secured through newspaper advertising than any other media.

Many Not Interested In The Race Problem

One statement credited to Mrs. Ai Kume, president of the Women's Bar Association of Japan and recently a Jackson visitor, may not only interest many Jacksonians but may also be of possible national interest and significance.

It seems to amount to a contradiction of vehement charges and allegations by radical and Communistic groups and organizations that race segregation must be abolished in the United States to support the nation's respect and prestige in international affairs, that continuance of segregation in the United States is being used effectively in anti-American propaganda in the Far East, creating suspicion and distrust of the United States.

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THE NEIGHBOR

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In Tennessee, the Federal judge, a man, not law, has orderd the schools in Clinton, Tenn. to be mixed. Is the Principal to be made to mix the races, or is it the Trustees, or the Town Officers, or perchance the parents? Blindly he undertakes, as a substitute for law, an injunction, and the penalty is such as he may fix in his anger or frustration. One man has been sentenced to jail for one year. Why not make it ten years, or fifty years? There is no law.

Several decades ago there was a great hue and cry against "rule by injunction" in the case of trade unions. Congress stopped the practice.

NO PRECEDENT

The Great Republican Chief Justice could cite no law in his edict; he could cite no court decision, but had to resort to Gunnar Myrdal, a Swede and an alleged Socialist. The Federal Courts have upheld separate schools since the Civil War. In 1883 it declared the Civil Rights Bills of the Reconstruction Era void. Separate schools were established by the carpetbaggers and scalawags, in Mississippi. The carpentbagger sheriff of my home county, Yazoo, states in his book, that in Yazoo County they had established, in 1870, 14 schools for white children and 6 schools for Negro children. Incidentally, this sheriff, A. T. Morgan, was married to "a nigger school marm", as he descibed her, in Jackson, on Yazoo street one half block East of Galloway Memorial Church. Date Aug. 3, 1870.

The great men of early America were fearful of usurpation of power by the President, Congess or the Supreme Court. Jefferson was especially harsh in his writings on the Court, and boldly urged impeachment. Among his many adverse comments is this famous statement: "They are then in fact the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states".

IMPOSING LIST

There is an imposing list of cases where the court has struck down the reserved rights of the state. In a case from Hammond, La., it was held that a hamburger joint which sold to passing motorists from other states was engaged in interstate commerce. The process is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The next attack will be to strike out state laws against inter-marriage. W. E. DuBose, lists that as the first item, in his listing of "What The Negro Wants."

If we are to survive we must fight NOW, not four years hence.

A. S. Coody
776 North West Street

Ath-Const-Sept 14-56

States Rights Electors Filed In Mississippi

Politics - Miss

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 13 (AP)—Mississippians for States Rights, an offshoot of the Democratic party, today qualified an independent slate of electors pledged only to states rights and segregation.

The secretary of state's office said three attorneys, states rights secretary Russell Moore and Sebastian Moore of Jackson and John McLaurin of Brandon, filed the papers which included a 1,400-signature petition.

The eight electors were identified as Dr. Monte Q. Ewing of Amory, John Ben Perry of Grenada, State Sen. Thomas Williams of Lexington, W. B. Fontaine of Jackson, John C. McLaurin of Brandon, Dudley W. Conner of Hattiesburg, J. H. Peebles of Greenwood and Clay Tucker of Woodville.

The States Rights group now must qualify under the state's Subversive Activities Act by swearing it does not plan to overthrow the U.S. government by force. The state attorney general must approve the slate for printing on the ballot for the Nov. 6 general election.

The States Righters are holding their national convention in Memphis, Tenn., under the permanent chairmanship of Mississippi State Sen. Earl Evans of Canton who resigned as a Democratic elector because he could not support Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver.

State Board Eyes Color 'Breakdown'

Clarion-Ledger 9-6-56

Politics - Miss

(By The Associated Press)

Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission Wednesday launched an investigation into breakdown of color bars in Federal institutions in the state.

The step was approved at a secretive two-hour meeting of the commission set up to preserve the state's "way of life" — principally segregation.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, who ushered reporters out of the meeting at the start and gave them a brief oral statement afterward, said a three-man committee was named to make the probe.

It is headed by Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson. The other members are State Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, president pro tem of the Senate, and Rep. William H. Johnson of Decatur.

The governor told reporters the committee "is going into executive (closed) session because we've got some things to talk about, like the V-A hospital, on which we want to be able to talk freely."

He referred apparently to a controversy set off this summer when a Vicksburg veteran complained that his wife had been assigned a room in the Veterans hospital here from which she could see Negro male patients across the hall.

The hospital, though confirming it is integrated in accordance with Federal policy, denied the woman was given a room near one occupied by Negroes. The VA hospital manager said the adjacent rooms and the one across the hall were occupied by whites.

The governor declared "no particular facility was pinpointed" during the commission's two-hour discussion.

P. O. PROBE

State Times 9/13/56

Politics - Miss

Johnson Accused Of Being Tyrant

WASHINGTON (UP) — Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has accused Sen. Olin D. Johnson (D-S.C.) of "dictatorial misuse" of senatorial power.

Johnson is chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee which opened hearings Tuesday in Louisville, Ky., on the 1953 dismissal of Assistant Postmaster Herman Schmeing.

Summerfield said the hearing is "part of a witch-hunt, politically animated and designed to fool the public by striving for newspaper headlines based on inuendoes."

The investigation, he said; "was a shocking example of dictatorial misuse of senatorial investigating power, a travesty on justice, and a waste of the taxpayers money which should be stopped."

Summerfield said in a statement Wednesday that his department was not advised of the "Star Chamber" hearing and that Johnston could have obtained information about the case by asking the department for it.

Summerfield said Schmeing was dismissed from his job with the department in Louisville after "he had been given ample opportunity to reply to written charges" by the department in July, 1953.

He added that "significantly" Schmeing did not appeal the decision.

The department at that time charged Schmeing among other things with using his office to secure assignments for his friends and of using government personnel and material for construction projects at his home.

Not A Third Party

Delta-Dem. Times
9/21/56
Miss-Politics

250 In Cleveland Organize To Support States Rights Electors

By JAY MILNER
Staff Writer

CLEVELAND—About 250 Bolivar countians organized here Thursday night to support the States Rights movement, described carefully as "not a third party but an attempt to defeat both major Presidential candidates and bring about a realignment of the nation's major political parties."

Mrs. Florence Sillers Ogden of Rosedale was elected chairman of the first Bolivar county judicial district and J. W. McClellan of Cleveland was named chairman of the second judicial district's organization. Ben F. Mitchel of Cleveland was selected treasuurer and W. B. Alexander Jr. of Cleveland was chosen secretary.

Keynote speaker at the county-wide rally—the first of several scheduled in the state—was state Senator Earl Evans of Madison county, who was openly a strong sympathizer of the States Rights movement even before he resigned as state Democratic elector shortly after the national convention at Chicago.

Objectives

Evans, who backed the Republican ticket four years ago, listed the objectives of the new States Rights organization as:

1. "To give the Constitutional rights of the states back to the states."
2. To Preserve segregation.
3. To make U. S. immigration laws stricter. "Immigrants entering this county contributed immeasurably to the problems now confronting the South. Enough aliens have come into this nation during the past 10 years to equal the population of the entire state of Mississippi. And to a large degree—there are some immigrants who are fine people—they join the radical left wing groups which are fighting the South.
4. To curb the U. S.'s "foreign give away program."
5. To promote free enterprise by "getting the government out of those fields which should be operated by taxpayers."

Evans denied that the States Rights movement is a third party. "Our immediate objective," he said, "is to throw the election of a President into the House of Representatives where each state will have one vote. Those who say it can't be done have a defeatist attitude. It was done in 1884 and in 1948 we lacked less than 15,000 votes winning in two states which would have done it again."

"'Our ultimate goal," Mississippi's third ranking state official said, "is to create a realignment of the national parties, not the creation of a third national party."

He added, "No matter what some of our state officials may say, the way Mississippi votes will not affect the seniority of our Congressmen."

Hits Reuther

Evans blasted the platforms of the national parties as "carbon copies of each other." He called labor leader Walter Reuther the "darling of Adlai Stevenson's campaign" and "an ex-Communist at best."

He quoted from a letter written by Reuther from Russia in the early '30s as urging U. S. labor leaders to "fight for a Soviet America."

"Now I wouldn't put it beyond the power of the almighty God to reform any man," Evans declared. "But Reuther is an atheist and an atheist can't be reformed. . . And this same Walter Reuther, a socialist and fcrmer Communist at least, will be the most powerful man in Washington if Adlai is elected."

Evans was introduced by Senator W. B. Alexander of Cleveland. Also on the speaker's "rostrum" in the Circuit Court room were Russ D. Moore II, Jackson attorney who is secretary of the Mississippi States Rights group.

Miss. Voters Get Wide Choice; Ballot Lists 4 Elector Slates

Democratic Group Gets Top Spot; States' Rights Organization Included

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 22—Like its local sentiment-governed state prohibition laws which satisfy the drys as well as the wets, Mississippi is offering that same freedom of choice in the November election.

Definitely a state which seeks to please all segments, official approval has been given to four slates of presidential electors on the November ballot.

Top position has been assigned the eight Democratic electors pledged to the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. State party leaders are confident of its victory.

Other slates to appear on the ballot, not necessarily in that order, are:

State - recognized Republican electors named by the all-white wing of the party.

The electors of the national convention recognized biracial Republican faction.

And the independent, unpledged electors qualified by a newly formed Mississippians for States Rights organization.

Two GOP Slates

Both Republican slates are pledged to the Eisenhower-Nixon candidacies. Leaders in the all-white faction are seeking an agreement similar to the one in 1952 when only one slate of Republican electors was on the ballot. It cornered nearly 40 per cent of the votes, a record in this once Democratic stronghold.

However, the 1952 slate of Republican electors were all Democrats who were dissatisfied with their party's nominees and ran under a state law permitting party-line switches in national elections without injury to their state party status.

That's one of the arguments being advanced by the all-white faction for the asserted political-wise single slate of electors.

Another is that since state law permits only one group to run under a party label, which is held by the all-white faction, it would be better politics to present one slate since the votes are not combined for a grand total for the candidates.

Proponents of the single slate also point out that the biracial electors, even though they are also all-white, cannot run under the Republican label, but as candidates of the Grand Old Party. That is the name taken after the former state-recognized Republican faction headed by Perry Howard, Negro attorney of Washington and Jackson, was beaten to the secretary of state's office by the all-whites in 1948 to gain exclusive title to the party name under the party registration statute.

The situation facing the all-white group this year, however, is far different from that four years ago. Many of the Democrats who joined in backing the

MISSISSIPPI

Republican ticket in 1952 were staunch States Righters, many of whom are now supporting the States Rights electors. They are not satisfied with either the Republican or Democratic nominees or the platforms they are running on, especially with reference to segregation.

That is what faces E. O. Spencer, hotel executive of Jackson, who in 1952 as a Democrat formed the organization of "Democrats for Eisenhower," but who since has changed his party to Republican and is national committeeman for the all-white faction.

Mr. Spencer plans a meeting of the 1952 "Democrats for Eisenhower" to determine their present positions. Many of his 1952 leaders will be missing as they have joined the Mississippians for States Rights, while others have returned to the Democratic fold.

Meanwhile, Gov. J. P. Coleman, titular head of the Democratic Party in the state, and other leaders, have mapped an all-out statewide campaign in behalf of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. Headquarters are to be opened in Jackson, and speakers will take the stump in an effort to "wash out" the big 1952 Republican vote.

The Democrats have invited the States Righters to "return home without punishment."

Gov. Coleman said nothing will be done to "cause internal strife," and that he will not criticize the States Righters unless attacked first.

Bidwell Adam, the former lieutenant governor of Gulfport and now chairman of the Democratic state executive committee, has also invited those "who have strayed away" to return and "put their feet under our table." He said the States Righters are on a "sleeveless errand" without presidential candidates to vote for.

Since that statement, the States Righters have announced their electors, if victorious, will cast their votes for Coleman T. Andrews, the Virginia Democrat and former Internal Revenue commissioner, and former Republican Congressman Werdel of California.

'Third Party' Denial

Even with candidates other than those of the two major parties, the States Righters still insist theirs is not a "third party" movement. An effort in that direction failed at the recent nationwide States Rights convention held in Memphis.

State Democratic leaders are more concerned over the States Rights situation than they will admit. They recognize that many Mississippians are not pleased with the civil rights planks in both party platforms, as well as the candidates, and may "bolt" just to register their protest.

Indicative of that is the fact that the state's third-ranking official recently resigned as one of the Democratic electors and is heading the States Rights movement. He is State Sen. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, president pro tem of the Senate.

Another is the candidacy of State Sen. T. M. Williams Sr. of Lexington, as one of the independent, unpledged, States Rights electors, and the lead being taken by State Sen. W. B. Alexander Sr. of Cleveland, in the States Rights fight.

Determined to make a good showing, the States Righters formally opened their campaign at Cleveland in the Delta section Thursday night. Sen. Evans was the keynoter. They plan to conduct an information campaign to acquaint the voters with the records of the candidates of the two major parties, with special attention to their civil rights positions.

The States Righters qualified their slate of independent, unpledged electors with petitions signed by 4,000 qualified electors. They needed only 1,000 signatures.

'Eisencrats' Desert

Meanwhile, Will Wells, Jackson attorney, who was among the 1952 "Eisencrats," is a leader in the States' Rights movement, along with former Sen. L. B. Porter of Newton.

Former Gov. Hugh White, who led the 1948 States' Rights "bolt" of the national convention, is in the councils of those planning the all-out campaign for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Gov. Coleman, who bitterly opposed Tennessee Sen. Kefauver's nomination for the presidency and fought his nomination for the vice presidency, said in view of his nomination, he is going to back the Tennessean.

Coleman Says State Not Having Racial Strife; Is Prepared

ABERDEEN, Miss. (AP) — Gov. J. P. Coleman said his state of Mississippi, unlike Tennessee or Texas, has no racial strife because of planning.

He told the Monroe County Farm Bureau convention last night Mississippi is peaceful because:

1. Mississippi segregation policies are well known.
2. People who want to make trouble are not allowed to get a toehold.
3. Mississippians are in no mood for agitation.
4. New Mississippi laws will prevent the kind of trouble exhibited in Tennessee and Texas.

SNAKE-NAPER

DETROIT (UP) — A 70-year-old former carnival worker faced possible grand larceny charges today for snake-naping a seven-foot boa constrictor and carrying it about town wrapped around his waist.

STATES RIGHTERS LIST MISSISSIPPI ELECTORS

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The secretary of state's office said three attorneys, States Rights Secretary Aussell Moore and Sebastian Moore of Jackson and John McLaurin of Brandon, filed the papers which included a 1,400-signature petition.

The States rights group now must qualify under the state's Subversive Activities Act by swearing it does not plan to overthrow the United States government by force. The state attorney general must approve the slate for printing on the ballot for the Nov. 6 general election.

Lesson In Politics

Delta Dem. Times 10-10-56

Miss Politics

You'd have to go a long way in Mississippi to find a better student of both history and of practical politics than Governor James Plemon Coleman, and he gave two excellent reasons this week for not throwing away a good vote on the States Righters.

The avowed purpose of defending segregation would not be served by such a throw-away vote in a national election, since it is the local and state officials who will or will not maintain segregation.

If by some long chance the States Righters won their point by throwing the election into the House of Representatives, this would not result in the election of a T. Coleman Andrews or a Senator Byrd — but a Republican..

And does that make sense for Mississippi?

Miss-Pol & Gov

The Christian Century

Mississippi Holds Segregation Line

Ed.

No Integration Permitted in Schools or at Polls—Louisiana Tightens Enrollment Requirements

BOONEVILLE, MISS., Sept. 25.—The racial front in Mississippi was relatively quiet as the fall school term opened; no attempts were made by Negroes to enter white schools. At a meeting of the Lee county white citizens' council Aug. 30, State Rep. George Payne Cossar of Tallahatchie county (scene of the Till trial) declared that the laws passed earlier this year by the Mississippi legislature will keep the state's schools segregated "for at least 50 years." Noting that though 60 per cent of Tallahatchie county is Negro not one of its Negroes votes, Cossar said: "The way to fight integration is to deny Negroes the right to vote." A small crowd attended the meeting. Former Congressman John Rankin did not even make a headline in the local paper with his charge that the Supreme Court decision on school integration was the result of a "communist conspiracy." Mississippi's white citizens' councils claim a membership of 80,000 in 62 of the state's 82 counties.

Louisiana's Public Schools Still Segregated 10-10-56 Christian Century

Louisiana's public schools remain segregated. Emile Wagner, a Roman Catholic layman, recently demanded that Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans reveal the names of the few parochial schools which have been integrated, but he received no official answer. By a 67-15 vote the Louisiana legislature tabled a bill which would have allowed the annual Sugar Bowl football game in New Orleans to provide segregated seating except in the section assigned to the visiting team, and granted permission for the visiting teams to be interracial. Jack Vermillion, state attorney general, has ruled that new college enrollees must present certificates of "good character," and that if any secondary school superintendent or principal signs such a certificate for a Negro intending to enter a white college he shall be subject to dismissal for "taking a step leading to integration." Over objections from some segregationist leaders, the attorney general held that the new rule does not apply to the 100 Negro graduate students already enrolled at the state university.

Democratic Delegation Abandons Plans for Recess Convention Miss Pol.

The delegation representing the regular Democratic party leadership in Mississippi, which was seated at the convention in Chicago over the protests of a rival delegation, returned in a chastened mood. Many of its members were for Eisenhower in 1952. It has abandoned its plans to hold a "recess convention"—unless Adlai Stevenson says something in the campaign to arouse its antagonism. Earl Evans, an Eisenhower elector in 1952, was forced to resign as a Democratic elector. He charged that Mississippi congressmen were told by Democratic leaders that they would lose their seniority in Washington if they bolted the national ticket, and said that the "regular" delegation was seated in Chicago on its promise not to bolt. Later Evans was chairman of the national "state's rights convention" in Memphis which endorsed T. Coleman Andrews for president. The *McComb Enterprise* pointed out that the national Democratic platform and the nominees' positions are in direct opposition to stands adopted by the state Democratic convention in July. The rival delegation which failed to get seated in Chicago claims victory nevertheless, in that plans for the recess convention were abandoned, the 1952 Eisenhower electors were dropped, and a statement of loyalty was issued by the seated delegation. Only two members of the official delegation attended the final convention session, presumably because of bitterness over the nomination of Estes Kefauver, and they did not vote for Stevenson.

Christian Century 10-10-56

Enthusiasm for Eisenhower Cooling 10-10-56 Miss. Pol. Christian Century

Ardor for Eisenhower cooled here when the "black and tan" Republican delegation from Mississippi was recognized at the San Francisco convention and when Perry Howard, Negro attorney, stayed on as Republican national committeeman from Mississippi. Dr. T. N. Howard, Mississippi Negro, has transcribed six speeches for use in the Republican campaign in New York. He is to head a drive to capture the New York Negro vote for the Republican ticket, stressing the baleful influence of Sen. James Eastland and the treatment of Negroes in

Over

he's playing "FAMILY GUARDIAN"...

Politics & Govt
Mississippi
1956

Promise More 'Surprises'

Coleman Calls John Bell's 'Big Decision' A Snipehunt

Delta Democ. Times 10-23-56

Miss-Pol

By TIM PARKER

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss) switched to the States Rights camp last night and a leader in the splinter movement hinted today more surprises may be in store.

State Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, chairman of the States Righters' Mississippi Steering Committee, said:

"I think we have a chance of several of our leading Mississippi political figures voting with us before this campaign is over. I wouldn't like to mention names."

Gov. J. P. Coleman, who along with almost all public office holders here supports the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket, said "I regret exceedingly to see him (Williams) take off on this political snipehunt."

A "snipehunt" is a trick in which someone is stationed in the dark, holding a bag, while his "friends" scatter to hunt snipes which they promise to bring to him. The friends go home leaving the snipe hunter holding the bag.

Both Coleman and State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam took issue with the way Williams framed his announcement. Williams, declaring presidential candidates of both major parties advocate "amalgamation of the races," said in telecasts over six Southern stations:

Take Issue

"I shall support the independent Democratic electors in the November general election."

Pointing out the States Rights electors will be on the Mississippi ballot only as "independent and unpledged" and without party label, Coleman declared:

"Members of this independent slate are not independent Democrats but bolters who refuse to abide by the decision of the State Democratic Convention."

Adam, saying "I regret to see him as a Democratic candidate for Congress leaving his party," charged that Williams "is trying to give these independent electors a Democratic complexion when they are not in all fairness entitled to it."

Williams said in his television appearance:

"The candidates and platforms of both major political parties are dedicated, not only to a completely centralized form of government, but to the destruction of the integrity of white civilization in the South.

Race Issue

"Both Stevenson and Eisenhower have resolved publicly that they will use the full force of the executive branch to compel integration of white and Negro children into one public school system .... and openly advocate a complete amalgamtion of the races."

The congressman said "I am not unaware of the possibility that this declaration of conscience might conceivably bring an end to my political career."

Coleman, commenting on the speech, said "I trust that this act on the part of Congressman Williams will not cost him his committee assignments in Washington."

Evans, who resigned as a Democratic presidential elector to join the States Rights cause, said:

"I think Congressman Williams' courage and his forthright facing of the real issues confronting the people of Mississippi is going to give great impetus to our movement in Mississippi and throughout the nation."

Delta Demo Times 10-24-56

Pol-Miss

Beyond Reasonableness

ANY lingering hope that the States Rights leaders in Mississippi are reasonable men has gone glimmering in the wake of that organization's singular denunciation of Governor Coleman and regular Democratic leaders in the state.

Only one excerpt is necessary:

"Unless the governor and Mr. Wilhite can satisfactorily deny or disapprove these facts, we shall charge they have deserted the Democratic party of Mississippi and are tools of the Socialist, race-mixing, labor-dominated National Socialist party masquerading under the name Democratic."

Hooey. And speaking of masquerades, we suggest that folks who comment thusly ought to be measured for clown suits.

Letters to the Editors must be brief, ~~must be signed~~ (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Summarizes Stand For States Rights

Dear Editor:

The two issues of life and death importance to all Mississippians in the Presidential Election are Segregation and Civil Rights. All others are side issues.

The July 16th Convention of the Democratic Party of Mississippi declared among its chief principles its firm support of segregation and its positive opposition to the civil rights legislation which has been pending in the Congress. Under this legislation representatives of the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other Communist inspired organizations, could roam over our state on Federal expense accounts, cause charges of unfainness to be made against our people, and then have them, and their books and records, carried before the Civil Rights Commission in Washington for hearings there. Also, the Federal Courts would for all practical purposes replace our State Courts on questions of voting.

"SOUTH'S ONLY WEAPON"

The platform of the national Democratic Party strongly supports integration and civil rights legislation. It also urges and end to the filibuster, the South's only weapon to prevent the passage of this legislation . The Democratic candidates have not only expressed their determination to carry out the platform, but both have commended the action of Governor Frank Clement in using troops to force integration in Tennessee.

The platform of the Republican Party, and its candidates, are as staunch for integration and civil rights as the national Democrats.

Only the States Rights Cause is opposed to the Integration Decision of the Supreme Court and the Civil Rights bills.

The States Rights ticket has a good chance to carry Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives where our demands for local operation of our own schools could be won.

But even should we not succeed ir throwing the election into the House of Representatives, in voting States Rights we shall speak the truth and the principles which are within us, which principles are higher morally than the forces which oppose us.

"STAND FOR PRINCIPLE"

Without the help of either national political party, and ~~in spite~~ of the Supreme Court decision, Mississippians have made a noble and winning stand for segregation so far. Millions of people over these United States believe us to have the courage of our convictions, and they are looking to us to stand fast for what we have said we believe in. If we continue to stand for principle they will help us and we shall never be defeated.

The States Rights ticket is our one opportunity to stand for our principles which were also the principles of our fathers. If we fail now to stand for these principles, they will surely die.

For the sake of the honor of Mississippi, for the sake of our wives and children, for the sake of generations yet unborn, and for the sake of those millions over the country who have believed in us who are trusting our leadership and courage, let us every one go to the polls on November 6th and vote the States Rights ticket.

Our delegation in the Congress will not lose their committee assignments if Mississippi goes States Rights. No state outside of the South went Democratic in 1952, and yet no Democratic member of the Congress from those states was affected. In 1952, the national Democrats failed to carry Virginia, Texas, Florida and Tennessee, yet, not one Democratic member of Congress from those states lost his committee assignments.

Resectfully,
Edwin White
Lexington, Mississippi

Andrews And Werdel Seen As 'Only Hope'

Dear Editor:

We do not feel that we are forsaking the Democratic Party (run by gangsters, now) when the best they can beat from the bushes is a carpet-bagger and a scalawag!

We went all out for the Republican Party in 1952, because we were sick and tired of the filth, but all the Republican Party has done is to spend billions for blunders, promote a few individuals, and move the furniture, to cover up a few more rat-holes!

This disillusionment of conservative Southerners towards both Parties, and the Republican performance during the last four years, is a major cause for the creation of the new conservative coalition, ie States Rights, or Constitutional government.

Andrews and Werdel are our only hopes in these troublesome times. The ticket is Andrews and Werdel.

Mrs. T. C. Watson
Strong, Miss.

Clarion Ledger 10-26-56 Southern Opinion

Clarion Ledger 10-26-56

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Recently, the State Sovereignty Commission spent a sizeable sum bringing some 20 New England Yankees down here to Mississippi to see how fine segregation works. The results are in doubt.

Actually, a page from a Long Beach, California newspaper, the Long Beach Independent, convinces us today that we would have done better to send Mayors Billy Meadows, Gulfport, and Laz Quave, Biloxi, to New England.

Meadows and Quave, certainly did a public relations job in lower California, and we herewith reprint a story appearing in the Long Beach Independent—

Mayors of two thriving Mississippi cities Thursday answered critics of segregation policies. "We don't have the per cent of the racial tension that exists in Chicago or New York City," said Atty. R. B. Meadows Jr., mayor of Gulfport.

His colleague, tourist court proprietor Laz Quave, mayor of Biloxi, emphasized he spoke only for his community. He said:

"Frankly, we have no problem. We're satisfied."

PROGRESS

Both cities are on the Gulf of Mexico. Biloxi, which has a population of about 50,000, is considered the electronic center of the Air Force. It is noted for its sea food and is a tourist mecca. It's the third oldest city in the United States.

Gulfport has a population of about 35,000, is a seaport and has considerable retailing and manufacturing activity. It is the county seat for Harrison County.

Mayor Meadows, who is also president of the Mississippi Municipal Assn., claimed Negroes and whites were making progress long before the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation.

"We were making considerable progress and we still are," he said.

But politicans seeking the Negro vote in such states as California, Pennsylvania and New York have found it "very popular to hold Mississippi up to a lot of whipping around the post."

In Gulfport, 16 per cent of the population is Negro as compared with a 45 per cent average throughout the state, according to Mayor Meadows.

SAME PRIVILEGE

"The Negroes in Gulfport have the same privilege of voting as the white men," he said. "They have the same economic and political opportunities.

"We have four Negro doctors and two dentists. We have two Negro policemen on our force.

"We have Negro businessmen driving around in Cadillacs. We've just completed a million-dollar school for the Negroes.

"But we still have segregation and we still want it."

Mayor Meadows claimed his state was expending "many millions of dollars" to keep the educational facilities separate but equal.

Mayor Quave interjected:

"And it's damn near bankrupting the state to do it."

He added that only about five per cent of Biloxi's population is Negro.

"Some of the facilities we have for the Negroes are better than those for the whites," Mayor Quave said.

CONCESSION

Mayor Meadows conceded that the progress made in the two coast communities was not general throughout Mississippi.

"The delta section has a 75 to 80 per cent Negro population," Mayor Meadows said. "The Negroes there still are the white man's burden.

"But they are making progress and trying to catch up with us. When they do, I think the Negroes will be satisfied.

"I don't want to speak for the whole state, but in Gulfport I don't think the average Negro wants to be integrated."

"If the Negroes in Mississippi were as alarmed about the question of segregation as other groups, we would have racial tensions that would be of powderkeg proportions," he said. "That just isn't the case.

LEAVE US ALONE

"If the South is left alone, I think this thing will be worked out. People of good will—Negro and white—are working together on it."

Both mayors were brought here Wednesday as guests of the Air Force. They were greeted by Mayor George Vermillion, taken on a tour of the Long Beach Harbor and escorted through Douglas Aircraft Co.

Both left Thursday evening for Las Vegas. Their two major impressions of Long Beach: friendly people and oil wells.

Miss, Pal.

(Local file) Delta Democrat Times

10-28-56

Most Mississippi Daily Papers Decide To Sit Out This Election

By TIM PARKER

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Probably never before in history have so many Mississippi daily newspapers decided to sit out" a presidential election campaign.

Of the state's 22 daily newspapers, 10 or more are not endorsing any candidate.

A partial survey shows three supporting the States Righters. And, in traditionally Democratic" Mississippi, three support the Democratic ticket.

The greatest contrast with 1952 is in support for Eisenhower. In 1952, at least seven Mississippi dailies supported Eisenhower, whose campaign was handled by a "citizens for Eisenhower" group and without the Republican label.

None For Ike

There are no reports of a daily supporting Eisenhower this campaign.

The newspapers surveyed, only four "kept out of the fight" in 1952. Four supported the Democratic ticket that year.

"None at all," Maj. Frederick Sullens, fiery editor of the Jackson Daily News, said when asked which presidential ticket his newspaper was endorsing. The Republican and Democratic slates, he said, offer a man only "his choice of poison." He did not make any reference to the States Righters.

Newspapers sitting out both the 1952 and 1956 campaigns include the Vicksburg Herald and Evening Post, the Daily Corinthian, the the Gulfport-Biloxi Daily Herald.

Joining them in the "no position" camp this year are:

The Clarksdale Press-Register. Editor Joe F. Ellis Jr. says, "there's little interest here" in the campaign. The newspaper dorsed Eisenhower in 1952.

The Laurel Leader Call, one of the first to endorse Eisenhower in 1952.

The Meridian Star, which endorsed Eisenfhower in 1952.

The Tupelo Journal, which endorsed Adlai Stevenson in 1952. Editor Harry Rutherford said the Journal has carried editorials against "a third party."

Two newspapers switched from Eisenhower in 1952 to the States Righters this year.

They are the Hattiesburg American and the Columbus Commercial-Dispatch. The American editorialized that the States Righters "represent the Southern conservatives who have been abandoned by the Democratic Party." Editor Birney Imes of the Commercial-Dispatch said many Southerners "will be voting their convictions and conscience rather than riding a winner."

The West Point Times Leader switched from Stevenson in 1952 to States Rights this year. Editor Henry Harris said, "We can't see it any other way."

The Jackson Clarion-Ledger, among few dailes to support the same party in both campaigns, endorses Adlai Stevenson again. Managing Editor Purser Hewitt said the principal reason for seeking a Democratic victory is to strengthen the hold of our congressional delegation."

The State Times of Jackson, which has come into existence since 1952, endorses Stevenson as sharp, intellectual, able to cope with gnawing issues in a way most beneficial to the majority."

Another new Mississippi daily, the Tupelo Tribune, endorsed the Democratic ticket as a weekly in 1952 but is endorsing no one this year.

Democrat-Times

The Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, one of Eisenhower's strongest Mississippi supporters four years ago, is as strong this year for Stevenson.

The newspaper has been especially critical of the GOP foreign policy, farm program and Vice President Nixon as the "heir apparent."

The Natchez Democrat, which was an Eisenhower supporter in 1952, has not formally endorsed anyone but has published editorials with a strong States Rights flavor.

The McComb Enterprise Journal, which actively supported Eisenhower in 1952, has not announced its preference this year but Editor J. O. Emmerich has indicated he would not supp Stevenson.

Coleman Calls Move GOP Political Bluff

Pol-mis.

Delta Democ. Times

JACKSON (UP) — Gov. J. P. Coleman branded federal plans to prosecute alleged purgers of Negro voters a "cheap political bluff" by the Republicans which will be challenged "at every turn of the road" in Mississippi.

Coleman said in Memphis Wednesday night he and State Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson will "appear personally" in federal court to defend any Mississippian "indicted on these trumped-up charges."

He denied that any Negroes had been purged from Mississippi voting lists.

"This is no more than I had expected from the Republican administration and Mr. Herbert Brownell Jr.'s Justice Department," he said.

Makes Talk Today

Coleman said the government, which revealed its plans Wednesday to prosecute white supremacists who purged Negro voters in Southern states, could not "prove any charges against Mississippians."

Coleman was to address the Lumberman's Club in Memphis today.

At Prentiss, Circuit Clerk James Daniel said Negroes and whites alike had been stricken from the voter registration lists in Jefferson Davis County under the state's new qualification tests.

He denied the charge by the state chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that more than 1,000 Negroes were systematically stricken from the poll books.

Fewer of Both

"We do have less Negro voters," Daniel said, but we also have fewer white people."

He said there had been no pressure on me from any source," including the pro-segregation citizens council, to purge Negro voters.

The NAACP also had charged that Forrest County was "typical" of the counties keeping Negroes from voting, saying less than 25 of the county's 12,000 Negroes were registered.

Forrest Circuit Clerk Luther M. Cox said he would "rather not" comment on registration in his county or the government's prosecution plans.

10-25-56

"If they're telling the tales, let them tell them," Cox said.

Farm Bureau Hears Strong States Rights Speech

MOORHEAD — If the present trend toward centralized government continues, the main job of state legislatures will soon be just to meet and appropriate money to match federal funds". John C. Lynn of Washington, legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, told approximately 400 members of the Sunflower County Farm Bureau at their annual meeting in the Sunflower Junior College auditorium in Moorhead.

Declaring that the Farm Bureau is the only organization in Washington fighting for states rights, the speaker deplored what he called "the cancerous growth that is eating away at America".

"Even the church peoole have been duped into giving away their freedons", he said, "and Walter Reuther now has more power over agriculture than the Farm Bureau".

He warned against complacency and urged farmers to maintain their voice in agriculture, saying that "it is not enough to be just a spectator".

He said that a little more cotton must be grown and the cost of production must be cut if "we are to meet competition and stay in business". On the credit side of the ledger he listed the results-getting sales promotion campaign of the National Cotton Council and increased appropriation for research and extension. The soil bank was described as an "effective temporary measure".

David Allen of Indianola was re-elected president of the Sunflower County County Farm Bureau. Other officers are O. L. Cox, Doddsville, first vice president, Earl Shurden, Drew, second vice president, and directors, Jo Prichard and J. W. Stowers, Inverness, S. J. Ely, Indianola, Eugene Fisackerly, Blaine, Talmadge Clark, Drew, Mrs. C. K. Fisackerly, Blaine, Sidney Levingston, Ruleville, and Edward Brit, Indianola.

Sunflower County King, Haley Fisackerly of Blaine, and Queen Haywood Brumfield of Inverness, who will compete in the state contests in November, were presented by Miss Christine Hollis, home demonstration agent. A social hour was enjoyed in the cafeteria following the address. The buffet tables were beautifully decorated with harvest arrangements.

Clarion Ledger

SR Leader Attacks Coleman Position

Politics-mis.

10-30-56

A States' Rights leader said Monday, "it comes as no surprise that Adlai Stevenson congratulated Gov. J. P. Coleman on what the governor did at the National comvention to save the Democratic party."

State Senator Earl Evans, chairman of the states' rights steering committee, referred to a statement Coleman made at a New Albany Democratic rally in which Coleman said Stevenson told him he (Coleman) had done as much as any man to save the Democratic party.

Evans said, "This is further proof that Coleman, Stevenson and Kefauver all favor the same race-mixing socialistic ideals, or Coleman does not have the courage to stand up and fight for states' rights, segregation and constitutional government.

"The people of Mississippi should take a look at what their governor helped save at Chicago. He apparently is afraid to tell them. It stands for mixing the races, abolishing the filibuster in the United States Senate, civil rights legislation and opening the flood gates of immigration."

The Canton lawmaker asked, "What kind of a Mississippian is a man who is proud to have saved these things for his people?"

Hitting at Congressman Jamie Whitten's statement that to vote Democratic would strengthen the position of Mississippi Congressmen, Evans asked, "What will be Congressman Whitten's answer to his fellow Democratic Congressman Negro Charles Diggs when Diggs jumps him for not supporting civil rights laws in Congress if Mississippians, at Whiten's suggestion, give overwhelming approval to the Democratic integration platform? These people seem to think we are playing games, but to us this is a most serious affair. The sovereignity of the state of Mississippi and the tradition of the South are nothing to play with, nor are they items to be swapped away for political expediency."

Evans said, "Coleman is right in saying Eisenhower is no friend of the South and he is greatly lacking in intelligence or is deliberately deceiving the people of this state when he says Stevenson and Kefauver are friends of the South.

"The only way Mississippians can show the nation that we stand for principle and will never compromise is to vote for the unpledged States' Rights Electors."

Clarion Ledger

Politics-mis

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1956

Coleman Urges Everybody Vote To Thwart Olney

Gov. J. P. Coleman Monday issued a statement calling on all qualified electors in Mississippi to go to the polls and vote in the general election of Nov. 6.

"Regardless of how you intend to vote," he declared, "I hope every qualified elector in Mississippi will visit the polls on election day.

"Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, has issued a blanket indictment to the effect that the people of Mississippi are being intimidated and not allowed to vote.

"Let us turn in an overwhelming vote and further disprove his inaccurate statements," Gov Coleman declared.

"I hope that everyone will vote Democratic," the governor concluded, "but, regardless, let us vote"

Clarion Ledger 10-30-56

Leters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters end to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Calvin-Miss,

Takes Issue With Governor's Stand

Dear Editor:

Governor J. P. Coleman's letter of the twentyfifth instant is certainly enlightening from at least two standpoints; and seems to throw a ray of light upon his political philosophy which has heretofore been so shrouded in official mystery and jargon.

Mississippians are sure to remember that the Governor, during his candidacy, was verbally a most staunch and hearty defender of the whole Southern system of things; and previous to that, while Attorney-General, he even threatened, once or twice in the newspapers, to attack in the courts the Fourteenth Amendment, which he thought he could have stripped and torn from the Constitution forever. (However — perhaps because of the natural and undue brevity of any four year term in office — he was never able to achieve the time necessary to level the heavy guns of his batteries against it.)

It appears simply, from the Governor's own words, that he so greatly relishes the idea of being on the winning side, no matter what rank and noxious doctrines that side may espouse, that he professes to be unaware even of the existence of any States Rights party — the only party that believes in the traditional Constitution, and the Caucasian race. Contrary to what so many early American statesmen held — he had rather win than be right.

So at last we have it: To be on the winning side is the frontmost duty of any statesman. And it is better to sit among the councils of the victorious, even though they reek with their foul deeds, than to take up arms with the beleaguered patriots. But the only certain thing about the future is its complete uncertainly — the Southern people may suddenly wake up and see the National Democratic Party for what it really is.

And a second thing emerges from this letter and typifies the "true-blue" Democrat: And that is to ignore and refuse to answer the most pertinent issues involved:

What does Governor Coleman say in defense of a party which is pledged to the utter destruction of the Southland, and of the principles to which, earlier in his career, he so avidly ascribed?

How does he call Adlai Stevenson "the South's best friend"— who, when governor of Illinois, used troops to integrate the white children of Cairo?

And lastly, if the Committee were so all powerful and so all important — and not unfettered, dynamic political action by a party that would unrelentingly represent the South — how have we in the South continued to drift, founder, and in our time be almost cast upon the rocks and shoals of destruction:

Respectfully yours,
Elmore D. Greaves
Jackson, Miss.

Voters Suffer Confusion Over SR's And Eisencrats

By JOHN HERBERS
United Press Staff Correspondent

We have now reached that stage in the presidential campaign where all factions in Mississippi politics have read each other out of the Democratic Party.

Gov. J. P. Coleman and his regulars read out the States Righters for not supporting the Democratic nominees.

The States Righters read out the regulars for supporting candidates for president and vice president who don't go along with the principles set forth by the state Democratic convention.

President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon are described by Republicans wanting Democratic votes as the best Democrats of them all.

Rep. John Bell Williams of Raymond, in bolting the national Democratic Party, told the people what a good Democrat he is. He came out for States Rights electors—who call themselves independent unpledged electors—but called them "independent Democratic electors."

LEADS TO CONFUSION

All of which leaves the average voter to rattle his confused head and ask: "What the devil is a Democrat, anyway?"

That, of course, is a stpuid question among politicians. In Mississippi a good Democrat is a person who believes in state sovereignty, segregation of the races and usually 100 per cent of parity for cotton.

And since every politician is a good Democrat, why the bitter feuding over the election of a president?

It's all a matter of procedure. Battles may be fought over conflicting principles and personalities in places but in Mississippi some of the greatest political wars are over how to go about getting done what everybody who has anything to say about it wants to get done.

Coleman and his boys, all of whom were bolting States Righters themselves just eight years ago, are taking the practical approach toward maybe accomplishing something for the South in the long run and staying in the national party.

DRAWS PARALLEL

The States Righters, Coleman said, are like a man going to a game between Ole Miss and State and hollering for TCU. He can shout all day but TCU won't score a touchdown.

But the dead serious States Righters don't see it that way. They liken themselves to the virtuous maiden in an old time melodrama who is given a choice between taking a smoke or a drink of whisky. They must abstain from sin at all costs.

They are playing an outside chance of lining up a strong party composed of all conservatives. But if they don't succeed, what's so wrong with going down in glorious defeat for a set of principles?

Clarion Ledger - Jackson Daily News 10-28-56

Politics - Miss.

Clarion Ledger - Jackson Daily News

SR Electors Only Ones Pledged For Segregation

Politics - Miss.

Sen. Earl Evans said today the states rights independent electors are the only ones on the Nov. 6 general election ballot pledged to vote for segregation-favoring candidates.

Evans, a States Rights leader, said the States Rights electors are unpledged except to uphold the principles of Mississippi, including state sovereignty and segregation.

He said they would vote, only for a presidential and vice presidential candidate who supports those views.

In an earlier speech at Philadelphia, Evans said:

"If we vote for the independent electors we will strengthen the position of our congressmen by giving them a mandate to continue fighting the anti - Southern legislation which has and will continue to come before the congress.

"If we approve the race mixing, socialist policies of Stevenson and Kefauver, it will be an insinuation to the nation that the people of Mississippi want our congressmen to stop their fight in Washington."

The senator said Stevenson and Kefauver and Eisenhower and Nixon are in favor of the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

State Times 10/31/56

Urge Voters To Attend Rally Here

Pol - Miss.

According to James A. White, president, Progressive Voters League, the Rev. A. W. Wells, local leader, now ill in the Baptist Hospital, has requested all registered voters to attend the rally at the College Park auditorium Thursday, Nov. 1, at 7:30 p.m. The meeting will be held in the committee room of the auditorium.

The meeting is expected to serve a fourfold purpose—(1) To get a clear picture of the ballot and how to distinguish between the four slates of electors; (2) To recruit volunteer workers to get out the vote for Nov. 6; (3) To pay special tribute to A. J. Noel, civic leader; and (4) To expand the campaign for getting eligible persons registered.

The local increase in Negro voters registration in Hinds county, according to Mr. White, is not sufficient, who said that it should be 15,000.

Mr. White said that as president of the Progressive Voters League he is not interested in who persons vote for, only that Negroes vote.

Coleman Seeks 'Bolting' Curb; Studies Special Session Call

Mississippi States Righters Claim Democrats Fear Loss of State

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 17—Gov. J. P. Coleman is planning a special legislative session in February to repeal a law which permits a voter to bolt his party in a presidential election without affecting his political status in the state organization and its primaries.

Definite decision on the assembly hinges on how the lawmakers feel about it and whether they are willing to enter into an "ironclad" agreement not to remain in session longer than 10 days.

Gov. Coleman plans a series of conferences next month with the legislators to sound them out on it.

Immediate reaction of Democrats who voted for other than the party's presidential candidates this year, as well as in 1952, was that the governor's "decision to push for a change in the law so soon after the recent presidential election is the result of the narrow margin—8 per cent—by which the Democrats carried Mississippi."

Most outspoken critic is State Sen. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, third ranking state official as president pro tem of the Senate,

MISSISSIPPI

who in 1952 was an independent elector pledged to the Republican candidates, and who this year resigned as a Democratic presidential elector to head up the independent States Rights movement.

Under the so-called "vote as you please in national elections" law, enacted in 1948 by the then-strong States Rights group, Sen. Evans was able to desert his Democratic Party in the two presidential elections and still remain a Simonpure Democrat on the state level. Fact is, after the 1952 election, he ran in the 1955 Democratic primary for re-election and was unopposed.

The "vote as you please law" was enacted to permit Democrats in 1948 to vote the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket in opposition to the Truman-Sparkman Democratic slate and still be "loyal" Democrats. They voted 80 per cent for the States Rights ticket under the leadership of the late Gov. Fielding L. Wright, the vice presidential nominee.

Evans Cites Dangers

Gov. Coleman said his plan is to amend the voting statute so members of one party "cannot take an active part in the campaign of another party, such as becoming a presidential elector on another tucket." It would apply to those who actively campaign for the opposition national ticket, as did Sen. Evans and other state Democratic officeholders, including many legislators.

If the governor's plan is adopted, Evans said, "Mississippians may find themselves bound and forced to support a NAACP and AFL-CIO dominated candidate for president in 1960."

Pointing out that an independent slate of States' Rights electors "collected 40,000 votes from people who were casting their ballots for principle" of the 100,000 antiDemocratic tallies in the recent presidential election, Sen. Evans said:

"The recent statements by the titular head of the Democratic Party (the governor) to have the voting law changed are the result of our strong showing and his fear that in the next election the Democratic candidates may be even more obnoxious than Stevenson and Kefauver and the opposition might be even stronger."

Evans charged that "the NAACP and AFL-CIO objectives are being fostered by officials of our state government whether intentional or not by effort to force an elected official to vote for a Democratic candidate or give up the right to hold office as has been the custom in the past."

Says Coleman Afraid

"It is further effort to hold the people of Mississippi in the political bag for the Democratic nominees who advocate principles contrary to our beliefs," he said. "If the governor was not afraid the States' Rights movement is in position to defeat the Democratic Party in Mississippi he would not advocate denying the right of citizens to vote as they please."

Gov. Coleman has said, however, that "there was never any intention of repealing the law outright or telling the people they can't vote as they please in presidential elections."

"You couldn't enforce such a law anyway," he said.

Mississippi has no law requiring registration by party designation.

From another front, W. M. Colmer (D-Miss) said here that the South must choose a new political course, either becoming an "independent two-party section" or an "organized militant minority group because we can no longer afford the luxury of being taken for granted."

"Personally," he explained, "I prefer the course of an organized militant Southern unity within the Democratic Party."

"We must have a new 'Solid South'—a South unified politically for the South," Mr. Colmer said. "We should form an organized, militant bloc like the NAACP to strengthen our position on the segregation issue.

"This won't be easy to do, but it can be done."

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

By TOM ETHRIDGE

Miss - Pil 11-29-56

TOO CONFIDENT?

"Some of our politicians are much too smug over Mississippi's defenses against racial integration," opines Editor Tommy Alewine in his Brandon News. "One lawsuit could tie up all funds of the State Educational Finance Commission and leave the state's pubic schools high and dry without state funds.

"With the stranglehold of the Federal Reserve Board and the F. D. I. C., no bank would dare cash warrants drawn contrary to an order of the U. S. Supreme Court. We need to scatter our authority and our funds quickly. Think it over!"

Coleman Gives Qualified Okay To New Apportionment Plan

Jul-Const. 12-2-56

Governor Says Advance Agreement Mandatory Before Legislators Meet

Miss. Pol

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 1—Support from two leaders from the area which has been successful in blocking a convention for modernization of Mississippi's antiquated constitution of 1890, has cheered proponents who have been waging a losing fight for years.

However, one of them qualified his backing with a provision that the controversial issue of legislative apportionment would either have to be agreed on in advance by the legislature or that subject eliminated from the agenda.

Making that conditional endorsement was Gov. J. P. Coleman, whose home county of Choctaw is in the northeastern section which has representation far in excess of its population insofar as other sections are involved.

There was no "proviso" in the endorsement given the constitutional convention proposal by State Rep. Sam Lumpkin of Lee County, also in the favored section. Lumpkin is a former lieutenant governor, one-time speaker of the house and an unsuccessful 1951 candidate for governor.

Basis for Disagreement

As Gov. Coleman pointed out, the "fly in the ointment" in giving approval of a convention has been the legislative apportionment issue and refusal of the less populous but favored section of Northeast Mississippi to surrender its big block of votes to more populous areas—principally South Mississippi.

Prior to the 1890 convention which drafted the present constitution, legislative representation at a time when the Federal Government "supervised" Mississippi elections and Negroes were allowed more freedom in voting, the apportionment was based on "voting population." That gave the heavily Negro populated counties advantages over the smaller white counties.

With Negro voting discouraged by a poll tax requirement and provision for interpreting sections of the constitution following the War Between the States, the 1890 convention set up legislative representation on the basis of three "grand sections" without regard to population or voting strength. The sectional representation was drafted on the basis of "voting population." The ~~white~~ delegates from the heavily populated Negro counties, anxious to retain their large representation, went along with that plan after 12 additional votes had been given the white counties and since negotiating had been minimized.

MISSISSIPPI

Since that time, new counties have been formed, mostly in the southern section, and because of the limitation placed on each district, they were allowed only one representative with no provision for more as their population increased.

As a result of the 1890 apportionment, 23 counties in the northeastern section with a population of 473,087 have 44 seats in the 140-member house, and 14 in the 49-member senate.

The 24 counties in the western area, which includes those along the Mississippi River, have 56 in the House and 20 in the Senate, and a population of 857,149, while the 35 counties in the so-called southern section with a population of 888,294 have 43 in the House and 14 in the Senate.

Indicative of what the present apportionment has resulted in is the fact that Benton County in the northeast, with a population of 8,789, has one and one-half votes in the House; while Harrison County on the Gulf Coast, with a population of 84,019, has the same representation. Noxubee County, in the upper section of the southern area and a heavily Negro-populated county, with a population of 19,981, has three members of the House, the same as Washington County in the Delta with a population of 70,257.

On the Senate side, Benton has one half vote in the Senate, the same as Harrison County, while Noxubee County has a full vote as does Washington County.

Hinds County's Vote

Meanwhile, Hinds County, site of the state capitol, with a population of 142,164 has one senator and 3½ votes in the House.

Chief advocate of a reapportionment based on population is State Rep. Upton Sisson of Harrison County. His proposal for a convention to correct that discrimination at the 1956 session was killed in committee.

In defense of his proposal, Sisson pointed out that 12 counties, with 26 members in the house, and a population of 735,648 paid $3,383,113 in personal income taxes in 1952, compared to the $1,835,144 from the other 70 counties with a population of 443,266 and 114 house seats.

Sisson also pointed out that 16 counties paid 60 per cent of the sales tax and the other 66 accounted for only 40 per cent.

States' Righters Poor Third

Politics Miss?

Delta Dem. Nov 7

Stevenson Makes His Best Show In State

Miss Pol

By JOHN HERBERS

JACKSON (UP)—Adlai Stevenson today apparently made his best showing in Mississippi with better than a two-to-one margin over President Eisenhower, who still managed to establish a record vote for the Republican ticket.

The states' rights faction supporting Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia and Rep. John Bell Williams of Mississippi placed a poor third, even though they had been favored to run a close second.

Gov. J. P. Coleman said the result is a "repudiation of those who would divide the people of Mississippi." The states righters said they hoped "generations to follow will not live to regret it."

With 1,417 of the state's 1,820 precincts reporting from Tuesday's election, Stevenson had 119,119 votes; Eisenhower 54,931; and the independent states rights ticket 37,744. Eisenhower polled 50,848 votes on the Mississippi Republican Party (Lily White) ticket and 4,083 on the Black and Tan ticket.

Adlai's Best Margin

On the basis of incomplete returns Mississippi appeared to have given Stevenson his greatest margin in the nation. Eisenhower, however, polled an all-time record vote for an outright Republican ticket. In 1952 he won 117,000 votes in Mississippi as an independent.

Coleman, who led the campaign to keep Mississippi in the Democratic column, said the state "should now have a bigger voice in the councils of the Democratic Party. I am highly unhappy about the national scene but Mississippi cannot be blamed for the consequences."

The steering committee for the states' righters who had opposed both major parties, said their purpose "was to give the people a choice other than to endorse an advocate of forced racial integration. They have now made that choice with their eyes wide open and we sincerely hope that they and generations to follow will not live to regret it."

Cities Favor Ike

The states' righters carried or were leading in Bolivar, Madison, Holmes, Humphreys, Jefferson, Sharkey, Wilkinson and Yazoo counties. Eisenhower carried Adams, Forrest and Warren and was leading in Hancock. In 1952 he carried Natchez, Vicksburg, Hattiesburg and was leading in Jackson and running close in Biloxi and Gulfport.

The all-Negro community of Mound Bayou in the heart of the Delta voted overwhelmingly for Eisenhower. The precinct gave him 112 votes on the black and tan ticket and ~~six on~~ the lily white ticket to 38 for Stevenson and none for the states righters.

Politics-
Mississippi -1957

Coleman Pleased By Vote In Mississippi

Politics Miss

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Gov. J.P. Coleman says the Democratic victory in Mississippi gives him "renewed hope" for the future.

Statements by various political leaders: Delta Democrat 11-7

Coleman: "I am highly gratified with the election results in Mississippi. I think it will be regarded as a declaration of confidence in the elected leaders in Mississippi and it is a repudiation of those who sought to undermine those leaders. So far as I am personally concerned, I expect to face the future with renewed hope based upon this expression of the people. I repeat my gratitude to my fellow Mississippians."

State Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, States Rights leader: "The purpose of the States Rights movement was to give the people of Mississippi a choice other than to endorse an advocate of forced integration. They have now made that choice with their eyes wide open, and we sincerely hope that they and future generations will not live to regret it."

State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam: "I am gratified at the Democratic victory in Mississippi despite candidates who did nothing for the ticket against a man with such tremendous popularity as President Eisenhower enjoys. This popularity was intensified with World War III in the background. We also had to fight a huge Republican campaign chest and big business. Please convey all my love to Sam Lumpkin and congratulate him on his influence in his home county."

State Rep. Lumpkin of Lee County supported Eisenhower. His home county went top-heavy for Stevenson.

Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss), who supported the States Righters: "I congratulate the winners and wish them the best. As for my own personal situation, I have no regrets. I supported the only white man's ticket on the ballot. I have no regrets."

Legislator Blasts Mississippi Officials For 'Wasteful Spending'

Delta Democrat 12/4/56

JACKSON (UP) — State Rep. Zealous Paul Polk of Prentiss has unleashed a scathing attack on Mississippi officialdom for driving the state toward "bankruptcy" through wasteful spending and bureaucracy.

Polk made his attack Monday night on station WLBT here. The Jefferson Davis County lawmaker paid for his own time and promised to continue his crusade in the future.

Pointing to a record 186 million dollars appropriated by the 1956 Legislature, Polk warned that "unless we change our present course we are going to face bankruptcy."

Polk struck out at legislators who hold state jobs they helped to create as members of the House or Senate. He said the practice "will lead to despotism."

"When members accept jobs created by their own votes, they violate the state Constitution," he said. "Not only is it illegal, it is morally wrong."

He obviously referred to Rep. Ney Gore of Quitman County who accepted appointment as executive director of the State Sovereignty Commission, a segregation watchdog group formed in the 1956 session. Gore still holds both positions despite efforts to force his resignation from one of the posts.

Polk also declared that Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson "took himself out of politics in Mississippi" when he defended Gore's right to keep his state job and legislative seat.

"Recess committees serve no good purpose," continued Polk, "but merely serve to give employment to members of the Legislature. Creation of boards and bureaus in Mississippi must be discontinued. We have more than 100 of them now. They merely give a political machine a chance to build up power to stay in office."

"We haev by legislative enactment created in this state a bureaucracy so great that thousands of people are working for the taxpayers and many of them don't know what they are supposed to do."

Praising State Auditor Boyd Golding for "uncovering graft and corruption" in the state, Polk predicted: "If we had honest and efficient administration... we could cut taxes 50 per cent."

Miss. Politics

6 The Clarion-Ledger Wednesday, December 19, 19

Barnett Criticizes Atty. Gen. Brownell

By CHARLES M. HILLS
Clarion Ledger Staff Writer

MEADVILLE, Dec. 18 — Ross R. Barnett, twice candidate for governor, charged here tonight that the U. S. attorney general places the rights of criminals ahead of their victims in bids for civil rights legislation.

Speaking to a county-wide meeting of the Franklin County Citizens' Council, the Jackson attorney declared that the protection of woman hood is discounted by Attorney General Herbert Brownnell and that the interests of the attacker, when a Negro, are placed foremost.

Barnett declared that "no one ever heard of the attorney general being interested in helping to apprehend or punish a Negro charged with criminally assaulting a white woman."

The text of his speech is given herewith:

ONE UTTERANCE

"I call upon the splendidly educated and highly trained Attorney General, Herbert T. Brownell, that chief Republican law enforcing officer of America, to point out one utterance recorded or produced either from a speech or statement whereby he pledged or promised the resources of his powerful office to prosecute any man charged with criminally assaulting an innocent girl at any time.

"I ask our clever and highly skillful Attorney General if the proposed Civil Rights Laws that he is so anxious to have put upon the statute book of this Country are for the protection and benefit of innocent womanhood ravished or criminally assaulted or are they for the benefit of a man that committed the crime of criminal assault upon innocent childhood and womanhood?

"I ask him if it is not for the special benefit and protection of a negro man who committed the crime of criminal assault rather than for the benefit of the victim.

"If the brother or father of an outraged assaulted girl in a moment of madness or anger should seize a gun and shoot his sister's or his daughter's assailant or the man who disgraced his sister or daughter, if it is not, then that we witness the power and the influence of the Republican Attorney General's ofice in the Dept. of Justice as seeking to invoke the Civil Rights Laws in behalf of the man who committed the crime of criminal assault, and if the incensed father or the angry brother is not charged with violating the Civil Rights Laws and not the man who committed the criminal assault? In all fairness, let us be remained that this is a one-sided law.

"The Civil Right Laws as promulgated by Brownell are simply recorded upon the pages of our Federal Statutes to protect the man charged with criminal assault and not the victim. In other words, no one has even heard of the Republican Attorney General taking any steps or expressing any concern for the welfare of the victim, even though her Civil Rights had been violated and the shadow of shame cast about her as she travelled down life's journey the remaining years of her life.

the Republican Attorney General

"No one has yet ever heard of of the U. S. or his office force being interested in helping to apprehend and to punish the negro charged with criminal assaulting the white woman.

"They are more interested in passing the laws that will safeguard and protect this wrongdoer rather than they are in seeing that he is punished. The Civil Rights Laws that they will attempt to pass do not guarantee any protection of the rights of the victim."

AFFAIRS OF STATE

Politics Miss

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Clarion Ledger 12-24-56

MARRIAGE MILLS

Rep. Hilton Waits, Washington county, would go along with strengthening of Mississippi's marriage laws, but he doesn't want to place too many restrictions.

"I could take the medical examination as a law or the 5-day waiting period, but I don't like both," he said.

In fact, Waits doesn't like the bill which Rep. John Kennedy, of Marshall county, proposes for the next session of the legislature.

On the other hand, Rep. John R. Junkin, Adams county, would accept the Kennedy bill en toto, and Rep. Russell Fox, Claiborne thinks that it would be a good thing to strengthen the marriage laws so as to stop the borderline marriage mills in Mississippi.

The threesome met in front of the governor's office the other afternoon and became engrossed in quite a discussion. Their views on the marriage bill might be worth considering.

All three are powerful legislators.

For instance, Waits is chairman of the ways and means committee which handles all revenue matters; Junkin is chairman of the House appropriations committee which spends our money and Fox is a member of the legislative investigating committee which keeps us "honest."

MAIL SIGNS

Several outraged citizens have called to this writer's attention that mail trucks traveling around Jackson carry big signs advocating integration.

This writer hasn't seen one of them, but our informants say that a funny paper character is used to accent the deal.

One indignant local resident told us:

"Talk about Russia and Red China brain-washing. . .our own postoffice department is trying to brainwash us, now!"

Be that as it may, in the present socialistic trend of federal government, we are not surprised at anything you might see.

The best advice this writer can give is:

Scoff and forget it. . .just look the other way.

CONSTITUTIONAL

The federal constitution has become so twisted by court interpretations here of late that most of us don't recognize it, or at least don't want to.

And, there is talk of a constitutional convention to revamp Mississippi's operational "Bible."

But, the Mississippi Public Service Commission still find it necessary to use the state recipe every now and then.

For instance, the commission has just told the Illinois Central Railroad that because of the state constitution, it can't close a depot at Sumner, one of Tallahatchie county's dual capitals.

The railroad had sought to close the Sumner station during the slack agricultural season.

But, the commission ruled that the railroad must conform to the 1890 constitutional requirement that railroads maintain depots in county seat towns, and that an agent be on duty.

Tallahatchie county has two county seats, Sumner and Charleston.

STRAIGHT TALK

Ross R. Barnett, local attorney and twice candidate for governor, talked straight from the shoulder down at Meadville as he addressed a citizens Council meeting.

He inquired if Attorney General Herbert Brownell's so-called civil rights laws are not directed to the benefit of Negro criminals and rapists rather than to the protection of innocent white women?

Barnett charged that Brown and his civil rights bills show more interest in protecting the wrongdoers than their victims.

It is good that somebody comes out fighting against the attacks by integrationists upon our southern way of life.

We have heard considerable wonderment as to why no official of this state has openly defended us against attacks by a Negro lieutenant recently.

Even a national television commentator claimed he "couldn't get any official reaction from Mississippi."

Politics - Mississippi
1956

Swampland Kingfish!

White Supremacy His Scepter

The Story of Senator James O. Eastland

As Told to WILLIAM G. NUNN SR. by L. H. MOORE

WHO . . . and what . . . is James O. Eastland, senior Senator from Mississippi, and chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee; ofttimes referred to as the second most powerful committee in the nation's Upper House?

Why was there such a hue and cry from Negroes and from liberals of both parties when he was named chairman of this committee a few months ago?

Is Eastland another "Justice Hugo L. Black in disguise" . . . or is he an unreconstructed rebel?

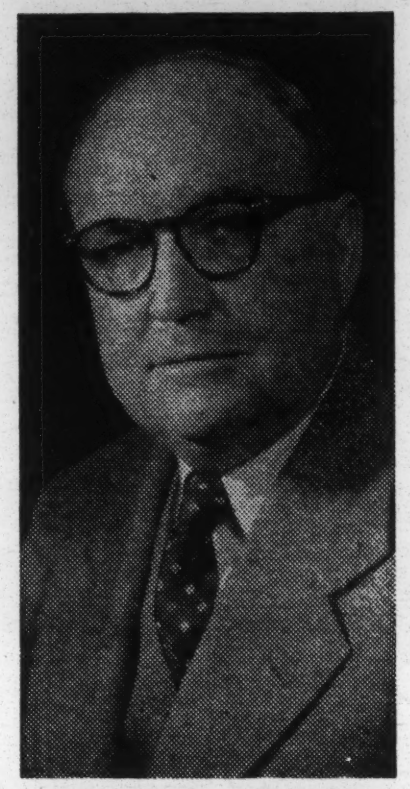
■

MISSISSIPPI . . . "hell-hole" of America . . . spawned Jefferson Davis, James K. Vardaman, Theodore G. Bilbo!

Mississippi . . . where Emmett Till was lynched . . . where Rev. Lee was murdered . . . where Gus Courts was ambushed.

Mississippi . . . with its deltas, its swamps, its Tallahatchie and Sunflower rivers . . . its enfolding forests . . . places which will forever hide the grisly, gruesome mementoes of "man's inhumanity to man."

Mississippi . . . where white is RIGHT; where the average WHITE citizen looks not to God, but to "Senator Jim" to point the way. Where the average NEGRO is just beginning



SENATOR EASTLAND

to learn that he's a human being!

■

IT WAS ALMOST 100 years ago that Jefferson Davis, driven by an insane phobia, led the South through four bloody years of Civil War.

THE COST:—600,000 dead . . . a million wounded . . . a "way of life" eliminated.

Out of the holocaust which was the Civil War came the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

■

TODAY . . . almost a century later . . . the same inexorable urge that drove Jefferson Davis to his folly is being reborn in the cold and humorless (but exceedingly crafty) brain of a 51-year-old disciple of white supremacy.

"Senator Jim" . . . the man from Doddsville, Miss. . . . is a throwback to his native-state forebears.

On his 3,000-acre plantation, he's King James!

He rules his 84 Negro plantation hands with an iron will!

He exacts unswering loyalty and devotion from those who add to his enormous wealth by the sweat of their brows.

■

KING JAMES is to the manor-born! His maternal grandfather, Dr. Richmond Austin, served as a cavalry officer under Nathan Bedford Forrest, the general who founded the Ku Klux Klan at Civil War's end.

His paternal grandfather was a man of great wealth, acquiring large tracts of land, together with slaves to work it . . . near Doddsville, where Jim was born.

View of Senator Eastland's Mississippi Plantation

Although Eastland "raves" from the Nation's Capital and in the Senate Chambers, which accepts him grudgingly, he lives in feudal glory on the banks of the Sunflower river.

■

THE MISSISSIPPI Delta . . . where Senator Jim lives . . . basks in the reflection of his evaluation of Negroes.

If you drive through the region, you "burn" over the studied insults and the sit-down indifference of white service station operators . . . that is, if you're a Negro.

If you're a Negro . . . and your license plate identifies you as coming from an area outside the South . . . you'll hear the boss ask the attendant (even before you're out of ear-shot); "Where was that damn 'nigra's' tag from?"

■

DAVIS . . . Vardaman . . . Bilbo . . . Eastland! The first three were show-offs, swash-buckling proponents of white supremacy.

Eastland is smart . . . clever . . . ruthless . . . calculating!

And he's determined that as long as he can raise his voice in protest, integration in ANY form will NEVER BECOME a part of the life of Mississippi's illiterate, teeming millions.

A GRADUATE of the University of Mississippi, Vanderbilt and the University of Alabama, he was admitted to the Mississippi bar in 1927 (at the age of 23) and served as a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives from 1928 until 1932.

He was appointed to the U. S. Senate in 1941 and was elected for his first full term in 1943.

He's the most deadly enemy of civil rights Mississippi has ever produced.

He can't mimic the extravagances of Davis . . . the man who failed to divide a nation.

A 20th century world just won't tolerate it!

■

BUT HE'S using his brains . . . his talent . . . his education . . . his enviable Senate position . . . to defy the U. S. Supreme Court.

He's an implacable foe of justice for the Negro.

Mississippi knows where Eastland stands . . . the world knows where Eastland stands!

Eastland is determined to keep "the Nigra" in his place!

■

NEXT WEEK—What they say about Eastland in his own home state!

ANNUAL MEETING NUMBER

Church Council Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Vol. V SEPTEMBER, 1944 No. 4

WORLD-WIDE COMMUNION SUNDAY

October 1, 1944

U. S. Army Signal Corps Photograph

Courtesy, United Lutheran Publication House

SOLDIERS RECEIVING COMMUNION IN SOUTH PACIFIC

Design for Living Today

An Adventure in Applied Christianity

GREENSBORO, N. C.

November 17-19, 1944

Auspices

THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

and

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SPEAKERS

Y. C. YANG

Noted Christian statesman and educator of China. President of Soochow University. Director of the Chinese News Service, New York City.

•

IRA DeA. REID

Nationally known sociologist of Atlanta University. Editor of Phylon Magazine. Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

•

CHARLES JONES

Minister of the Presbyterian Church of Chapel Hill. Member of the Southern Field Council of the Student Y. M. C. A. and a Director of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Design for Living Today

Greensboro, N. C. November 17-19, 1944

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Friday, November 17

4:30-7:30 p. m.—Registration
(Administration Building, Bennett College)

8:30 p. m.—"The Unfinished Tasks of Christianity"
Speaker: Dr. Y. C. Yang
(Annie Merner Pfeiffer Chapel, Bennett College)

Saturday, November 18

9:00 a. m.—"What Is Wrong With the World"
Speaker: Rev. Charles Jones
(Assembly Hall, Henry Pfeiffer Science Building, Bennett College)

10:30 a. m.—Workshop Discussion Period

12:00 noon—"China's Contribution to Tomorrow's World"
Speaker: Dr. Y. C. Yang
(Assembly Hall, Henry Pfeiffer Science Building)

1:00 p. m.—Lunch

4:00 p. m.—Workshop Discussion Period

6:30 p. m.—Supper

8:00 p. m.—"Christian Students and the Building of the South"
Speaker: Dr. Ira Reid
(Annie Merner Pfeiffer Chapel, Bennett College)

Sunday, November 19

9:30 a. m.—Workshop Discussion Period
(Odell Auditorium, Greensboro College)

10:15 a. m.—Student Panel—Conference Summary
(Odell Auditorium, Greensboro College)

11:30 a. m.—"Working With God for a New World"
Speaker: Rev. Charles Jones
(Odell Auditorium, Greensboro College)

WORKSHOP DISCUSSION LEADERS

MISS ETHELENE SAMPLEY, Director of Religious Education, Centenary Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.

DR. WILSON Q. WELCH, Jr., Professor of Religion, Hood Theological Seminary, Salisbury, N. C.

DR. A. D. BEITTEL, Professor of Sociology, Guilford College, N. C.

DR. IVAN E. TAYLOR, Dean of Instruction, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MISS EMMA LOUISE BENIGNUS, Professor of Religion, Randolph-Macon College, Virginia.

DR. EUGENE PFAFF, Director of the Southern Council on International Affairs, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Others to be announced.

WHO MAY ATTEND

Although planned especially for college people, the conference is open to all persons interested in the building of a better world. College delegates (students and faculty) will be given preference in the assignment of accommodations in the homes of church people in the community. Ministers, teachers, and others who wish to attend the sessions may find it necessary to make their own arrangements for overnight accommodations. Registrations should be made in advance.

COSTS

The costs for registration fee and meals at the conference will be $3.00. Attenders should plan to secure their Friday evening and Sunday noon meals individually.

WHEN YOU ARRIVE

Come to the Administration Building at Bennett College in Greensboro (Washington and Macon Sts.), to receive your housing assignment, meal tickets, etc. The registration desk will be open from 4:30 to 7:30 p. m. The opening session of the conference will begin at 8 p. m. Friday evening in the Pfeiffer Memorial Chapel at Bennett College.

For registration blanks and further information write:

EDWIN L. DUCKLES, *Southern Field Secretary*
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.

CONFERENCE CALL

We, the undersigned student organizations in North Carolina and Virginia, are planning to send delegations to the Conference on Applied Christianity in Greensboro, N. C., November 17-19.

We issue this call to all interested individuals and student groups in the region and extend an invitation to join with us in this search for a "Design for Living Today."

A. & T. College Y. M. C. A.
A. & T. College Y. W. C. A.
Atlantic Christian College Social Science Department
Atlantic Christian College Student Christian Assoc.
Barber-Scotia College Y. W. C. A.
Bennett College Student Senate
Bennett College Sunday School Organization
Bennett College Woman's Society of Christian Service
Bennett College Y. W. C. A.
Brevard College Christian Student Movement
Catawba College Baptist Student Union
Catawba College International Relations Club
Catawba College Y. W. C. A.
Duke University Y. W. C. A.
Greensboro College International Relations Club
Greensboro College Y. W. C. A.
Guilford College International Relations Club
Guilford College Y. M. C. A.
Guilford College Y. W. C. A.
High Point College Youth Fellowship
Livingstone College Sunday School
Livingstone College Christian Endeavor
Livingstone College Ministerial Alliance
Livingstone College International Relations Club
Meredith College International Relations Club
North Carolina Baptist Student Union
North Carolina College Y. M. C. A.
North Carolina College Y. W. C. A.
North Carolina College Sunday School
Queens College S. C. A. Cabinet
Salem College International Relations Club
St. Mary's School Canterbury Club
University of North Carolina Wesley Foundation
Virginia Union University Y. M. C. A.
Wake Forest College Baptist Student Union
Western Carolina Teachers College International Relations Club
Western Carolina Teachers College Student Senate
Woman's College Baptist Student Union
Woman's College Inter-Faith Council
Woman's College St. Mary's House
Woman's College Wesley Foundation
Woman's College Westminster Fellowship
Woman's College Y. W. C. A.

"THE BIBLE IS THE CORNERSTONE OF LIBERTY."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

WEEK-DAY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION NUMBER

Church Council Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Vol. V NOVEMBER, 1944 No. 5

Week-day Religious Education in North Carolina

FAMILY CO-OPERATION

All the children of school age are enrolled! The above is a picture of Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Gantt whose four children James, Hazeline, David and John, are taking the Bible courses offered in the Davidson Public School. Their teacher Miss Louise Maxwell, is the other member of the group. Davidson is one of the smallest towns in the state, where a full-time teacher of Bible is employed. Instruction is given to both white and colored pupils in the elementary and high school grades.

TEACHERS' WORKSHOP

The vast majority of those teaching Bible in the public schools of North Carolina are well prepared for their task. Many of them have one or two years of graduate work in the field of Religious Education. A commendable professional pride animates these instructors. They are organized on a statewide basis and into regional groups for more effective exchange of suggestions and experience.

Teachers of the Bible throughout the state are cooperating in developing suitable curriculum materials for their work. During the academic year 1943-44 they set up district workshops for the purpose of discussing available teaching materials, revising them if necessary, and creating new ones. Each of

(Continued on page 3)

"SHARING"

"Sharing" is the title of the professional bulletin issued several times each year by the Bible teachers in the public schools of North Carolina. It is an excellent publication, well supported by those devoted to this cause. Two items appearing in the October, 1944, issue are worthy of special mention. One is a quotation from Dr. Highsmith, Director of Division of Instructional Service, State Department of Public Instruction. In it he makes the statement that credit is allowed for study in Bible precisely as in the case of other courses or subjects. Two of the sixteen units required for graduation may be allowed for work in this field. He goes on to say that the North Carolina College Conference and the Southern Association of Colleges and

(Continued on page 3)

REPORT FROM THE FIELD

As evidence of the thoughtful consideration which our teachers are giving to their work, we submit the following from a report of Miss Katherine Wicker, a Bible teacher in the J. W. Cannon High School, Kannapolis, N. C.

"The following aims state very clearly what we hope to accomplish from Bible study in High School.

I. To develop an attitude of appreciation and reverence for the Bible.
   a. To foster in the pupils a consciousness of God and love for Him as revealed in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.
   b. To form an attitude of appreciation of goodness, beauty, and truth; to draw the Bible view of Morality and standards of value in society

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Church Council Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Vol. 6 JANUARY, 1945 No. 1

Plans Completed for Seventh Convocation of Churches

Mission to Christian Teachers Scheduled for February 11-13

DURHAM COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO BE HOST

Announcement of the Mission to Christian Teachers to be held in Durham on February 11, 12 and 13, is given at this time in order that denominational leaders, as well as local pastors from throughout the state, might attend if at all possible.

This meeting, which is being sponsored by the Durham Council of Churches in cooperation with the North Carolina Council of Churches, will feature outstanding leadership in the field of religious education. Among the leaders will be:

Dr. Jesse M. Bader, Executive Secretary, Department of Evangelism, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York City.

Dr. James A. Jones, Pastor, Myers Park Presbyterian Church, Charlotte.

Miss Elsie L. Miller, Assistant in Department of Christian Education of Children, The Methodist Church, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. S. J. Patterson, Jr., Director of Men's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S., Richmond, Va.

Dr. Raymond M. Veh, Editor, **Evangelical Crusader,** Harrisburg, Pa.

The primary purpose of this Mission is to help teachers become more clearly aware of their evangelistic opportunity and to provide them with guidance and inspiration in undertaking this responsibility. It is designed also to bring them to a more vital personal Christian experience.

A world at war confronts the churches with heavy responsibilities and unusual opportunities. There are many evidences of a new openmindedness toward the Christian message; a mood of prayer among the people; and a heightened

(Continued on page 2)

INTEREST GROWS IN VISITATION EVANGELISM

Visitation evangelism has caught the attention of religious leaders in North Carolina. Religious forces of several communities have tried it and report amazing results. At the last meeting of the North Carolina Council of Churches attention was given to the request that we launch a state-wide approach. The first in the series will be held at Morganton, February 18-22, under the direction of Dr. F. S. Love, state chairman. Dr. Love has had wide experience in this field and is in a position to assist other communities in this type of program. Complete information concerning visitation evangelism may be had by writing the Council office, or Dr. F. S. Love, Lake Junaluska, N. C.

The effectiveness of such a program

(Continued on page 3)

MORGANTON PROGRAM

Sixteen.. churches.. representing practically all of the white and Negro churches of the city are participating in the Morganton Visitation program. Many churches in the surrounding area are also expected to participate. Plans for the program have been in the making since late fall and reports already received from this community indicate a great deal of enthusiasm and interest. Other interested ministers and laymen across the state should make every effort to attend this first in the series. For further information address Rev. R. B. Conner, 111 East Avenue, Morganton, N. C.

EVENT SCHEDULED FOR CHARLOTTE, APRIL 3-5

As this Bulletin goes to press, indications are that the Convocation will be cancelled in line with the recent government order affecting conventions. Ed.

The Seventh Convocation of Churches will be held in Charlotte April 3, 4 and 5, 1945. Dr. H. Shelton Smith of Duke University and chairman of the Convocation, announces the following out-of-state leaders:

Miss Margaret Applegarth, United Council of Church Women, and also a member of the staff of the World Council of Churches, New York City.

Dr. Harold Bosley, Pastor, Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Executive Secretary, Board of Home Missioons, Congregational-Christian Churches, New York City.

The Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, D. D., Bishop, Diocese of Washington, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Walter H. Judd, Member, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Miss Katherine Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dr. John A. Mackay, President, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

Dr. Arthur F. Raper, Social Science Analyst, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Among the host of state leaders who will participate in the program will be Dr. John R. Cunningham, President, Davidson College, Davidson, and Presi-

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Church Council Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CA[redacted] COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Vol. VI MARCH, 1945 No. 2

Racial Conditions Reviewed in North Carolina

Convocation Cancelled—O. D. T. Rulings Draw Attention

ALL MAJOR RELIGIOUS MEETINGS CANCELLED

The Seventh Annual Convocation of Churches will not be held in Charlotte April 3, 4 and 5, as previously announced. Action to this effect was taken on January 24 after consultation with religious and government leaders in New York, Washington, Charlotte and Raleigh. Government officials with whom we conferred continually referred to the "critical stage of the war." It was our belief that all groups were being asked to cooperate in the conservation of transportation, hotel facilities and fuel. It was, therefore, in good faith that we cancelled the Convocation and urged many of the Council's leaders to go the extra step of encouraging the cancellation of other meetings that were not classed as absolutely essential in the opinion of the respective denominations.

After the cancellation of such events it was a great disappointment to the religious leaders of the state to learn, directly from the Washington ODT, of the government's act of discrimination in that the ruling concerning conventions did not affect athletic events. Consequently, the fact that such things as the Southern Conference Basketball Tournament in Raleigh in February, involving some 3,000 people, and countless other such athletic events involving much travel, could go ahead as scheduled, makes it appear that in the minds of some of our Washington leaders, athletic events are entitled to a priority while the work of the church must be considered less essential.

The protests which have been made have not been aimed against the athletic events but over the fact that the government through the ODT in setting itself up as a judge to determine what is and is not important, has decreed that athletics should have a priority, while the church is less essential. Today there are too many broken hearts and weary souls for us to say that a basketball tournament takes precedence over the ministry of the church.

"I am glad to contribute to any cause for the uplift of humanity, and I consider The Council of Churches one of the best." — Judge R. Lee Wright, Salisbury.

WANTED!

Wanted—Eighteen earnest, Christian laymen to direct the financial affairs of a cooperative Christian movement in North Carolina.

This is the call that has gone out from the chairman of the Council's Board of Finance, Bishop Edwin A. Penick. Bishop Penick and other Council leaders are convinced that the effectiveness of this movement which includes thirteen of the major Christian denominations, will be strengthened if the interest and activity of such an impressive body of laymen can be enlisted.

The state has been divided into eighteen areas. Our aim is to secure a prominent layman to serve as chairman of each district, with associates from the included counties.

The Council's budget is not large. Its need for 1944-45 of $10,994.50 is far less than that of many average size churches, but it must be remembered that the Council's program is that of a coordinating agency, designed to foster the work which is done locally and through denominational channels. Today, more than ever, we know of the need and the effectiveness of this organization. It merits the support of individuals, local churches, and all denominational bodies.

As this bulletin goes to press the following laymen have agreed to serve as district chairmen:

Area III—J. E. Paschall, Wilson (Northampton, Halifax, Nash, Edgecombe, Wilson and Warren counties.)

Area XII—George M. Ivey, Charlotte (Mecklenburg, Union, and Anson counties.)

Area XIII—Willard B. Revelle, Winston-Salem (Forsyth, Surry, Stokes and Yadkin counties.)

Your personal contribution is needed. If your local church is not contributing either through its Sunday School organization or its regular church budget, this is an opportunity for you to urge the extension of its ministry beyond the local parish into all the world.

Send all contributions direct to your District Chairman, or:

The North Carolina Council of Churches
College Station, Durham, N. C.

OPINIONS REPORTED HERE FOR STIMULATION OF THOUGHT

In December, 1944, the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation sought first-hand information on racial conditions across North Carolina. We attempted to get a fair reporting by sampling opinions from at least 150 communities. In each community we contacted members of both races. In no case did we pick our correspondents. They represented all professions, including doctors, lawyers, educators, laborers, ministers.

The following are excerpts from the replies received in answer to our question, "Are there evidences of tension among the races in your community?" The ones herewith quoted are not picked or edited. They are as received from the representatives of both races.

Are these the conditions as you would have reported them? If not, may we hear from you?

Asheville . . . reasonably free at this time from any threatened or smouldering racial conflict.

Chapel Hill . . . not much conflict between the races, but much conflict over the interracial question.

Cooleemee . . . more of a tension between races at present than existed twelve months ago.

Durham . . . considerable tension here . . . in connection with the enforcement of the separation of the races in transportation and matters involving the enforcement of justice.

Elon College . . . no evidence of friction between the white and colored people who live at Elon College.

Elizabeth City . . . racial conditions . . . very good . . . do not know of any conflicts.

Gastonia . . . no trouble at all between the races in our city.

Greensboro . . . no racial conflict, and no problem needing immediate attention has come before our executive committee for quite some time.

Greenville . . . relations most satisfactory . . . no tensions at this time. Even the rumors have died out.

Henderson . . . no real tension between the races here, but there are conditions that our people feel are unfair.

(Continued on page 2)

Politics, Southern

NATIONAL REPORTS

South Joins New Isolationist Movement

By Charles O. Lerche

ATLANTA

OLD STEREOTYPES in politics die hard. One current example of a myth that still lingers on is the claim that "the South is the most internationally-minded section of the nation." In fact, a new strain of particularly virulent isolationism can be spotted all through the South and is especially powerful in Georgia.

The state's leaders in this new advocacy of American withdrawal from world affairs are U.S. Senators Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge, and—among others—James C. Davis (Atlanta) and "Jack" Flynt (Griffin) of the Congressional delegation. Locally, considerable support is being given to this trend.

A straw in the wind is the attitude taken by Roy V. Harris, ex-Speaker of the Georgia House. Although Harris has been out of office for some years now, he remains a major figure. He is a co-founder of the Georgia States' Rights Council (the local version of the White Citizens Council), and publisher of the weekly Augusta *Courier*. This four-page sheet advocates the extreme segregationist position, reprints inflammatory speeches and literature, and during the past year has been one jump ahead of official circles in advocating segregationist moves.

A few weeks ago, in the course of an impassioned plea to Georgia's citizenry to take back control of the Government from the "race-mixers," "crackpots," "wildcats" and "Communists" who dominate Washington, Harris put in his oar for isolationism: "It seems to me that the time has come when we ought to realize that we are not strong enough, great enough and big enough to do the fighting for . . . the whole damn world. This is the time to do away with economic aid to other nations."

Senator Russell earned considerable local praise by his amendment to the Eisenhower Doctrine that would have stripped all military- and economic-aid provisions from it. He is also on record as saying that "one wing of the Strategic Air Command" would do more to pacify the Middle East than all the aid programs ever conceived. His high point was reached in a speech in which he admitted that he had changed his views about Washington's Farewell Address and was finding many virtues in it that had formerly escaped him. The Senator's reputation as the perfect "Senate type" (in William S. White's words) obscures the fact that he has voted against every foreign-aid bill since 1950 and has consistently favored massive military expenditures as an alternative to any kind of concerted foreign policy.

Senator Talmadge has concentrated on foreign-policy issues instead of civil rights and race during his first two months in the Senate. His "maiden speech" was given wide publicity here, complete with verbatim texts and TV film clips, and no one has been permitted to forget that it was an all-out assault on the whole concept of foreign aid—and, indeed, on the notion of a foreign policy itself. His theme is "take care of our own first—and give foreigners what's left over."

The Georgia Congressional delegation is divided to some extent, although none of its members has been conspicuous as a defender of foreign economic assistance. Congressmen Davis and Flynt were the only ones who went so far as to vote against the Eisenhower Doctrine, but several of the others have entered protests against the general line of the Administration's foreign policy. In contrast, Representative Henderson Lanham (Rome) has not only deplored reckless ("meat-ax") budget cutting but has taken a much more restrained position on foreign-policy and foreign-aid issues.

So powerful has the isolationist trend become that a few responsible voices in Georgia have attempted to call a halt. The Atlanta newspapers, operating a very profitable monopoly in the entire metropolitan area, are famous for their refusal to take a strong stand on any question that might offend influential circles; recently, however, they have spoken up on this issue, as forthrightly as they dared. Ralph McGill, the well-known and influential editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, published a signed column attacking unnamed "extremist groups" which were sabotaging American foreign policy; in another, he repudiated Senator Russell's amendment to the Middle East resolution in carefully unspecific and inoffensive language (he never mentioned Russell by name). Unsigned editorials in the papers have been much more outspoken, condemning the entire isolationist trend and even defending the President and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

But even the newspaper opposition and the continuing (if not particularly well-organized) campaign by various pressure groups in Atlanta to slow down the drive toward withdrawal have not been especially effective. There are strong economic interests which feel they have a stake in minimal foreign policy, of which the cotton-textile producers are only one example. There also is some reason to believe that the Russell-Tal-

4/15/57

madge line is genuinely popular in Georgia and that this is in no sense a plot being put over on an innocent and unsuspecting citizenry.

What is interesting about Southern isolationism is how it fits into what has become the standard equipment of a certain Southern political school. Where you find a Southern isolationist, there you are also likely to find a budget-cutter, a tax-cutter, an opponent of Federal aid to schools, a segregationist, and a highly articulate manipulator of "states' rights" and the myth of the Yankee "liberal-Communist-labor union" invasion of the South. Reading Roy Harris, one would think that the Eisenhower Administration is dominated by Americans for Democratic Action; Harris professes to find control of the Government divided among Henry Wallace, Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther.

Some Northern Democrats are discovering with dismay that there is very little difference today between Herman Talmadge and William Jenner. Except for minor differences on the civil-rights issue, right-wing Republicans and many Southern Democrats are discovering more and more common ground. Southern sectionalism, despite the clamor about school and bus integration, is no longer a maverick. It has found kindred spirits in the Middle West, in the Rockies and in some of the pockets of conservatives in California. To get the voting support it needs on issues in which it is interested, it has had to barter on foreign-policy issues. The powerful trend toward isolation in the South is one result of that exchange.

Resist. Group - Misc.

file

Reprint,

March, 1960

Mr. Muhammad Speaks

By Alex Haley

As head of a fast-growing, violently anti-white, anti-Christian cult, this mild-looking little man is now called "the most powerful black man in America"

As another Negro and I walked down the main hall of the New York City Public Library, a third, a stranger, joined us. He apologized, "I couldn't help overhearing that you were discussing Mr. Muhammad. It seems that whenever I notice two of us talking, he's the subject."

I had recently arrived from San Francisco. There, too, Negroes were talking about the small, light-brown man who calls himself "Elijah Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah to the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in North America." The founder and leader of a vitriolically anti-white, anti-Christian cult that preaches black superiority, Muhammad bluntly declares, "I am doing all I can to make the so-called Negroes see that the white race and its religion, Christianity, are their open enemies."

With a program built on tenets allegedly taught to him by "Almighty God Allah in Person," Muhammad has converted to his "Muslim"—cult pronunciation, moose'lem—religion an estimated

70,000 Negroes. (These should not be confused with the 33,000 true Moslems in America.) He has established over 50 "Temples of Islam" and numerous smaller missions that operate in rented quarters or private homes, in 27 states—north and south, and coast to coast. The largest are in Chicago, Detroit and New York; the fastest-growing, in Los Angeles, Atlanta and Miami. In addition, there are in Chicago and Detroit two "Universities of Islam"—the latter accredited through ninth grade—where "Future Leaders of Islam" attend classes 50 weeks a year, and third-graders start learning Arabic.

In an effort to eliminate Negro dependence on whites, Muhammad promotes Muslim-owned and patronized businesses: dress shops, barbershops, groceries, dry cleaners, restaurants, bakeries, a department store, apartment buildings. Now in the financing stage is a Chicago "Islamic Center," which will cover two city blocks and cost 20 million dollars.

His appeal seems to be chiefly among the great masses of Negroes who have migrated to large cities and have been unable to acquire satisfactory new identities. To these, he offers a new way of life—a militant and arrogant black unity. "This is a fast-growing form of black fascism," says Father William McPeak of All Saints' Parish, Harlem. Dr. J. Oscar Lee, of the National Council of Churches, says, "The doctrine used is most dangerous. But we are forced to concede that its followers get a new pride and purpose."

When I went to hear Mr. Muhammad, New York's 5000-seat St. Nicholas Arena was packed. The floor was lined with standees; 1000 of the faithful were in the basement and many more were outside. They would hear the message on loudspeakers.

The meeting was opened by Wallace D. Muhammad, one of Muhammad's six sons. Next to speak was Muhammad's tall, whip-smart assistant, a New York minister named "Malcolm X." He had been serving a sentence for larceny in the Charlestown, Mass., state prison when he was converted.

"When I was a Christian I was a criminal. I was only doing what the white man taught me," Malcolm X was saying calmly, conversationally.

Suddenly, shouting rose from the audience. From the rear marched two double rows of Muslim men. Between them walked a meek-looking little man wearing a blue suit and an embroidered pillbox fez.

Malcolm X waved furiously to stop the wild ovation. Then he introduced the shy-looking little man as "the *boldest* black man in America . . . the most *powerful* black man in America . . . the *smartest* black man in America."

Muhammad took the rostrum. For two hours he shouted such statements as: "Everybody has failed the Negro! . . . Christianity has failed! . . . the FBI has failed! Christianity

is a white man's religion! It contains no salvation for the black man! . . . Properly read, the Resurrection means that we, the black men of North America, will rise from mental death—then, like Joseph, go on to become master in the land wherein we once were slaves. . . . Why, after 400 years of murder, rape and slavery, do our oppressors now wave the olive branch of integration? Our oppressors are determined to keep our eyes in the sky while they control the land under our feet—smite our cheeks, rob our pockets! . . . They do not *want* a united Negro! They do not *want* an Islamic Negro! They know that Islam frees black men from fear!"

Afterward, Muhammad's words were discussed throughout Harlem—in apartments, along the sidewalks, in taverns and restaurants. Exclaimed a retired U. S. Coast Guard steward: "What kind of fools sit and hear him run down God?" A social worker at her desk: "The man is either a gifted opportunist or a psychotic!"

But for every antagonist, at least three defended Muhammad. For example, a woman in a beauty parlor said, "Muhammad just talks facts, and white people call it hate. Negroes already got plenty to hate—he's just bringing it out! If they want to stop Muhammad, the quickest way is to stop the Faubuses."

"It's got to go further than that," said another. "Integrate schools—what have you got? Graduation day, white kids go in one direction, and black another. They know better than to *ask* for the jobs the white kids get. The Constitution says the same thing for all the citizens—it just gets twisted when it's us!"

And still another: "You read where some of them Southern churches fire preachers for just *talking* tolerance. Sunday morning is the most Jim Crow day in this country. It's going to be a bad time in heaven, I think."

None of it was surprising to a professor of sociology, who said, "I've studied this man. He would never have got off the ground without so many evils to point out. But Muhammad's the extravaganza. Go to a routine temple meeting if you want to see the real spadework."

I went to Harlem's Temple of Islam No. 7, the next Sunday afternoon. Facing us there was a blackboard; painted on it was an American flag, captioned "Slavery, Suffering, Death"; opposite it was an Islamic Star and Crescent, captioned "Freedom, Justice, Equality." Printed between the two was, "Which One Will Survive the War of Armageddon?" After an inflammatory harangue by a 26-year-old Korean War veteran named "Curtis 2-X," all non-Muslims were invited to step to the rear of the temple to declare themselves.

All new converts begin a series of intensive lectures and lessons. The core of these is fierce black-race pride: "You are superior. Act it." "Principles of Belief in Islam" come next: keep up prayer; spend of

what Allah has given in the cause of truth; speak truth despite circumstances; keep clean internally and externally; love the brother or sister believer as oneself; be kind; kill no one whom Allah has not ordered to be killed; worship no God but Allah; fear no one but Allah; never be the aggressor, but always defend yourself if attacked.

In other edicts that alter personal habits, Muhammad prompts even his severest critics to agree when he says he attacks "traditional reasons the Negro race is weak." Alcohol, tobacco, drugs are banned, along with swearing, gambling and dancing. A Muslim woman may not use cosmetics; she may never be alone in a room with any man but her husband. Old friends of new Muslims are astounded at the incredible changes of personality which take place as converts swap lifelong habits for new spartan standards.

Adult Muslims attend classes one night a week. Men take "physical hygiene"—body-building, military drilling and judo. Selected students between 18 and 30 compose the elite corps, "Fruit of Islam," who travel in chartered buses to wherever Muhammad speaks.

"It's nothing more than you find in the YMCA, CYO, Masons or Boy Scouts," New York minister Malcolm X said of "physical hygiene." But law-enforcement officials view it differently. New York City deputy police commissioner Walter Arm points out that in emotionally tense minority communities, a Muslim interpretation of "defend yourself," backed by the well-trained "Fruit of Islam," could easily ignite a riot.

I applied through Malcolm X to interview the leader, and flew to Chicago to be available when his heavy schedule would permit an appointment. Elijah Muhammad had come a long way from Sandersville, Ga., where, in October 1897, he was christened Elijah Poole, the son of a Baptist minister.

After an eighth-grade education, Elijah moved to Detroit where, he says, he met "Allah in Person" in 1931. This was a man named Fard Muhammad—"the first and only man born in Mecca who came to America for the express purpose of teaching the so-called Negro." Fard Muhammad allegedly tutored Elijah, who then founded the first Temple of Islam, in Detroit. Moving later to Chicago, Elijah was arrested for lecturing against Negroes' fighting "the white man's war." Absolved of sedition but found guilty of draft-dodging, he served three years in the Federal Correction Institution at Milan, Mich.

Released in 1946, he concentrated on grooming dedicated assistants. The staff has at its core Muhammad's six sons. A son-in-law, 210-pound Raymond Sharrieff, is "Supreme Captain" of the "Fruit of Islam." Malcolm X is an ubiquitous aide-de-camp who flies about the United States counseling city and territorial ministers, who in turn designate subordinate lieutenants,

sergeants and corporals within the congregation. This deep-rooted organization gives Elijah Muhammad a control and direct power unequaled among Negro leaders.

Nowhere is the Muslim bond of unity displayed more graphically than in their business establishments, which do brisk trade. But Muslim cash registers provide only part of the revenue that reaches Muhammad. At the St. Nicholas Arena in New York I saw no coins in the offering—nothing but bills fluttered into the large paper sacks which ushers passed in the packed hall. More money comes from monthly bazaars and sidewalk sales of jellies, pies, candies and cakes.

All together, enough U.S. Negro dollars flow in to Mr. Muhammad to enable him to finance new businesses, amass funds to begin the 20-million-dollar Center and purchase a large, modern Chicago apartment building. (From the latter he evicted white tenants, moved in Negroes, then lowered the rent—a point not lost upon non-Muslim Negroes.)

A few days after the interview I was invited to dine with the Muhammad family. Muhammad spoke in a calm voice—mostly of his problems. The FBI, for instance, was building a thickening file on the organization's activities. He knew that a Congressional probe was rumored, and that the Internal Revenue Service maintains keen interest in Muslim finance. But he said that he fears no agencies. "I have all I need—the truth," he said.

Five times during dinner, Mr. Muhammad excused himself to take long-distance calls. As the evening waned, he occasionally gave a glimpse of his dreams. "What 20 million Negroes could finance for themselves with just a dollar apiece a month!" he once exclaimed. Again, he mused, "—a million black people under the Crescent . . ."

Among every 300 Negroes there is one registered Muslim—anti-white, anti-Christian, resentful, militant, disciplined—and sworn to follow Elijah Muhammad to the death. How far can he go?

In Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia and New York, I talked with top-caliber Negro professional men, with scholars and executives to whom the mere thought of cult membership is repugnant. I heard unanimous denunciation of the anti-white, anti-Christian aspects of the Muslim program. Yet all these people felt that beyond doubt Muhammad is a figure to be reckoned with—because there is so much truth in his charges.

As long as inequity persists in our democratic system, Elijah Muhammad—or some variation of him—will be able to solicit among the Negro population enough followers to justify the title, "the most powerful black man in America." It is important for Christianity and democracy to help remove the Negroes' honest grievances and thus eliminate the appeal of such a potent racist cult.

Negro Ghettos in the North

MAY 11 1960

Fanatic Muslims Symbolize And Spur Negroes' Unrest

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Resist.. Misc

By HARRY S. ASHMORE

Lenox avenue and 116th street was once the main corner of the Harlem that Carl Van Vechten, a popular novelist of the twenties, in that simpler time, without offense could identify as "Nigger Heaven." It isn't an important intersection any longer, but there still stands there a sagging office building bedecked by signs that are intended to signalize the American Negro's protest movement.

Third in a series.

A white man entering the old building causes a mild flurry. An ancient custodian peers out of his cubbyhole with obvious surprise, and a numbers runner scuttles off down the street to spread the word of possible trouble.

The open-cage elevator ceased functioning in some forgotten epoch. Worn, dimly lighted steps take the visitor upward across the yawning distances between old-fashioned high ceilings, and past closed doors that recite their own pathetic litany.

The second floor is the headquarters of the Garvey Club, keeping alive the name of old Marcus, the first and probably the most spectacular of the Black Nationalists. On the third floor there is the Universal Nationalist Movement, a splinter of the larger United African Nationalists which is the private preserve of a smooth-talking public relations man named James R. Lawson. Down the hall a door bears the imprimatur of the Prophet Judah. The fourth floor is taken up with a sizeable meeting hall which is Temple No. 7 of Muhammad's

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Negro Ghettos in the North

Fanatic Muslims Profit from Unrest

Continued From Page 1

Islam—the New York center of the so-called Black Muslim movement which now makes militant anti-white sounds in every major city of the country.

All these doors are firmly closed to the white visitor. So are the meetings of the Muslims, where even those with the black skins must submit to a search upon entry. There is the unmistakable aura here of the secret society—and one who has lived in the South thinks instantly of the ironic parallel with the Ku Klux Klan.

The Muslim movement began, so its reluctant historians say, about 20 years ago in Detroit. Temple Nunber One is now in Chicago, and this is the seat of the aging, bald man who came into the world as Elijah Poole and now calls himself Messenger Elijah Muhammad. The claims made on behalf of the Messenger in his own publication go like this:

"Messenger Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of America's Muslims, whose undisputed control of his fast-growing, well-disciplined, fearless young followers . . . and his growing influence throughout the African-Asian world, makes him one of the most loved and respected Black Men in America. He heads the best organized group of young Black people in the Western hemisphere, dedicated young people whose 'unto the death' obedience of his fearless and uncompromising leadership amazes and impresses his sharpest critics."

A CALL TO ARMS

There is the sound of bugles here, and of a call to arms, and it follows that the Messenger's sharpest critics include the police officials of a number of cities, who keep a wary eye on the movement. In Los Angeles, where the Muslim invasion is fairly recent, Chief Parker has asked in the public interest that the local newspapers not publicize it, and they have complied.

Muhammad does not see white newspapermen, but on occasion his number two man will. He is the prophet of the New York temple and the editor of the sporadic Muslim publications—a thin, intense man of medium color who was christened Malcolm Little, the son of a Baptist preacher, and who will say of his youth only that he "grew up all over." Today he calls himself Malcolm X, rejecting his pre-Muslim surname as the unworthy heritage of a white man who thrust it upon a slave forebear.

Malcolm insists that the Black Muslim movement is an authentic offshoot of Islam; the Messenger, he says, has made the pilgrimage to the inner shrine at Mecca, and the only reason he hasn't gone himself is that he didn't want to get there ahead of his ecclesiastical superior. This claim is privately and somewhat indignantly denied by practicing Middle Eastern Moslems in this country, but there has been no official disclaimer because there seems to be no one to provide it in a religious movement which operates without a priesthood and relies largely upon the individual's inner call.

SONS OF THE CRESCENT

In any event the Black Muslims are unshakable in their assertion that theirs is, among other things, a religious movement. Those who join must sever their ties with other churches. They are enjoined to follow the Moslem dietary proscriptions against pork and alcohol—and for good measure the Messenger on his own motion has added tobacco to the list. Malcolm says the faithful eat only one meal a day, and face East to say their prayers. Cosmetics and fancy clothing are frowned upon; a hot bath every 24 hours is mandatory; and the male members normally shave their heads. Malcolm wears the somber black hat and suit, and the stiff white collar and black tie of the conventional Protestant minister.

Franklin Williams, former NAACP director on the West Coast and now assistant attorney general of California, has said of the movement: "It combines the emotional religious drive of Father Divine and Daddy Grace with the legal and political protest of the NAACP, and on top of that it offers the hope of a Black utopia on this earth. Above all, it gives the poor, ignorant, disturbed Negro a sense of identity—something the white world has always denied him. This is its appeal, and it is a powerful one."

The Muslims preach brotherhood, but it is restricted to the Blacks. (They reject the term Negro, and refuse to use it.) The white man is an enemy, or at best a neutral entity. Malcolm claims that he can produce 200 of the faithful on any street corner in Harlem within five minutes if there is a racial incident worthy of Muslim attention. What would Black community which will not have to depend upon the white man for capital, services, or employment.

THE DREAM OF AUTONOMY

Malcolm takes the dream to its ultimate absurdity.

"Marcus Garvey was right as far as he went," he says, "but he was wrong in telling Negroes they should go back to Africa to achieve their goal. We're going to build our own society here in the United States. We're going to have our own all-Black state."

Malcolm's vision is a complete entity, with its own government and, presumably, with an official connection or at least diplomatic relations with the United States. Where would he locate it? He was not specific, but he did summarily reject the suggestion of a Negro reporter that there were some people in the country who might be willing to give him one of the Southern states.

Malcolm shows no sign of being aware that what he and the Messenger are really preaching is the basic segregationist doctrine of the Southern White Citizens Council—and, to add the ultimate touch of irony, the separatist policy that in the Twenties and Thirties was part of the American Communist Party line. There is a strange, intense innocence in this man, who freely talks about his own conversion to the Muslim faith during the seven years he endured in a Massachusetts prison after being convicted of breaking and entering in the nighttime.

Malcolm himself still does a considerable amount of recruiting for the movement in the local jails.

PRISON AS A CONVERTER

"Prisons are all corrupt, you know," he says, out of the wisdom of experience. "If you've got the price you can get anything in jail—cigarettes, liquor, even dope. We think a man ought to be able to get the true religion in jail, too, and we try to provide it. Most of the prison officials won't recognize us as a religious group, and I have been denied visiting privileges in some places. But we've got converts in all the major prisons. And when those prisoners come out they'll be wonderful additions to our movement. [illegible]

Resist Sep. - 1960

Negro, and refuse to use it.) The white man is an enemy, or at best a neutral entity. Malcolm claims that he can produce 200 of the faithful on any street corner in Harlem within five minutes if there is a racial incident worthy of Muslim attention. What would they do? "Whatever is necessary," Malcolm says, "but peaceably, of course. We do not start trouble. But we do not turn the other cheek.

Most visible Muslim activity consists of picketing—to protest what the Muslims consider white discrimination, or to push the economic line that Negroes should spend their money only with Negroes. This is the pie in the sky, and its most tangible evidence can be seen in Chicago, where the Muslims operate their own school (for children mostly, but proudly called the University of Islam), grocery stores, restaurants, garment manufacturing plants, and a rudimentary department store. This, proclaims the Messenger, is the shape of the American Negro's future—a completely separate and self-sufficient

recognize us as a religious group, and I have been denied visiting privileges in some places. But we've got converts in all the major prisons. And when those prisoners come out they'll be wonderful additions to our movement. Cowards don't go to jail, you know. We'll rehabilitate these men and women and they will march in the ranks."

There are, of course, no available membership figures on the Muslim movement. Even as does the Kleagle of the Klan, Malcolm only grins wisely and says, "We're big and we're growing."

Muslim literature lists the main centers as Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Pittsburgh, Newark, Los Angeles and New York, but there are small groups active now even in many of the Southern cities. The symbolic use of X as a last name (the first John to join is John X, the second is John X2, etc.) serves as a public mark of identification, and can be used as an instrument of pressure. Thus when advertisements start appearing in Negro newspapers identifying the advertisers as John and Mary X, the publisher can assume that a Muslim leader will soon be around to discuss editorial policy. The Muslims have leaned hard on the Pittsburgh Courier, which circulates nationally, and on New York's Amsterdam News.

"It is interesting," says Malcolm, who also edits the sporadic Muslim rotogravure magazine, "that while the Courier carried a column by Mr. Muhammad, the circulation went up. When we discontinued the column the circulation went down."

Whatever the reason, the Negro press now generally treats the Muslim movement seriously, and in its usual sensational way probably gives it a certain added impetus.

Even so it is doubtful that any of the Temples, with the possible exception of Chicago's, could count an actual membership of more than a thousand. The Muslim rallies rarely attract an attendance in excess of that figure, and it must be assumed that the audiences are padded by curiosity seekers, colored newspaper reporters, and undercover agents of the police.

A FEW SEEM A CROWD

But even a few fanatics can make a fairly loud noise, and the Muslims have discovered another truth—that it is part of the white man's racial myopia that to him a couple of dozen colored men look like a crowd, and possibly even the beginning of a mob.

The Muslims, then, are rather pathetic symbols of Negro unrest. They are not themselves going anywhere. But as long as they are around and talking it is a reasonable assumption that the great mass of American Negro people are not going to be content to stand still.

misc

Resist Grp. - 1960

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Sun - 9-11-60 WS Journal (not stamped)

Religious Cult

Negro Race Supremacists Are Moving South

Resist. Mise.

By Charles L. West

CHARLOTTE (AP) — Muslim, an anti-Christian religious cult nourished in Negro slums of the North, is trying to bring its doctrine of black supremacy south, into the land of the white supremacist.

s zealous disciples, who call their founder and spiritual leader "the most powerful black man in America," claim to have established Temples of Islam in nearly a dozen Southern cities.

Their latest claim to a temple is in Charlotte, center of a recent recruiting drive.

So far, the movement south appears to be on a small scale, attracting interest chiefly among relatives of Negroes who have moved North and become Muslim converts. The movement is opposed by many Negro leade.s.

Muslim does not publicly advocate racial conflict. But such conflict is implicit in the utterance of its founder, Elijah Muhammad, self-styled "messenger of Allah." Muhammad, a small, balding Negro born Elijah Poole in Sandersville, Ga., nearly 63 years ago, entices his followers with the promise that the Negro soon will be master in the land where once he was slave.

FBI on Alert

It is no secret that the FBI is watching the movement wherever its shoots appear.

The segregationist, supremacist doctrines of Muslim are ironically parallel to those of the Ku Klux Klan.

The young Negro today has been brainwashed into believing the most important project in his life is to sit beside a white man," says the Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch, a weekly Negro newspaper and strong voice of Muslim.

"He has no ambition to become anything, nor to build a life for himself; he is not interested in his history — just to be integrated with the white man. Poor fool. He does not realize this is a trick to save the white man's life or to prolong it here in Babylon —Babylon is going to burn."

Muslim's strength is in such cities as Philadelphia, New York, Detroit and Los Angeles. Its headquarters is in Chicago.

In the South, Muslims list temples in Wilmington, Del., Richmond and Norfolk, Va., Winston-Salem and Durham, N. C., Orangeburg, S. C., Birmingham, Ala., and Miami, Jacksonville and Tampa, Fla., and Atlanta, Ga.

Some of these temples, however, are hardly worthy of so majestic a name. In Winston-Salem, the temple is a small structure containing a store on the ground floor and a private residence above. The Durham temple is a rented hall where a Muslim minister from Baltimore conducts services once a month. The advertised location of the Charlotte temple is next door to a pool room in a small commercial building.

Negro Christian ministers and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People fight Muslim beachheads in the South, fearing its extremist doctrines will destroy what ground has been won in civil rights.

NAACP Stand

"We can't gain much if we are taken in by any ideology that separates, divides people and practices racial superiority," says Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, president of the North Carolina chapter of the NAACP. "This follows the same pattern as white supremacy."

Muhammad's way of life has no use for drinking and smoking, gambling, dancing and gluttony. It stresses cleanliness, self-respect, racial pride and independence.

Muhammad combines in Muslim the flamboyant tactics of the late Sweet Daddy Grace, the Arabic trappings of the true Moslem faith which rejects Muslim's claim to kinship, and the Negro nationalism policies of Marcus Garvey.

"America is falling," Muhammad preaches. "She is the real habitation of devils and every evil and unclean and hateful person. There is no future for her. One destruction after the other shall come upon her until she has been laid low, even to the ground."

Muhammad decries Christianity as a hold-over from the days of bondage. "The white race," he asserts, "has spread their religion called Christianity all over the black man's world and have deceived millions of black people . . . It is now only a matter of time before the so-called Negroes' eyes will be opened."

Resist. Mis, 1960

Court has thrown out the old Southern 'separate but equal' principle in respect to public institutions, it is this very principle in all other respects that millions of Negroes now seek, in their hearts.

"It is not to be wondered at, I suppose, that, in the foreign policy gyrations over the Congo and Lumumba, great numbers of American Negroes reacted as Americans second and as Negroes first.

"I do not understand all the psychological mysteries involved in man's reactions to pigmentation of the skin. But I am aware that even in countries like Brazil, officially unsegregated in all realms of life, the blackest men generally do the roughest and dirtiest work.

"But the age of the conquistadores is long past. This is the twentieth century. One can hope, at least, that dark men in power in this age will prove more enlightened than did white men in power in their dark ages." ("Reflex Action," New York *Post*, Apr. 3, 1961)

BLACK MUSLIMS: CATALYSTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS?

An ordained Methodist minister, Dr. Lincoln is a professor of social philosophy at Clark College in Atlanta. He has made a special study of the extremist nationalist Black Muslim movement (see Current, *September 1960, page 30).*

C. Eric Lincoln

"The American conscience is like a Georgia mule drowsing under a mulberry tree: it will twitch where the fly bites, now here, now there, and so to sleep again.

"This lethargy is the problem of America. She is neither more evil nor more immoral than any other nation, but she has a jaded social consciousness that has not been truly alerted since the time of the abolitionists. The 1954 school desegregation decisions and the student sit-ins have troubled her sleep, but they have not yet awakened her. She has not been stung in a tender enough spot in recent times. Perhaps the Black Muslims will find such a spot; if they do, and if they sting hard enough, we may all be benefited by the smarting.

"The American Negro does not truly hate the white man. Not yet. For a long time, Negroes have tried to convince themselves that the white man's resistance to social change derives not from a sense of racial superiority but from a twisted nationalism. Some Negroes, at least, are still willing to believe that the white man behaves as he does because he is *American*. . . . But 'American' also has an implication of color. Few of us have really lost the feeling that this is a 'white man's country' and that all other races enjoy it by the white man's sufferance. We do not say this bluntly: it is considered in poor taste and, if quoted abroad, not in the national interest. But we act as if we were certain of its truth and validity. Our textbooks, mass media and community behavior confirm this white nationalism everywhere.

"A diminishing number of Negroes, therefore, believe that the Negro is rejected in America not primarily because of his race but because he is 'not truly American.' The Negro, they believe, is considered an alien, an outsider, for whom special adjustments must be made in law and custom. His color merely identifies him and serves to warn 'real Americans' of his presence. The immediate result, of course, is the same: the Negro is barred from full participation in the values of citizenship. But the long-range prospect for a solution would be vastly different. If discrimination is based on pure racial antagonism, the white man will have to change his prejudice,

for the Negro cannot change his skin. But if discrimination is based on national sentiment, the white man need not revise his thinking so drastically. He can still draw the comforting, sharp line between 'American' and 'not American'; he need only realize that his Negro neighbors are on the 'American' side of the line. From there it would be a short step to accepting the Negro as an equal.

"Sophistry? Perhaps—a sophistry encouraged by the Negro's desperate wish for a peaceful way out of his second-class prison. And like his more naive, more pathetic trust in the white man's ultimate 'good intentions,' it has been all but completely shattered. A vestige of faith remains—but for how long? If the white man's conscience remains drugged, the flood of disillusion will soon sweep even this last frail hope away. . . .

"From time to time, the trusting Negro has sought to prod the white man's moral sense indirectly—through the churches, the labor unions and various interracial organizations—and by personal appeal. Always there has been a willingness to give the white man the benefit of every doubt. But nothing changed; and after a hundred years of waiting and hoping, the Negro finally went to court. Where he had been willing to accept 'consideration,' he now began demanding his rights—his rights to work, vote, buy a home, eat a meal, see a movie, worship in a church, ride a bus, sit in a public park and send his children to school on the same terms as all of America's other first-class citizens. But the courts are slow; litigation is expensive; and the implementation of court rulings seems to be peculiarly uncertain in the area of civil rights.

Tired of waiting

"So there has developed, in the last decade, a wide and dramatic spectrum of extralegal Negro protest. The passive Negro, who trusts that God and the NAACP will salvage his dignity while he concentrates on avoiding trouble, is rapidly becoming extinct. Those Negroes (most of them young) who still believe in the possibility of peaceful change have developed a bold but gentle technique to quicken the white man's conscience. They simply ignore restrictive laws and go wherever they know they have a moral right to be—on trains and buses, in restaurants and stores, public beaches and houses of God. These are not 'angry young men'; they are not 'bitter.' They are just tired of waiting.

"At the opposite end of the spectrum are the Black Muslims. They *are* angry; they *are* bitter; and they are also tired of waiting. Their response to white nationalism is extreme, and their militancy is barely restrained. But America can benefit from the lesson they seem intent upon teaching. . . .

"The Black Muslims constitute a unique movement: a dynamic social protest that moves upon a religious vehicle. The movement's main emphases are upon social action. Yet it is none the less essentially a religion —a religion of protest. . . .

"On the surface, the movement seems to be unequivocally separatist, with a restricted membership and an overwhelming dedication to group identification, racial solidarity and mutual aid. But the membership is not restricted to Negroes; it is restricted to Black Men who comprise all mankind except the white race. The movement is thus highly integrative in intent. Yet whites and Negroes account for very nearly the entire population of America, so the movement is clearly separatist in effect.

"As a separatist group, the Muslims might be expected to show a strong awareness of group solidarity, backed by a generous program of mutual aid. And so they do. Like other Negro separatist groups, they might also be expected to pay only casual attention to racial tensions and the prospect of integration in America. The Muslims, however, are obsessed with

this issue. They reject and detest the very idea of integration, but discussion of it dominates all their preachings and publications. In this focus of attention they seem to range themselves as an integrative group—turned inside out.

Aggression, avoidance, acceptance

"Indeed, in their whole sphere of social concerns, the Black Muslims are a paradox. They are obsessed with the humiliation of white supremacy, yet they scorn any gesture toward civil rights. And they respond to racial tensions in *all three* basic ways: by aggression, avoidance and acceptance.

"Their aggression is extreme; their vilification of the white man is impassioned and caustic, with its cardinal tenet the white man's imminent doom. This aggression has thus far fallen short of physical violence; but few observers doubt that the Muslims, if they were physically harassed, would hesitate to retaliate in kind. At the same time, the Muslim doctrines of religious and economic separation are a model of avoidance. And the Muslim dogma of absolute hostility between the Black Man and the white 'devil' is simply an acceptance of the dogma of the white supremacists, made palatable by reversing the values held to be inherent in 'black' and 'white.' The Muslim dogma is thus, in great part, a lightly disguised rationalization of things as they are, though the Muslims declare that their destiny is to change the social order rather than to accept and reinforce it. . . .

"The functional and dysfunctional [that is, as tending to shatter the organic unity of society] aspects of the Black Muslim movement are not always easy to assess. But an attempt must be made. The Muslims are growing daily in size and power, and they are determined to have an impact on our entire way of life.

"The Black Muslim movement is functional for its membership, for the entire Negro community and for the society as a whole in its insistence upon high standards of personal and group morality. It encourages thrift, cleanliness, honesty, sexual morality, diet control and abstinence from intoxicating liquors, and it effectively re-establishes a center of authority in the home. Muslims are expected to hold steady jobs, to give a full day's work for their pay and to respect all constituted authority. As a result, the movement reduces adult and juvenile delinquency and strengthens its members' sense of independence and self-respect.

An outlet for tensions

"At a deeper level, the movement provides outlets, short of physical violence, for the aggressive feelings roused in its members by the callous and hostile white society. Muslims tend to be Negroes for whom the pressures of racial prejudice and discrimination were intolerable, whose increasing resentment and hatred of the white man demanded release. Unable to rationalize their deprivations (as Negro intellectuals do) and unable to find relief in the Christian church or any secular institution, they might well have followed the downward paths open to the despairing everywhere —the paths of crime, drunkenness, dope addiction, prostitution and wanton violence, directed indiscriminately against their oppressors or displaced senselessly against others of the oppressed. As Muslims, however, they find a 'safe' outlet for their tensions in verbal attacks on the white man and in powerful demonstrations of group solidarity. . . . On the whole, it is better for society for its dissatisfied elements to be associated with some religion rather than with none. . . .

"In several important ways the Muslims tend to strengthen the dignity and self-reliance of the Negro community. They are proving dramatically that a new, positive leadership cadre can emerge among the Negroes at

the grass-roots level. The Muslim schools are emphasizing Negro history, Negro achievements and the contributions of Negroes to the world's great cultures and to the development of the American nation. These facts are rarely taught in public schools, and the Muslims may be alone in trying to bring the Negro community to an awareness of its racial heritage. Again, the Muslims' 'buy black' policy is creating some new opportunities for Negro business and professional men—opportunities which are almost universally denied them in the wider community. . . .

"Finally the very existence of the Muslims—their extreme black nationalism and their astonishing growth and vitality—is functional to the extent that it forces the larger, Christian community to face the reality of racial tensions, to acknowledge its own malfeasance and to begin a spiritual and moral reform. The Muslims' dramatic expression of racial solidarity may shock the white man into a realization that Negroes will no longer permit their just demands to be casually shrugged aside. Indeed, Muslim extremism may even rebound and actively assist the forces of integration. It may, for example, force a white reappraisal of other protest organizations, such as the NAACP, which are now widely resisted as 'too pushy' or 'radical.' If these groups come to be seen as relatively conservative, if they gain increasing white support, and if the great surge of Negro protest is constructively channeled as a result, the Muslims will have proved integrative despite themselves. But this possibility hangs upon a slender thread—the hope that America will take the warning and act to save itself in time.

"The Black Muslims' virulent attacks on the white man may prove to be a useful warning, but they are deeply dysfunctional in the most immediate sense. They threaten the security of the white majority and may lead those in power to tighten the barriers which already divide America. The attacks create guilt and defensiveness among both Negroes and whites, and offer to extremist elements on both sides a cover for antisocial behavior. Above all, the attacks promote a general increase in tension and mutual mistrust. Calm heads might see the Muslims as a timely warning; jittery and frightened men are more likely to lash back in an unreasoning and potentially explosive panic. . . .

"The meaning for America is clear. We must attack the disease, not its symptoms. We must confront the issue of racism and discrimination. When we have done so with the determination and moral conviction so brutal a problem deserves, there will be no Black Muslims. There will be no need for them. And America will be a better place for us all." *(The Black Muslims in America)*

CHANGING REACTIONS IN THE SOUTH

The editor of the Richmond News Leader *in Virginia, Mr. Kilpatrick has been known as an ardent segregationist.*

James Jackson Kilpatrick

"A letter came across my desk this week from a Richmond woman who identified herself, at the outset, in the fashion of one presenting a membership card, as a supporter of Nixon in the last election. She was irritated at the arrest of several Negroes in Lynchburg as the outgrowth of a drugstore 'sit-in.'

" 'In a state where freedom and individual liberty have always been taken so much for granted,' she wrote, 'this is a ridiculous situation. There is no room in the future for segregation as we have known it in the past. Progress will be made, and if conservatives can't adjust they will, in the

Resist Bpc. Negro

The CRISIS

FEBRUARY, 1962

The Meaning of Black Nationalism

By John A. Morsell

A REPRINT FROM CRISIS MAGAZINE

■ An NAACP official offers his reflections on black nationalism

The Meaning of Black Nationalism[1]

By John A. Morsell

A week or so after a violent black nationalist demonstration in the United Nations in February 1961, the New York *Times* published two lengthy background articles dealing with this recurrent manifestation of Negro discontent. The reporters were able to identify and interview the leaders of some thirteen groups based in New York City and adhering in one way or another to racially self-assertive programs for Negro Americans.

These groups included, besides the well-known Temple of Islam (the so-called "Black Muslims"), such names as Muslim Brotherhood (hostile to the Black Muslims), United African Nationalist Movement, Universal African Nationalist Movement, African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, United Sons and Daughters of Africa, Liberation Committee for Africa, Cultural Association for Women of African Heritage, Provisional Committee for a Free Africa, and so on.

Solid information regarding the numbers of people involved is unobtainable; the *Times* reporters estimated that the total might be as low as 2,000 in the city itself, at least half of them Black Muslims. Figures on the nationwide strength of these groups are even more elusive; Eric Lincoln has made current a figure of 100,000 for the Black Muslims, but he concedes that this guess is based on nothing that can be subjected to verification.

The significance of the black nationalist groups is not, however, simply a matter of their numbers. As a matter of fact, it derives in part from the very obscurity which surrounds the estimates of size. As numerous observers have noted, black nationalism is an extremist manifestation which rises out of deep and ancient fear and suspicion and which is nourished by contemporary frus-

[1] Originally presented as a position paper at the 15th annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, San Francisco, California, November 8, 1961.

DR. JOHN A. MORSELL is assistant to the Executive Secretary of the NAACP.

tration at the persistence of racial discrimination. If even a relative handful is sufficiently impelled to active and personally satisfying participation; and particularly if partial echoes of their arguments can be heard at nearly all levels of the Negro community; then there is some justification for thinking that the potential for espousal of black nationalist doctrines may be a good deal greater than the ascribable organizational base suggests.

NOT NEW

It is important to understand that black nationalism is not a new phenomenon. In organized form, it reached its peak in the Universal Negro Improvement Association, founded and led by Marcus Garvey just after World War I. There may have been as many as 300,000 American Negroes who enrolled as members or made contributions looking toward the establishment of an African state to be populated by black American *émigrés*. Although the organization and its program failed to survive, it is likely that fond memories have sent at least a few of its veterans into the present-day black nationalist camp.

In its African fatherland aspect, even Garvey's movement was antedated in American history. The colonization movement, conducted and financed largely by pro-slavery elements in the decades prior to the Civil War, was the real forerunner. Despite its temporary appeal to some opponents of slavery, it never flourished; it was doomed by the near-total lack of interest on the part of free Negroes and by the eventual ascendency of abolitionism in the allegiance of those opposed to human bondage. But the colonizationists must be reckoned the originators of "Back to Africa."

It is equally important to understand something of the varied strains which have entered into black nationalism, sometimes in combination, sometimes indirectly, and to see them in relation to the sustaining forces at work today. I do not attempt here to develop a systematic analysis, but am perforce content with what is largely an itemization.

In this should be included the rebellion against the sense of personal inferiority, bred of generations of inferior status and fed by the constant exclusions, disabilities and humiliations characteristic of the segregated society in which the basic orientations of most Negroes are formed. To escape some measure of this has been the good fortune of only a few, but the urge to escape it is virtually universal; many seek release in what is, in all logic, the most direct way—namely, by creating an image of racial superiority in which the bruised personality can find solace.

Parenthetically, it may be noted that the rallying cry for today's black nationalism is Africa and the African heritage, and there is obviously an element of contemporary accident here—i.e., the rise of new black nations in the Dark Continent. Fixing on Africa as the chief symbol of Negro militancy is something of a paradox: it really implies acceptance of the derogatory stereotype of the American Negro as submissive and dependent, the passive beneficiary of

a freedom bestowed upon him. Persons genuinely free of this stereotype and adequately informed as to their history might well have chosen their heroes and heroines from the American Negro's too little-known record of slave revolts, escapes, resistance to captors, abolitionist crusading, and valiant combat by tens of thousands in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Civil War. And they might have reflected, too, that Africa's new states won their independence, not on the field of battle, but by the relinquishing of sovereignty through negotiation and under the pressure of world opinion.

AN ADDITIONAL STRAIN

Another strain of great importance in the nurture of black nationalism is the abandonment of hope that racial justice will or can be achieved in the United States through invocation of the established process of democratic government. It was the belief that the Negro's quest for constitutional rights had no hope of sucess in his or the succeeding generation that led Booker T. Washington to preach the doctrine of Negro self-improvement rather than Negro rights. The conviction that Negroes can *never* expect full equality of citizenship with the white majority—indeed, that no white people can sincerely advocate such equality—is basic to the creed of the Black Muslims and some of the other racist groups.

The self-improvement doctrine has persisted, and it has numerous adherents who do not by any stretch of the imagination belong in the black nationalist category. It is essentially separatist nonetheless, drawing upon the seemingly unquenchable appeal of an economically self-sufficient Negro community, owning its own businesses and industries and, in the perennial phraseology of its advocates, "keeping the money in our own neighborhoods." It rests heavily upon the assumption that once Negroes as a group have acquired their proportionate share of the nation's wealth, they will move as a matter of course into political and social acceptance. Its most common overt manifestation, aside from the endless spinning of schemes for the raising of millions of dollars among Negroes for investment in grandiose business proposals, is the "Buy Black" movement.

The reference here is of course to economic self-improvement preached as a doctrine of racial salvation. Obviously, there can be no question of the necessity for achievement by Negroes in economic affairs as in other areas of life.

The itemization would not be complete without a passing reference to the Communist Party's advocacy for many years of a separate Negro state, as formulated in its policy of "Self-Determination in the Black Belt." Although this policy was imposed upon the American Party leadership during the Twenties for rigid ideological reasons and was as remote as could be from any realistic evaluation, it remained in the Party's program until comparatively recently. Evidence of Communist connections in any of the nationalist groups is thus far not established, and some of them are explicit in their rejection

of such links. (Communists and Russians are, after all, mostly white people.) But it is most unlikely that the thought of infiltration has not at least entered the minds of the Party leaders.

Besides the racial elements in black nationalist growth, there are other kinds of contributing factors, including a substantial amount of anti-semitism. Of most of these, it can safely be said that they would constitute sources of frustration and discontent even if every kind of purely racial discrimination were wiped out tomorrow.

BLACK NATIONALISM URBAN

With almost no exception, black nationalist activity is urban. It is most vigorous in the largest cities. Squalid housing, a narrow range of job possibilities because of poor training, low family income, and the cultural aridity typical of the demoralized, slum-shocked fringe component of the city population are a way of life from which black nationalism seems to many to promise salvation. A dim view of authority, particularly as embodied in the police; resentment of the more fortunate, in this case middle- and upper-class Negroes; endemic dislike of landlords, shopkeepers and bosses, often Jews and in any case usually white; all these help to fuel the fire and to focus its heat on specified targets.

The grievances themselves are genuine enough. The police are frequently brutal, other Negroes are too often insensitive to the needs of the disadvantaged, and exploitation is not unknown on the part of landlords, shopkeepers and employers. (It is true, of course, that police brutality directed against Negroes has been and remains an important target of local action by the NAACP and other civil rights groups. Historically, however, oppression by the police has existed regardless of race and it continues in most of the world to be the particular cross of the economically helpless.)

For the very reason that these are essentially class, not racial, grievances, they cannot properly be top priority items in organizational programs which are committed to the struggle against racial wrongs. Such problems are thus not within direct reach of the organized efforts in which aggrieved Negroes are accustomed to think of themselves as being (actually or potentially) involved on a personal basis. If, however, these nonracial problems can be so represented as to seem part and parcel of the racial burden *per se,* the black nationalists hope to accomplish two things. First, in the minds of their followers, a remote, impregnable complexity will be replaced by an apparently simple and direct line of attack. Second, the established civil rights efforts can be exploited as whipping boys for their failure to solve all the problems that happen to affect Negroes.

In the case of the Muslim groups, there is, finally, the explicit element of religion. In a fashion made familiar by the Father Divine movement, spiritual regeneration becomes part of the arsenal, and numerous claims are made of the movement's achievements in reforming thieves, drug addicts, prostitutes and so on. There is no reason to doubt that some of these claims, at least, are warranted,

in view of the tremendous ego-satisfaction derived by many adherents from their Muslim affiliation.

Beyond the "Buy Black" appeal and other activities growing out of the self-improvement philosophy, little in the way of specified objectives and their related programs is discernible. For some there seems to be nothing beyond activity intended to buttress internal morale by endless review and denunciation of the spectrum of grievances. All profess to be concerned with "awakening" American Negroes to their true ethnic status and with inculcating pride in their racial origins; some do what they can along this line, through meetings, literature and individual example and exhortation.

The purely cultural manifestations often include campaigning for wider or exclusive use of African themes and artifacts in decoration. Negro women are called upon to abandon the hairdresser and to substitute "natural" modes of wearing the hair in the African style (or, more accurately, in one of the great variety of African styles).

A few of the groups concern themselves chiefly with activity in behalf of what they conceive to be the best interest of the African nations. They seek to interpret African needs to the American public generally and to have United States diplomatic pressure exerted in behalf of the African states and in opposition to colonial rule. Many of them have enshrined as patron saint the late Patrice Lumumba, who is depicted as a black hero singlehandedly opposing the imperialist machinations of the Western countries and murdered conspiratorially at the behest of those nations.

The closest approach to formulation of an ultimate goal—i.e., one intended to be the final solution to racial discrimination—is that of the Black Muslims. They are committed to working for the cession by the United States government of a portion of the continental United States, preferably on the southeastern seaboard, for settlement by Negroes who will establish there a nation of their own. No program of any kind has ever been announced for bringing such an event to pass, although on many occasions attempts have been made to obtain one from Black Muslim representatives.

At least one group, it should be noted for the record, has been identified with a genuinely violent program looking to the disruption of civil authority by force. This is the First Africa Corps (sometimes known as the Rastafarians) originating in Jamaica, West Indies Federation, and with at least one unit in New York City. Death sentence was pronounced earlier this year on one of its leaders who had been convicted in Jamaica of the murder of two British soldiers. The Rastafarians, however, are a lone exception to the rule of professions of peaceful intent by black nationalist groups.

Some observers have inferred an ultimate Black Muslim commitment to violence on the theory that they must know that peaceful requests cannot acquire for them their black slice of United States territory. It scarcely seems necessary, however, to insist that the Black Muslims face up to the logical consequences of

their propaganda premises. They are surely not unique in their readiness to employ arguments of great emotional appeal without regard to where implementation of the arguments should logically lead. Southern segregationists are an eminent case in point.

Indeed, much else of what we see in the world today suggests that our age is strangely characterized by the potent allure of calls to action, action—almost any action—and to intense personal commitment—almost any commitment—so long as they are intense and personal and fill the individual with a sense of purposeful involvement. The need for escape from the hard work of seeking out and studying the facts, which only leads to the even harder task of serious thinking and planning, has made the emotional jag highly alluring to thousands and tens of thousands of people—in this country and elsewhere.

For example, this partly explains the massive appeal of the radical right with its substitution of nameless and ubiquitous conspiracies (to fluoridate our water and poison us; to promote mental health and brainwash us; to lead us hypnotized down the road from free inquiry to communism) for evaluation and acceptance of the realities of our national position and of the rigorous programs needed to sustain it.

Certain special responsibilities are obviously imposed upon all of us who are in the fight for racial justice and who want it conducted with intelligence and effectiveness as well as with passion. We must face the fact that, logic to the contrary notwithstanding, sizeable segments of the community will continue to heed the call of false prophets and with properly disturbing implications. We should anticipate the strong possibility that the followers of black nationalist messiahs may become explosively frustrated when they discover that what they have bought is not hope, but illusion. If we understand the need, not only for making such diagnoses, but for performing the necessary preventive and remedial functions, we must of course go farther.

At the very minimum, we must never cease to be possessed by a level of moral resentment and indignation at least as high as that of the misled victims, an indignation directed not so much at the false prophets as at the conditions which permit them to flourish. Failing in this, we will not deserve and cannot arouse the confidence and respect on which our chances of being helpful rest. Among other things, this means that we should be as deeply moved by a restricted apartment or a racial job denial or a segregation-stunted mind as we are by a Freedom Ride—and that we should see to it that others achieve the same comprehension. The fact is that there are hardly any priorities: the evils we face are all of a piece and we have no choice but to take them on collectively. And we have very little time.

JOIN NAACP TO HELP:

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3. Ban discrimination in employment.
4. Continue desegregation in public schools in compliance with United States Supreme Court rulings.
5. Abolish Jim Crow in transportation and other public accommodations.
6. Wipe out the ghetto and establish freedom of residence.
7. Secure equal justice under law in the courts of the land.
8. End police brutality.

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Rec Gp. - Negro
MAR 19, 1962 materials

'AFRO-AMERICANISM IS A UNIQUE FUSION OF CONFLICTING IDEAS'

Negro Nationalism's New Wave

By Harold W. Cruse

DURING THE PAST 15 years, there has been more noise in the United States about the Negro's changing status than actual changes in that status. At the same time, the social changes taking place in the colonial world—especially in Africa and Latin America—have been more revolutionary than anything the American Negro has experienced since the post-Civil War period. By comparison with colored peoples elsewhere, Negroes in America have found that their own advance toward fuller freedom is lagging. And an uncomfortable awareness of the discrepancy has given rise to a new set of political and cultural values which, taken together, have come to be called "Afro-Americanism."

Most of the young generation of Negroes who articulate this point of view are beset with a compelling problem of self-identification. They are plagued by an obsessive search for identity in a predominantly white society which has its own problems of self-identification, both at home and abroad. The rise in the fortunes of colonial self-determination has intensified many an American Negro's sense of alienation and isolation in the West. For those who adopt it, Afro-Americanism serves the purpose of placing them in close rapport with the content and spirit of the world revolution.

The first publicized demonstration of the new position took place at the United Nations shortly after the murder of Patrice Lumumba, while the Security Council was debating the Congo crisis. It involved more than 50 Negroes who had been seated in the gallery and forced the Council President to call a half-hour recess.

The general reaction to what was considered the worst disorder in UN history was a mixture of surprise, shock and indignation. Reporters went scurrying up to Harlem to determine the causes of the UN row. The result was a series of factual but superficial surveys on the temperament of Harlem.

The New York *Times,* for example, ran two articles under the heads, NEGRO EXTREMIST GROUPS STEP UP NATIONALIST DRIVE and NEGROES SAY CONDITIONS IN U.S. EXPLAIN NATIONALIST'S MILITANCY. Now the presence of "nationalism" among United States Negroes may come as a surprise to some whites, but it has existed a long time. Americans will have to learn to cope with it, for as adapted by Afro-Americans it is an increasingly popular ideology.

Americans have long believed that this country was never a "colonial" power. This is true in the strictest sense of the word. Moreover, the crasser aspects of economic colonialism do not show through the mores of race relations; as a nation we are so rich that we can boast of rich Negroes in Georgia and rich Indians in Oklahoma. But from the nationalist viewpoint, the nature of economic, cultural and political exploitation common to Negro experience in the U.S. differs from pure colonialism only in that the Negro maintains a formal kind of half-way citizenship within the nation's geographical boundaries.

The difference in social status between an American Negro and a black African in South Africa, it is felt, is one of degree, not kind. Thus Negro nationalism in the U.S. has its roots in the same kind of soil as the nationalism of the African colonies proper. Or, to use a frequently heard analogy related to American minority politics, Negro nationalism can be likened to Jew-

HAROLD W. CRUSE, *a new contributor, frequently writes on developments in the Negro community.*

ish nationalism (Zionism) in motivation, although, of course, their histories and social causes are dissimilar.

In this light, it is easy for the nationalists to show that the American Negro suffers a more insuperable kind of subjugation than would be true under pure colonialism: He cannot sever his ties with his rulers and go his own way. This is why Negro nationalism will become the foremost political issue in future American race relations. It is even conceivable that a domestic counterpart of this country's foreign policy toward African nationalism will have to be adopted.

Not all Afro-Americans, however, are really traditional Negro nationalists. The genuine nationalist ideology stems from the economics of Negro ghetto existence and a pride in black African heritage which often borders on chauvinism. It is defensive in posture and, because it feels trapped and overwhelmed, strident in tone. Its stridency is disturbing to both moderate Negroes and liberal whites, who insist that American racial democracy will prove itself viable.

Most traditional Negro nationalists simply have no faith in the democratic promises of whites. They believe that the American Negro will get only as much racial democracy as his economic power can buy on Wall Street or in Congress. They have less respect for liberals and left-wingers than for conservatives of the Barry Goldwater type. The latter, they believe, at least honestly expresses real white attitudes on economics, politics and race relations. White liberals, nationalists feel, do Negroes a disservice because they conceal the true character of American mass attitudes on race from the impressionable young Negro.

"The best friend a black man has in the U.S.," I once heard a veteran Negro nationalist say, "is a reactionary Southern cracker, because that cracker will look a black man in the face and tell him, 'I think you're inferior to a white man. If you ain't inferior, goddammit, prove it.' "

This fits in with the nationalist belief that second-class citizenship is largely the result of the Negro's lack of economic control over services and consumer products in the segregated Negro community. It is not the segregation which rankles as much as the fact that Negroes themselves have no control over the ghetto exchequer. Hence, the typical Negro nationalist economic slogans—"Buy Black," "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work," "Build Negro Business," etc.

THE NEGRO nationalist ferment has been working at various levels of intensity in the Negro ghetto ever since Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement went into eclipse back in 1927. It gave rise to the new Afro-American trend of the younger generation. But Afro-Americanism is not so much a traditional nationalist movement as it is a unique fusion of conflicting ideas.

It is critical of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), Martin Luther King, the Democrats and the Republicans; contemptuous of white liberals; ambivalent toward Marxist factions; and shy of the extreme position of Muslims and other old Negro nationalist groups. Yet the Afro-Americans are much indebted to the original nationalists, who kept the embers of hope for African freedom alive at a time when most Negro intellectuals were ashamed of their African heritage.

The zeal of the Afro-Americans

is often frighteningly self-righteous and often contradictory. They consider themselves revolutionaries, but the new movement has emerged from a social situation which has provided no philosophy suitable to its needs or relevant enough to guide its eclecticism.

In the face of the realities of Negro development in the U.S., it is surely an almost impossible task to reconcile nationalism and integrationism. Yet this is precisely what the Afro-Americans are trying to do. They disdain the legalism of the NAACP because the organization is not sufficiently militant in its fight for integration. They refuse to accept the hard reality that integration, if it is ever to achieve its aims, has to be gradual.

Afro-Americans consider the Freedom Riders a revolutionary phenomenon (which in actuality it is not). They reject, in principle, the passive resistance of Martin Luther King and the CORE group as a negation of the revolutionary essence of the Freedom Rides. Confusing protest with revolution, they equate being more demonstrative and militant than the NAACP with being more revolutionary. This is the position of James Baldwin and others like him when they talk about the "intriguing" problems of integration, as Baldwin did in a *Harper's* article on Martin Luther King not long ago.

In his article, Baldwin unwittingly revealed Afro-Americanism's major weakness: an almost complete lack of historical perspective. Writing about Booker T. Washington, he shows little understanding of the man or his period. In another article on nationalism in Harlem, which appeared in the New York *Times Magazine* after the UN demonstration, Baldwin was unable to explain those tendencies of Negro nationalism which run counter to racial integration. He could not cope philosophically with the Black Muslims' almost complete rejection of every aspect of white society. Clearly, his difficulties reflect the split intellectual personality of the Afro-American.

Interestingly, neither the traditional Negro nationalist nor the NAACP-King-CORE position on integration is inconsistent; each group is true to its own logic. The nationalists are for complete or nominal separation of the races; the NAACP, King and CORE are for complete, unqualified integration.

Afro-Americanism, by its very nature, must plant itself solidly in both the Negro community and in the international politics of African liberation, or else it can have no real meaning beyond a certain social or racial symbolism. Over the past 15 years, however, the trend toward integration has favored the eradication of the Negro community as a symbol of segregation. And proponents of integration frown on any kind of racial togetherness among Negroes, be it economic, cultural or political. Long in vogue among Negro intellectuals, the tendency to seek assimilation among whites has militated against the cultivation of a strong sense of racial identification within the Negro community, as well as between the Negro community and Africa.

Consequently, Afro-Americanism has no established social base other than the original Negro nationalist organizations. But considering the old nationalists too extreme, while at the same time disdaining the moderation of the NAACP, the Afro-Americans are finding themselves pulled by political gravity toward the far left. Here they are fighting hard not to become absorbed in the dead-end politics of American Marxism, which has lost its relevance to the realities of Negro existence.

But with all their inadequacies, inexperience and lack of any historical sense of Negro life, the Afro-Americans are here to stay. In the future, they will undoubtedly make a lot of noise in militant demonstrations, cultivate beards and sport their Negroid hair in various degrees of *la mode au naturel,* and tend to be cultish with African- and Arab-style dress. They will probably not frown upon interracialism, if only to prove that nationalism must be made acceptable to whites in their own terms. The intellectuals will read more Western philosophy than has been their custom. Today it is not uncommon to see Albert Camus' *The Rebel* protruding from the hip pocket of a well-worn pair of jeans among the Afro-American set.

Already they have a pantheon of modern heroes—Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré in Africa; Fidel Castro in Latin America; Malcom X, the Muslim leader, in New York; Robert Williams in the South; and Mao Tse-tung in China. These men seem heroic to the Afro-Americans not because of their political philosophy, but because they were either former colonials who have achieved complete independence, or because, like Malcom X, they have dared to look the white community in the face and say: "We don't think your civilization is worth the effort of any black man to try to integrate into it." This to many Afro-Americans is an act of defiance that is truly revolutionary.

In Coming Issues:

BEYOND THE HEADLINES
Chester Bowles

MALAYA: ASIA'S BRIGHT SPOT
William J. Lederer

THE REVOLT IN ANGOLA
John Marcum

Reint Trpe - Negro

FROM: MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 11
35 INTERVALE STREET
DORCHESTER 21, MASS.
HI 2-5762 HI-2-0054

July 18, 1962

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

MUSLIMS CALL FOR UNITED EFFORTS OF ALL NEGRO LEADERS TO END POLICE BRUTALITY.

(Boston, July) Louis X Minister of Muhammad's Mosque No. 11 in Boston in a letter to all of the Negro Community Leaders, called for a united effort of all leaders regardless of religious, political, or fraternal differences, "to eliminate police brutality from our neighborhoods." He urged all leaders to be present at the mass protest rally in honor of the late Ronald T. X. Stokes of Boston, which is scheduled to be held at the Boston Arena, July 29th at 2:00 P.M.

He pointed out that today with the ugly specter of police brutality hanging over every Negro community, No one is Safe. Citizens have been brutalized on the streets, in their homes, in police cars, and in station house cells, by the very men who are charged with the reponsibility of safeguarding the rights, property and lives of All citizens. Despite the fact that some mayors and Police Chiefs have stated that they intend to have their police attend human relations courses to curb the hostility of the police towards Negroes, police brutality continues to plague the country, and today a situation amounting almost to a reign of terror exists in every Negro Community.

In Los Angeles, this reign of terror erupted into violence. On April 27th, in what has come to be regarded as one of the most infamous days in the annals of police history, seven innocent unarmed Negroes were attacked and shot down by over 75 well armed, so-called Law enforcement officers on the streets of Los Angeles.

The viciousness of the attack,on the part of the police was verified, by newspaper reports and on the scene witnesses. Police Chief Parker said, "there has never been anything as brutal as this conflict." That the gun battle, was, the largest such battle he can remember since he has been on the Police Force. The Police were the only ones with guns, a fact attested to at the subsequent Grand Jury Hearings.

When the smoke had cleared from this brutal unprovoked attack, six men lay wounded on the sidewalk, and one man, Ronald T. X. Stokes of Boston, Massachusetts, was dead. The Negro community of Los Angeles was confronted with a scene that could easily have been mistaken for the aftermaths of an O.A.S. terrorist attack in Algeria. Bodies were strewn in the street left bleeding and handcuffed. The California Eagle Newspaper describe the incident as, "The most ruthless mass shooting by local police in recent history."

The Negro communities across the country are outraged by this vicious police attack, and in an unprecedented display of unity has demanded a complete investigation of the incident. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of The NAACP, questioned why police had to use guns in what was essentially a brawl, and stated, "From our knowledge, The Muslims are not brawlers." Perry Parks, head of The Civil Liberties Division of The Elks, Said, "positive action must be taken to eliminate police brutality from our neighborhoods. " Attorney Paul Zuber, noted Civil Rights Lawyer, addressing a mammoth protest rally in New York, proposed a United Nations investigation of the genocidal shooting of unarmed innocent American Negroes.

Today in every Negro community throughout the country, mass protest and fund raising rallies are being staged. Positive programs of immediate action must be developed to stop police brutality. Adequate funds must be raised to see that these latest victims of police brutality are given the proper medical attention they need and to see that they get justice in the courts.

On July 29th Mr. Elijah Muhammad Spiritual Leader of the Muslims, will be the honored guest at a giant fund raising and protest rally in honor of the late Ronald T. X. Stokes. Boston being the home town of the slain man it is anticipated that one of the largest crowds ever to assemble in Boston to hear a Black Man speak, will be on hand to hear Mr. Muhammad outline his plan to stop police brutality.

Ronald T. X. Stokes was a former Boston University and Mass. College of Pharmacy Student, a member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, and a Korean War Veteran. A factual report of the incident leading to his slaying will be given by Min. Malcolm X, National Representative of Mr. Elijah Muhammad.

(XXX) Public Relations

White Bible Student, Kidnaps Girl, 16

Wipes Out Family Of 3

See Story Below

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EXCLUSIVE

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad Tells —

WHAT THE

EXCLUSIVE

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad Tells —

WHAT THE MUSLIMS WANT!

See Page 3

The Messenger Of Allah

CORRECTION ON DONALD WEESE

See Page 2

Orphaned After A Day Of Terror

By SAMUEL HAMMIT

MARION, Ind.—One bright Sunday morning in the Full Gospel Tabernacle Church of the Rev. Forest Winfrow, the Harris family met Death—but mistook him for a friend.

Death apparently appeared in the form of a white ex-convict who piously walked into the church to "study the bible," alongside the Harris family.

And he came many times to the Harrises home and neighbors report he was befriended and treated kindly.

Now a Grant County Grand Jury has decided that Death, to the Harrises, was apparently David Byrum Niccum, 26, who once served time for rape and assault.

Death had eyes, it seems, not upon "sweet Jesus" but upon a sweet, beautiful, 16-year-old brownskin girl with long pony tails.

She was Karen Harris.

She was the only pride of her 50-year-old father, George a physical therapy expert at Veteran's Administration Hospital, her 40-year-old mother, Delores and the companion of her 81-year-old blind aunt, Ruth N. Robinson.

Continued On Page 2

Karen Harris

2 Aug 62 Resist Bye - Negro

Such statements have a basis neither in fact nor logic. The very nature of the State implies the concept of welfare or positive action. Whatever the form or purpose of the State—be it democratic or totalitarian, republican or monarchial, Communist or Fascist, capitalist or collectivist—there must be a sufficiently strong feeling throughout the community that its welfare is served by the instrumentalities of government or else it cannot survive.

Certainly our Founding Fathers did not fight a great war and labor through an arduous constitutional convention to found a government that would do nothing. Let us never forget the historic statement of purpose found in the preamble of our Constitution:

> We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Our great progress and genius is not that of a people and their government who did nothing. Our freedom and our welfare have been expanded by great Presidents and legislators who acted boldly and positively to meet the changing needs of time. Thomas Jefferson acted extremely bold when he doubled the size of the United States through the Louisiana Purchase. President Lincoln acted boldly when he secured free land for those who moved West and established our national system of land-grant colleges.

President Franklin Roosevelt acted positively when he fought for and received a Federal deposit insurance program which today allows our people to rest assured that their savings will never be wiped out in a serious depression. President Eisenhower acted positively when he created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to help look after and care for the needs of our people.

Today the Nation is faced with unprecedented national and international problems—problems which will not be solved by doing nothing. To be sure, 17th- and 18th-century ideas will not do the job, just as 17th and 18th-century technology will not get us to the moon.

As Abraham Lincoln so well observed:

> The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves.

I can sympathize, Mr. Speaker, with those who find it difficult and uncomfortable to live in the 20th century. I can understand their fear of democracy and their fear of an informed people.

But the Nation cannot afford to remain inert while these fears and difficulties of adjusting to the problems of a new age prevail among the critics of the President. We must move forward.

In his final address to the American people, Franklin Roosevelt said:

> The only limit to our realization of tomorrow is our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy is providing the leadership we need to make our realization of tomorrow become reality. Let us join him in moving forward to the challenges that lie before us.

TO HELP THOSE WAITING IN ITALY FOR VISAS TO JOIN THEIR FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LANE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, all of us are the products of immigrant forefathers. Hundreds of thousands of Americans go abroad in a year on a sentimental journey to visit distant relatives and ancestral homes in the old country.

We have a special understanding and sympathy, unique among the nations of the world, for those in other countries whose greatest ambition in life is to become citizens of the United States. Our sincere desire to help them reach this goal is blocked by the outdated laws that control immigration.

"But you cannot open the doors to everyone who wants to come to the United States" some people say. "There would be neither jobs nor homes for them. If tens of millions of people streamed into the United States in a given year, the confusion and chaos would be indescribable. Everyone would suffer." Even first-generation Americans realize that there must be some control over immigration.

If the general public knew more about the Immigration and Nationality Act, however, they would insist upon a major overhaul and modernization of its provisions. Their opposition would concentrate on the quota system, a formula that was devised 40 years ago to give preferential consideration and encouragement to immigrants from some countries, while practically closing the door to people in other countries who have their hearts set on coming to the United States.

The quota system was artificially contrived and unfair when it was adopted, and it is more so today because the United States and the rest of the world are far different than they were in the early 1920's.

Furthermore, the quotas for some countries are never filled, but the quotas for others are oversubscribed, with long lines of applicants waiting and hoping for a chance to move up and become eligible for a permanent visa. And yet, no effort is made to transfer unused quotas to the credit of oversubscribed quotas.

With the exception of emergency legislation after World War 2, to make room for limited numbers of displaced persons and refugees, our immigration laws have remained rigid and unrealistic. An effort was made to remedy the forced separation of close relatives, but this became a victim of statistics and timetables.

The 1959 amendment provided for the nonquota admission of fourth-preference applicants who were registered on consular waiting lists prior to December 31, 1953, and for whom petitions were approved by the Attorney General. This law expired in March 1962.

There were 170,000 registered applicants of various nationality groups—Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, Chinese, Portuguese, and other nationalities, including their spouses and their children—who saw their hopes and plans wrecked by the automatic death of a law. We could not blame them for feeling betrayed when their petitions were accepted, then mired down in redtape that delayed the issuance of visas until it was too late.

There is a large Italo-American population in Massachusetts. Some of them have come to me with hurt in their eyes. "We can't understand why the Government would do this to us. We had made all arrangements, filled out all the necessary papers to clear the way for our parents—or brothers, sisters, sons, or daughters—to become reunited with us. We had been told that everything was in order. Then came the long wait and now the disappointment of learning that it was all for nothing. We are still separated. Why does the law build up our hopes only to destroy them?"

It is not enough to reassure them; to counsel patience. If we are to keep faith with our promise to reunite as many of these families as is humanly possible we must enact a liberal law to solve this problem. We can help some of them now.

For an interim remedy, until the Immigration and Nationality Act can be carefully but thoroughly revised and brought up to date, I have introduced a bill to move up the cutoff date of registrants by 1 year.

It provides that any alien who is registered on a consular waiting list under a priority date earlier than December 31, 1954, and is eligible for a quota immigrant status on the basis of a petition approved by the Attorney General prior to January 1, 1962, and the spouse and children of such alien, shall be held to be nonquota immigrants and if otherwise admissible shall be issued nonquota immigrant visas.

Immigrants created and developed our Nation. Their hunger for freedom has found a fulfillment here that has not as yet been equaled in any other part of the world.

Our people's regard for humanity, their faith in the worth of every individual, is nourished by the varied racial and cultural contributions that come to us in the person of immigrants who are welcomed to our open society.

By helping aliens to join the family circle of their close relatives in the United States, we shall strengthen our Nation with the love and gratitude of those who are reunited in freedom.

RIOTS AT LORTON REFORMATORY

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

(Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include newspaper clippings from the Washington papers.)

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, even the most naive person alive must have known the Black Muslims would instigate and foment a violent riot at the Lorton Youth Center when they were officially recognized as a "religious group."

A large part of the responsibility for this outrageous spectacle, staged in deliberate defiance of lawful authority at the youth center on Tuesday, must be shared by District Court Judge Burnita Shelton Matthews.

Last month Judge Matthews, in a ruling designed to guarantee even further kid-glove treatment of hardened criminals of today, decided that the rights of these coddled thugs had been denied since they were not permitted to hold so-called religious services as Black Muslims.

Judge Matthews, speaking for the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, ruled that the Black Muslims represented an established religion. Therefore, prison officials were directed to acknowledge this group as the 28th official religion available to the Lorton inmates.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot comprehend how anyone can truthfully believe the Black Muslims to be a religious sect.

The spiritual leader of the Black Muslims is Elijah Muhammad. He describes himself as the messenger of Allah and such description is accepted by his followers. In his writings, he portrays the white race as a race of total evil—a race of devils, murderers, thieves, robbers, scientists at tricks, world snoopers, meddlers, and liars. He declares that to survive, negroes and whites must be separated. He advocates the establishment of a separate black state. In short, if this philosophy reflects a religious belief, then nazism and communism should be similarly recognized as religions.

Religious? May God forbid use of the word in conjunction with the Muslims.

Dedication? They are dedicated not to God, but to murder, naked violence, hatred, mugging, and yoking.

This is not a religion as we use the word, Mr. Speaker, but an ideology, whose members enjoy a propensity for degeneration, for degrading acts against civilization.

Mr. Speaker, if I had my way, I would toss these hardened, vicious members of an outerfringe element of society right in solitary confinement.

The do-gooders, the bleeding hearts would wail and gnash their teeth, but if such a sect as this is continually granted its so-called rights at the expense of decent society, then the day will soon arrive when civilization truly is a sidewalk jungle, with only the very strong and very brave venturing forth from their homes during the day.

Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution in the Congress to direct the House Committee on Un-American Activities to delve into the terrible ideology behind the Black Muslim sect.

I am confident the committee will find it a subversive organization.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. I would like to inform the gentleman that the Committee on Un-American Activities has made a preliminary investigation of the question of whether or not that committee has jurisdiction to investigate this matter. If the committee has the authority under the law and is charged with the responsibility, it will conduct a very intensive investigation.

The committee has received many complaints about the Muslims and demands that it investigate the movement.

It has obtained evidence that members of this organization are employed by Government agencies, including, in at least a few instances, sensitive security agencies, and that they also are employed by contractors engaged in classified work for the Government.

Claude Lightfoot, a vice chairman of the Communist Party and a member of its national committee, national executive committee, and national board, has recently called upon all Communists in this country to work for a united-front type of operation with the Muslims. Lightfoot hopes that the Muslims will direct their fire against the "reactionary ruling class" in this country.

Communists of the United States—

Lightfoot went on to say—

are dutybound to go among our Muslim brothers and to help light an understanding among them. We will help to enlist [them] in the great battle for freedom [sic] in the United States.

Aside from the issue of ties between the Black Muslims and Communist Party, it appears to be clear that on the simple basis of what the Muslims teach, they are subversive of our form of government and pose a growing danger to our internal security.

Although the Muslims preach against the use of narcotics, it is a fact that a number of the organization's top leaders have police records for narcotics addiction.

It also is a matter of deep concern that the Muslims are operating schools in various parts of the country in which the children of sect members are indoctrinated with the Muslim principles of violence and hatred.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I would like to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania; and, anticipating that action I have today introduced a resolution giving you exactly that authority and a direction from the House of Representatives. That resolution was introduced a minute ago.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I regret very much that my good friend from South Carolina saw fit to inject Judge Matthews into this discussion. Evidently he does not know Judge Matthews. For his information, Judge Matthews is a gracious lady, an eminent lawyer, and honest in every respect. Her integrity has never been questioned, and I can assure my good friend that her decisions are not based on political considerations, but rather, on the law in the case as she believes it to be.

I am not familiar with the opinion to which the gentleman addresses himself, but I can say that Judge Matthews ruled the way she did because she believed it to be the correct and proper legal ruling. No doubt it may be in line with the rulings of the higher courts. But I would be more inclined to place the blame on the several rulings of the Supreme Court which have laid the predicate for this type of thing of which the gentleman complains, and rightly so.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I do not question what the gentleman says about Judge Matthews, and I positively do not deny what he says of the Supreme Court, but Judge Matthews, speaking for the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, ruled that the Black Muslims represented an established religion; therefore, prison officials were directed to acknowledge this group as the 28th official religion available to the Lorton inmates.

Do you remember a few days a former colleague, Sam Yorty, came from Los Angeles to Washington and went to see the Attorney General of the United States and asked him to for God's sake investigate this sect, that they were creating riots, and yoking and had violently attacked the police of Los Angeles, Calif. In short, raised the plain devil and did everything that goes along with that out in Los Angeles in a wave of anarchy and violence. These are dangerous people.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, with the exception of the references that the gentleman made which might have reflected on the character and ability of Judge Matthews, and which references were made, I am sure, in good faith but with lack of acquaintance with Judge Matthews, her background, character, and qualifications, I certainly subscribe to everything else that the gentleman has said about the Black Muslim outfit.

I hope that the resolution which the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] has introduced will be considered favorably, and soon.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not only are the so-called Black Muslims using religion as a cloak to conceal their despicable aims and activities, but religion is also being used as a false front by other racketeers such as Martin Luther King and those who associate themselves with him, in an attempt to promote a political and social point of view which is entirely unrelated to religion.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I certainly accept what the gentleman from Mississippi has said. But I must insist that Judge Matthews is naive, she made a bad decision, and I insist that

she must accept the responsibility regardless of her sweetness, regardless of her distinguished background, regardless of anything. Judge Matthews is responsible for what happened down at Lorton Penitentiary.

You know, we had a judge in South Carolina who got brainwashed one time, and may God have mercy on his miserable soul.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In that I must agree, insofar as that judge is concerned. Let me assure the gentleman, that Judge Matthews is not a Judge Waring. Unlike him, she is a person of honor and a most competent lawyer. I might disagree with her ruling, but I certainly would not question her judicial integrity.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. I will not permit my affection for the gentleman from Mississippi to change my opinion of this decision.

I think the world of the gentleman from Mississippi when he is right, but I will not follow even my wife when she is wrong. Judge Matthews may be as pure as the driven snow from a convent roof, but her Black Muslim decision is not sound. The gentleman from Mississippi and I go together 99 percent of the time. But can one imagine what would happen if the gentleman from Mississippi, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, and the gentleman from South Carolina, MENDEL RIVERS—and we will even take the gentleman from Florida, BILLY MATTHEWS for good measure—created a sect known as the "White Muslims"? Can one imagine what would happen if we had the White Muslims in America? They would put us in jail so fast it would make your head swim if we even advocated such a thing in the name of white supremacy.

Can you imagine what would happen? This thing is terribly dangerous and it is designed and dedicated to disorder and anarchy, and everything that is evil. You read these newspapers which I am putting in the RECORD. They are getting worse and worse, and God help you if you are caught on the street after night. They conduct schools in hatred or something of that sort. They are out to get rid of you. You would be sagacious indeed if you would look out for yourselves.

Mr. Speaker, let us start with the House Un-American Activities Committee before it is too late. Some do-gooders pooh-pooh some of these organizations as being harmless and a lot of people have said that it cannot happen here. It will happen here. It is happening here.

Mr. Speaker, the newspaper articles to which I have referred follow:

[From the Evening Star, Aug. 1, 1962]

LORTON GUARD SITUATION VIEWED AS EXPLOSIVE

A chronic shortage of guards at the District penal institutions in Lorton, Va., could lead at any time to another outburst of violence such as the riot staged yesterday by 30 inmates at the youth center, Donald Clemmer, Department of Corrections Director, said today.

Calling the situation explosive, Mr. Clemmer said he has persistently sought increases in his guard force in annual District budgets since taking over the Corrections Department shortly after World War II.

"When the disturbance broke out yesterday," Mr. Clemmer said, "I had just 26 guards to handle the 280 inmates in the center. And six of the guards were on tower duty. It would require 30 to 35 guards to supervise that many prisoners adequately."

CHAPLAIN IS STRUCK

He said Commissioner John B. Duncan has asked for a special report on the disturbance. attributed to 15 inmates belonging to the Black Muslim sect—a Negro religious group that is actively antiwhite and seeks complete separation of Negroes and Caucasians.

Prisoners involved in the riot broke 50 or 60 windows with sticks and mop handles they found on the grounds when the disturbance started shortly after noon. Damage was estimated at $1,000 to $1,200.

One unidentified prisoner struck the Catholic chaplain, the Reverend Donald Sheehy, on the head with an ax handle. Father Sheehy was not seriously injured by the glancing blow.

Mr. Clemmer said an early-morning check today indicated the inmates spent a quiet night. He said the trouble appears to be over for now.

WILL BE PUNISHED

Inmates of the youth center, whose ages range from 18 to about 22, are serving time for what Mr. Clemmer described as serious crimes such as armed robbery and parole violation.

As the inmates began storming around the grounds, Mr. Clemmer said, he called in the other two shifts of guards. In addition, the Metropolitan Police Civil Disturbance Unit, equipped with helmets, gas masks and riot guns, hurried to the scene but was not used.

Prisoners who took part in the riot definitely will be punished, Mr. Clemmer said. He will confer with his aids to determine just what punishment to administer.

The riot was finally broken up when Mr. Clemmer met several of the rioters' demands.

"I gave in to their demands," Mr. Clemmer said, "because they were an angry mob and there could have been trouble and bloodshed."

The demands granted them were:

1. That the 27 members of the sect be permitted to live together in a dormitory.
2. That pork no longer be cooked with vegetables. The sect does not eat pork.
3. That the intensive treatment unit be discontinued because the rioters were against the confinement.

Mr. Clemmer said he agreed to end the psychotherapy experiment which was objected to by the prisoners because it involved close confinement. "I was skeptical about it anyway," he added.

PARADE WITH STICKS

The riot started spontaneously around noon near the mess hall when 15 inmates began parading around the grounds with sticks in their hands, Mr. Clemmer said.

They were all members of the religious group, but they were soon joined by 15 other inmates.

Capt. Fulton C. Rogers, acting superintendent, sent guards to control the men, but they were repulsed. The rioters continued to parade and began smashing windows.

Mr. Clemmer said the men then tried to break into the canteen for cigarettes and candy, but failed. They then went to the kitchen in search of knives, but the knife cabinets were locked. They overturned equipment in the kitchen and left.

CALLED TO SCENE

Mr. Clemmer was called to the scene from one of the neighboring reformatories about 1 p.m. and was told of the riot.

He talked to the men, but said they were in such a violent mood that he could not understand their shouted reasons for rioting.

Lucas X. Brown, a minister of the religious sect, was called to the prison and talked to the men. Later the rioters agreed to have five of their members meet with the prison officials.

During the riot, none of the prisoners escaped or attempted to flee.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 1, 1962]

PRISONERS' RIOT QUELLED AT LORTON—OUTBREAK IS LED BY BLACK MUSLIM; CHAPLAIN SLUGGED

(By Everard Munsey and Wendell P. Bradley)

Black Muslim prisoners supported by other inmates at the Lorton Youth Center staged a protest march yesterday that erupted into an uncontrolled window-smashing riot. About 40 inmates were involved, authorities said.

The fierce but brief outbreak, first in Corrections Head Donald Clemmer's 17-year experience as director, began in humid, overcast weather shortly after noon.

It ended 45 minutes later when Clemmer began conferring with five leaders of the riot, and agreed to several of their requests.

Clemmer said the only inmate to be injured in the demonstration was a man who smashed a window with his fist and required 10 stitches in his hand and arm.

The center, one of four District institutions near Lorton, Va., 16 miles south of the District, is for inmates from 18 to 26. Most of them have been convicted of thefts and similar crimes.

The 300 inmates of the center, a campus-like institution of 38 acres dedicated in 1960, had returned from morning work details, had eaten and were quietly awaiting the call to afternoon duties.

Suddenly, said Clemmer, a group of a few inmates, their average age about 20, moved from one of the five dormitories. They carried broom and mop handles. Within moments, the group grew to 15.

They set up an uneven line of march on the lawn of the administrative building, brandishing the sticks as well as a pickax and ax-handle and shouting unintelligibly as guards gathered, Clemmer said.

Thirty or so employees, none of them carrying firearms, played a dangerous game of ring-around-the-rosy with the shouting inmates in an effort to contain them in a small area.

Meanwhile, from vantage points in red brick towers in view of the marchers, guards, armed with machine guns, rifles and pistols, trained weapons on the increasingly agitated inmates, who by then numbered 30 or 40, Clemmer said.

The guards were unable to contain the marchers, who broke wildly from the lawn to nearby dormitories, a school, the canteen and a kitchen, Clemmer told reporters.

The rioters shattered windows in a classroom and in the dormitories as they roamed through the buildings, said Clemmer. In a kitchen, they tore at a locked drawer containing knives but were unable to get at them, he said. They dumped over a potato peeler and other equipment, while other rioters tried to raid the canteen where cigarettes and other small items are kept.

Clemmer estimated damage at $1,500 although other observers said the total might go higher.

During the melee, a Roman Catholic chaplain, the Reverend Donald Sheehy, sought to quiet the men. One rioter hit him on the head with a pickax, Clemmer said. He said the priest was not injured seriously.

After 45 minutes, Clemmer said, the original group of employees, joined by 10 others from the nearby reformatories and workhouse, were able to herd the rampaging men to an area near the administration building.

When Clemmer, Acting Superintendent Fulton C. Rogers and other officials arrived, the rioters "were in a bellicose mood, waving the stick and yelling loudly," Clemmer said.

LEADERS CONFER

Clemmer said he urged them to return to their dormitories, but there was a shout of "we are willing to die right here." The men finally agreed to go back to their dormitories while their leaders conferred with Clemmer.

For another 45 minutes, five ringleaders, three of them Black Muslims, conferred with Clemmer and his aids, Clemmer said.

"The entire conversation was tinctured with the Black Muslim ideology," said Clemmer. The Black Muslims are a militant, Negro, antiwhite cult.

Meanwhile, outside the 12-foot-high double chain-link fence topped by 3 feet of barbed wire, a small army of guards stood by.

About 30 to 40 guards armed with pickax handles were supported by men with rifles and shotguns. Also nearby was a Lorton Reformatory armored car containing men armed with tear gas and a firetruck. A Metropolitan Police riot squad and K-9 dogs also had been dispatched.

"I pointed out to the five that they were in violation of the law," Clemmer said. At first, he said, the Black Muslims talked "about Babylon in an allegorical way" and that there was talk of 400 years of slavery.

Clemmer said the Black Muslim complaints which apparently triggered the riot involved at least five points.

OBJECT TO PORK

The ringleaders, he said, complained that pork was used in cooking vegetables in violation of Black Muslim bans on the eating of pork. Clemmer said he agreed to cook all vegetables without pork fat.

The five also complained against a new intensive therapy unit "which we are conducting as an experiment," said Clemmer. He said the group opposed being kept inside under the plan and "I've been skeptical of it and agreed to dispense with it."

Clemmer said he also agreed to change the hours of the Black Muslim church service, but pointed out that the hours had been set to accommodate the Black Muslim minister.

Clemmer said he also agreed that the Black Muslims, of whom there are about 27 among the inmates, can live together at least "for the present."

Clemmer declined to act on their protest that "two or three officers had picked on them because they were Muslim," he said.

Clemmer said that in return for his agreement, "they have promised to behave themselves" and would not ask for further concessions.

The inmate representatives asked about punishment, and Clemmer said he told them there definitely would be punishment, but that he had not decided what it would be.

"I feel we are very lucky in having avoided a vast riot with bloodshed and very extensive damage," Clemmer told reporters after his 45-minute talk with the prisoner representatives.

He said he felt his aids at the scene when the riot broke out were wise in not using force immediately. A show of force, guards feared, might have spread the uproar to other inmates.

Shortly after the riot was brought under control, a Black Muslim minister, Lucius X. Brown, who said he preached at 1519 Fourth Street NW., arrived.

He said Clemmer had summoned him and that he advised the inmates "they should not cause trouble; that the teaching of Islam proscribes trouble and violence. I hold them if they cause trouble, they would not be really Muslims."

The minister said he thought that a white inmate had told "some untruths" about being beaten by five Negro prisoners and they were punished unjustly. Clemmer said that five inmates had been confined pending an investigation of a reported beating.

The center is separate from the male reformatory with its 2,000 prisoners, mostly jailed for serious crimes; the women's reformatory with 170 inmates; and the workhouse with 1,400 prisoners.

[From the Washington, (D.C.) Post, Aug. 1, 1962]

BLACK MUSLIMS CONGREGATE IN U.S. METROPOLITAN CENTERS

(By Wallace Terry)

Ever since a former Georgia plowboy discovered the lost-found nation of Islam in North America about 30 years ago, his Black Muslim followers sporadically have run into trouble with the law.

Elijah Poole says that he became Elijah Muhammad when Allah instructed him to rescue the American Negro from his "enslavement" by Christianity and Western culture.

Through the years, Muhammad has not made his task any easier by demanding exemption from military service for his ministers, permission for Black Muslim youth to attend temple-sponsored schools and separate religious service for prison inmates converted to his faith.

The Black Muslims today number about 70,000, including some 2,000 in the District. They operate mostly in the large metropolitan areas of the North and West, where many Negroes, hard pressed by the economic and housing conditions of living, bear resentment toward whites.

Muhammad's followers want to get as far away from whites as is possible but do not champion Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" idea. Instead, they frequently demand separate States from the Federal Government as repayment for work done by Negro slaves in building America.

Orthodox Islam has denounced the cult because it excludes white membership. Muhammad teaches that the white man is the creator and perpetrator of all evil in the world but in orthodox Islam, evil is ascribed to no particular color.

The Black Muslims also have parted company with the traditional Negro civil rights movements which look to the democratic process as a means to end discrimination and segregation.

"Why should we want to integrate with the Devil?" Muhammad asks.

The Black Muslims follow strict dietary laws, abstain from illicit sex, worship regularly and support the variety of small businesses operated by their brothers.

Several police officials have characterized them as "law abiding" and "gentlemanly." But the inflammatory nature of their antiwhite doctrine has keep them under FBI surveillance.

Their ministers demand strict discipline in public and the Black Muslim is enjoined against violence unless he is attacked.

The Black Muslims cried police brutality when one of their numbers was killed in April during a battle with police in Los Angeles. Police were cleared of the charges, but in New York 3 years ago the Black Muslims won a $70,000 judgment against New York City in a false arrest case.

In Chicago and Detroit Muhammad went to court and won the right for his followers to attend separate elementary schools.

He has not yet succeeded in getting his ministers exempted from military service. He and one of his sons have been jailed for refusing to register for the draft.

Besides personal contact, the mailing of temple literature to prison inmates has helped to convert large numbers. These Black Muslims find faith after they have gone to jail.

Recently the Black Muslims won the right to separate religious services at Lorton Reformatory and in Federal prisons in New York. They also have approached the courts in Michigan and Massachusetts.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug 2, 1962]

LORTON CHIEF LAYS MUSLIM RIOT TO OUTSIDE SOURCE

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

The 26-man guard force at Lorton Youth Center was reinforced and put on overtime yesterday. Superintendent Joseph H. Havener also was called back from vacation as Donald Clemmer, Department of Corrections Director, moved to guard against further outbreaks.

A riot Tuesday at the District's youth prison, which involved a small segment of the 280 inmates, caused no personal injury, but wreaked about $1,200 damage to prison property, mostly windows and kitchen equipment.

It ended late Tuesday after Clemmer met with a committee selected by the 30 rioters and agreed to several of their demands.

But the situation continued tense yesterday, Clemmer said, as work crews of inmates and maintenance personnel cleaned up the mess and word of the riot spread to other Lorton institutions.

Early yesterday, Clemmer said, guards made a thorough search of the dormitories where prisoners sleep in the experimental penal institution, and confiscated everything that could be turned into a weapon.

In a room occupied by members of the Black Muslim sect, Clemmer said, guards found a homemade knife. Rioters were armed with pickax handles, mop handles and brooms in an outbreak which officials said was triggered by Black Muslims.

The Lorton Youth Center, which will be 2 years old in September, has an informal, campuslike atmosphere where young convicts are imprisoned apart from hardened criminals. Inmates range from 18 to 22 years of age.

There are no cells and prisoners wander singly, or in groups to and from meals and classes. Last month a bus-load of the more progressive inmates was taken to Carter Barron to watch a production of "The Mikado."

Against this background, a small clique of Black Muslims, a Negro religious sect that preaches race separation and hatred of the white race, rioted Tuesday because they wanted a nonpork diet, separate sleeping area, and an end to the intensive treatment unit and experimental psychotherapy.

Clemmer agreed to these demands but yesterday he said the leaders in the riot "unquestionably will be punished."

"We'll have a disciplinary committee decide on punishment, and until then we don't want to tip our hand," he said.

Tension yesterday reportedly had spread to two other District penal institutions in Lorton, the Reformatory and the Workhouse, where the Black Muslim sect is also active.

Clemmer said the Youth Center's experimental program had worked well for 2 years, and any minor problems could be blamed on "the rambunctiousness of youth."

This latest trouble, however, appeared to have been instigated from outside Lorton, he said.

Clemmer said the rioters, in their meeting with him, talked about Babylon and 400 years of slavery.

"That kind of talk doesn't begin with them," he said. "This unrest has to originate from somewhere outside."

San Quentin and the Federal prison at Jackson, Mich., have also had trouble with Black Muslims, Clemmer said.

"Until Tuesday we were under the impression there were about 16 Muslims in the youth center," he said.

"Then we learned there were at least 40."

Many inmates with no apparent connection with the sect apparently become Black Muslims after arriving at the prison, he said, adding that he did not know how many were bona fide members of the religion which was granted permission last month to conduct religious services within the prison.

The problem of how to treat Black Muslims at the different institutions at Lorton has bothered corrections officials and courts for at least 2 years.

In May 1960, two members of the sect complained that they were being denied religious freedom by a ban on Black Muslim services. Early this year the Reverend Charles M. Whelan, legal consultant for the National Catholic Welfare Conference, said the sect fell within the first amendment's guarantee of religious freedom, though he knew of "no other religion which teaches racial hatred as part of its faith."

Last month District Court Judge Burnita S. Matthews ruled that the Black Muslims have a legal right to hold religious services at Lorton and shortly after, the cult became the 28th religion available to Lorton inmates.

One of the Muslims' demands—separate sleeping facilities for 27 of their members—will temporarily segregate a part of the Lorton system which desegregated its sleeping facilities in May.

Racist Bigot Negro

MUSLIMS, BLACK AND WHITE

From the Commonweal, January 18, 1963

James Baldwin's "Letter from a Region in My Mind" came out in the November 17 New Yorker, but people are still talking about it. And no wonder, either; Baldwin's piece is one of the most memorable ever written from inside the world of the Negro.

There is no use pretending the Negro's world is mine; it isn't. Once a Negro realizes that he is not white, and what this means in our society, his world becomes different. "I began to feel in the boys a curious, wary, bewildered despair, as though they were now settling in for the long, hard winter of life," Baldwin puts it.

It is hard to argue with the facts. A Negro, simply by virtue of that fact, is fighting the odds from the day he is born. His chances of a secure, happy childhood are less. His opportunity for a good education is restricted, North and South. His chances for a decent job even if he gets a good education are small. "In the same way that the girls were destined to gain as much weight as their mothers, the boys, it was clear, would rise no higher than their fathers," Baldwin writes. "School began to reveal itself, therefore, as a child's game that one could not win, and boys dropped out of school and went to work."

In short, the kind of home a Negro will live in, the kind of food he will eat, the kind of medical care he will receive, even the kind of burial he will receive, all are drastically affected by the color of his skin. "My friends were now 'downtown," busy, as they put it, 'fighting the man." They began to care less about the way they looked, the way they dressed, the things they did; presently, one found them in twos and threes and fours, in a hallway, sharing a jug of wine or a bottle of whiskey, talking, cursing, fighting, sometimes weeping: lost, and unable to say what it was that oppressed them, except that they knew it was 'the man'--the white man."

The Negro is an American, but his America is not mine, and what bothers people about James Baldwin, I think, is that he recognizes this fact and says so, bluntly. For believers in Christianity and democracy, the presence of the Negro minority represents a great challenge--one we have so far failed to meet squarely. This is a hard truth, and when Baldwin spells it out, it makes people nervous.

A good many people think of Baldwin as a Black Muslim. He is not, but he understands what makes Black Muslims what they are. "This world is white," he writes, "and they are black."

Black Muslims are, of course, racists. They make sense only in a society where there are too many White Muslims. Believing in black superiority, the Black Muslims represent an extreme reaction to a culture shaped by a belief in white superiority. "Neither civilized reason nor Christian love would cause any of those people to treat you as they presumably wanted to be treated. only the fear of your power to retaliate would cause them to do that, or seem to do it, which was (and is) good enough."

(over)

Estimates on the number of Black Muslims range as high as 100,000. This is probably exaggerated, but whatever their number, this much is certain: they number in their ranks thousands of American Negroes who have lost faith in democracy. "One did not have to be very bright to realize how little one could do to change one's situation; one did not have to be abnormally sensitive to be worn down to a cutting edge by the incessant and gratuitous humiliation and danger one encountered every working day, all day long."

Nor are men like Baldwin any more kindly disposed to Christianity. "It is not too much to say that whoever wishes to become a truly moral human being...must first divorce himself from all the prohibitions, crimes and hypocrisies of the Christian church. If the concept of God has any validity or any use, it can only be to make us larger, freer, and more loving. If God cannot do this, then it is time we got rid of Him."

For a Christian, this does not make pleasant reading. It may be easy enough for us to dismiss even as many as 100,000 Black Muslims;there must be hundreds who have run head-on into white walls all their lives and who have, as a result, developed a definite sympathy for the various black nationalist movements. The American Negro is tired of moving toward freedom on the white man's timetable. When we ignore this truth, we are only kidding ourselves.

If I read James Baldwin right, this is part of what he is telling us. It is not too late, I hope, for us to begin to pay attention.

James O'Gara.

Red Rights Plot Seen By Barnett

Negro Movement Called Conspiracy To Divide Nation

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Gov. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippe charged yesterday that Negro demonstrations for equal rights are "largely Communist-inspired," part of a world conspiracy "to divide and conquer ou rcountry from within."

He also told the Senate Commerce Committee that President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, have encouraged demonstrations and are "sowing the seeds of hate and violence" from which the Nation "could reap a bloody harvest."

Barrett was challenged by Democrats on the Committee on both counts, and was chided by Chairman Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) as being "off base" in equating the merits of legislations with the views of some who profess to be for it.

The Governor, symbol of all-out resistance to desegregation, was invited by Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.) to testify on the President's bill to bar discrimination in public accommodations. Barnett said its passage would mean the "complete end of constitutional government in America" and "racial violence of unimaginable scope."

Monroney Disagrees

Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) was the first to strongly disagree" with Barnett that the President or Attorney General were encouraging demonstrations or sowing hatred.

Barnett said he based that on the President's civil rights speech to the Nation last month, which Barnett interpleted as encouraging demonstrations. Monroney asked for proof that a Communist conspiracy is behind the Negroes' fight for rights.

Barnett held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as Communists at a school in Tennessee.

Monroney asked Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Barnett said he had not, but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

"I feel it does a great disservice," said Monroney, "to try to brush off these demonstrations as part of a foreign conspiracy. I don't think this Committee feels there is a

See RIGHTS, A4, Col 3

Demonstrations Largely Red, Barnett Charges

everyone in this room"—a reference to the Communist-hunting McCarthy era of the early 1950s.

"That was a tragic period and should not be repeated," said Hart. "The witness says he does not know that Martin Luther King is a Communist, but it will raise doubts in the minds of some. I would walk with Martin Luther King. I hope that would not make me suspect."

Magnuson asked:

"What do demonstrations or pictures have to do with my decision on a matter I have thought about for years? What if demonstrations were inspired by the Communist Party, the John Birch Society or the Elks Club? What do they have to do with my honest convictions? Some great churchmen have demonstrated. If no one demonstrated, people might think there was no fnterest in the issue."

Barnett argued that a public accommodations law would be unconstitutional.

"Every citizen has the right to own and operate his own business as he sees fit without interference from any source," said Barnett. "The legitimate purpose of government is to protect a man's home as his castle. Does not this same basic American constitutional fact of life apply equally to a man's private business?"

He told of a woman in Winona, Miss., who operated a restaurant in a bus terminal. Ordered to desegregate it, she tried but both whites and Negroes stopped eating there. She was forced to close and has $20,000 worth of equipment on her hands, said Barnett.

Racial questions should be left to the states, said Barnett.

"If New York wants to integrate and end up with a mongrel race, that's their business," said the Governor. If Mississippi prefers segregation to "preserve the purity of the races," that should be its business, he said.

Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) said that if Communists were trying to use the race issue, wouldn't it be better to guarantee Negroes' rights and remove this weapon? No, said Barnett.

Hart said the civil rights struggle has taken a new turn because demonstrations have destroyed the argument that Negroes are satisfied and like segregation.

Barnett answered that a Jackson, Miss., Negro recently told him: "Governor, if you spend one Saturday night on Farrish st. (Negro night life center) you would never want to be a white man again."

James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader and vice chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, also testified against the public accommodations bill. He questioned the constitutionality of Federal regulation of private business, regardless of how desirable" it might be considered.

Despite talk of wanting to exempt little establishments, the main thrust of the bill is bound to be against the "Mrs. Murphys," said Kilpatrick, because the big restaurants, hotels and stores are desegregating rapidly.

WP July 13 '63

Negro Demonstrations Largely Red-Inspired, Barnett Charges

Communist conspiracy involved.

Thurmond said he was one member of the Committee who did believe a Communist conspiracy was behind the civil rights movement, but he added he believed many "sincere" people also have taken art in demonstrations.

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-ich.) said he hoped the hear-g was not "creating an at-sphere this country experi-ed within the memory of

Kennedy had
couraged demonstrations
are "sowing the seeds of
and violence" from whic
Nation "could reap a bi
harvest."

Barrett was challenge
Democrats on the Comm
on both counts, and was
ed by Chairman Warre
Magnuson (D-Wash.) as
"off base" in equating
merits of legislations wi
views of some who prof
be for it.

The Governor, symbol
out resistance to dese
tion, was invited by Sen.
Thurmond (D-S. C.) to
on the President's bill
discrimination in publ
commodations. Barnett
its passage would mea
"complete end of consti
al government in Am
and "racial violence of
aginable scope."

Monroney Disagrees

Sen. A. S. Mike Mon
(D-Okla.) was the firs
strongly disagree" with
nett that the Presiden
Attorney General were en
aging demonstrations or
ing hatred.

Barnett said he based
on the President's civil rights
speech to the Nation last
month, which Barnett inter-
pleted as encouraging demon-
strations. Monroney asked for
proof that a Communist con-
spiracy is behind the Negroes'
fight for rights.

Barnett held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as Communists at a school in Tennessee.

Monroney asked Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Barnett said he had not, but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

"I feel it does a great dis-
service," said Monroney, "to
try to brush off these demon-
strations as part of a foreign
conspiracy. I don't think this
Committee feels there is a

See RIGHTS, A4, Col 3

everyone in this room"—a reference to the Communist-hunting McCarthy era of the early 1950s.

"That was a tragic period and should not be repeated," said Hart. "The witness says he does not know that Martin Luther King is a Communist, but it will raise doubts in the minds of some. I would walk with Martin Luther King. I hope that would not make me suspect."

Magnuson asked:

"What do demonstrations or pictures have to do with my decision on a matter I have thought about for years? What if demonstrations were inspired by the Communist Party, the John Birch Society or the Elks Club? What do they have to do with my honest convictions? Some great churchmen have demonstrated. If no one demonstrated, people might think there was no interest in the issue."

Barnett argued that a public accommodations law would be unconstitutional.

"Every citizen has the right to own and operate his own business as he sees fit without interference from any source," said Barnett. "The legitimate purpose of government is to protect a man's home as his castle. Does not this same basic American constitutional fact of life apply equally to a man's private business?"

He told of a woman in Winona, Miss., who operated a restaurant in a bus terminal. Ordered to desegregate it, she tried but both whites and Negroes stopped eating there. She was forced to close and has $20,000 worth of equipment on her hands, said Barnett.

Racial questions should be left to the states, said Barnett.

"If New York wants to integrate and end up with a mongrel race, that's their business," said the Governor. If Mississippi prefers segregation to "preserve the purity of the races," that should be its business, he said.

Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) said that if Communists were trying to use the race issue, wouldn't it be better to guarantee Negroes' rights and remove this weapon? No, said Barnett.

Hart said the civil rights struggle has taken a new turn because demonstrations have destroyed the argument that Negroes are satisfied and like segregation.

Barnett answered that a Jackson, Miss., Negro recently told him: "Governor, if you spend one Saturday night on Farrish st. (Negro night life center) you would never want to be a white man again."

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Despite talk of wanting to exempt little establishments, the main thrust of the bill is bound to be against the "Mrs. Murphys," said Kilpatrick, because the big restaurants, hotels and stores are desegregating rapidly.

Cook Says King Withheld O'Dell Data

Atl Jour. 3/16/63

Intergroup Org. Misc.

By The Associated Press

The state attorney general says Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., integration leader, has refused to give him information he requested concerning Jack H. O'Dell.

A spokesman for Eugene Cook said he was preparing to start an investigation into the relationship of King and O'Dell, a former employe of King's Southern Christain Leadership Conference (SCLC).

King announced July 25 that he had accepted O'Dell's resignation after it became apparent that his employment could be used against the SCLC by segregationists and "race baiters."

He said O'Dell's services were terminated after an investigation into published reports that O'Dell was a Communist. He added:

"O'Dell made it clear that he was not a member of the Communist party but he did say he worked with the party at one time in Louisiana."

O'Dell had worked in the SCLC's New York Office.

King identified O'Dell as one of the persons questioned about alleged Communist activities by the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities at an Atlanta hearing in 1958. O'Dell refused to answer many of the questions asked at the hearing.

THE DAY after King's news conference announcement of O'Dell's dismissal, Cook asked the Negro leader to explain his relationship with O'Dell.

Cook said King's office responded by sending him a letter and a notarized copy of a press release made by King regarding O'Dell's dismissal. Cook said he specifically asked that King "reveal the name of the person or persons recommending O'Dell, and the name of the person or persons interviewing him for employment when he was initially employed and subsequently re-employed."

IN A LETTER to Wyatt Tee Walker, King's executive assistant, Cook wrote:

"I note with regret that Dr. King has refused to give me the benefit of this information. It was my hope that we could cooperate in the exchange of information regarding people who are notoriously identified with known Communist activities in this country, such as O'Dell. It so happens that I have a complete file on him and to my certain knowledge the attorney general of the United States has a similar file.

"In view of the fact that Dr. King has seen fit to refuse to comply with a legal and legitimate request made by me under Georgia's Subversive Activities Act of 1953 by furnishing the requested pertinent information for the state government's official files, I will keep the file current pending my own investigation."

Cook's letter added:

"I dislike this procedure, as we agreed that we would exchange such information when we discussed the subject matter in my office."

Dr. King to Give Cook A Statement on O'Dell

Atl Con. 7/30/63

Intergroup Org. Misc.

By BILL SHIPP

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. planned Monday to send a "notarized" press release to Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook as an explanation of his connections with Jack H. O'Dell, identified as a one-time organizer for the Communist Party USA.

Ed Clayton, public relations director for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said Dr. King would submit a "notarized" copy of a prepared statement to Cook.

Clayton said it will be the same statement issued by Dr. King at a press conference last Thursday.

Cook said King sent two attorneys to see him over the weekend after Cook sought to question King about O'Dell's employment by the SCLC. It was agreed that King will furnish the information by affidavit, Cook said.

The Atlanta Constitution said in a copyrighted story Thursday that O'Dell was employed as director in Dr. King's New York office, although the Negro leader had said earlier that O'Dell had resigned.

Dr. King called a news conference and said his civil rights group had accepted O'Dell's resignation after it became apparent that his connection would be used against SCLC by segregationists.

United Press International reported that O'Dell was identified as an "administrator" of Dr. King's New York office Thursday morning, but he was reported gone from the office Thursday afternoon.

In the press release he plans to give Cook, Dr. King said:

". . . The fact is that Mr. O'Dell is not presently on the staff and has never been in our employ as director of the New York office . . ."

Dr. King said it was decided in a meeting in New York on June 26 that O'Dell should resign.

Cook said he wanted King to state under oath the beginning and ending dates of O'Dell's employment with SCLC, who recommended O'Dell, who interviewed him and who hired him. Cook said he did not wish to investigate King but merely get verification and clarification of King's statement to the press.

Atl. Con. 8/27/63

Intergroup Org. Misc.

Savannah's Negroes Severing Ties to Union Linked to Reds

Constitution State News Service

SAVANNAH — The president of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters announced Monday that it is severing ties with the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in order to "prevent our being associated in any shape, form or fashion with any unAmerican-like activities."

Hosea Williams, president of the Chatham Crusade and the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, said his Savannah-based civil right organization is vacating the offices of the union this week and will move to new quarters.

Williams announced the move after a recent series of stories in The Atlatna Constitution reported that the mine - mill union furnished rent-free office space to the crusade. The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has been labeled Communist-controlled by the Subversive Activities Control Commission of the U.S. government. That ruling is under appeal.

Williams said the report on the relationship between the mine-mill union and the crusade proved "beneficial in one way . . . because I had no idea how much damage" could be done to a civil rights movement that became involved with "such things."

Williams said, however, he knew of no members of the Savannah local of the mine-mill union being involved in subversive activities.

The Negro leader also said his organization was strapped financially but he hoped to receive new aid from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

"If we can't get help from the VEP, I think we're doomed," he said. The Southern Regional Council withheld support of the crusade in June when the crusade became involved in massive street demonstrations.

Williams said the crusade will participate in no more large-scale demonstrations but will concentrate on voter registration and organizing "adult citizenship schools."

A preview of Southern white and Negro children sharing the same classrooms:

THE SCHOOLS THAT BROKE THE COLOR LINE

What happens when white and Negro youngsters study together for the first time—in a state that has kept them apart? Here, in the experience of three small schools in Delaware, is a preview of the change facing the whole South

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Redbook
THE MAGAZINE FOR
YOUNG ADULTS

BY WILLIAM PETERS
PHOTOGRAPHY BY IKE VERN

The first day of school this fall in Delaware—a state in which racially segregated public education is required by law—found three public schools beginning their third year of teaching Negro and white children side by side in the same classrooms. These three schools are the first public schools in any of the 17 segregation states to have experienced the change-over now facing the entire South.

All three schools are within a short distance of Wilmington, Delaware's largest city. Two of them—Claymont High School and Hockessin School No. 29—accepted Negro students for the first time in September, 1952, as a result of a court ruling which found the corresponding Negro schools unequal, a finding upheld by the Delaware Supreme Court. The third school, Arden Elementary School, voluntarily—and in defiance of the State Constitution—opened its doors to colored children at the same time.

The instrument which began this revolution in the Delaware schools was the pen of a 53-year-old Negro woman, Mrs. Fred Bulah. Sarah Bulah, in the fall of 1950, began writing letters to local and state authorities complaining about the lack of a school bus to take her adopted daughter, Shirley, to the Negro elementary school in Hockessin, Delaware, about two miles away. White children in Hockessin who traveled no farther to their school were furnished a school bus by the State. The white children's school bus passed twice daily in front of the Bulah home.

Shirley Bulah had been abandoned by her real mother in Wilmington at the age of about one year. Mrs. Bulah read in her newspaper of the child found on a doorstep. "As soon as I read that the little girl was colored," Mrs. Bulah said recently, "I ran to the chicken yard where my husband was working. I told Fred I wanted that baby." Two weeks later, Shirley was placed in their home as a foster child. Two years later, the Bulahs adopted her legally.

When Shirley was six, Mrs. Bulah entered her in Hockessin School No. 107, the Negro elementary school. "Since there was no bus," Mrs. Bulah said, "I had to drive her both ways each day. I did that for two years." The lack of a school bus meant a number of things to Mrs. Bulah. It meant she could not work. In bad weather, it frequently meant dangerous

Big changes started because a school bus wouldn't stop

The Bulah family touched off the Delaware experiment. When the school bus wouldn't stop for Shirley, they sued to have her admitted to the white children's school.

Shirley Bulah now attends Hockessin School No. 29, along with a small number of other Negro youngsters—and rides to school every day on the bus that used to pass her by.

driving. Worst of all, the school hours at the little one-room, six-grade country school were exasperatingly irregular.

"Sometimes," Mrs. Bulah said, "the teacher let them out at noon. Sometimes at one o'clock. Sometimes two. Shirley would go next door and telephone me to come after her. I never knew when she'd be through."

When Shirley was ready to start third grade, Mr. Bulah, a chicken farmer who had lived in Hockessin 55 of his 69 years, told his wife he didn't see why the State couldn't give Shirley transportation to school. Mrs. Bulah agreed, and she telephoned the woman who drove the bus for the white children. "She told me I could write to the Supervisor of Transportation in the Department of Public Instruction, in Dover, the State Capitol," Mrs. Bulah said. "And I did, too."

Receiving no answer after several weeks, Mrs. Bulah wrote to the Governor. In due time, she received answers to both letters and an application for transportation to be filled out by Shirley's colored teacher, Miss Constancia Beaujohn. "Miss Beaujohn said I was just wasting my time," Mrs. Bulah said. "She said she had tried to get transportation before and never could. But she filled out the papers, anyhow, and I sent them in."

The answer to the application from the Supervisor of Transportation in Dover told Mrs. Bulah what she already knew: No transportation facilities were provided for Hockessin School No. 107. "I wrote again," Mrs. Bulah said. "This time I asked for Shirley to ride on the white children's bus and be dropped at the colored school. The State Board of Education answered that letter. They said bus transportation was part of a school program and, since the State Constitution required separate educational facilities for colored and white, Shirley couldn't ride on the white children's bus."

At that point, Mr. and Mrs. Bulah went to a colored lawyer, Mr. Louis L. Redding, a member of the Wilmington Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), who also serves on that organization's national legal staff. "Lawyer Redding told us," Mrs. Bulah said, "that the next step was to ask that Shirley be admitted to the white school. We had tried everything else. So I wrote again, and of course, the answer was no.

"We talked the whole thing over again, and we decided Shirley was never going to get transportation until she could go to the white school. I knew she'd be better off in every way at the white school—it's just a better school—so we finally told Lawyer Redding to go to court."

The Bulah case was not the only one Louis Redding filed in the Court of Chancery, for about that time he had learned of a number of Negro parents who had tried to enroll their children in schools around Wilmington. It was apparently a spontaneous movement. "The Shirley Bulah case involved an elementary school," Mr. Redding said, "and it was thought best to seek to open a high school at the same time. So the local NAACP got together a number of parents of Negro children who had been refused admission to Claymont High School, in the community of Claymont, about seven miles north of Wilmington. The parents of eight children agreed to have suit filed in their names."

In the days before the Bulahs' suit came to trial, Sarah Bulah found that her action had divided the Negro community in Hockessin. There were whispers that it was all because Sarah, as Fred Bulah's second wife, was a "newcomer to town." (She had lived there only nine years.) There were even whispers that, because Shirley is light-brown in color, the Bulahs thought she was white and didn't want her associating with colored children. For one reason or another, most of the colored parents seemed willing to accept things the way they were.

for a little girl....

The children show less concern about integration of the schools than their parents do. White and Negro students sit side by side in the cafeteria as well as classrooms.

At graduation, Claymont High School seniors sign each other's autograph books. When the school first admitted Negroes, opponents predicted there would be "race riots."

"I had some of them with me," Mrs. Bulah said, "and they stuck with me. There were times when I wavered and wondered if I should give up, but somebody always backed me up. And I knew in my heart that segregation was wrong. After the suit was filed, the State spent a lot of money fixing up that little colored school. They put in toilets and a drinking fountain. They put in new desks. They even planted shrubbery. But they never added a bus.

"I talked to the Reverend Martin Luther Kilson, our pastor at Chippey African Union Methodist Church. He told me he was in favor of segregation, and that discouraged me. I know he must have told some of the other parents the same thing."

"I was opposed to the Bulahs' suit at first," the Rev. Mr. Kilson said recently. "Seemed to me they were getting into segregation under the disguise of trying to get a bus for the colored school. There's always been a good relationship between colored and white in the eleven years I've been in Hockessin. We never had any difficulties until this. Most of the colored parents didn't want to end segregation. Some of them might have been afraid the Negro teachers would lose their jobs. Some just didn't see any reason to change."

On April 1, 1952, Chancellor Collins Seitz, of the Court of Chancery of the State of Delaware, delivered his opinion in the two cases involving the schools in Hockessin and Claymont. While he did not rule on the constitutionality of segregated schools in general—a ruling he indicated the United States Supreme Court would have to make—he held that the schools in question would have to admit Negro children. The schools which the colored children had been forced to attend, he ruled, were not equal, as the law required them to be.

The State of Delaware appealed the decision to the State Supreme Court. On August 28, 1952, just one week

The Story Behind This Story

A report on as controversial a subject as segregation is a difficult challenge for a writer, a photographer and a magazine. To allow personal convictions to intrude even slightly would be to miss the mark of objective reporting—showing things as they are.

While working on this article, writer William Peters and photographer Ike Vern were often asked: "What kind of a story are you going to tell?" "We came down here," Peters told a group of Delaware citizens, "with blank paper and unexposed film. The paper is being filled with the words which you and others like you have spoken. The film is recording the things that we are seeing here. Nothing has been posed or arranged to prove a point. No one has been asked to say anything he didn't volunteer. When we leave, we'll take back the story we saw and heard being lived here—nothing more."

This, then, is their report—the simple, factual story of what Jack H. Caum, president of the Delaware State Education Association, calls "three schools daring to move out in front of official action with a warm understanding of the needs of *all* children."

The Delaware experiment has aroused strong—and differing—feelings

Mrs. Grace Moore changed her mind about segregation. As principal of Hockessin School No. 29, she became convinced that integrated schools can operate smoothly.

Nancy Stevens, an eighteen-year-old senior, had "no particular feeling" about the admission of Negro students. But she thinks that "they feel a little lonely at the school."

before the reopening of Delaware's schools, the State Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the lower court.

On the first day of school, armed with health and birth certificates and Shirley's report card, Mrs. Bulah drove her daughter to Hockessin School No. 29. She asked to see the principal, Mrs. Grace Moore. "Mrs. Moore took the papers I'd brought," Mrs. Bulah said, "and she said. 'Shirley, we are so glad to have you.' I asked to meet Shirley's teacher, and Mrs. Moore introduced us to Mrs. Christopher Vandegrift. She welcomed Shirley, too, and then she said. 'Shirley, I want you to pick out any desk you want,' and Shirley ran and picked out a desk.

"I told Mrs. Moore I had brought Shirley to school in my car and I wanted her to come home on the bus. Mrs. Moore said she'd arrange it. And that afternoon when that same bus came by my door as it always has, it stopped, and Shirley got off."

Hockessin School No. 29 is a four-room, four-teacher school covering the first six grades. In addition to its four regular classrooms, it has a wide, grassy playground, a combination auditorium-gymnasium and, of course, bus transportation. Mrs. Grace Moore, who has been the teaching principal of the school for four years, has been teaching for 43 years.

"I was born in Maryland," she said recently, "and all of my schooling was there and in Delaware—in segregated schools. I grew up with the idea that segregation was right, and when I first learned that our school here might have to admit Negro children, it bothered me plenty.

"All three of my teachers and I were terribly surprised when the State Supreme Court upheld the decision. But the biggest surprise was when Shirley Bulah was the only colored child to enroll the first day of school. A month later, two more entered, and in January, three more. We've had six colored children out of a total enrollment of a little over one hundred ever since. Most of the colored children stayed at the colored school.

"I know now, after two years of experience with integration, that it works. It works even when some of the teachers are against it, as they have been at this school. Most teachers have too much professional pride to let their feelings interfere with their teaching. It took me a long time to see it, but I think now that integration is right. But there's no sense pretending it hasn't meant problems. The biggest ones have been with parents and teachers, not children. And also, of course, we had absolutely no preparation, and no help whatsoever. There's been absolutely no leadership from the State, and they're supposed to be the policy makers." Mrs. Moore's eyes blazed. She paused, then went on.

"We teach rhythm in gym classes—square dancing. Some of the white parents objected to having their children dance with colored children. I solved that by getting the approval of some parents I knew were in favor of integration for their children to dance in the sets with the colored children.

"One mother called me right after we admitted Negro children. 'I'd like to know why my child can't sit next to white children,' she said. I knew if I changed one seat, I'd be through. I told her I wasn't going to change anybody's seat, and after that, no one else called about seating. Most of these difficulties came at the beginning. Now, after two years, I think a lot of that feeling has broken down."

Of the four teachers at the school, Mrs. Moore is the only one who has come to feel that integration is right. Mrs. Christopher Vandegrift, Shirley Bulah's first teacher at the school, has taught school 19 years, nine of them at No. 29. Before the court order, she told Mrs. Moore she'd

Merle Anderson was given "a definite feeling of being welcome" at Claymont. She encountered no special problems in transferring there from an all-Negro high school.

Miss A. Ethel Cheyney, teacher at Hockessin, is against integration. "I just believe that segregation is right," she declares. "And not just in the schools, but throughout."

resign if Negroes were admitted to the school. "I was thinking it would mean large numbers of them," she said recently, in explanation.

"The week after Shirley Bulah entered my class," she continued, "I received at least four telephone calls from white parents who didn't want their children to sit beside or near her. Some of them threatened to remove their children from school if I didn't change the seating. Of course, I refused. I know of only one child who has actually been taken out of school since the colored children entered.

"I just don't think we're ready for integration, and I know it means trouble with the white parents. There haven't been any problems with the colored parents at all. I can't see why Negro children can't just go to their own schools, the way they did before. But if we have to integrate our school, at least I know now that it can be done. We've had colored children here two years now, and nothing very bad has happened. If I have to put up with it, I will, and I think I can be fair about it, too. I think I have been fair."

Mrs. Mildred C. Insinga, a teacher of 15 years experience, six-and-a-half of them at No. 29, had the same problem of telephone calls about seating as her colleagues. She handled it the same way. Her feelings about integration differ slightly from the others'. "My first colored pupil was a very well behaved fifth-grade boy. I couldn't help feeling what a pathetic figure he was, one colored boy in a class of thirty whites. I felt a little resentful toward the court and the NAACP for putting a child into such a situation. I just don't think we are ready for integration."

This idea that a community should be prepared for integration is obviously one which the teachers at Hockessin School No. 29 believe in firmly, yet none of them had any idea as to what kind of preparation was needed.

Of the four teachers, Miss A. Ethel Cheyney, who has taught school in Hockessin for 30 years, was by far the most outspoken against integration two years ago. She still is. "There has never been any racial tension in Hockessin," Miss Cheyney said, "until this thing came up.

"I'm against this integration, and I'll tell you why. It was done by an organization that used pressure. It wasn't done by the State Board of Education or the local people or the State itself. There's a lot of feeling against the NAACP here, and they haven't been so successful, either. You notice that a majority of the colored children still go to the colored school, don't you?

"I got my first colored children this last year—three first-grade boys. At first, I seated them together, because at least they knew each other. Then, I separated them so no one could say I was sticking them together. But they drifted back together all by themselves. So, finally, I put them together again.

"Now, you take the PTA," Miss Cheyney continued. "Mrs. Bulah comes to most of the meetings, and she usually brings her daughter. No one else brings children to PTA meetings; why should she?

"I just believe that segregation is right, that's all. And not just in the schools, but throughout. Look at South America, where all the races and creeds have intermarried, and what have they got? Lazy, unproductive, backward people. The court decision sickened me, because it gave no value to individuals. This kind of thing may lead to intermarriage, and then where will we be?" Miss Cheyney shook her head. "I'm against it," she said, "but I don't think my feelings have influenced my treatment of the colored children. We all pity them here."

As for Shirley Bulah, any *(Continued*

Children in Delaware's first integrated schools get more than textbook learning. Important lessons come from studying and playing together.

The Schools That Broke the Color Line

problems her entry into the school may have caused are unknown to her. "I felt a little nervous the first day," she said, "because I didn't know what it would be like. The work is a little harder, but outside of that, I haven't had any trouble. I like the school and the teachers."

"I've been to most of the PTA meetings," her mother said, "and if we colored parents aren't welcome there, they certainly have put on a mighty good front. Last meeting, in May, they asked me to make cookies, and everyone there enjoyed them.

"The colored parents who have kept their children in the segregated school just don't know any better," Mrs. Bulah added. "Lots of Negroes feel inferior to whites. They're afraid to speak up. One father told me the colored school was good enough for him and it would have to be good enough for his children. But some of my neighbors—white people—have congratulated me for going ahead with the suit."

Until 1952, when the court decision went into effect, there were two Negro teachers in the one-room colored school in Hockessin. Today, Miss Constancia Beaujohn, Shirley Bulah's former teacher, teaches there alone. The other teacher was moved when the enrollment dropped because of the six children who transferred. Miss Beaujohn is defensive when she hears comparisons between her school and the white school.

"That's a much larger school," she said recently, "and for a small group of children, we have everything they have. Some of the playground equipment you see up there was given by the PTA, and you can't count that."

"I'm not opposed to integrated schools," Miss Beaujohn said, "but I've talked with some of the colored children at No. 29, and they aren't too happy there. Most of the colored children are still right here, and their parents would rather have them here. They're used to having their own school, and they like to have their children taught by a colored teacher."

Hockessin is a community still divided on the question of integration two years after it was put into effect. The division, which affects Negroes as well as whites, shows signs of narrowing with the passage of time. Integration is working, even in a divided community.

Harvey E. Stahl, Superintendent of Schools of Claymont, Delaware, is a determined-looking man with a twinkle in his eye. His job involves the supervision of Claymont's three schools: a Negro elementary school, a white elementary school and the high school, in reality, a junior high and high school combined. Until the court's decision, Negro children above the sixth grade were forced to attend Howard High School, a segregated Negro school in Wilmington, seven miles from Claymont.

"I came to Claymont 32 years ago from Indiana," Mr. Stahl said recently. "I never had any racial prejudices, and I haven't any now. When I learned that the State Supreme Court had upheld the lower court's decision that Negro children be admitted to Claymont High School, I decided right then and there that we would make integration work. I think we have."

Mr. Stahl learned of that decision a week before school opened. "On Tuesday," he said, "two days before school opened, we had faculty meetings. No official word had been received by anyone in Claymont.

"On Wednesday, our local Board of Education decided to enroll Negro children even though we had no mandate from the court. That day, eleven colored children appeared with their parents at the school. I talked with them myself. I told them they were welcome, but that this new experience would be difficult in many ways. 'I'm going to do everything I can to help you,' I said, 'but you will have to co-operate one hundred percent.'

"They all—parents and children—agreed," Mr. Stahl added. "Every one of them promised complete co-operation. And every one of them has kept his promise."

The next day, school opened. The eleven Negro children were divided among five of the school's six grades. There were no high school seniors. In a total enrollment of about five hundred, the eleven Negro students were hardly noticed by the white children. "The next day," Mr. Stahl said, "I received telephone calls from the Attorney General and the State Superintendent of Schools. Both instructed me to drop the colored children from school because the case was going to be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. They felt their case might be prejudiced if the Negro children were already in the school.

"I refused flatly," Mr. Stahl said. "I told them the children had already been admitted and that we were dealing with human beings, people with feelings, not just a legal case."

A special meeting of the Claymont Board of Education upheld Mr. Stahl's refusal, and the faculty of the high school passed with only one dissenting vote a resolution expressing the conviction that the Negro children, having once been admitted, should not now be dropped. Four days later, Mr. Stahl received the official mandate of the State Supreme Court to admit Negro children.

About halfway between Wilmington and Claymont is a small community called Arden, settled originally in 1900. In 1922, and again in 1950, nearby plots of land became available, and first Ardentown and then Ardencroft, two similar communities, were begun. For the first time in 1950, a number of Negro families leased land in one of the three communities—Ardencroft. Four Negro families built homes. One of them was Dr. Leon V. Anderson, a Wilmington physician, and his wife and six children.

When the State Supreme Court's decision was rendered, three of Dr. Anderson's children were enrolled in Wilmington's Negro High School. Two younger children had been attending a segregated Negro elementary school. The decision meant the three older children could now attend Claymont High School, which was closer to Ardencroft. Dr. Anderson called the trustees of Arden to see if his younger children could attend the Arden Elementary School.

None of the community's trustees objected, and the school principal agreed. But all were worried about integrating their school in defiance of the State Constitution and in the absence of a court mandate. The children were entered, and the trustees went to the State Capitol to attend the next meeting of the State Board of Education. They explained what they had done and expressed their desire to allow the Negro children to remain in the school, at least until the U.S. Supreme Court's decision had been rendered. The State Board refused to approve the move, but there were indications that nothing would be done to oppose it.

Arden, thus, became the third community in a segregation state to integrate its schools. At the same time, it became perhaps the first community in history to integrate a school in direct violation of its State's Constitution. For Arden, that was the end of it. Integration has raised no problems whatsoever.

At Claymont High School, the situation is much the same. "Some friends of mine," Mr. Stahl said recently, "told me when we first admitted Negroes how sorry they were for me. They said we'd have race riots for sure. I said I didn't believe it. And, of course, I was right.

"Only one of our teachers had any opposition to integration, and she had taught in an integrated school in Philadelphia—a tough school in a tough area. It was hardly a fair example. And besides a united faculty, we had another tremendous advantage—Mrs. Dyson, the Negro teacher of the colored elementary school here in Claymont. I don't know what we would have done without her.

"Mrs. Dyson has taught the first six grades for colored children in Claymont since 1925. I believe she's missed exactly one week of school in that time. Three of her own grandchildren were among the eleven Negro children we admitted that first day. She's a real leader in the community, and to show you what the white community thinks of her, she was elected the outstanding woman of Claymont last year in a contest sponsored by the local American Legion and other groups.

"Mrs. Dyson talked to all the Negro children and their parents before they enrolled here. She told me, 'If any of my boys and girls cause you any trouble at all, you let me know, and I'll take care of it.' We have done that exactly twice in two years, and both times it was a child who just wasn't applying himself."

Merle Anderson is one of Dr. Leon V. Anderson's three children who entered Claymont High School in the fall of 1952. Mrs. Dyson, the teacher of Claymont's colored elementary school, is her mater-

nal grandmother. Merle's two-year experience at Claymont High School bears out Mr. Stahl's contention that there has been no trouble. Merle is an accomplished pianist and has served as the accompanist for the school chorus and glee club.

"From the first day," she said, "I've had a definite feeling of being welcome at Claymont. I've always felt perfectly free to go to any of the teachers about anything. I never had to."

Merle Anderson was graduated from the high school last June. In the graduating class with her was Nancy Stevens, a pretty, eighteen-year-old white girl. "I didn't have any particular feeling when I heard that Claymont would have colored kids," Nancy said shortly before her graduation.

"My father didn't see why they had to change things, but he didn't do anything about it. My mother had no feeling one way or another. Some of the Negro students have been real assets to the school—Merle Anderson is one. I think she's been accepted by everyone. The same is true of some others. But most of them don't mix much with the white kids. In the cafeteria, most of them eat together. I don't blame them. I think they feel a little lonely.

"Some of the white fellows were against having Negroes in the school last year, and some of them picked on the younger ones a little. It's died out pretty much this year. I think integrated schools will work, all right, and I certainly have no prejudice against Negroes. But I would hate to see the Negroes take over. You know, if there were more of them than us, they might take over in all the activities. And I think some of the colored girls would like to go out with white boys, and I don't agree with that. But so far, it's worked fine."

Spencer Robinson is one of the eight colored children in whose names the original court case was filed. Both he and Merle Anderson, each with a colored partner from another school, attended last year's Junior Prom. Merle attended the one the year before. Neither of them seemed to feel there was anything unusual about it.

"I was surprised when we won the court case," Spencer Robinson said. "Surprised and happy. I knew this was a nice school, and I wanted to go to an integrated school. Everyone has made us feel welcome here since the beginning. Oh, there have been a few remarks about my color—but nothing like what I expected. We all sit where we please, and we're all treated equally."

"There just haven't been any social problems at all," said John A. Stoops, a teacher of English, mathematics and civics. "The children—both white and colored—have adopted the social patterns of their parents. Dancing is an example. This community doesn't accept interracial dancing. At school dances, the children have just adopted that pattern."

Social dancing in the gym classes was a problem for Miss Claire Byler, the girls' physical education teacher at Claymont High School. "In classes where the colored boys and girls weren't evenly divided, I just eliminated social dancing," she said. "But we never stopped teaching square dancing. Basically, I think the white children have accepted integration. We have colored girls on the field hockey, softball and basketball teams—all teams that play against other schools, white schools. The one colored girl on the basketball team was so popular the other girls elected her captain.

"My own observation," Miss Byler said, "is that the colored students are all polite and co-operative, more so, usually, than the white children. And the credit for that goes to Mrs. Dyson, who taught them all in elementary school. She's a wonderful woman and a fine teacher."

The school where Mrs. Dyson teaches, State Line School—so-called because it is situated only a short distance from the Delaware-Pennsylvania line—is technically a two-room school, though only one room is used as a formal classroom for the 29 colored children who are Mrs. Dyson's students. In that one room, Mary Pauline Dyson, a short, stocky woman with graying hair and a warm smile, teaches the first six grades of school.

Recalling her meeting before the opening of the high school with the colored parents and children affected by the court's order, Mrs. Dyson said recently, "I told them all that the eyes of the whole world were on us here in Claymont. I told the children that their behavior in high school would affect all colored children, everywhere. It is our own attitude that is reflected by other people, I said. 'If you go to the mirror with a smile, you'll meet a smile. Expect everyone to be your friend until you find out otherwise.' And I told them to remember that the white children would have a problem of adjustment, too.

"After they started going to the high school, it got to be a habit for some of them to come back here to this little school every day to tell me about what happened that day. Sometimes, there were problems, a white boy who had punched one of the colored boys, maybe. I'd tell him we can't always hit back. But they really haven't had any problems that weren't problems all children have, whatever their color.

"I know some Negro teachers in the South are afraid they'll lose their jobs when the schools are integrated. I'm not worried about that. Whatever they do to the schools, we need all the teachers we can get, white or colored. I'm not worried about teaching white and colored children together. I've been teaching for 29 years, and I know that a child is a child."

On the road from the State Line School to Claymont High School is a small service station owned by Louis Scarpitti, a young white man. Many of the Negro families in the company houses nearby are customers of his. "I haven't seen anything you could call a problem in the integration at the high school," he said. "The court said do it, and they did it. That's all. If there've been any white people against it, and I'm sure there have, they've sure kept quiet about it.

"I have a boy in second grade over at the white elementary school. I suppose now that the United States Supreme Court has declared segregation illegal, they'll be integrating the elementary school, too. It doesn't bother me. I grew up with most of the fathers of those colored children up at Mrs. Dyson's school. I played baseball with them and went swimming with them. Nice people. I don't see why my boy shouldn't go to school with their children."

Harvey Stahl summed it up in his office at the Claymont High School. "Of course, integration works. It works if you want it to work. And maybe even if you don't.

"Children have no prejudice unless they're taught. We had a girl in a gym class who square-danced one day in a group that included a Negro boy. When she got home that afternoon, she told her mother what fun they'd had. She mentioned, in passing, that one of the boys in her set was colored. Her mother jumped on that, asked if she'd danced with him and then threatened to call me and object. The girl put her foot down. 'If you call anyone, Mother,' she said, 'I'll never tell you another thing.'" Harvey Stahl chuckled. "I learned about that incident much later," he said. "It shows you how far ahead of us our children can be."

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its historic unanimous decision barring segregation in public schools. This month, the Court will hear arguments on how and when that decision should be put into effect throughout the South. Sometime later, a decision on those questions will be rendered.

Meanwhile, the three schools in Delaware which jumped the gun on integration hold a lesson for the rest of Delaware and the 16 other states which require school segregation by law. None of the three schools can possibly duplicate exactly the situation in any other school. None of them can be considered representative of all or even a portion of the schools throughout the South. But if the experience of Hockessin, Arden and Claymont shows anything, it shows that integration can be accomplished, even where there is strong opposition.

And the experience of these three communities demonstrates one other important fact: Where there is real leadership in the schools, leadership which is responsible and willing to try, the job is much easier.

Negro and white children can go to school together in the South. Delaware has helped show the way. THE END

War Plants Need Colored Workers

WASHINGTON— Colored workers are urgently needed to man critical war plants producing war materials for the armed forces, according to Benjamin F. Wilson, Chief of the Minority Group Servce of the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. Wilson recently return from a trip covering three WMC regions including New York, Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indinia. He states that with WMC officials ways of intensifing the recruiting of colored workers.

Immediate manpower need, Mr. Wilson pointed out, is in artillery, mortor and small arms ammunitionplants, forges and foundries, tire plants, cotton duck mills, ship yards, aeroplane and tank plants, plants making trucks, wire and

Journal & Guide Jan 13 1945

Must Be No Discrimination In Employment

Urges Strong Stand To Create Real Job Opportunities

CHICAGO, Ill.—(ANP)— Demobilizing Negro soldiers will be the testing point of America's postwar democracy, declared Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission last week.

In a frank appraisal of peacetime prospects for Negroes in industry, the WMC chief said that the solution of the job problem for all workers is in a "60,000,000 job America."

"Post-war America cannot be divided," McNutt stated. "Jobs for whites cannot be separated from jobs for blacks or jobs from women separated from jobs for men.

NO SEPARATE LINES

"No separate job lines can be drawn if we are to have a prosperous- democractic- America. The color line in industry is a line against democracy. Let us remember that the only lines that counted in making a ship, a plane, a jeep, a rifle were the lines on the blueprints."

McNutt credited America's record production to an all-American team powered by white and black manpower.

"The expansion of production schedules cracked industry's former practice of dividing workers into 'white man's jobs' and 'black man's jobs'," he said.

URGES STRONG POLICIES

Pointing out that 70 per cent of the Negroes now in war production are in emergency, mushroom industries, such as shipbuilding, munitions, and aircraft, McNutt urged the establishment of strong federal policies to prevent post-war race discrimination.

He said that establishment of the President's Executive Order 9346 "proved that the United States were engaged in an anti-fascist war."

"Opposition to Negro manpower in time of war foreshadows a greater opposition in time of peace—unless we lay down policies now to protect Negro manpower and all other minority manpower when the cutbacks and other production adjustments reduce jobs," he continued.

SHOW SKILLS

"Negroes have demonstrated their know-how in all the war industries," he said. "Their wartime skills are potentially convertible into the pay envelopes of peace."

McNutt pointed out that "Prejudice cannot be swept away by fiat, by wishful thinking, by rhetoric. The industrial progress the Negro has made in the war years can only be guaranteed by an America in which there will be jobs for all Americans who want jobs."

* * *

Lauds Labor Aid to Race

ATLANTA. (ANP) — The labor movement offers Negroes their best chance to rid themselves of the second class citizenship stigma, according to Frank McAllister, director, War Labor Board, Region IV.

McAllister appeared as principal speaker Wednesday at the weekly luncheon meeting of the Butler Street YMCA.

In order for the Negro to make full use of the labor movement to better his situation, the speaker said, he "must get rid of his fear and distrust of the white workers." He added that it was also necessary for the "white worker to rid himself of his prejudice against the Negro."

Declaring in favor of a "functioning democracy" in the nation, the WLB director said that "Labor unions now face the problem that if they do not discontinue the practice of discrimination within their ranks, heir license, which is the very life-blood of their existence, will be taken away from them."

* * *

Negroes Told To Accept Dixie Racial Patterns

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP)—Negroes were advised last week to accept southern race theories by the Modern Education and Religious Bureau, Inc., when it celebrated its eighth anniversary here.

The local office is headed by the Rev. Joseph B. Bonner, who works under the direction of Bishop Joseph J. Higgs, Washington, D. C., national director.

Here is how this organization advises Negroes:

1. "The South is the natural home of the Negro.
2. "The southern white man is the Negro's friend and anyone who teaches otherwise is an enemy to the Negro's welfare and progress.
3. "The white man understands the Negro from the fact that he has spent 265 years with him in the South and this period has created instinctive friendship.
4. "The Negro should remember that it took the white man 5,000 years to arrive at his present status, whereas the Negro has come from a heathen state to his present standing in only 265 years through the help of the white race.
5. "The Negro's stay with the white man has resulted, for the former, in education and prosperous, desirable citizenship.
6. "Let us be patient and not hasty, law down undue suspicion and become self-controlling, respect everybody and practice to the greatest degree politeness, gratefulness to every man, and God and angels will bless us.
7. "Communism is dangerous and destructive to American principles and citizenship.
8. "Communism is against Christian religion."

Southern newspapers allow the organization ample space in appreciation of the attitude a Negro organization should take on the race question.

Founded in 1912, the Modern Education and Religious Bureau, Inc., is dedicated to the purpose of combating communism among Negroes and promoting harmony between the races in the South. It sends speakers to industries and distributes literature in Negro churches and schools, urging Negroes to remember that the southern white is his "natural friend and champion."

LIBERALS IN THE SOUTH

This gem from The Anniston Star, "liberal" Alabama daily, in advocating federal aid for schools —particularly Southern schools:

"Strikes, race riots and other social disorders have been attributed to the migration of illiterate persons of both races from the South to the large cities of the North. That trend probably will be accelerated after the war, and as a result thoughtful persons in every part of the country are coming to the conclusion that education is more nearly a panacea for all ills than any other remedy that has been offered."

Who "attributes" these "strikes, race riots and other social disorders" in the North to "illiterate persons" from the South. If the Anniston newspaper does not know it can easily find out. The Northern people, ashamed and afraid, incapable of handling a problem which the South itself has handled, "attributes" these troubles to people from the South—and The Anniston Star, guillible as are most Southern "liberal" newspapers, swallows the whole thing hook, line and sinker. After the Detroit riot, one of the professional do-gooders, finding no better way of explaining the disorder, blamed it on Southern white men hired as Detroit policemen! Who, we ask The Anniston Star, was responsible for the zoot suit riots in Los Angeles? For the lack of a better explanation, we suspect that The Star and all other "liberal" Southern newspapers will accept the story that if those Mexicans, underprivileged [illegible] Alabama [illegible] there would have been no trouble!

Southern Watchman
Jan. 20/45

The truth of the matter is that the great racial problems, and the great educational tasks of today, are not Southern; they are Northern and Western. In the racial field, the North and the West are just now being confronted with problems which the South has handled, fairly successfully, for generations In the field of education, as it applies to race relations, the North and West have yet to learn that it is no panacea. To educate the negro is not, by any means, to make him immediately acceptable for amalgamation with the white race. To educate the negro is often to improve him; at other times, it is merely to make him more adroit and more vicious in his association with the white man. Harlem is, or should be, the negro capital of America. There is money in Harlem; New York tolerates no "racial discrimination"; it guarantees good hospitals, good schools, and various other opportunities for the negro. And yet Harlem is an indescribable hell-hole; it has slums worse than anything below Mason and Dixon's Line; it is an urban jungle of voodooism, magic powders, strange cults, and assorted other superstitions, with the paved streets and sidewalks, rather than its people, to distinguish it from the real thing in Africa. The Rosenwald Fund, in its 1944 report, revealed: "Two hundred separate teen-age gangs were reported in Harlem, vicious and looking for trouble; colored hoodlums have mauled white passengers on trolleys and subways in Brooklyn."

If there is need for federal aid in education, there is need for it in the North and West, not in the South. There is a vast need in the North and West for some program whereby the people of the North and West may be taught the things which the South long ago learned.

FDR Naming Of Wallace Jolts Dixie

WASHINGTON — President Roosevelt dealt Dixie's Jim Crow bloc a crushing blow this week by naming liberal Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.

Dixie's anti-Negro Jesse Jones from Texas was ousted from the multi-billion dollar Reconstruction Finance Corporation despite bitter protest from southern bourbons.

The President wrote Jones stating:

"Henry Wallace deserves almost any service which he believes he can satisfactorily perform."

Meanwhile Dixie's most rabid Negro haters threw their support behind a coming fight to defeat Senate confirmation of Wallace's appointment.

Senatory Connally (Dem. Tex.) and Bailey (Dem. N. C) were reported to have pleaded with the President throughout last week to keep Jones within the department.

Jesse Jones was one of the leaders of last year's anti-Negro, anti-Roosevelt Texas "third party" revolt which fought against the renomination of Roosevelt and against the Supreme Court's decision banning lily-white primaries.

The Jones-Roosevelt letter, however, was viewed here as expressing the President's solid, inflexiable stand in favor of the Wallace who is diametrically opposed to many of Jones' views.

"I must accede to your decision," said Jones in a letter emphasizing that he could "not agree" that Wallace would be a good man for the job. Jones accepted the President's appointment of Wallace with as much resentment as his Dixie friends.

The background of the 56-year-old Wallace was said by officials backing him to be admirably suited for the new job. His friends, who include the CIO Political Action Committee, believe that in a top spot like the Department of Commerce, the former vice president can build towards the political campaign of 1948.

As Secretary of Commerce, Wallace will be in position to aid small business element, among which lies most of the Negro business in the country.

Pittsburgh Courier
Jan. 27, 1945

Capital Transit Tells FEP Probe Negroes Barred In 'White Men's Jobs'

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON.—While thousands of war workers shivered in freezing temperature on Washington's street corners trying to get street cars and buses to work, the Fair Employment Practices Committee last week listened to "puny" excuses offered by the Capital Transit company on why idle equipment cannot be put into service because platform jobs are considered "white men's jobs."

The case is considered a test of the President's committee.

For two years the case has been hanging fire, and FEPC trial attorney, Mrs. Evelyn Cooper, charged that the company had maintained a "negative" attitude during the entire period of negotiation. She said the company has been "astute and skillful in its attempts to cope with the manpower problem in every way possible short of employing Negroes."

Edward L. Jones, counsel for the company, claimed that "conscientious efforts" had been made to follow the committee's suggestions but since 80 per cent of their platform employes were born and raised in the South, it would cause a complete work stoppage.

Union Fights Hiring

"The company has no prejudice against hiring Negroes for platform jobs," Jones said, but added, "We do not believe that their employment will relieve the acute manpower shortages on the company's lines."

The Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes of America, AFL, bargaining agent for the employes, has resisted strenuously the employment of Negro operators. The union is reported to have threatened to fine any member $100 who undertook the training of any Negro for such positions.

Testimony offered by T. A. Sager, chief engineer for the Public Utilities Commission, brought out that the company has increased by 215 the number of cars owned from the period January, 1940, to October, 1944. However, the company has decreased by 54 the number of cars actually operated during the period. Increase in bus ownership and decreases in buses actually operated were likewise indicated.

Passengers Increase

cated they would walk out if Negroes were employed in this capacity, the larger number giving "lowering of social prestige" as their reason.

Lunt said he used the "unguided interview" method for obtaining these reactions, although he admitted prior informal meetings were held with the employes as a group, during which time the whole plan was explained.

Dr. Louis Wirth, professor of sociology, Chicago university, strongly challenged Lunt's methods, stating that the survey was in "no sense unguided." Dr. Wirth said "attitudes are betrayed rather than expressed," intimating the employes answered more or less as they were expected to answer

Matter of "Public Policy"

He termed the company's attempt at integration with a single trainee "deplorable." Had the company been honest in its attempt, Dr. Wirth asserted, they would have experimented with 20 or more trainees.

Discussing at length the case, the Chicago U. professor said the Capital Transit case was not a "matter of private prejudices and opinions but a matter of public policy."

FEPC Chairman Malcolm Ross cited the successful integration of Negroes as platform operators in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Chicago and Detroit as proof that where a firm decision is made by both management and union to utilize all available manpower, it can be done "without violence"

A total of 4,846 Negroes are employed throughout the country in significant occupations by local transit companies, 2,904 of which are platform operators. The larger number are employed in Detroit, Mich., where a total of 1,500 operate buses and street cars.

Capital Transit President E. D Merril said it was easier to integrate Negroes in these cities than in the nation's capital where, he claims, a "degree of segregation makes a difference in mental attitudes."

Merril contended his company had tried and failed. To try and and go further, Merril said, would result in "serious," almost "certain," work stoppage.

Under rapid-fire questioning by FEP Committee Member Charles Houston, Merril was bandied into admitting that the company considered platform jobs to be "white men's jobs."

Moreover, he admitted that the total educational job done by the company for the acceptance of Negroes by white platform employes had been a few laudatory articles on the Negro printed in the company's publication.

Lunt testified he attempted no educational-program with the men. Merril said the union was not in accord with the steps taken in spite of non-discriminatory claim of the international.

International President W. D McMahon, in a letter to the Washington local, reminded them of the union's policy and attested that there was "no difference as far as he could find out in the work records of white and Negro operators."

Appearing as witnesses for the President's Committee were Mrs. Edith Hughes, Charles W. Bias, Pvt. William Alexander, Frank N. Johnson and Bernard Simmons, all of whom except Simmons had received no reports from applications they had made to Capital Transit for platform positions.

Alexander Shapiro, CTC personnel director, said the company now employs 3,981 white employes, 2,481 of which are platform employes, and 525 Negroes, none of whom have been so employed.

Chairman Ross said a proposed statement of facts and findings would be made with opportunity for the company to review, correct or supplement information. Following this, final facts and findings will be drawn up and presented to the company with specific directives.

Members of the FEP Committee hearing the case were: Boris Shiskin, John Brophy, Atty. Charles Houston, Miss Sarah Southall, Milton Webster and Chairman Ross Committee Member Charles Horn was absent.

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Edward A. Roberts, director of traffic highway department, Office of Defense Transportation, said that during the same period the number of revenue-paying passengers hauled by Capital Transit had increased from 9,733,000 to 20,190,000.

During this period, approximately 233 Negroes made application for jobs as platform operators but except for a half-hearted effort made to train and employ Bernard A. Simmons, applications of the others are gathering dust in the company's personnel files.

Simmons, a quiet-mannered former school teacher and chauffeur, was taken through the required period of instructional training but when he was taken out to the barn for his initial training as operator, trainers one by one refused to help him. For a brief period of approximately 40 minutes the operators pulled a strike, were suspended for 30 minutes and then put back on their runs. The company considered 30 minutes suspension adequate punitive measure for flaunting orders given to each of the operators to instruct Simmons. They dismissed the incident with "we tried."

Among abortive efforts which Mrs. Cooper charged the comany used to meet its schedules in order to by-pass Negroes were: Conversion of two-man cars to one-man operation; lowering of job qualifications; importation of workers from neighboring states of Virginia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and employing women for select runs at the price of foregoing seniority privileges for certain male operators.

The company's "star witness" was Paul Lunt, sociologist, employed to survey the attitudes of white operators with respect to the employment of Negroes in the same category. Out of a sampling of 250 employes selected from a total group of 2700, Lunt said approximately 75 per cent had indi-

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Along The Interracial Front

Pittsburgh Courier Jan. 27

By GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES, Ph.D.

Executive Secretary Department of Race Relations, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

The proposal for a National Service law to draft all workers now recommended by the President with the endorsement of the military leaders raises an old question, which was discussed during the first world war as well as at present. It has certain interracial aspects that may not get into the news, certainly not into many editorials of the daily newspapers.

DANGERS CITED

Some people will remember a movement during World War I in some of the Southern states led by a saw-mill magnate, called "The Self-Preservation Loyalty League," which sought to get compulsory work ordinances from city councils and work-or-fight laws from State legislatures. The effort succeeded in some cities. Its net effect as this writer saw it was to tie down both white and Negro workers to employers. Each worker carried a work card which had to be signed by his employer if the worker undertook to change jobs or if for some reason he wanted to stop work his employer had to give his signature for the release. Cases were found where employers refused to sign such release cards. Police officers were known to stop workers to demand their work cards and to take them into custody when they could not produce the required card. Police visited Negro homes to see that all able-bodied persons signed up to go to work or go to war. If he did not sign a fight-or-work card, he went to jail. There was agitation also about Negro women who left their domestic jobs because for the first time they were staying at home to care for their families since they were getting allotments from their husbands or other relatives in the Army or since their men folks were earning enough in war jobs to provide for the family.

TODAY'S PROBLEM

These and several other facts about the movement for compulsory labor, led many people to conclude that it was not wise then. Similar misgivings raise the question whether it is wise now to have any legal draft of labor. It does not stand on the same basis as the military draft, which brings men and women to national defense and into the public service of the Nation. A labor draft law as proposed brings workers into private industries for private employers. It would tend to freeze Negroes in the work status where they are. In some areas of our country racial minority workers are too recently removed from a serf status to view such a proposal of any compulsory work law with anything but apprehension bordering on fear. This is especially true of Americans of Negro, Mexican and Japanese ancestry. For all workers, too, there is the caution lest the gate opening into such a draft of labor may not swing as freely on its hinges outward toward freedom after the war as it may swing inward now.

—VV—

F. D. R. Hints Peace Time Conscription to be Free of Jim Crow

IN ANSWER TO LETTER OF N. A. A. C. P

Opposing Passage of The Measure

CHIEF EXECUTIVE ADMITS THAT ARMY

Set-up Has Some Imperfections

New York—In a letter to the NAACP, President Roosevelt has hinted that peacetime military conscription may not be on a jim crow segregated basis.

The chief executive does not make any promises, or any flat statement, but writes, "final plans have not been cystallized."

Mr. Roosevelt's letter was in reponse to one from Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the NAACP, setting forth the apprehension of colored people over the probable extension of the present segregated army policy into peacetime conscription.

"The views you've expressed are predicated upon the assumption that all policies have been finally determined with regard to the composition of the army during peacetime and that they will be discriminatory in their application to Negroes. This is contrary to the facts. Final plans have not been chystallized.

"Obviously those responsible for the development of war department policies will utilize all of their experiences of the past four years," the letter said. "It would not be contended by the army or anyone speaking in its behalf that no mistakes have been made during the pe-

[illegible] time to [illegible] unfair racial situations. Most assuredly this process will be repeated in the future."

Mr. Roosevelt revealed that the army is studying te records of Negro troops in training and combat and asserted that the future utilization of Negroes in the army "will depend upon an evaluation of this material which will be conducted in a fair manner and with due regard for all available facts."

The president admitted that the peacetime military training program " affects not only our military policy, but also the social, economic and educational aspects of our life." He expressed confidence that the statutes which may finally be enacted will provide maximum

Opposes Plan For Separate Hospital

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A protest against the announced plan of the Veteran's Administration to contstruct separate hospital facilities for Negroes was voiced by Leslie S. Perry of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP in a letter this week to Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, administrator of the Veterans' administration. In registering concern over the attitude of the war administration, Perry pointed to Hines' own testimony before the appropriations committee of the House of Representatives regarding appropriations for 1945, in which he said,

"We are going to have a problem of providing another Tuskegee hospital or a solid colored hospital probably more in the Mississippi-Alabama area. There is a large number of colored troops from that area. The board is studying all of that now."

In response to Hines' statement, Perry said: "The racial attitude and practices of the Veterans Administration [illegible] matter of deep concern [illegible] Association as well as to [illegible] hands of thoughtful white and colored people throughout the nation. We must express ourselves as being irrevocably opposed to the extension of jim crowism by the veterans administration, whether under the guise of 'solid colored hospitals or otherwise, it seems. We again must urge that Negro employes be integrated in the Veterans Administration at their proper skills and levels, and that Negro patients be hospitalized in your facilities on the basis of medical need and not of color."

White Soldier Scores White Press for Biased Coverage

COLUMBIA, S.C. — (ANP) — Criticism of white newspapers, which fail to tell the story of the part Colored soldiers are playing in the war, was voiced last week by Pfc. Raymond J. Ross, a white soldier stationed here.

Writing under the heading, "Colored Soldiers Fight Too," Pfc. Ross, whose letter was published in the Lighthouse and Informer, asserted; "Set my white readers gain sense and read both sides of the story."

"Were one to read just what the white press printed, it would seem that all the fighting is being done by the white men, while a little investigating would show that the colored men are doing their bit.

Hope of Tan Yanks

Pointing to the colored service men on guard at distant outposts, he added, that they will return to a civilian life in which they can detect the rights they left home to defend.

After exlotting the colored man for his valor; he concluded, "I burn when I see signs reading "white only." Since when do we whites defy the laws of our Creator?"

Norfolk Journal & Guide 2/17/43

Urge White Press Be Fair

COLUMBIA, S. C., (ANP)—The white press of this state was recently urged by a resolution adopted by the South Carolina Interracial Committee to tell the true story of the Negro soldier's valor on the battlefield as a constructive contribution to better race relations in South Carolina.

The resolution adopted by the interracial committee read:

"Resolved that it is the con-sensus of this meeting that the publication by the white press of South Carolina of news stories, articles and pictures, fairly presenting the achievements of Negro members of the armed forces of the United States, would be a distinct contribution to the cause of improvement of race relations in this state, and the white press is, therefore, urged to give appropriate publicity to such accomplishments."

Rep. Clason Defends FEP Clause In Labor Draft

Chi Defender Feb 17, 45

By EUGENE C. ZACK
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Administration leaders killed the fair employment amendment to the labor draft bill fearing it would cost them Democratic support, Congressman Charles R. Clason of this city, charged in a radio address last week.

Defending his stand in attempting to put the employment practices rider on the national service legislation act, Clason made a radio address to his constituents to explain his action.

"Different labor witnesses," he said, "had testified that many Negro workers, both experienced and inexperienced, were available for jobs in different sections of the country, but were not permitted to work.

Would Eliminate Shortage

"If they were placed on jobs, much of the apparent shortage of manpower would be eliminated without calling upon workers to move from one plant to another.

"In fact, Philip Murray, president of the CIO, said that he thought it was disgraceful to hear of so many complaints about labor shortages while so many able-bodied Negroes are idle and want to work in different localities in the United States.

"I offered an amendment based upon this evidence and which would have prohibited unfair discrimination based upon the race or creed of a worker. All of the discrimination is not aimed solely at the Negro group. My amendment was directly in line with a plank in the Republican platform of last year and accorded with the principles set forth in another plank of the Democratic platform.

Might Cost Votes

"The Administration leaders had determined that they did not wish any amendments made to the committee bill, fearing that each amendment might cost them votes. Their arguments against my amendment were not directed at the value of the amendment but on the grounds either that it was unnecessary or that legislation covering the subject matter of my amendment was about to be offered in the House from the labor committee.

"When I suggested to the majority leader, Mr. McCormack, that I might withdraw my amendment if he would promise to secure a rule for the labor committee bill as soon as it was presented in the House, he indicated that he was not in a position to do so."

Clason's discrimination charges were backed by prominent local Negroes who indicated the necessity for an FEPC legislation in the Congress.

Chicago Defender Feb. 17, 1945

Georgia Court Defies U.S. On Negro Jurors

By JOHN LE FLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga. — The Georgia Supreme court in a decision which is regarded by many as being in open defiance to a ruling of the U.S. Supreme court, on last Thursday held that county jury commissioners were not required to place Negroes on jury lists in the same ratio as whites.

The stake in the decision is the life of 17-year-old David Watkins, who was convicted and sentenced to death on a charge of slaying Mrs. J. J. Connell, 68-year-old white woman, in a robbery at Macon. Watkins' conviction was upheld by the Georgia high court.

Court-appointed defense attorney W. C. Turpin, Jr., white, stated after the decision was rendered that it is his present intention to appeal to the U.S. Supreme court.

In a contemptuous disregard of the highest court of the land, the Georgia court in an opinion written by Justice Warren Grice charged that decisions by the U.S. Supreme court in recent year were "depriving" states of sovereignty.

Ruse Upheld

The decision also held that Solicitor Charles H. Garrett, of Bibb county, in which Macon is located, who was the prosecuting attorney in the case of the Watkins youth, had been within "his rights" in keeping Negroes off criminal court juries since 1919 through the exercise of peremptory challenges.

The justices said that Georgia law allowed the prosecutor and the defense attorney a fixed number of peremptory challenges and ruled that either could excuse a prospective juror "for any reason on earth or for no reason at all."

In a covenant plactd before the court, Garrett contended, "We have not reached the point in the social affairs of Georgia which would make it possible for Negro jurors and white jurors to work together and possibly eat together and sleep together, and conserve the ends of justice."

Cites Negro Illiteracy.

Garrett further contended that Georgia statutes require jury commissioners to place on the jury lists a "sufficient number" of "upright, and intelligent men" as prospective jurors, not all who are "qualified." A stipulation agreed that 35,536 of the Bibb county population of 83,783 were Negroes, and that only 44 Negroes were on the jury rolls of 2,493 persons named on the lists.

In upholding the contention of Garrett in that particular, the Georgia high court said:

"It is a matter of common knowledge that there is more illiteracy among the blacks in our midst than among the whites. By far the greater portion of the former are ignorant, unskilled manual laborers, many of whom are utterly incompetent to serve on juries.

"It would be contrary to what everyone knows, who is acquainted with the facts, to judicially declare that among the blacks of the states there is as large a percentage of those who possess the qualifications for jury servile laid down by our code as with the white population.

"It should be a matter of no surprise that the return of the jury commissioners (ratio on jury lists) of Bibb county indicated as much."

Cites 1854 Law

To give further support to their white supremacy decision, the Georgia justices intimated a belief in "states' rights," especially in dealing with the desire of Southerners to deprive Negroes of their rights as citizens.

They referred to an 1854 Georgia decision holding the Georgia court co-equal with the U.S. Supreme court and not subject to its orders. In defending "states' rights," Justice Grice said: ". . . as time rolled on, the very stars in their courses seemed arrayed against the plan of the founding fathers."

"One is sometimes led to wonder if the states, once sovereign, have not become from a practical standpoint — under the expanding powers of the federal government, the exercise of which has been sanctioned by the Supreme court of the United States—little more than geographical subdivisions of a consolidated government."

Inject Scottsboro Case

Continuing its tirade against the U.S. Supreme court's rulings establishing equal rights and privileges, the Georgia court brought in the Scottsboro (Ala.) decision on the jury question made by the nation's highest tribunal.

The state high court held that its decision did not contravene the U.S. Supreme court's ruling in the Scottsboro case granting a new trial to the nine Negro boys railroaded to death sentences on charges of rape against Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, two white women hoboes in the early 30's.

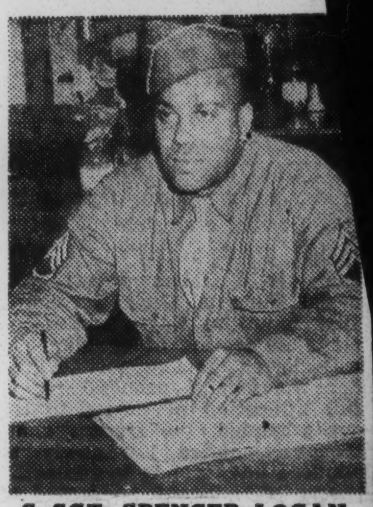
Continuing, it (the Georgia court) remarked:

"Any attempt by this court to disregard the plain and oft repeated adjudications of the Supreme court of the United States upon the subject (unless and until that tribunal at some future day shall itself repudiate and overrule) would be as powerless as the voice of King Canute when he commanded the waves not to come near his throne.

"When the power to effectually resist is lacking, it is no use to kick."

The Georgia high court's ruling is believed by many to be in direct violation of a decision of the U.S. Supreme court several years ago in a case appealed from Louisiana, in which it was held that mere token representation of Negroes on jury rolls did not meet the requirements of law. The particular case involved was remanded for new trial on that point.

Author



S.-SGT. SPENCER LOGAN Whose new book, "Democracy Needs the Negro," will be published by the MacMillan company in May. Sgt. Logan is in the First Quartermaster Training Group at Camp Lee, Virginia, and is from New Jersey. His book is a frank appraisal of what the Negro thinks of America.

Purge Senators Against Wallace: Voters' League

The National Non-Partisan league this week announced its intention of fighting unrelentlessly the men who oppose Henry A. Wallace's appointment as Secretary of Commerce.

"We construe any vote cast against Mr. Wallace as a vote against America and the Negro," said John Sengstacke, league president and publisher of the Chicago Defender.

"It will be our purpose to fight those who attempt to sell America short," he warned.

Declaring that former Vice-President Wallace is going down the line unswerving for the liberal cause, the league head asserted that his organization stands unswervingly behind Wallace. He charged that Wallace's opponents are "of the same stripe as those who fought President Roosevelt and who wail because Wallace dares to speak out for the common man in his demands that plans be made to provide sixty million post-war jobs.

"They need not expect to wail themselves into power, however. Nor can anything they say or do destroy the stature of former Vice-President Wallace as a great leader," Sengstacke declared.

Forces of reaction represented by the Senators who are against Wallace will be strongly opposed by Negroes, the leagues spokesman threatened. "No man may ever expect to receive the Negro's vote by continuously opposing the best interests of our nation," Sengstacke said.

"Just as more than 70 per cent of the Negro vote was cast for President Roosevelt in the last election, Negroes will continue to vote in the same manner against Americans who bottleneck progress," said the Non-Partisan league head.

Also up for Senate confirmation is another liberal, Aubrey Williams, former National Youth Administration director noted for his fair policies in dealing with Negro workers in his agencies. Williams has been named director of the Rural Electrification Administration and awaits Senate approval before taking over.

Negro voters all over the country were urged by Sengstacke to bombard their Senators with telegrams and letters demanding immediate confirmation of the appointments of Wallace and Williams.

Dixie Jury Convicts White Youth In Rape Case

C Defender Feb 24, 45

By ED. RUTLEDGE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

NEWPORT, Tenn. — Another Dixie town struck a staggering blow at white supremacy this week.

A Cocke county's circuit court jury shattered its lily-white ties to convict a white youth for assaulting a Negro woman.

Blasting traditional Jim Crow justice, the court convicted white Charles Gilland here for attempting to rape Mrs. Hazel Rice Albritton, a Negro teacher of Tanner high school.

The conviction, which stunned the town's white supremacy fanatics, came after a packed, tense court heard the first Negro lawyer to be seen in action here as a prosecutor.

Into this mountain valley town, noted for illicit stills and corn-liquor, Attorney Webster L. Porl ter came from Knoxville to prosecute the case for the state, faced the lean, hard villagers and said:

"Don't consider this case from the angle of a woman of the Negro racial group having been attacked by a white man, but a criminally-inclined man has attacked a woman of our community, and he should be punished as the law prescribes."

Earlier in the day-long, hard-fought trial, Mrs. Albritton had told her simple but convincing story to the Tennesseeans despite denials and counter-denials from the defendant.

The court, presided over by Judge George R. Shepherd, heard Mrs. Albritton testify that Gilland had approached her at the post-office shortly after she left the town's show house one night in October, 1944.

"How'd you like the show?" Gilland was reported to have said and followed the frightened teacher as she hurried down the dark streets.

Screams For Help

Mrs. Albritton stated that Gilland was a man she had seen on the streets of Newport several times. She testified that she did not know him and had never had conversation with him.

As she turned the corner n[illegible] her home, about a mile from t[illegible] postoffice, she stated that Gilland stepped from a dark alley, grabbed her by the arm and slung her into the alley.

Her screams attracted white residents nearby and Gilland soon took to his heels. Mrs. Daisy Washburn, an aged white woman whose home is close to the place of the assault, testified that she heard the young woman scream three times for help, and Chief of Police I. L. Johnson, who arrested Gilland in his home a short while later, testified that he saw evidence of a struggle in the alley.

"Women are not safe on our streets with vicious criminals op[illegible] the manner as in this case," [illegible] told the Tennesseans.

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been subject [illegible] suf-
treatment that [illegible]
fered."

Taking the stand before the townspeople, many of whom knew him personally, the white youth weakly denied that he had assaulted Mrs. Albritton, although he admitted having been to the show. He produced James Holbert, another white man and a neighbor, both of whom claimed that they had accompanied Gilland to his home.

Gilland's father also took the stand and swore that his son came home at an hour which would have made it impossible for him to have committed the assault.

But the hard-faced jury of white villagers sat stoically throughout Gilland's denials and promptly returned a verdict of guilty.

Attorney Porter later filed a $10,000 damage suit against Gilland on behalf of Mrs. Albritton because of the assault. The damage suit will be heard at the May term of the circuit court.

Meanwhile the defendants entered a motion for a new trial by Attorney Hurd, who represented Gilland. Judge Shepherd ordered the motion filed within 10 days.

Attorney General J. W. Wolfenbarger offered vigorous support in prosecuting the case. Negro organizations here congratulated the fair and impartial manner exhibited by the judge, attorney general, sheriff and police officers of the first case of its kind in the community.

New Hate Party Formed in Georgia

CONYERS, Ga.—(ANP)—A new hate group, called the Commoner party, has come into existence here, with the avowed purpose of "maintaining white supremacy, restricting the advancement of Negroes and protecting white Gentiles from the abuses of Jews."

Pittsburgh Courier 3/3/45

Pittsburgh Courier 3/3/45

CIO Union Asks End Of Biased Texas Contract

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — The CIO United Steelworkers of America has filed a petition with the National War Labor Board asking elimination from the union's contract with the Hughes Tool company of Houston of provisions which discriminate against Negro workers.

The action was taken under the provisions of the labor war disputes act, better known as the Smith-Connally act, and is the first instance wherein the law, often scored as a blow at organized labor, has been used against discrimination.

The Hughes Tool company is currently being operated by the army which took over the plant last October following refusal of the company to comply with a National Labor Relations board ruling and consequently the war department is expected to influence NWLB's decision on the petition.

The specific provisions protested by the union establish wage differences for white and Negro workers and, according to the petition "the highest limit of the colored (pay) range is less than the lowest limit of the white (pay)

Dixie Liberal Urges Negroes Accept Jim Crow

Pittsburgh Courier 3/3/45

Negroes should accept segregation in the South in order to make other needed advances, insists John Temple Graves, noted white liberal editor of the Birmingham Age-Herald.

Writing in a round table on the subject, "Should Negroes Accept Segregation in the South" in the March issue of Negro Digest, Graves declares, "Right or wrong, segregation is not going to be abolished in the South nor apparently in many other parts of the country where it exists informally but definitely."

Meanwhile, he insists that demanding its abolishment is robbing the Negro of other advances of which he cares more and needs more.

Replying to Graves are Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch and Ira De A. Reid, editor of Phylon magazine.

Dunjee declares, "We take the position that segregation is discriminatory, that is why sometime ago we considered it unseemly when certain Negro leaders rationalized upon the idea that attempt should be made to extract or eliminate discrimination from segregation." "We will, of course, be able to perform this miracle when rabbits conquer the principles of birth control."

Reid states, "Negroes should never accept segregation; they should be eternally alert to devising techniques and strategies for getting rid of it. I have yet to see a legally, racially segregated institution that was not discriminatory."

Accept S Journalis

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The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1945

White Officer Pleads For Racial Equality

ATLANTA (ANP)—Declaring that it has been his experience as an officer that Negroes make first rate soldiers, Lieut. Jerome Chaiken, just returned from combat duty and now assigned to Fort Benning, in a letter to the Atlanta Journal asks, "Why don't we treat them as first rate citizens?"

"Despite what cynics say, I like to feel we are at death grips with the Nazis and Japanese because they tried to deny man his fundamental right to be free. Yet there are those among us, soldiers and civilians, supposedly at odds with the enemy, who unconsciously or intentionally refuse to grant certain segments of this Nation their inalienable right to be free.

"If we allow justice and reason to govern our thinking," the letter continued, "the day will come when the spirit of Lincoln will not be just a dream, but a reality. On that day the seeds of peace will transplant those of war. For then men will prove they can live together in harmony, regardless of race, color or creed."

Jim Crow In Industry Hurts War Work Through Manpower Shortage

Atlanta World March 25, 45

Dodge Report Emphasizes Abandonment Of Racism

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — Jimcrow in industry hurts war production by adding to the manpower shortage.

That was the report of Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, FEPC regional director, before the Institute of Race relations meeting here last week. It is "both patriotic and sound business practice" to disregard race, creed or color in utilizing manpower for the successful prosecution of business, Dr. Dodge said.

"Integration of Negro skilled workers along with whites in the south in spite of the dire need for such workers to expedite the production of materials for winning the war, has been very near the zero point" he declared.

LESS THAN HIGHEST SKILL

While Negroes were employed in some southern industries, he remarked, in many instances they were working at less than their highest skill. The most dangerous aspect of such discrimination is its conformity with the Nazi pattern, Dr. Dodge said.

The passage of a permanent FEPC bill was urged by Father George Higgins, assistant director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare conference. He warned that the Negro should not agitate against trade union discrimination for fear that it will wean other Negroes away from the labor movement.

The Catholic doctrine on the question of racial discrimination is that discrimination against a man because of color or race is a violation of God's law of justice, Father Higgins said.

Journal & Guide 3/10/45

From The Palmetto State

COLUMBIA, S. C. — In a dynamic speech which caused many mixed emotions, Bishop Reveredy C. Ransome delivered the Founders' Day address at Allen University last week.

Among other things the venerable prelate said: "Communism has done the best job that has been done for the common man. In Russia they consider all children God's children, and all share alike" . . . "The practice and knowledge of politics are just as necessary to the final, total liberation of Negroes as are any and all of the other talents and virtues advocated by our leaders."

McKAINE

Once, turning to the platform guests, index finger punching holes into the air the Bishop advised: 'We leaders have in many instances neglected and failed to make the proper and wiser alliances in our fight for equality; the poor white man, whom we often reject, and the other oppressed minority groups are and should be our natural allies." Sometimes he was applauded and sometimes not.

In the field of education there have been many significant developments during the week: The legislature established a Board of Regents to coordinate budgets and curricula of all of the State-supported schools for higher education. This Board will be composed of the heads of all colleges, plus two trustees from each school and of five members to be appointed by the governor.

The Negroes will be represented by President M. F. Whittaker of State A&M College. This is the first time that a Negro has been appointed to serve as an equal on any mixed state board.

$150,000 A YEAR FOR STATE COLLEGE

Protesting against the derisory sum allotted to State College by the legislature (2% of total appropriation), Representative Weeks of Orangeburg, (location of the college), stated: "The appropriation for State College at Orangeburg is mighty low. I speak in behalf of the Negroes at that college. This bill calls for $7,700,000 and they get only 2% of the amount. How did the committee arrive at $150,000 for State College?

The college asked for $1,233,000 because they need dormitories badly. We've got to do something for the Negro soldiers coming back after the war, and we should make an adequate appropriation for the Negroes. $150,000 is too small. Remember 43% of our population is Negro."

Mrs. E. R. Johnson, new Representative from York and only woman member of the legislature, strongly supported Rep. Weeks and insisted that "our colored college should get more consideration." The appropriation was finally increased to $250,000 but while the Negro college was receiving this amount the State-supported white colleges were getting: Slemson $2,000,000; Winthrop (for women) $1,750,000; University of South Carolina $3,000,000. Even the School for the Deaf and Blind received $500,000 and the State Training School $1,000,000.

There is only one school for the higher education of Negroes within the State; the whites have five. Dr. A. C. Flora, superintendent of Columbia City Schools, has requested the dismissal of the suit brought by Albert N. Thompson for the equalization of teachers' salaries. Dr. Flora contends that the new plan for teacher certification is nondiscriminatory. The Doctory is in error as will be proved.

"NEW HORIZONS"

The very enterprising Professor Paul Weber of State College brought a representative group of students to Columbia to view the magnificent USO-sponsored exhibition called "New Horizons," which showed new fields of employment for returning veterans. After the visit was terminated the group listened attentively to a short talk by O. E. McKaine concerning the importance to the Negro of the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences.

The second Negro post of the F. F. W. to be organized elected the Rev. L. C. Jenkins as commander. The American Legion still refuses to issue charters to Negroes.

Los Angeles Tribune March 12, 1945

Monday, March 12, 1945

Text book slandering Race fought

OKLAHOMA CITY—The Oklahoma State Legislature has been asked by the Negro weekly, the Black Dispatch, to outlaw use of the sociological text, "Social Problems," by Charles A. Ellwood, in the white schools of the State.

The author, a professor at Duke Uinversity, Durham, N.C., the book "is the vilest sort of slander of dark people," according to the Dispatch.

In the text, the author asserts that the tropical climate of Africa and the near-tropical climate of the South has developed socially undesirable traits in the masses of the American Negro today . . . Nature fixed in the Negro strong sex tendencies.

"The influence of slavery upon the Negro was both beneficent and malfeasant," the book elsewhere declares. "The Negro learned little of family morality . . . the Negro could not be taught properly to appreciate the rights of property . . . Finally slavery failed to develop in the slave the self-mastery and self-control which are necessary for free social life . . . Admirable as slavery was . . ."

On racial mixtures, Author Ellwood said: "The pure Negro, without intermixture of blood, has hitherto seemed incapable of leadership . . . It is not surprising therefore, to find among the mulattoes a great amount of constitutional disease and a tendency to crime and immorality . . . and for this reason Negro women of mixed blood are apt to be immoral . . . So we see that while the mixed bloods have furnished the leaders of their race, they have also furnished an undue proportion of its vice and crime."

The book contains 27 pages of slander of the Negro, according to the Dispatch.

White Man Admits Attack, Freed; Colored Gets Death

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. (ANP)—While a 23-year-old colored man was given a death sentence here Tuesday by an all-white jury on a criminal attack charge, a white sailor who admitted a similar charge was acquitted Friday by a DeKalk County (Ga.) jury in six minutes.

The colored man, Johnny B. Smith of Abernant, Ala., accused of criminally attacking a Tuscaloosa County white woman, was given the death sentence, while Howard L. Morgan, white sailor, indicted in two counties on charges of rape as well as assault with intent to murder, was acquitted.

Beat Girl's Escort, Took His Gun

The State charged that Morgan, Ralph New and Ralph Gaza, after beating a colored girl's companion, Walter Berry, Jr, attacked the girl in Dakalb County, took Berry's auto, carried the girl into Gwinnot County, took turns in attacking her and then forced her to commit sodomy.

The defendants were scheduled to be given separate trials, Morgan's being first. Trials of the other two men are scheduled for the next term of court in June, while during the same month, all three are to face trial in Gwinnot Superior Court.

Afro American 3/31/45

The Birmingham Weekly Review
March 31, 1945

No Academic Freedom In Texas

NEW YORK — Charging that the ability, qualification and training of a Jewish, Negro or foreign-born scholar must be of "superhuman proportions" to break through the racial and religious discriminatory policies in admission and faculty selection of most American colleges, educators meeting here yesterday (SUNDAY), under the auspices of the Academic Council of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties took action to "force the question of discrimination into open discussion, to combat its application and to assist administrators who are striving to eradicate it."

"Quota systems" for choice of students and faculty members should be outlawed without further delay, Al Deutsch of PM newspaper told a round table of Council members and guests. Only 22 of the 800 universities have accomodations for Jewish students who want specialist training. Dr. Adele Sicular, chairman of the Citizens Committee of the West Side reported.

Dr. Gene Weltfish, co-author of "Races of Mankind" disputed the basis for discrimination by presentation of anthropological data and urged a reexamination of the purpose of education with a view to eliminating "unscientific theories and practices."

At the same time, disciplinary action against the University of Texas for the ousting of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as president and for curtailment of academic freedom in the university was recommended in a vote after an address by Dr. Rainey in which he stated that "the fight to restore academic freedom has moved into the larger political field and is going to have to be fought there.

In a four-fold program of action the meeting voted for continued support of the university faculty, which must act next week on the request of the Board of Regents to take part in naming a new permanent president to replace Dr. Rainey; for communication to the citizens' groups in Texas urging the mto carry on the fight against forces in the state behind the Rainey ousting; and for request to American Association of University Professors and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to take disciplinary action against the university. At the same time, more than 2,000 educators and community leaders who have joined the NFCL in protesting curtailment of academic freedom there will be asked to take action parallel to that of the NFCL.

Describing those who seek control of the educational system in Texas as the "same forces that tried to steal the state's electoral vote in the last election." Dr. Rainey told the morning session of the conference, "There is literally no academic freedom in education in Texas today."

Tracing the appointment of interlocking boards of educational institutions by "Pappy" O'Daniels and Gov. Coke Stevenson, Dr. Rainey said, "The move of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas has been a restrictive one—against tenure of faculty, against academic freedom and against higher education itself."

Support of his fight by labor, civic, religious and professional groups has "shown awareness of the fact that the situation in Texas is only a phase of a much deeper issue facing the country today." Dr. Rainey said.

Chaired by Dr. Lyman R. Bradley of New York University, secretary of the Council, the conference also heard report by George Marshall, chairman of the NFCL, and Frances M. Williams, executive secretary on current- campaigns of the Federation.

Isaac Writes Green On Jim Crow

NEW YORK, March 10 — Determined that the fight to eliminate jim crow auxiliaries from the American Federation of Labor continue although the Executive Council adjourned without action, the National Negro Congress has written the more than 150 signers of the appeal to the council, urging their continued individual and organizational action.

The first such action has been taken by New York City Councilman StanleyM. Issac, who has written to William Green, AFL President, as follows:

"I was one of a very important group who joined in the statement recently made to the AFL, urging that jim crow auxiliaries be banned. I want to reinforce that general statement by a request that you urge every international which is part of your great organization to eliminate jim crow locals, wherever they exist.

"In New York State we have just adopted an anti-discrimination statute that I hope will be followed in other parts of the country. In any event, its substance and spirit certainly demand the immediate elimination of any racial or religious discrimination in labor unins operating within the State of New York. I am sure you will want your locals here to comply with the law; but I hope you will go further and urge the elimination of racial and religious discrimination from every union, wherever it exists and in any form.

Afro-American 3/31/45

22 States Outlaw Public Segregation

By THURGOOD MARSHALL
(From NAACP Bulletin)

Twenty-two States have enacted laws outlawing discrimination in various forms. These include:

California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin.

Two Types

Generally there are two types of civil rights statutes. Some refer to specific types of places to which they are applicable. These contain clauses and mention such establishments as places of public accommodation; amusement, resort, entertainment, or assemblage; public places conducted for hire, gain, or reward. etc.

The other type does not list places to which it applies, but, as in the case of Washington, forbids one to keep a person, because of race, color, or creed, from enjoying accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of any place of public resort, accommodation, assemblage or amusement.

Both Criticized

This latter type of civil rights law is criticized because the court often decides that one place, such as a theatre, comes under the law, and that another, such as a soda fountain, does not.

The former type is criticized because the court may not include under the statute any form of public place which is not listed.

Several lawyers conclude that a model bill need not enumerate each particular place to be covered; yet they have definitely gone beyond the general type of statute such as is found in Washington State.

The term "civil rights" is generally defined as those rights which appertain to the person by virtue of his citizenship in a State or community.

Woman Admits Her Attack Tale False

Chicago Defender

WASHINGTON , D. C.—(NNPA) — Three days of diligent search by police here for a Negro "between 20 and 30 years of age, brownskin' ended last week when the woman complainant confessed her "attack story" was all a lie.

Mrs. Regan Darnold, 22 years old, had complained to police that she had been robbed and slashed with a knife in Rock Creek Park's zoo grounds after she had asked a Negro for directions. She was cut on her wrists and forehead.

Now, she has admitted her wounds were self-inflicted. She had an argument with her husband, who had threatened to send her home to her mother. She was hunting for sympathy from her hubby.

In the process, she was increasing race tensions, subjecting hundreds of Negroes "between 20 and 30 years of age, brownskin" to loss of personal liberty and questioning by police, but also disproving the theories of race-superiority.

Detroit Moves To Bar Coming Of More Negroes

War Manpower Commission Asked To Stem Flow

By ROBERT CRUMP

DETROIT — (ANP) — The city fathers, who seem to be lost in the fog of confusion over the acute housing situation here and steadfastly refuse to do anything about it, now register a new law in un-Americanism by trying to devise some means of preventing more people from coming into Detroit, particularly job hunters. They have appealed to the state director of WMC for help.

It is estimated that new arrivals reach the total of 10,000 a month which is about 5,000 less than six months ago. Just how any city can stop people from coming in has not yet been determined but the aid that is being sought through the WMC would be to discourage immigration thru its regional boards throughout the country by refusing to refer workers to this city which is now being taken out of the critical area bracket.

A meeting of labor and industrial representatives with the director of the WMC has failed so far to arrive at anything definite that will relieve the job situation. It is true that many factories are laying off workers and there is sufficient manpower to take care of all available work.

Poll Reveals What Leaders Believe To Be 'Un-American'

Daily Word apr 74

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The revived Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, given new life by Rep. John Rankin's parliamentary maneuvering on the opening day of the 79th Congress, was told by the Brookings Institute last week what many leaders consider as un-American.

First on its list as a concensus is the Institute's assertion that "It is un-American for any individual or group by force, intimidation, deceit, fraud or bribery to prevent or seek to prevent any person from exercising any right or privilege which cannot constitutionally be denied to him either by the Federal Government or by the State Government."

REPORT TO MUNDT

Observers here interpret this statement to cover denials to Negroes of the right to vote, edcational opportunities, equal justice under the law, equal value for their money in housing, transportation, and taxes, and practically every other injustice prepetrated upon them.

The Institute made the report to Rep. Mundt (R. of S. D.), a member of the new committee. In it, it stated that the committee should be mainly concerned with the rights of individuals assured by the Constitution.

Rep. Mundt had requested the private research organization to prepare an analysis of replies he received from scores of prominent Americans asked to define "Un-American Activities". Mrs. Roosevelt was among those who replied, but her views were not made public.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Other un-American activities were listed as (a) conspiring, advocating or attempting to bring about a change in the form of government in the U. S. without following the processes prescribed by the Constitution; (b) secretly conspiring to overthrow a government of law and substitute a government vested with complete discretionary power; (c) advancing the interests of a foreign nation or association against the interests o the United States; and (d) acting in time of war or threatened war with intent to interfere with the successful preparation for or prosecution of war.

This last opinion is believed to cover employers and labor unions which refuse to abide by the President's Executive Order against discrimination in employment, hiring, working conditions and union membership because of race, creed, color or national origin.

About Segregation

Editor, The Journal: I would like to point out to the undoubtedly sincere Mr. Crenshaw that he begs the question when he admits that segregation occasionally works to the disadvantage of persons so relegated to a position of inferiority.

It is an established fact that segregation it at the root of the lack of equal educational opportunity for the Negro. I would also like to bring to the attention of that gentleman the fact that the school situation here in Atlanta is most abominable. There is only one high school, no kindergartens, no clerks in any of the Negro elementary schools, no adequate rest rooms for the teachers, in fact, very little of anything conducive to that state of proficiency which is most desirable in any school system in a cosmopolitan city such as Atlanta.

Segregation may be good; it may be bad; it may be benevolent; it may be malignant and vicious, but when it gets to the point where the object of such practices loses that to which he is entitled, then means should be found to assure the segregated peoples that they will at least receive equal if separate accommodations, whether it is in a school, train, in the Army, in the Navy, in the employ of industry or the Government, state or federal, or in any other undertaking in which the Negro is bound to participate.

T-5 WILLIAM A. TINNEY JR.
Fort McPherson.

Tampa Bulletin 5/5-/45

Says Race Prejudice Being Breached In South

MACON, Ga.—(ANP)—Race prejudice, which has been kept alive thru generations of artificial barriers is being breached here in the south, through the courageous and intelligent cooperation of both whites and Negroes, according to the Macon News, liberal white daily.

"Georgia," said the News editorially Tuesday, "which a few short years ago had no organized agencies to combat this century-old cancer, now has many, all working toward a common goal. Neither race wants the idea of so-called "social equality" injected into the present pressing issue which is basically the economic and civil rights of a large segment of our population.

"If the white people of the south want to do the honest thing by all of its citizens, of all colors, of all races, of all religious and political faiths, they will join in this fight for common decency.

"Inherited prejudices of the white people of the south are giving way to logic, to decency and to the humanitarian cause of a minority of our population that too long has been held in virtual economic peonage, victims of unscrupulous landlords and money-lenders.

"War's close is going to bring a test of courage to both races. The ignorant, vicious Negro, grown arrogant through suddenly acquired ability to earn more than ever earned before, and working far removed from his former surroundings in the south, will be difficult to handle. The vicious and ignorant white man on the other hand, who claims only a white skin as evidence of his superiority, will attempt, as he has in the past, to abuse and discriminate against the Negro.

"It is going to take the best efforts of both races to keep down these elements that would destroy both. It is going to take increasing patience, work and study to achieve a unity that we must have between the races to advance the best interests of all of us.

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The Weekly Review 4/28/45

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Graves Lists Seven Changes The South Must Make

BIRMINGHHAM, Ala. (SNS John Temple Graves, II, in his column May 19, Birmingham Age-Herald listed the "seven changes" the South will have to take.

One of them was "advancement" for the Negro 'on his side of a reasserted line." He did not elaborated on his "reasserted line," but it is in line with the general advocacy of stricted segregation and whiter "white supremacy."

Here are Graves' "seven changes":

1. On itself, on the light in Southern people, the merit in Southern goods, the South as its own great market.
2. On Southern investment for Southern money.
3. On cotton to face the world with its own merit and economy, no matter what dislocations come.
4. On science, finding it and doing what it says.
5. On Uncle Sam, watching him but accepting his help, especially educational.
6. On the Negro, encouraging advancement on his side of a reasserted line.
7. On a two-party political system in which Southerners misguided enough to feel Republican will have the courage, honestly and opportunity to vote that way.

Tropical Dispatch 5/26/45

Alabama Weekly Review May 19/45

Chicago YMCA College President Quits; Charges Y Board Of Fostring Race Prejudice

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Race hatred is being fostered and fomented by local white YMCA officials.

That charge was made last week by Dr. Edward J. Sparling, liberal white educator, when he resigned the presidency of the Central YMCA college following a series of violent clashes with Board Members about the school's liberal policy toward Negro students.

Most conspicuous among the known Negro haters and race baiters sitting on the YMCA board of directors is Newton C. Farr, local real estate tycoon, who led the various attacks against Negro enrollment at the Y college. Farr, who openly admits his deep antagonism for Negroes and leads a restrictive covenant crusade against them, demanded that Dr. Sparling reveal the number of Negro students to the board on Nov. 11, as a prelude to setting up a racial quota system.

"At this same meeting another director asked for the number of Jewish students in the college, which question I ignored," Dr. Sparling said. "When demanded by complete board action to reveal these figures, I said that I would have to resign if they were used in discrimination against any students because of race or creed."

BATTLES NEGRO HATERS

Dr. Sparling pointed out specific instances of racial discrimination and how he had to battle the evil. The most outstanding instance was his discontinuation of physical at the college as a means to maintain his policy of racial equality among the students.

Negroes are not allowed to swim at the Central YMCA, yet each student Negro and white alike, was taxed $2.50 for gym privileges, something Negro students could not enjoy. Dr. Sparling eliminated that jimcrow evil by merely refusing the fee to his Negro students and banishing the physical educational program.

"If Negro students can't swim," he said, "no one will swim."

Here are the four reasons why Dr. Sparling resigned:

1. His pro-labor stand in the Montgomery Ward fight.
2. His refusal to permit racial quotas for students in the college.
3. His opposition to all interference with academic freedom.
4. His part in the publication of the A. B. C.'s of Scapegoating," prepared under the direction of two professors of psychology at Harvard Universlyt.

SEGREGATION — A STEEL TRAP

The present global war has centered attention upon the principle and practice of segregation, as it relates to the Negro people, in the United States, as it has never been in the history of the nation. This pattern of living had its beginning in slavery days. In the reconstruction era which followed our Civil War it had a renewed emphasis and a somewhat different application.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments not only liberated the enslaved Negroes, but they bestowed upon him all of the rights and privileges of any other citizen. The white people living in the seceded states facing the problem of restoration to the Union and forced to make a semblance of complying with the law, invoked the principle of segregation.

They insisted upon residential segregation; they forced the enactment of laws for separate schools for Negro and white people, and they placed upon the statutes books laws for separate traveling accommodations. Whenever they were able to operate movie houses without Negro patronage, they refused the admittance to Negroes; when they could not operate without Negro patronage, they maintained separate entrances and seats for Negro people. In all public meetings where both races assembled together, either directly or indirectly, arrangements were provided so that the Negro people were separated from all other people.

In a large majority of the cases of segregation, the persons who insist upon the practice and promote it with all of their energies, claim that provisions are equal, in an effort to salve their own consciences. However, the one outstanding characteristic about this segregation is the fact that the situations are never equal. Moreover, the situations disparage, debase, and exploit the Negro people.

Such is the outrageous and hellish spirit of segregation that our white enemies taken prisoners of war are accorded greater respect than Negro soldiers who have offered all for country and for freedom throughout the world.

Segregation carries the assumption that discrimination is not only the social custom, but is the law of the land. So that many persons who repudiate this pattern of behavior, find themselves in the clutches of a tradition which holds them like traps of steel and they do not know how to extricate themselves.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS PROPERTY RESTRICTIONS

St. Louis Argus June 1/45

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29—(Special)—A 24-year-old ruling legalizing contracts in which neighbors agree not to sell property to Negroes was upheld by the United States Supreme Court Tuesday.

The Court refused to disturb the rule and, in effect, re-emphasized the principal Monday by refusing to review an appeal filed by Miss Clara I. Mays, whose deed to property in a so-called "white neighborhood" here was ordered set aside by the District of Columbia. Whites involved sued on the basis of a covenant entered into in 1925.

The high court first ruled that such restrictive agreements were valid private contracts in another District of Columbia case in 1921.

Counselors for Miss Mays contended that enforcement of the covenants is repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States and deprives Negroes of adequate and fit housing.

College Of Surgeons Bars Negro Doctors

Atlanta Daily World June 2/45

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Negro doctors are officially barred from the American College of Surgeons.

That fact became known here last week when Dr. George Thorne received a relpy from the ACS in regard to a letter he sent last month in request of membership application blank. His letter read:

Please send application blank for American college or surgeons. Thanking you for your attention . ."

INVESTIGATES RACE OF APPLICANT

Dr. Thorne, a native of New York and a graduate of Howard's medical school made no mention of his race in his brief letter to the ACS but their reply a few days later proved they investigate the race of all applicants.

"Dear Dr. Thorne:

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 3.

"Pursuant to resolution of the board of regents, fellowship in the college is not being conferred on members of the Negro race at the present time. However, the board has a committee now charged with the task of making a complete study of the situation for future consideration by the board.

"Very truly your,
"M. T. Farrow,
Executive secretary"

The executive secretary, Mrs. Miram T. Farrow, is not a physician but had been informed by regents of the ACS to discourage all Negro applicants. Dr. Henry W. Cave, a local medic, went on record of being difinitely anti-Negro. Here is his comment:

STUDYING QUESTION

"All I can say is at the present time there is a committee studying the whole question of the relationship of colored surgeons with the American College of Surgeons. They are considering the whole question as to whether they are going to take in a lot of Negroes in the college."

When Dr. Malcolm P. MacEachron of Chicago, associate director and chairman of the administrative board of the ACS, was informed about Mrs. Farrow's letter, he said:

"There is nothing in the regulations to disqualify any doctor from becoming a fellow on account of his race, creed or religion. I will have to look into it."

Dr. Thorne interned at Harlem hospital and served there for ten years. He was assistant visiting surgeon when he resigned to accept appointment to the surgical staff of Lincoln hospital. He is a member of the Manhattan Central Medical society, the New York County Medical society, and serves on the Sydenham hospital surgical staff.

White Georgian Urges Elimination Of Prejudice

Tampa Bulletin June 2

ATLANTA—(ANP) — Warning against racial, religious and class prejudices in America after the war, Dr. Willis A. Sutton, former superintendent of Atlanta public schools and now on the staff of Reader's Digest, believes it will be "tragic" if the Negroes and Jews now fighting for freedom return to be discriminated against.

Pointing out that prejudices are deep in America, but the power to eradicate them is stronger, Dr. Sutton pleaded for greater tolerance and democracy at a meeting of Atlanta Rotarians Tuesday in the Ansley hotel.

The white-haired educator, whose name as defendant is still on the position for equal pay filed by Atlanta teachers, characterized the struggle for true democracy in this country as the "battle for America." The institution of family, church and school, he said, are those which will help in the winning of this battle.

Declaring that the church had never been given the credit that it is due in America Dr. Sutton expressed the opinion that "the Hebrew-Christian ethic with its theory of one God and one people is the true basis of democracy."

Los Angeles Tribune June 8/45

Patterns of discrimination in other countries revealed

WASHINGTON — An abstract of a report on racial discrimination and governmental policy in foreign countries, prepared at the behest of Senator Elbert D. Thomas, of Utah, for the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, was inserted in the Congressional Record last week on the motion of Senator Thomas.

"Interest in the subject in our own nation made it desirable that we explore the experience of other nations which face similar problems," the Senator said in announcing the report which was prepared by Legislative Reference service. The full report is on file in the office of the Senate comittee.

"In many countries racial distinctions have been synonomous with special privileges," the report stated in its introduction. "Groups which have been discriminated against . . .are often associated with disliked occupations as well as different racial traits. Discriminations have been somewhat ameliorated in the last century due to revolutions and the voluntary action of the governments," the report asserted, continuing:

"In imperial Russia there were many different groups who were discriminated against in the interest of the russification policy of the czars. Under the Soviet regime a different policy has been adopted toward minority groups and this has led to the maintenance of these cultural differences of minorities which did not conflict with Communist ideology.

"In South Africa the trend of events has been toward the strict residential segregation of the colored races and toward their restruction to particular occupational pursuits and very limited political activity. The discriminations here are maintained by a minority, the whites, against a majority, the colored peoples.

"In India the chief divisions are the accepted Hindus who constitute a majority and the two very large minorities of Moslems and untouchables. Discriminations within the Hindus group proper have been largely removed by the Caste Disabilities Removal Act but the larger problem of customary discriminations against untouchables remains. The chief of these are residential segregations, occupational restrictions and all barring from use of public conveniences and facilities. Many of these restraints have been abolished in recent years.

"Discriminations against minority races are not marked under the legal rights of citizenship in Hawaii. In New Zealand the Maori minority were granted rights of education and health instruction which have led to a rehabilitation of self respect and progress on the part of that race. In Australia the native policy of the different States has been directed to the preservation of the aborigines while giving them the advantages of European culture. The policy has been criticized as in adequate and marked by decline of full bloods and the rise of maladjusted half-castes. In Japan the Eta minority have been discrimiated against for centuries in schools, the army, temples, and in everyday community life, being forced to live in segregated quarters. Some attempt to improve their condition has been made in recent years. In Brazil the abolition of slavery removed the last legal handicap on the Negroes of that country. Since the emancipation they have made progress but are still in an inferior position. In Arabia discriminations have been maintained against Negroes as in the United States and Brazil but on a different basis."

Council Meeting Hears Racial Slurs On Hospital Issue

Courier

COLUMBIA, S. C.---(SNS) What might have been an inspiring meeting of Columbia City Council Tuesday, at which were present members of the county delegation, the Columbia Medical Society and of the boards of trustees of the Columbia and Good Samaritan Hospitals, developed into a dismal disclosure that certain insulting names had been applied to Negro patients at the Columbia Hospital and a few crept out in the hearing.

Negro representatives of the Good Samaritan Waverly Hospital reported after the meeting, held to consider a petition for a $10,000 city gift to the hospitals' building fund that the chairman of the Board of the Columbia Hospital used freely the term "darkies" during the meeting in such phrases as, "we have out there for the darkies" and "I can't say the darkies wont use the hospital (Columbia) fully."

It was brought earlier in the meeting that the terms "black wench" and "aunty" had been used in referrng to Negro patients in the city hospital's Negro wing and that student nurses had been ordered to omit proper titles of address when referring to either supervising Negro Nurses or patients.

Mrs. A. W. Simkins, director of the $1000,000 Good Samaritan Waverly building fund, said on the situation that the drive was undertaken to relieve Negro patients of these conditions and there is now ample evidence that the new hospital building will be obtained, regardless of the outcome of Tuesday council meeting.

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Terror' Case Federal Jury

Tribune Courier June 6, 1945

ER T. DUNCAN
to The Courier)

famous New Iberia (La.) "reign of Negroes were brutally beaten, their and many of them exiled from the 18, was reviewed here last week by a Federal grand jury which contained one colored member

In the hearing, the findings of which have been withheld from the Press, many of the New Iberia victims furnished testimony. Summoned here for hearings were J. Leo Hardy, former president of the New Iberia NAACP, from California, and Dr. Luis Williams, from Colorado, as well as Dr. H. C. Scoggins, who fled from New Iberia and set up a new practice here after the outrages.

VOLCANIC REACTIONS

In the debacle, which caused volcanic reactions throughout the State, Mr. Hardy, Dr. Williams, Principal L. L. Paulk, of the New Iberia school and one of the town's leading dentists, and Dr. Ima Pearson were severely beaten, while Dr. Scoggins and H. Dorsey were forced to flee the city, leaving properties and practices valued at more than $250,000. The parish was left without a colored physician or dentist.

The co-operation of the Negro press and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ultimately brought the outrages before justice officials as publication of the mob case in Southern white newspapers was

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

VV

Launch Ship Named for Merchant Seaman

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — The S.S. William Cox, a Liberty ship of approximately 10,000 tons, was christened here Sunday night by the widow of the veteran colored seaman, for whom the ship was named.

Cox, a fireman, died when the S.S. David Atwater was shelled and sunk in April, 1942. His widow is Mrs. Arlee Cox of Savannah, Ga.

Mob Victims Testify

New Iberia 'Terror' Case Reviewed By Federal Jury

Pittsburgh Courier June 6, 1945

By JASPER T. DUNCAN
(Exclusive to The Courier)

NEW ORLEANS, La.—The famous New Iberia (La.) "reign of terror," during which leading Negroes were brutally beaten, their homes and property damaged, and many of them exiled from the parish by irate whites May 17-18, was reviewed here last week by a Federal grand jury which contained one colored member.

In the hearing, the findings of which have been withheld from the Press, many of the New Iberia victims furnished testimony. Summoned here for hearings were J. Leo Hardy, former president of the New Iberia NAACP, from California, and Dr. Luis Williams, from Colorado, as well as Dr. H. C. Scoggins, who fled from New Iberia and set up a new practice here after the outrages.

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ORLEANS PORT HAS 25-YR. DISCRIMINATION RECORD

Tampa Bulletin June 9/45

NEW ORLEANS.—(By Lucius Jones for ANP) — Negroes are not only victims of race bias now, but have been the victims of almost unparalleled discrimination, based on race and color, at the New Orleans Port of Embarkation for 25 years, the branch NAACP here has just disclosed in a startling expose of "evils behind the scenes."

Probing allegedly racial discrimination at the port in the case of Charles A. Gordon, the NAACP, through its militant executive secretary, Daniel E. Byrd, now reveals the fact that Gordon, who has been at the port since March, 1920, and holds two citations for meritorious service, is still in a work category under 11 men he assisted in gromoing and "grounding" for their jobs when they came to the Port less than five years ago.

Gordon, now in his 26th year at the port, was classified and paid as a laborer as far back as 1928, but, at that time, he was checker, storekeeper's foreman, packer and warehouseman. This claim is substantiated by signed letters of seven former commanders of the port and two civilian employes. Gordon's rating is CAF-4.

The 11 white men elevated over Gordon, though far behind him in seniority, are listed as Rboert Floyd, who has moved from classified laborer to spervisor of labor; Alonzo Emerson, who hiked from laborer to superintendent of labor of the entire port; Stanley Busing, stepped up from checker to junior administrator; U. J. Haley, lifted from packed to warehouseman; Messrs. D'Quin, J. Thuer, Vegas, Naquin, Heray and Schiro, all of whom advanced from checkers to storekeepers. The entire list of men are rated CAF 5 or better.

The maximum yearly pay scales are CAF-4, $2,220; CAF-5, $2,800; CAF-6, $2,900; CAF-7, $3,200, and CAF-8, $3.500.

The U. S. War Department civilian handbook reads: "There will be no discrimination against employes on the grounds of race, sex, color, religion, creed, national origin, or political or other affiliation. All appointments will be made in accordance with civil service laws, which provide for the selection of applicants on the basis of merit and approved qaulifications" . It also reads, "Equal pay for equal work is a fixed program of the department and will be adhered to wherever possible." . . . The handbook further reads, "An employe who has given efficient service over a period of time and whose conduct is subsequently reported as satisfactory by proper administrative authority is promoted to the next salary step in the grade to which his position is allocated. These promotions are geared to the periodic efficiency ratings given to all classified employes in the federal civil service.

However, despite these federal provisions and despite his two citations for meritorious service, 25 years' of executive responsibility, and nine superlative letters of commendation from seven port comamnders and two civilian employes, Charles A. Gordon, today, because he is a Negro, is only helfway up the pay schedule, though, from the standpoint of seniority and qualifications, he ranks at the top. It is generally conceded that he knows more about port administration than probably any other man in the setup. Of him, Col. M. J. Gilmore wrote that "under me, Gordon's knowledge of quartermaster nomenclature helped me in a great manner with a complete re-warehousing job."

The letters of commendation for Gordon were from: Cols. David I. Dodenhoff, J. R. Pourie, James Sproule, M. J. Gilmore and H. B. Smith, Capt. John W. Llufrie, Senior Traffic Manager, Charles Fuca and Junior Administrative Assistant L. J. Deskey.

The army service forces' citations, signed by Lt. Gen. Brehen Sommerville, were for 10 and 25 years meritorious service respectively.

But Gordon, like other qualified Negroes, is the victim of a "vicious circle" in which the most pernicious type of racial discrimination is practiced. Gordon's case, of course, makes all the others pale in significance. His case is the paradoz of paradozes!

South Leads In Distribution of Seedling

ATLANTA.—The South led all regions and South Carolina all states in distribution of seedling trees for forest planting stock during 1944 under the Clark-McNary and Norris-Doxey Acts, Regional Forester Joseph C. Kircher reports.

Figures compiled by the Washington Office of the U. S. Forest Service showed other southern states well up in the list of distributors, with Florida ranking in fifth place and Georgia sixth. Immediately behind the Palmetto State were Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania, all states in which scientific forestry has been practiced generally far longer than in the South.

The Congressional Acts under which the distribution of seedlings is made at cost provide for a cooperative agreement between State Departments of Forestry and the U. S. Forest Service by which the former maintain the nurseries and distribute the seedlings to private woodland owners at cost, with the Federal agency paying part of the nursery expense. Under the system, 11,900,000 seedlings were distributed in eleven southern states during 1944, with the cost to the purchasers usually runnings about $$1.75 per thousand

The Letter But Not The Spirit

In a 6 to 3 decision at Washington last Monday, the United States Supreme Court upheld a death sentence penalty for a Texas Negro, L. C. Atkins, who appealed to that court on the ground of racial discrimination. Atkins had charged that the jury commissioners of Dallas County, Texas had "deliberately, intentionally, and purposely limited the number of Negroes on the jury to one." The high court's majority opinion, delivered by Justice Stanley Reed said: "Fairness in the selection of a jury has never been held to require proportionate representation or races upon a jury. Justice Reed explained that the Court's past anti-discrimination ruling was based on the theory that exclusion of Negroes from jury lists in communities where many Negroes lived indicated discrimination and "not on the theory that racial groups must be recognized."

While we must admit that this decision meets the requirements of the 14th amendment to the Constitution, it is, in effect, a bad precedent to set for anti-Negro communities. It tells them how they may comply with the 14th amendment to the Constitution, which forbids discrimination based on race, creed, and color, and yet pursue their undemocratic course of trying Negroes without giving effect and meaning to the spirit of the law. One of the Commissioners, when questioned about the lone Negro, said: "We had no intention of placing more than one Negro on the panel. When we did that we had finished." Another commissioner said: "We three did not go to see any other Negroes. Yes, sir, there were other Negroes' names mentioned besides the one we selected, but we did not talk to them, and our intentions were to get just one Negro on the grand jury."

Atlanta Daily World June 13/53

NE

CIO trying to streamline election laws

AUSTIN, Tex.—With 14 Negro delegates helping to formulate its program, the state CIO legislative conference meeting here last weekend, voted unanimous backing to all policies adopted by the 1944 national CIO convention.

The policies include a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, abolition of the poll tax, and the outlawing of religious and racial discrimination.

One demand of the 12-point program adopted unanimously by the 152 CIO delegates, officials and staff representatives was repeal by the legislature of the Texas poll tax. As further amendments to antedated Texas election laws, the CIO is asking for a secret ballot, instead of the present numbered ballot; and a state registration law which would permit voters to qualify up to three days before an election.

The delegates voted to set up a state-wide educational fund of $25,000 for paid radio time and newspaper advertising, exposing the Christian Americans and other organizations now sponsoring Senator Pappy W. Lee O'Daniels "right to work amendment" which would outlaw the closed shop in Texas.

The vote came on this proposal after a Negro delegate, Frank Ward, representing Local 254 of the Oil Workers International Union in Pt. Arthur, had taken the floor and said:

"When we entered the war, our country had no preparations to face this crisis. But we mobilized men.

"On the other side of labor, we are in the same fix. Large sums are being spent for enacting anti-labor legislation. We've got to mobilize dollars. We've got to run our hands into our pockets to enact pro-labor legislation. Twenty-five thousand dollars is a mighty small sum for this big state. Let's go back home and raise it."

SOUTHERN WHITE EDITOR SPEAKS OUT LOUD

6/27/45

The Courier

CHICAGO (Atlas News Service) The South must take seven chances, one of which is on the Negro, decalres John Temple Graves, noted writer for the Birmingham News and the Age-Herald. "For decency's sake, for economy's and society's, the 10,000,000 Negroes who live there must be not only permitted but encouraged to continue advancements which have carried them far since the first World War." In this article Mr. Graves goes out on a limb in expressing his views on the Southern situation.

This penetrating analysis of the South appears in the July issue of New Vistas Magazine, a [redacted] tion which stresses a positive approach to interracial relationships, published at 366 East 47th Street, Chicago.

Appearing in the same issue is a timely and enlightening article about the "White Primary and the Supreme Court" by one of Chicago's outstanding young Negro lawyers, Attorney Sidney A. Jones, Jr. This article gives an account of the history and significance of the Texas white primary. The decision given by the supreme court in the case of Smith vs. Allwright, states Mr. Jones, might well go down in history as one of the greatest decisions ever made by the court.

V.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Columbia, S. C., State
June 27, 1945

[illegible] Small craft warnings were posted from Atlantic City to Block Island and Northeast storm warnings from Block Island to Portsmouth, N. H.

Arnall Favors EconomicEquality For Negroes

Louisville, Ky., June 26—(AP)—Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia said in an interview here today economic equality for the Negro is a right which should not be denied him and is much more important to him than social equality.

"What the hell difference does it make if you sit down and eat with Negroes. Visit with them in their homes, talk with them?" He asked. "That just means that they have something to eat, that they have a home, that they have had enough education to carry on a conversation.

The important thing for the Negro is not social quality but economic equality—the right to work and earn a decent living so that he will have enough to eat. A good home and a good education."

The governor insisted he did not favor "breaking down any of the customs set up in the South" but did believe that equal economic opportunities for the Negro in Georgia would be necessary to assure the well-being of the state as a whole.

The discussion was touched off at a city hall press conference at which a Negro reporter asked Arnall what opportunities there were for Negroes in his state.

South will follow lead of the South, educator says

DURHAM, N. C.—Opportunities for Negroes to develop individual and racial self-respect, along with equality of economic opportunity, and extensive social planning for returning servicemen, were among postwar objectives listed by Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College for Negroes and Grand Master of the State Masons, here in his third annual State-wide radio broadcast in which he urged North Carolina to continue its leadership in interracial matters because the South will more easily follow the South.

The North Carolina educator who has discussed race issues on two national broadcasts in recent months spoke on the topic, "Interracial Progress in North Carolina."

While North Carolina can point with pride to the abolition of all the poll tax, equalizing Negro public school teachers' salaries, and advances in a State-wide health program, the State cannot afford to become complacent about interracial progress, the educator said asserting that a great deal more will need to be done afetr the war.

NORTH CAROLINA LEADS

North Carolina's example must continue to encourage the citizenry of other States in this section, the educaotr pointed out. He made it plain, however, that he felt North Carolina's present position of leadership in interracial progress should spur this State on to even greater achievements. This is important, he said, because other Southern States will be inclined to follow North Carolina's lead.

Southerners, traditionally hostile to outside influences, will follow another Southern State, Dr. Shepard said. "These people are unwilling to follow the leadership of any outside group, but if another Southern State can abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, if it can let down the bars of party primaries, if it can equalize teachers' salaries, and do all of these things without any friction or strife and without undesirable results, then the arguments of opposers in other States are destroyed, and the courage of those who favor these just measures is strengthened by the example of North Carolina."

Speaking during a period when the North Carolina Legislature is in session, the president and founder of the nation's only State-supported liberal arts college, warned his fellow citizens of the inevitable penalty that follows when men and women of any race are degraded and robbed of their self-respect. Enlightened self-interest, Dr. Shepard said, should operate to prevent any "moral retrogression" in his State's race relations program.

USE THE GREMLINS

And while he cited injustices often confronting Negroes, he said that Negroes, like others who have "a goal, a God and a gremlin," should use their "gremlins," which he identified as obstacles, to excel in areas where discrimination is often sharpest.

"If the Negro faces the obstacle of being the last to be hired and the first to be fired, he should strive to become so efficient in his work, so punctual, so careful, so skillful, that such an unfair employment practice would be definitely harmful to the self-interest of his employer.

Rumors that returning Negro GI's would bring new hatreds with them were termed "harmful." "Our returning soldiers will have a large measure of self-respect born of the pride of wearing the military uniform of the greatest nation on earth and born of the consciousness of their personal sacrifices in a great struggle for freedom and democracy.

"Our attitude toward justice for all men, and fairness of our laws and their administration can go a long way toward preserving this self-respect. Almost next to food and drink the nature of man requires that he be able to respect himself among his fellows, and when a people are denied a healthy and legitimate form of self-respect, they will seek unhealthy and socially hurtful forms born of resentment and disgust."

The Greensboro Daily News, influential North Carolina daily newspaper, referred to Dr. Shepard's broadcast "as one of the most statesmanly and Christian presentations of a problem affecting the entire citizenship to which we have ever listened."

The editorial went on to say that Dr. Shepard "made the same kind of speech he makes at home and abroad, recognizing the imperfections of the present social structure hereabouts but devoutly returning thanks for the desire of the citizens of both races for improvement and noting the encouraging signs of progress.

"So evident is his pride in his State that one cannot fail to rejoice with him; so obviously his sincerity that his white listeners cannot fail to regret that they have not extended to him and those of his race more opportunities for self-advancement."

Sept. 7 / 45

EDITORI

The Woolworth Jim Crow Lunch Counter, A Threat to F[illegible]dom

As long as the state of Kansas permits t[illegible] [illegible]oolworth Store and the Kresge Store on Minnesota Avenue to practice segregation and jim crowism against Negro citizens, it is a threat to "FREEDOM." The jim crow counters set aside for Negroes is a threat to democracy and freedom. . . . It is a violation of Kansas' civil rights law. The Attorney General could enforce the laws. The Woolworth and Kresge stores are violating a state law just as much as a tavern owner who would sell whiskey.

How long will the State allow this injustice to be heaped upon citizens just because they are BLACK? When our boys went over to fight the Germans, there were no jim crow battlefields . . . bullets and bombs knew no color line or discrimination . . . the colored boys were not told to stay behind the firing line or stuck in a corner like mice. . . . No. No. They were on the firing line, fighting and dying for freedom. . . . Fighting and dying in order that Woolworth and Kresge could keep their doors open and operate a business free of enemy destruction. . . . The only thanks from these places of business offered people of color is to insult them by segregating and jim crowing them like animals. This is a threat to free people of the world. The Governor of Kansas should call upon the Attorney General to stop this disgrace. . . . "If Negro men are good enough to die for this country, they are good enough to be treated like men."—(Payne Ratner, former Kansas Governor).

The masses of white people are not concerned about who eats a meal beside them. . . . They never think about jim crowism and segregation until some signs are put up by some company manager. . . . They never think about jim crow counters or Negroes being herded off until they see a setup like what exists at Woolworth and Kresge. . . .

It is embarrassing for Negro churches or other organizations to bring conventions or big meetings to this city, because such patterns as laid down by the above mentioned stores wouldn't speak well for the city and state. . . . After all is said and done, Kansas is supposed to be a free state. . . . It has a tradition to be proud of and those who are in power should keep that heritage sacred for the cause of freedom and free people of the world. . . . The Merchants' Association should denounce such a practice. . . . The City Commissioners, the County Attorney and all law enforcers should look into this matter. The jim crow counters are threatening FREEDOM in Kansas and hindering the cause of Democracy in the world.

Groundwork For Elimination Of Bias Essential

Atlanta Daily World
Sept. 23, 1945

Says Segregation Stops Teamwork In Racial Amity

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— A war department publication says that "the ultimate in teamwork cannot accrue where lines (of segregation) are drawn" and proceeds to say although segregation in some communities must be recognized as a fact and its adoption represents "wiser long-run policy,' certainly "through the educational process," groundwork for its eventual elimination should be laid.

In the pamphlet titled "Civilian Personnel Officer's Employee Relations Manual," the army service forces has attempted to convey to its representatives in industrial installations operating under army jurisdiction sound principles of personnel management.

In June, 1944, there were some 118,527 Negroes, or 13.5 percent of the total force, employed by the war department, the largest employer in the country.

The ASF publication discusses courteous and equitable treatment of employes, calls attention to the presidential order establishing the government's non - discriminatory policy, recommends procedures for maintaining high production thru utilization of all available workers, and considers at length the question for segregation.

"Where some measures of segregation must be adopted because the community pattern demands it," the manual says, "it should never be attended by any form of discrimination in opportunity, working conditions, facilities, pay or the like. Neither should exactions, placed on individuals in the minority group, be any greater or less than those placed on other employes, nor should promotional opportunities be withheld from them."

The unusual tact of endorsing the work of a private organization is taken in the booklet where it points out the readiness of representatives of the National Urban league to assist in coping with problems.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Miami Herald
November 27, 1945

Fight For Segregation

I/10

Miami Springs council Monday night came to support of property owners protesting recent decision of Circuit Judge Stanley Milledge outlawing segregation of negro residences.

At the request of the Northwest Property Owners League, the council agreed to address a letter supporting the league and requesting a further hearing on the matter by a higher court.

Formal passage of the new town zoning ordinance, and appointment of an arbitration board, were postponed due to the absence of Town Clerk J. A. Michael. He is in Jackson hospital, recovering from a heart attack suffered last Wednesday.

NEW TEEN-AGE HOME

Construction of a room in the town garage for teen-agers was approved. The move was to permit residence occupation of the teen-agers present quarters over city hall by Police Chief George Krouskroup.

A bill for $5,000 from W. Carroll Wilson, for a recent reassessment survey, was approved.

At suggestion of Councilman Olaf Hanson, a special meeting was scheduled Thursday night, to discuss possible sources of funds to provide for three full-time men on the police desk to answer fire calls.

War Department Publication Hits Race Segregation

By The Associated Negro Press.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A war department publication says that "the ultimate in teamwork cannot accrue where lines (of segregation) are drawn" and proceeds to say that although segregation in some communities must be recognized as a fact and its adoption represents "wiser long-run policy," certainly "through the educational process," groundwork for its eventual elimination should be laid.

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Atlanta Daily Rights Sept. 28/45

The Birmingham Weekly Review Sept. 29, 1945

Negro Congress Reopens Washington Bureau; To Fight D. C. Jim Crow

NEW YORK — Sept. 21 — Demanding an immediate end to the practice of arresting Negroes who protest jim crow conditions in the nation's capitol, and pledging a fight to the finish against segregation in Washington, Dr. Max Yergan, President of the National Negro Congress announced today the immediate reopening of NNC Legislative Bureau, under the directorship of Dorothy K. Funn, the Congress' Labor-Legislative Secretary.

Miss Funn has stated her conviction that the first objective of the fighters for Negro rights in America must be to abolish discrimination and jim crow in all do the job himself."
phases of Washington life. "If the nation's capitol is permitted to continue operation on a jim crow basis," Miss Funn said, "it excuses segregation anywhere else. the city which sets policy for the country and houses its government must be washed clean of discriminatory mud.

The Legislative Bureau will renew the campaign to remove Senator Bilbo as "Mayor" of the District of Columbia, and will, in the words of Miss Funn, "fight for all legislation in the interests of labor and the Negro people."

SOUTHERN PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER
Clipping from
Montgomery Ala. Standard
December 6, 1945

imparted something
Those fortunate individu
the richer for it.

210

Railroads Ordered To Segregate Negro Passengers

MONTGOMERY—The State Public Service Commission has ordered railroads operating in Alabama to segregate white and Negro passengers by partitions and curtains if they can not provide separate cars.

A recent investigation showed, the commission said, that some railroads have no official policy regarding segregation, others issue verbal instructions to train crew members, and others have printed rules designed to "generally conform" with various state laws

The investigation resulted from complaints of non-segregation in Alabama, the commission added.

The order, promulgating strict rules and regulations as to handling of the different races, cited two sections of the Alabama code which require:

1. Separate accommodations for white and Negro races either in different cars or by partitions.

2. Conductors to assign each passenger to the car or division of the car designated for respective races.

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2. Conductors to assign each passenger to the car or division of the car designated for respective races.

The latter, however, is not applicable to Negroes or whites "entering this state upon railroads under contracts for their transportation made in another state where like laws to this do not prevail."

In that event, the commission's order said, "such persons shall not be required to be moved, but partitions must be in place and curtains drawn at all times."

This is how the order applies:

Day Coaches—Separate cars for white and Negro races or at least one car on each train with separate compartments divided by "permanent" petitions. Separate toilet and washroom facilities must be provided for each race.

Dining and Club Cars—Curtains which permit the dining room to be divided into separate compartments must be drawn before each meal and tables for Negro passengers must be marked "reserved." "On request, colored passengers may have meals served in the space they occupy in Pullmans or coaches without additional charge."

Other types, including Pullman, observation and club cars—"wherever possible" at least one car on each train shall provide rooms, roomettes, bedrooms, compartments or drawing rooms, to be assigned to Negroes upon request if available.

Those asking berths or seat space shall be assigned to such enclosed accommodations, if available at regular rates.

If rooms or other closed accommodations are not available, Negroes can be given seat space, "in which case the partitions must be in place and curtains drawn at all times."

The commission directed that a copy of the order be posted "in a conspicuous place" in each car on every train.

The order does not apply, the commission said, to members of the armed forces in uniform and traveling on official business.

A hearing will be held in Montgomery Dec. 17 for railroads desiring it, the APSC added.

Fired Worker Ruling Expected Today

The State Merit Council is scheduled to announce a decision today on an appeal of C. R. Key, Atlanta Negro, recently dismissed by the Fulton county public welfare department on charges of neglect of duty.

He appealed to the state council, and a hearing was held Wednesday. Testimony was restricted to the question of efficiency, and part of the testimony the defendant sought to bring up was not allowed.

For White Press

Urges News Of Negro Soldiers

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—The white press of this State was recently urged by a resolution adopted by the South Carolina Interracial Committee to tell the true story of the Negro soldier's valor on the battlefront as a constructive contribution to better race relations in South Carolina.

The resolution adopted by the committee read:

"Resolved that it is the concensus of this meeting that the publication by the white press of South Carolina of new stories, articles and pictures, fairly presenting the achievements of Negro members of the armed forces of the United States, would be a distinct contribution to the cause of improvement of race relations in this State, and the white press is, therefore, urged to give appropriate publicity to such accomplishments.

Bar Birmingham Woman From Mail Clerk Job

CHICAGO, —(ANP) — Welfare officials of the National Alliance of Postal employes disclosed this week that Mrs. LaVerne J. Holland of Birmingham, who was certified by the United States Civil Service Commission for appointment to a position in the Birmingham terminal of the railway mail service, has been denied the job because there is no rest room for Negro women on the premises.

The matter is now being investigated by the post office department at Washington, and it was learned that Sidney M. Jackson, assistant chief clerk at large of the railway mail service, has been sent to the Alabama city to look into the situation.

Alliance executives also revealed that the organization is making special effort to have Negroes appointed to clerkships in the Selma, Ala., post office where it is reported are being "by-passed" in favor of white eligibles despite high ratings of Negroes.

Says Library Jim Crow Is Justifiable

By CHARLES B. FREEMAN

RICHMOND, Va. — Attorney John Henry Lewin, defending the Enoch Pratt Free Public Library in Baltimore, Md., said in his argument before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, "The Negro cannot be seen in the dark but a white man can." He gave this illustration, attempting to prove that the action of the Enoch Pratt Library against Miss Louise Kerr was justifiable.

Miss Kerr is a Negro who has been trained to fill a vacancy in a public library of Baltimore. However there is only one branch where there is a preponderance of Negro patrons. Her father, who is a druggist and pays a considerable large property tax has filed a suit for the expenditure of tax payers money by a private institution.

FURTHER ARGUMENT

Attorney Lewin argued that Miss Kerr could not be employed for the white patrons would refuse to receive books from the hands of a Negro. Yet, she was trained to fill a vacancy, but when a vacancy appears, she is refused because of her color. He further maintained that this action was not discriminatory and that it is reasonable under the Fourteenth Amendment.

"It was not discrimination," he said "because it was done for a business reason, it was done in good faith, the jobs in the Negro branch were filled and there were enough trainees to keep them filled for some years to come and that this was a good policy."

When Attorney Lewin said that some men are just for some situations and are not just for others, he gave the illustration of the Negro and white traffic cop at night. He said that a Negro cop cannot be seen whereas a white can. Judge Dobie commented, "That's a question of visability. Apparently Attorney Lewin has only seen deep technicolor Negroes.

TAKES ANOTHER CAUSE

Attorney Lewin apparently expected defeat of his first contention for his second was if this act were discriminatory, the library is a private institution not performing a governmental function. The library, he continued, merely made a voluntary agreement with the state for money for the procurement of its needs.

Attorney Charles H. Houston retaliated by showing that the city pays all of the library disbursements through voluntary argeement. The city cannot hold property and discriminate. "What is the status of the whites?" he asked. "Constitutional rights," he added, "are individual rights and should be regarded as such."

White Students Stage Hate Strike Against Negroes

THREE GARY HIGH SCHOOLS INVOLVED

Students Return After Five Days From Class

Gary, Ind. (ANP) — For the second time in a score of years, a hate strike is being staged by white students in this steel mill city on the edge of Chicago to stop mixed attendance in local high schools. Approximately 1,000 white students from Froebel high, which was a mixed student body, and from Tolletson and Horace Mann Highs, the latter all-white, are taking part in the anti-Negro demonstration which has strong backing from parents, many of whom participated in the similar strike of nearly 20 years ago. It is also believed that some organization similar to the Ku Klux Klan may be involved.

STUDENTS VOTE TO RETURN

Garey, Ind., Sept. 24— The white high school students who have been on strike for the past five days, protesting the presence of Negro students in their schools, voted in a mass meeting today to return to class rooms.

The situation has become so tense and serious that a meeting was scheduled for Tuesday night between a committee representing striking students and parents and the board of education. The demand has been made on the board that either the 850 Negroes be removed from Froebel or the 1,600 whites there be transferred to other schools.

Charles D. Lutz, school superintendent, and Richard Nuzum, Frobel principal, have refused to accede to these demands. Lutz would not meet with a committee from the strikers and issued a statement saying, "Gary schools will be open to all students wishing to attend them."

This committee was appointed at a mass meeting of pupils and parents at nearby Tyler park a week ago Tuesday, the day after

Continued on Page 8

Supreme Court Upholds Strange Texas Decision

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5 —(Special) Although the jury commissioners of Dallas County, Tex., admitted that they purposely admitted only one Negro to the jury to satisfy the Constitution, the Supreme Court, Monday passed on this as all right.. By a 6-3 decision the court upheld a death sentence penalty for L. C. Atkins who had appealed on the ground that the Negroes on the jury had been purposely limited to one.

The decision in effect indicated that while no Negro on a jury won't satisfy the 14th Amendment, one will be all right.

Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone and Justices Hugo L. Black and Frank Murphy dessented. Justice Murphy pointed out that "Racial limitation no less than racial exclusion in the formation of juries is an evil condemned by the equal protection clause."

Prior to Hill vs Texas, no Negroes ever served on a grand jury in Dallas. The commissioner admitted they were careful to appoint one to a 16-member grand jury here in an attempt to meet the Constitution.

5 Wacs Shun Unpleasant Task; Put in Guard House

Afro American

CAMP BRECKENRIDGE, Ky. (ANP)—When five colored Wacs refused to repair bed springs in a damp and cold barracks here last week, white MP's led them away from the detachment center into the guardhouse at the camp hospital, charging them with insubordination.

Although the barracks had been declared unfit to work in since there was no heat, orders were given to place the women in the guard house where they must remain pending further notice.

The Wacs are Pfcs. Eleanor Brown and Edith Youth and Pvts. Ruth Sanders, DaVetta Butler and Geneva Pipkin.

A lieutenant immediately reported them to the commander when they refused to obey orders, and while two of these Wacs apparently had been guilty of other offenses this was the first for the other three, who feel that the order is being unfairly handed down to them as an example to other Wacs.

Mrs. Bethune Hails WAC Sentence Quash

NEW YORK — (S N S) — The Army's quashing of the sentences of four Negro Wacs, convicted at Fort Devens, Mass., of refusing to obey a direct order to return to work, is regarded by progressives and Negro leaders as further indication that the Army and the Navy are beginning to realize that all is not well with their policy on Negro service men and women. Earlier this week Major General Sherman Miles, chief of the First Service Command, voided the girls' court-martial sentence which would have interned them for a year and expelled them from the Army with dishonorable dicharges.

DR. BETHUNE PROTESTS

A leader in the protest was Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and also the only Negro member of the National Advisory Committee of the Wacs.

On learning of the voiding decision, Dr. Bethune told newspapermen that "the outcome of the Fort Devens case has greatly stimulated the morale of our people all over the country, particularly of the the women in the armed forces."

CORRECTIVE STEP

"We feel," she went on, "that the action shows a decided trend toward more definite attempts to correct unbalances which have been going on in the service in regard to Negro men and women."

The woman leader said, however, that her organization still was concerned as to why Col. Walter H. Crandall , commandant of Lovell Hospital, at which the WACs worked, talked as he did to the Negro WACs. She said the War Department has been asked to inquire into the attitude and fitness of Crandall.

CRANDALL 'QUOTED"

At the trial it was brought out that Crandall had told the WACs that he wanted no "black" WACs in his hospital's motor pool or assisting as medical technicians. Crandall has been on leave since shortly after the trouble at Lovell. Col. Brown at Boston said, as far as he knew, Crandall's status at Fort Devens was unchanged.

Congressman Celler, (D-NY), active in the campaign to obtain justice for the WACs said he thought the reversal of the sentences indicated that the Army and the Navy were "becoming alive to the fact that the public always will react against injustice." The Fort Devens episode stirred widespread indignation. It was felt that the general attitude of the Army toward Negroes was basically at fault.

● A major talk dealing with Biblical bases which make racial segregation untenable

Segregation and Bible Teachings

By ALBERT C. WINN

God's chosen people must be a separate people. They cannot bless the world if they become indistinguishable from the world.

OUR Confession of Faith states in chapter I, section 10: "The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."

The matter of desegregation is tremendously complex; yet the basic question before this court is not how may it practically be done, nor yet, is it acceptable to the majority of our people, but, what does the Word of God teach?

The real secret of Billy Graham's power, many of us think, lies in his oft-repeated phrase, "The Bible says." Surely this court is preeminently concerned with the question: What does the Bible say? Now, brethren, we will differ, even as the Westminster Divines differed, as to what the Bible does say. But I am under a tremendous constraint to say to you as simply and as earnestly as I can what the Scriptures say to me on this subject.

Called and Separated

One of the most characteristic doctrines of the Bible, as all Presbyterians assuredly recognize, is the doctrine of election, and particularly that phase of it which holds that God has a chosen people, a people who, in a special sense, are his peculiar people. They are chosen, not because they are deserving above other men, but out of God's sheer grace. They are not chosen to be God's pets, but to be his servants, through whom all men are to be blessed.

In the great transaction at Sinai, God chose Israel as his people. And when Israel did not fulfill her mission as God's servant, he sent her into captivity but chose from among her a remnant. And out of that remnant the Jewish commonwealth arose. To that commonwealth, hardened and deadened as it was, God in the fulness of time sent his son, the Messiah, to gather out a new remnant, the disciples, and a new Israel, the Christian Church.

Now all the way through this process: Israel-remnant-Messiah-disciples-church, there was a kind of segregation, ordained of God as his will.

MR. WINN was chairman of the standing committee on Christian Relations at the 1955 Presbyterian, U.S., Assembly. He was interrupted on the basis of a technicality and was unable to complete this talk in support of the action later taken by the Assembly condemning racial segregation.

Now, if we believe in racial segregation, we may seize upon many of these passages to buttress our views. But we need to examine what kind of segregation is here intended. Let us start in the Old Testament, where the segregation of God's people is demanded in terms that are blunt and unmistakable. Here are the dietary laws concerning meats not to be eaten, the laws of ceremonial purity, the law of circumcision—all designed to set Israel apart, to prevent any easy social intercourse with the surrounding peoples. Here is even the solemn *herem*, the ban, the order to destroy the Canaanites, rather than to permit intermarriage with them. I read from Deuteronomy 7:

> **"When the Lord thy God shall deliver (all these nations) before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son."**

That is plain enough. But why? That thou mayest preserve the racial strain in purity? Because a mongrelized people are an abomination unto me? No! "For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods."

No Mixed Religion

There's the reason. This was a religious segregation. Its purpose was to avoid the assimilation of pagan and execrable idolatries into the pure faith given on the mount. God's pure religion must not be mixed. That is why Israel had to be separate from the heathen, why the remnant had to be separated from apostate Israel, why the disciples had to be separate from the multitude, why the church must be separate from the world.

Not one of these chosen groups was a pure racial group. Certainly Israel was not. The Bible explicitly records in the 12th chapter of Exodus that a mixed multitude accompanied the descendants of Jacob as they left Egypt. The powerful tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh were descended from Joseph and his Egyptian wife. Moses had a wife who may have been a Negro, and certainly was not an Israelite; and when Miriam rebuked him about it, the Lord did not reward this feminine champion of racial purity; he struck her with leprosy.

No, the thing which made Israel a nation was not a pure racial strain, but the fact that at Sinai God chose Israel and entered into a covenant with her.

It is marriage and mingling outside the covenant which is condemned by the Bible, not marriage and mingling across racial lines. There was a small but steady influx of peoples of other races into the covenant fellowship all through the Old Testament. Slaves were bought, circumcised, and admitted to Israel. Wives were married who embraced the God of Israel and became Israelites. Our Lord's human ancestry was mixed racially. In his line were Tamar and Rahab, Canaanites; and Ruth, a Moabite. The prophets looked forward to a great influx of other races into the covenant nation Israel. In Isaiah 19:24-25 we read:

> **"In that day shall Israel be a third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."**

Over in the 56th chapter, the prophet calls the temple the house of prayer for *all* people. And in the 66th chapter he goes so far as to say that the Lord will make of these foreign peoples priests and Levites.

Now where in all of this is there one word about a superior race, or a pure race, or a mongrel race?

The years between the Testaments were hard years for the Jews. Under foreign dominion, facing rulers who tried to Hellenize them and rob them of all their distinctive customs, they emphasized more and more the external differences between themselves and the Gentiles: flesh-descent from Abraham, observance of the Sabbath, circumcision—these became of prime importance. Gentiles were called dogs.

A wall of partition was erected in the temple itself, beyond which no Gentile, however devoted to the faith of Israel, could go.

Jesus came. He confined his ministry to the chosen people, for that was why he was sent. But he praised the faith of Gentiles, saying he had not found the like in Israel. He lived for days among the despised Samaritans, a mixed breed of folk. He said many would come from the east and the west to sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom. He declared if he were lifted up he would draw *all* men to himself. And after his resurrection, when all authority

(OVER)

was his, he commissioned his disciples to preach the gospel to all men everywhere.

It was as they carried out that commission that the disciples confronted the precise problem we confront today. We all believe that the Negro people are precious in God's sight, that Christ died for them, that they may be saved through faith, even as we. And the early church soon saw, through the vision of Peter and the work of Philip, that God is no respecter of persons: the Ethiopian eunuch, the Samaritans, the Gentiles, could all be saved by faith in Christ. That was agreed and settled by the Council at Jerusalem. But, did that mean they were a part of the Christian fellowship without restraint and discrimination? Did that mean that Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians should eat together? Should they commune together? Should they be members of the same local church?

Paul's Clear Word

This is the major issue in the letter to the Galatians. This was the dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch. This was the problem to which Paul devoted large portions of most of his letters, over which he spent untold labors and agonies, for which he was finally arrested and sent to Rome.

The conclusions Paul reached, under the Holy Spirit, are plain to any who will read them. If you will not admit into full fellowship a man for whom Christ died, if you require in addition that he be circumsized, then you make the cross of Christ of none effect. This is why he was so passionate about this matter. Insistence on the cross plus something else, plus *anything* else, is an insult to the very death and passion of our Lord.

I might remark parenthetically that Paul's enemies were more reasonable than we. They would eat with the Gentile, if he was circumcized, and he could go get himself circumsized. We will hold full fellowship with a Negro Christian if he changes the color of his skin. There is no way he can go and do that.

This struggle led Paul to those great assertions, of which we can only offer a sample here. *Galatians 3:28:* "There is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

Romans 10:12: "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him."

Colossians 3:11: "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

And the great second chapter of Ephesians, where Paul declares: "He is our peace"—not here, our peace with God, though he is that, but in this context, our peace across customary lines of segregation. "He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us."

When Christ died, the curtain of the temple was rent in twain, that curtain which separated men from God. But also the middle wall of partition was torn down, that wall that separates man from man, group from group, within the church of the living God. This matter, brethren, is a part of the sacrificial death of the Lord.

How can we preach part of what the cross did and adopt an action denying the rest of what it did?

Personal Experience

Fathers and brethren, believe me, it is not that I for some reason was opposed to segregation and have sought texts to support me in that position. I was raised in a segregated society. It was natural to me in South Carolina. As an infant, I imbibed it from my environment and many of you did. In the same unconscious way that I learned to be courteous to ladies, I was taught that the Negro has his place.

It was the Word of God which convicted me. It was the Word of God which persuaded me that our mores are wrong here, that our customs are contrary to God's will.

If you rescind this action, plead the fears that are in our hearts, white and Negro alike. Plead the unreadiness of many of our people, for they are not ready. But do not plead the Bible. I beseech you, do not dishonor the Word of God.

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15,000,000 Americans

Communists Got Orders In 1928 To Exploit Negroes; Some Drift Into Red Ranks, But Few Remain

Blade's Reporter Finds Negro Resentment Strong Against Efforts To Weaken America

For three months, William Brower, a general assignment reporter for The Blade, toured the United States making an objective study of the so-called "Negro problem." In his introductory article yesterday Mr. Brower told of visiting 27 states and twice as many cities and returned reassured and hopeful.

12-6-51

Second Of A Series Of Articles By

WILLIAM BROWER

Blade Staff Writer

IN 1928 orders went out from Moscow for the American Communists to capture the allegiance of Negroes. Ever since that time the Reds have been carrying on a determined campaign to gain Negro converts through the exploitation of misery and poverty.

What I heard and saw on my trip through the nation convinces me that the Communists have failed miserably.

I found, beyond any question, that Moscow was right in its conclusion that the Negro masses have poorer jobs, the worst housing, are often short-changed in educational and recreational facilities and segregated and discriminated against in public places.

Thus, often downtrodden and sometimes skeptical about their share of the good things of our democracy, they are considered by Moscow-sponsored subversives as easy prey for Communist cajolery.

William Brower

But I saw no evidence that Negroes leaned any more toward communism than any other group. Negro leaders told me that they regarded Communists as monumental fakes. They insist that Communists actually want to hinder, rather than help, racial progress. They want no part of the regimentation and the type of thought control imposed by the Politburo.

THE ECONOMIC and social position of the Negro in this country was a controversial issue long before the Communists were spawned in America. The Reds, perhaps, have given new urgency to the problem. Their ceaseless drumfire for Negro support may force other Americans to do some of the things now that they would like to postpone 20 years.

It would be useless to deny that the persistence of racial discrimination and other manifestations of prejudice in this country have given the Communists abroad great aid in the cold war between this country and Soviet Russia.

Once the Negro problem was viewed as strictly regional—discrimination and racial prejudice were confined largely to southern or border states. But migration north and west, especially in the last three decades, has made it national in scope—discrimination and prejudice against Negroes have spread to most of the 48 states.

Now the problem is a part of international politics—a formidable weapon in the Communist propaganda arsenal. Nearly two-thirds of the world's population is colored. Communist harping on the theme of injustices toward Negroes in this country, if nothing else, is avidly devoured not only behind the iron curtain, but by millions of Asiatics and Africans.

NEGROES, of course, have drifted in and out of the Communist Party for years. A few of them have risen to high positions. Two of them—Benjamin Davis, the former New York councilman, and Henry Winston, the erstwhile national organizational secretary of the party—were convicted along with nine other prominent Reds on the charge of sedition

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In only a few cities like New York, San Francisco, Detroit, Philadelphia and Cleveland did I discover any semblance of a Negro Communist cell. Reds were especially active in labor front groups in Detroit and in Harry Bridges' powerful longshoremen's union in San Francisco.

Communists' greatest effectiveness in their appeal to Negroes should be in the South. It is there that more Negroes are browbeaten and kept at the lowest rung of the nation's economic ladder. Paradoxically, it is in the South where the Reds have had the least success with Negroes.

I spent five weeks in southern cities and rural areas. On only two of three occasions was communism, in connection with Negroes, voluntarily broached to me. It is no exaggeration to say that many Negroes who are helpless victims of cruel plantation peonage have never heard of Karl Marx. Possibly, they have never heard of Josef Stalin, either. I doubt, too, whether they want to exchange a semi-police state for an absolute one.

In Winston-Salem, N.C., a personnel official of a large tobacco products manufacturing concern told me of the bitter lesson his firm had learned about communism and the Negro. Principally through the votes of Negro workers, the Communist-ruled Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers won bargaining rights for the company's employees.

Had the firm the foresight, the personnel official admitted, to give Negroes better jobs and promotions on merit, they would have been less susceptible to the overtures of the Communists to join the union. As events showed, Negroes lost their enthusiasm for the union when its leadership began to show its true color—Red. Eventually, another election was held. This time the union lost.

The personnel official assured me Communists will not get another chance, Negroes will have greater employment opportunities and security.

Reverse Red Action

I was told of other instances in which Communist propaganda for civil rights had been turned into an advantage for the Negro. A former Negro federal government official in New York told me:

"Even in World War II the only way I could get some of the bigots in Washington to do something about Negroes in housing or in jobs was to hold the threat of communism over their heads."

In Oklahoma City, a Negro leader told me how he frequently used Communists to investigate acts of Negro persecution in backward communities. The task was too risky for Negroes. Very few whites were willing or interested. On several occasions, when the Reds ran into trouble, it was necessary for the Negro leader to call on a lawyer to get them out of jail.

I found both uneasiness and resentment among Negroes about the spread of McCarthyism in this country. Negroes were alarmed at the tendency to smear their own and allied groups with the Red label simply because they were working for legitimate racial progress and understanding. Too often, they said, they have encountered public officials who scream Red every time a Negro speaks up for his rights.

American Insistence

Negroes, I found on my tour, intend to keep on insisting on better jobs, more decent housing, better schools, the right to eat in public places, etc. But they will do this insisting, not as Communists or Communist sympathizers, but as solid American citizens.

To deny that Communists have infiltrated some Negro organizations would be hypocritical. As a newspaperman, I have seen something of the party's machinations. Several years ago in Philadelphia I witnessed a left-wing election coup seize control of the Philadelphia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The resultant internal strife almost wrecked the organization. On a recent visit to Philadelphia, I learned that the Communist clique had been ousted, but that the branch was still suffering wounds of the struggle.

Turn to Page 4, Col. 5

Negro Survey

Continued from First Page

The NAACP will not touch any case involving Negro civil rights or racial persecution as long as the Reds have anything to do with it.

I have heard it asked many times: "What do Negroes think of Paul Robeson?"

Robeson And Robinson

Negroes don't relish the fact, I have been told by many, that Mr. Robeson demonstrates such slavish obedience to the Kremlin. He can talk about police brutality in Harlem, streetcar Jim Crow in Atlanta, lynching in Mississippi, job discrimination in Detroit or racial violence in Chicago and few Negroes will dissent. They know these things happen.

But when Mr. Robeson talks about Negroes not willing to fight the Communists in event of a war between this country and Russia, he has few adherents. If there is one thing certain, it is the fact that most Negroes are intensely loyal to their homeland.

I think Jackie Robinson, the baseball star, had the most intelligent answer to this question of Negroes' attitude toward Mr. Robeson. Called to testify before the House Committee on Un-American activities, Mr. Robinson said:

"The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he's going to use every bit of intelligence, such as he has, to stop it. This has got nothing to do with what the Communists may or may not be trying to do."

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Tomorrow: In the capital of the United States.

Talmadge Hits 'Undermining' Foundations

State Times (11/10/53)

Carnegie, Ford Groups Labeled Anti-American

By WILLIAM E. KEITH
State Times Staff Writer

American businessmen are "subsidizing their own doom" by permitting "the unopposed emergence of tax exempt foundations financed by the profits of business and industry and dominated by enemies of the American form of government and the free enterprise system," former Georgia Gov. Herman Talmadge said in Jackson today.

He gave his statement at a press conference in Robert E. Lee hotel this morning prior to a talk to a National Affairs Forum at Central high school this afternoon, sponsored by the Mississippi Economic council.

Asked to identify some of the foundations to which he referred, the former governor mentioned the Carnegie foundation and the Ford foundation.

He said the Carnegie foundation supported the project which produced the book, "The American Dilemma," by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist, which influenced the U.S. Supreme Court in its anti-segregation decision of 1954, according to many southern spokesmen.

He added that the Ford foundation is supporting the Southern Regional council, which he charged is "working to destroy segregation" and that the Ford Foundation also has made a $240,000 grant to the Fund of the Republic, "which is going around decorating known Communists."

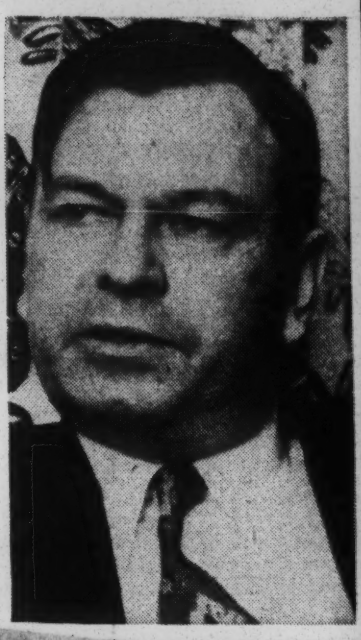
Asked about Democratic presidential prospects, the Atlanta attorney said that in his opinion the south is more Democratic now than it has been in many recent years and added:

"Georgia would vote for any reasonable Democrat on any reasonable platform by an overwhelming majority."

He said he supported Georgia Sen. Richard Russell for the presidential nomination in 1948 and 1952 and would do it again next year if he is a candidate.

(Sen. Russell has indicated he will not enter the presidential arena at the next nominating convention.)

Former Gov. Talmadge, who voted for Adlai Stevenson in the last



HERMAN TALMADGE

Talmadge . . .

election, expressed no preference at this time for any other possible party nominee.

Talmadge, widely considered a sure candidate for the U.S. senate next year, has not yet officially announced his candidacy and declined to do so at the morning press conference. Sen. Walter George, the incumbent, has made no announcement either.

... pickup a-matter-talmadge, kill-

Talmadge was interviewed at the Robert E. Lee hotel between his arrival at the Jackson airport and his address this afternoon to the fifth statewide national affairs forum at the auditorium of Central high school.

Gerard H. Brandon, Natchez, presided at the forum as president of the Mississppi Economic Council, the sponsoring organization.

Fred B. Smith, Ripley attorney and vice-president of the MEC, moderated a question-and-answer session following Talmadge's talk, with members of the Mississippi Congressional delegation serving as members of a panel answering the questions.

A luncheon honoring the Congressmen, held at noon at the Robert E. Lee hotel, was addressed by Judge Ben Cameron, of Meridian. Gov. Hugh White, Gov-elect J. P. Coleman and a large number of state officials and MEC members attended.

Oscar O. Wolfe Jr., of Duncan, was chairman of the MEC committee in charge of the program.

Atl Const

Millions Granted State From Ford Foundation

Georgia's privately supported colleges, universities and hospitals will receive almost $5,000,000 from the nationally spread half-billion-dollar grant announced yesterday by the Ford Foundation. The exact figure is $4,679,900.

The half billion dollars to the nation's private universities, colleges and hospitals is a sum roughly equal to $3 for every man, woman and child in the United States.

The privately supported colleges in the state which receive substantial grants, in alphabetical order, are: Agnes Scott College, Bessie Tift College, Brenau College, Clark, Emory University, LaGrange College, Mercer University, Morehouse College, Morris Brown College, Oglethorpe University, Paine College, Shorter College, Spellman College and Wesleyan College. Smallest grant is $64,200. Most are well over $100,000. The largest is to Emory, $1,220,100. Second largest is to Agnes Scott, $285,300.

The larger sums represent an extra grant to those colleges which had already, on their own efforts, raised teacher salaries. These were Agnes Scott, Emory, Morehouse, Oglethorpe and Spellman.

The 35 Georgia hospitals listed as eligible were selected on the basis of their reports to the American Medical Association. The committee will check the present standings of eligibility before giving final grants of almost $2,000,000.

The survey which led to this nationwide grant by the Ford Foundation has been under study for more than a year.

* * *

The foundation previously had given away $330,000,000 in five years, as follows: $130,000,000 to education, $89,000,000 for aid abroad, $52,000,000 for public affairs in the United States, $14,000,000 for economic studies, $15,000,000 for college psychological and social science studies, $15,000,000 for mental health research and another $15,000,000 in miscellaneous programs.

The foundation, which has been subjected to ignorant and unfounded attacks by racist fanatics and the McCarthy fringe in politics, has been and is one of the most valuable philanthropic foundations in our history, despite its relatively brief existence. Its main contributions have been and will be to education. Aid abroad, spent largely in underdeveloped countries for fellowships, development of resources and promotion of new technical and scientific ideas, has been next in interest. The foundation sought to give free enterprise type aid rather than government grants.

It has been and is an increasing asset to the American way of life. The present grant of half a billion dollars will be a major stimulus to U.S. private education, which cannot obtain state support, and to the hospitals of the nation.

The Ford Foundation will grow increasingly in the public stature as the nation learns more of its devotion to building its education, its economy and its institutions.

INSPIRING BENEFACTION

All accredited, privately owned four-year colleges in the country and many privately supported hospitals receive grants from the Ford Foundation in the greatest gift in the history of philanthropy. A half-billion dollars constitutes this stupendous spreading of encouragement to so many worthy institutions.

The University of Chattanooga will receive $159,200; Sewanee, $287,500; the Southern Missionary College at Collegedale, $68,300; Maryville College, $148,000; Fisk University, $365,000; Vanderbilt, $1,249,000. And so it goes all across the state as in all states. Better faculty salaries is one of the goals of this great gift, although much can be used for other needed purposes.

We are interested in seeing that Tusculum College of Greeneville, Tennessee, receives $47,600. It's a little college but there are those who love it, as Daniel Webster said of Dartmouth. Tusculum was founded in 1818 by the Rev. Samuel Doak, after Doak had resigned as president of Washington College near Jonesboro, which he founded in 1795 and which was the first college to be established in this country west of the Alleghenies.

Chatt. Times 12/13/55

Washington College is now of high school status but Tusculum has continued its fine role of a liberal arts institution for 137 years and now it is receiving a welcome gift from the Ford Foundation.

In this mechanical age it is a great thing that liberal arts institutions should receive this fine encouragement. If they should die out, the best of American culture would die with them. Naturally, The Chattanooga Times shares the rejoicing of the institutions near here which we have named.

Grants to hospitals were nationwide also and included privately supported institutions throughout The Chattanooga Times circulating area. Chattanooga Memorial Hospital is eligible for $81,000; Pine Breeze Sanatorium, $86,700; Alexian Brothers Hospital on Signal Mountain, $51,800.

Heads of the American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association rightly termed the benefactions to hospitals "inspiring." Their need is no less pressing than that of the colleges.

Concerning this great contribution to American learning and health, a familiar phrase needs to be quoted; this time with resounding emphasis—it could only have happened in America!

Ford Foundation

* * *

Ford Foundation Out-Santas Santa

St. Louis, Mo.—The Ford Foundation's granting of a half-billion dollars to schools and hospitals may cause that foundation to become as popular as a short named automobile.

It was a wonderful Christmas-time gesture and it was enough to make any budget committee believe in Santa Claus again.

It's good to know that such a big organization as the Ford Foundation exists and is endeavoring to promote good in our land.

The Ford Foundation has set a pretty fast pace in giving for old Santa, however, with Santa's long experience he may top the foundation's generosity.

FRED WEAVER.

* * *

9 Hospitals Sharing Ford Grant

NEW YORK—The nation's foremost private Negro hospitals shared in the half-billion-dollar grant donated by the Ford Foundation to the tune of more than $300,000.

The largest individual grant was allocated to Chicago's Provident Hospital. Training center for many of the country's physicians, the sum of $107,500 was given to the historic home of internes. Ida Mae Scott Hospital, also of Chicago, received $10,000.

Other donations were listed as follows: in Texas—Houston Negro Hospital, $10,000; St. Elizabeth Hospital and G. L. Prince Hospital, both of Crockett, $37,500 and $10,800, respectively.

Flint-Goodridge, of New Orleans, received $35,000; in Philadelphia, Mercy-Douglas, $37,300, and Florence Crittenden Home, $10,000. The Brewster Hospital, a Jacksonville, Fla., landmark, received an undisclosed sum.

Ford Grants Welcomed

Seen as One of Greatest Educational Developments of Century

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Ford Foundation's pioneering grants to our nation's voluntary institutions represent one of the greatest educational developments of the century. They are more than a shot in the arm to education, but an incentive and added inspiration to the men and women at the grass roots of education and health.

The grants represent a devastating blow to communism and a bold stroke for democracy and our way of life in a free society, for they support free enterprise on the American campus.

Institutions concerned with education and medical matters will continue to fulfill their responsibilities in direct proportion to the encouragement they receive from the country as a whole. The Ford grants are but an example—bold trail-blazing models—for other corporations, businesses and industries to follow. It would be an act of gratitude for the Ford leadership were more enlightened people in the business and industrial world to follow the Ford Foundation's pattern.

The traditional friends of our colleges and universities, however, should be stimulated by what the Ford Foundation has done and increase their help to these institutions. Every college and university graduate must bear in mind that while industrial and business grants are of immeasurable help, colleges and universities will continue to move forward, will fulfill their functions completely only when the graduates of these institutions continue to strengthen their link with Alma Mater and give both moral and financial support on a larger scale than heretofore.

NILS Y. WESSELL,
President, Tufts University.
Medford, Mass., Dec. 13, 1955.

DANGEROUS FOUNDATIONS

It is a fact beyond cavil or dispute that the Ford Foundation, which recently gave $50,000 to the NAACP with which to wage legal battles for integration in schools and colleges is now conducting "Workshops" in our schools and colleges to teach "Human Relations," which means it is paying for propaganda to teach the one world and one race taken from the Communist racial program.

The Ford Foundation financed the propaganda of Professor Milton Mayer. He had been associated with Robert Hutchins and with Ford money framed what they called a world constitution. The Syracuse, New York, Post-Standard, on February 17, 1947 reported that Mayer in a speech made the following statement:

"We must haul down the American flag. And if I wanted to be vulgar and shocking, I would go even further and say haul it down, stamp on it and spit on it."

Things got mighty hot for Mayer after that and he was sent on Ford Foundation money on a special project to Frankfurt University in Germany.

The Ford Foundation has on its payroll Earl Browder, one of the most notorious and dangerous Communists in the nation.

On October 28, 1955, Thurgood Marshall, the Negro head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced that the Ford Foundation had granted the NAACP, a fifty thousand-dollar gift. This money will be used to fight the white man and to force a mixing of the races in the public schools. It is the largest gift that the NAACP has received since the CIO gave them seventy-five thousand dollars last year. The Ford Foundation has joined hands with the CIO in an all-effort to destroy the white people.

To date, the Ford Foundation has not denied one charge brought against it.

Every bit of Ford Foundation propaganda proposes to do one of the following things:

1. To destroy the American patriotic spirit.
2. To destroy the American system of free enterprise and the right to own and possess private property
3. To bring about the mixing of the races and the creation in America of one grand mulatto race.

The Reese Congressional committee reports that its investigation showed that the Ford Foundation and other giant foundations contribute millions of dollars each year to get a monopoly or control over all social science research and control of all the funds spent by the federal government in this manner.

This grand conspiracy now controls an invisible government in Washington and with their millions they are able to control and direct the thinking of those who run the United States Government, even including most of the members of Congress.

These foundations are a menace to freedom and the time has come when they should be controlled.

HIS SPIRIT STILL LIVES

Clarion Ledger 1/1/56

Citizens of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, in Bolivar county, were almost unanimous in applauding the decision of Dr. T. R. M. Howard to sell off his property and leave that community.

First and foremost, Mound Bayou citizens are glad to see Howard leave because he was a dangerous agitator, hell-bent on stirring up strife between the races and that is the last thing the self-respecting and law-abiding citizens of Mound Bayou want to see in their community or anywhere else.

The town of Mound Bayou was founded by the late Isaiah T. Montgomery, Mississippi's most famous Negro. Montgomery was a body servant of the president of the Southern Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, during the era of reconstruction and was the wisest counsellor of his race.

It seems that the spirit of Isaiah T. Montgomery still lives at Mound Bayou.

The impression has gotten out, of late, that Mound Bayou, the all-Negro town in Bolivar County, is the seat of much of the race agitation that goes on in Mississippi. In case you don't know about Mound Bayou, it is a town where no white man lives. The Negroes there have voluntarily segregated themselves. They have their own government, including mayor and commissioners . . .

Because they are there, in their own town, apart from other people of other races, there are individuals and organizations that take it for granted that Mound Bayou is full of crack pots, pinks and extremists, on the race question, especially.

So it seems that some town leaders have gotten disturbed at the impression that has grown abroad that they furnish a ready audience for rabble rousers, and are making it known that hereafter they will cull the speakers who come to lecture them, and will act in the public interest, as they see it, to keep their community from being taken for "a ride."—Laurel LEADER-CALL.

Southern opinion

Affairs of State

Southern Opinion

By CHARLES M. HILLS

Pictures of Negroes seated in the stands among the whites, which appear in the papers today, prompt us to suggest that a new monicker be adopted for the so-called Sugar Bowl.

Howsabout "Dusk Bowl?"

When an Oregon Congress-woman came through Jackson recently, she added to our accident toll by wrecking her car just outside the city.

Not content with that, she has also set out to wreck Jackson and Mississippi in the eyes of the rest of the world.

We know that it is irkful to be a principal in a car wreck, but after all, no one from Jackson or Mississippi was driving the Congresswoman's car. She was.

So, why tell a pack of lies about it?

A member of the legislature, Gene Caldwell, of Hinds, thinks there ought to be something done about people, including newsmen, who come to Mississippi, then go back home and tell dirty and mean stories about this state.

He would muzzle the out-of-state press when they come into Mississippi.

That is a happy thought with a sorry ending.

Much as this writer sympathizes with Mr. Caldwell, and much as we deplore the rough publicity Mississippi gets from all sides because of its colored population, there is no effective way to shut up the Yankee press, or even some of our own not-so-kind Mississippi writers.

Laws to that effect could only silence or perhaps embarrass newsmen who write for papers in Mississippi. There is not one thing any legislator in this state can do about a man writing for a publication outside this state. Our laws won't work in New York, and who is to tell who is a New York newsman in Mississippi?

All such an act would accomplish is more ridicule for our state, even the introduction of it, whether it is adopted or not.

The only way we can counteract such propaganda as a Congresswoman has just spread about Mississippi is to have some of our prominent people visit her state or other Yankee states and write about their treatment of the Chinese, Mexicans and the Jews. We might even tell of the squalors of Harlem and South Chicago, and other places up North.

This writer has worked in and visited in many states, and, in every one we have ever entered, there have been slums the equal of which Mississippi has never seen.

Let us censure our enemes for awhile and see how the monkey feels on their backs.

(1956)

JANUARY 12, 1
THE CLARION-LEDGER
SECTION ONE

Mississippi Notebook

by TOM ETHRIDGE

POST ARTICLE ON RACIAL UNREST HELPS THE SOUTH

Hodding Carter, stormy petrel of Mississippi journalism, has been both praised and damned for his recent Saturday Evening Post Article, "Racial Crisis in the Deep South."

For one thing, the Greenville editor-author has caused at least one influential Northern newspaper to adopt a friendlier attitude toward the South's problems—but more about that in a moment.

RADICAL NEGRO newspapers, on the other hand, have been prompt to denounce Mr. Carter. The colored press of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and other big cities has fiercely resented his Post feature.

Typical of this resentment is the following editorial blast from the bombastic Cleveland (Ohio) Call-Post, a leading Negro newspaper. .

"HODDING CARTER, the shining knight in pure white robes, so-called liberal defender of white supremacy, has broken into print again. . .again he is sustaining his position as the voice and defender of the most backward states in the Union and the most backward people in them.

"In his rear guard fight against the U. S. Constitution, Hodding and his white followers are trying to make it appear that the courts, the NAACP and the Northern press are just trying to pick on Mississippi. . ."

ANOTHER VOLLEY is fired at our Greenville editor by the militant Houston, Texas (Negro) Informer. This sheet brands the Post article as "a statement in defense and justification of Mississippi's defiance of the Constitution, Supreme Court and of Mississippi's brutal murdering, heartless economic pressures and general deterioration. . .

"Mr. Carter forgets that the Supreme Court has said states cannot separate races because of color. When he says that Negroes and whites will remain segregated in Mississippi, is he saying that Mississippi is going to secede from the

are just trying to pick on Mississippi. . ."

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"Mr. Carter forgets that the Supreme Court has said states cannot separate races because of color. When he says that Negroes and whites will remain segregated in Mississippi, is he saying that Mississippi is going to secede from the Union?"

Other Negro editors have commented in similar vein.

CONVERSELY, a most favorable editorial on the Post feature has appeared in the widely-circulated Boston Herald, a staid Yankee daily not generally friendly toward the South. Entitled "The Other Mississippi," this editorial itemizes five recent acts of racial violence here.

Commenting on this violence, the Boston Herald remarks: "That could be Mississippi, the Mississippi that stirs a sense of moral outrage in the North. Yet there is another Mississippi too. The other Mississippi you have to take partly on faith, because the other Mississippi doesn't get the publicity."

THE BOSTON HERALD then quotes extensively from the Saturday Evening Post story, listing Mr. Carter's account of favorable racial relations in Mississippi. These include a white girl's rescuing a Negro from the river in which Emmett Till's (?) body was found and white contributions toward a fund to send the Greenville Negro High band to a colored convention in New York.

The Boston Herald further offers Mr. Carter's comments on expanded Negro school facilities, a new New assistant county agent, Negro doctors on the staff of our mental hospital and prosperity of a Negro sharecropper working with his own mechanical cotton picker and grossing $200 a day.

PRAISING THESE examples of good race relations in Mississippi, the Boston editorial goes on to say, "Except for the separate schools, do not these things give a different impression of Mississippi than we have had up here? But what are we doing to encourage THIS Mississippi? Do we encourage it by sitting in terrible judgment of Mississippi crimes? Or can we serve the good cause by a sensible appreciation of what is good in Mississippi?

"Carter leaves no doubt," the Boston editorial emphasizes. "Integration forced from the outside will not work in the Deep South. It isn't going to work at all until the white people of those states change their minds—which isn't likely for a long time. Our passionate denunciation will not hasten the day; rather it will delay it." (End quote.)

WHILE FEW Mississippians will care for the Boston Herald's patronizing attitude, it is obvious that Hodding Carter's Post article made a deep impression. Nor is this likely the only newspaper that has been favorably impressed.

The day after Mr. Carter's Post article reached our desk, "Mississippi Notebook" opined that it would be helpful to the South by promoting better outside understanding of our situation. Naturally we are happy to offer this evidence that our judgment has been vindicated.

THE CLARION-LEDGER,
JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING,
JANUARY 16, 1956

southern opinion

Mississippi Notebook

by TOM ETHRIDGE

EDITH NEEDS VOTES

It's always a good idea to look for bugs under the chips when a vote-hungry politician takes occasion to "view with alarm."

Judging from mail and comments, many Mississippians still do not realize that cheap politics has inspired the vicious attack on our state by Oregon's Congresswoman Edith Green.

EDITH GREEN is up for re-election this year. Her recent smear of our state, after a two-day Jackson visit, was merely a painfully obvious attempt to curry favor with malcontent minorities in her district.

Rep. Green is one of those radical Democrats who capitalize on class hatred for personal gain. She is a political comrade to the likes of Eleanor Roosevelt, Hubert Humphrey, Estes Kefauver and other professional bleeding hearts.

OUR POINT in bringing up this distasteful subject is that Edith is at it again. As the darling of a militant pressure group out there, she contributes to a little weekly sheet of radical leanings. Its current editorial page shrilly proclaims, "Congresswoman Green Will Be Re-Elected."

This publication carries a special column written by our demagogic critic. Her current article is titled, "Edith Green Tells of Racial Terror in South." Needless to say, this diatribe merely repeats absurd and outrageous statements which have gained her a fleeting place in national headlines.

Flattering indeed is the portion of Rep. Green's article denouncing The Clarion-Ledger and this newspaper's part in the fight to preserve racial integrity in Mississippi. It is a compliment that she angrily resents our news stories, to the present crisis.

Rep. Green also sneers "The Clarion-Ledger is factually correct in its lament that AFL-CIO will join NAACP in fighting for fullest Negro citizenship." However she goes on to say, "the fact is an occasion for rejoicing not lamentation."

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southern opinion (1956)

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HER ARTICLE is so filled with crude distortions and intemperate statements as to make it unworthy of serious notice. We mention her venomous screed merely to illustrate just how far a political nonenity will go in pursuit of publicity and votes.

Rep. Green's latest tirade has been routed to us by Hon. Robert K Yandell, prominent Jackson attorney who formerly resided on the Pacific Coast. He in turn was furnished the article by a lawyer friend in Portland who says, "Edith is an 18-caret phoney."

ATTORNEY YANDELL, it will be remembered, penned a masterly answer to Rep. Green's original attack on our state. His letter attracted much favorable comment from Clarion-Ledger readers when it appeared in these pages recently. It is nice having a former Oregonian taking up for us.

By a coincidence, Attorney Yandell's same letter was published in the Portland Oregonian, that state's leading daily newspaper, on January 6 — the same day Rep. Green's article came out in the labor publication. His eloquent answer may have neutralized her cheap slanders.

THERE IS EVERY reason to hope that intelligent Oregonians, having an opportunity to read both sides on the same day, have readily perceived in which direction the truth lies. In fact, word from that state indicates that Rep. Green's tirade has already been correctly appraised as a brazen bid for ballots.

We also understand that the Oregon Congressman faces rugged opposition and might easily be defeated.

Southern Opinion (1956)

North Side News

The South's Greatest Community Newspaper

Established as a weekly on August 18, 1943.
Matt G. Perkins, Editor and Publisher

ALL OFFICES:——3167 ROSWELL ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA, GA
TELEPHONES: ALL DEPARTMENTS ———— CH. 117

Published every Wednesday, by North Side Publishing Company
Subscription Rates: $2.50 for six months; $4.00 for one year; single copies 10c each.

Frying The Political Fat

So appeal

By LAMAR Q. BALL

Did You See That TV Political Wedding Sunday?

Did you of the North Side stay home from the public golf course Sunday and follow those two hours of rewritten Mozart on Channel Two, Governor Cox's television channel?

There was politics in the Magic Flute Sunday, cultural politics! It showed how we are off to a new start on Governor Cox's television channel to get these races integrated in the backward South, or else.

Did you see that white prince go so sex-crazy over the picture of a black princess that he went through fire and water and other ordeals to woo and marry her?

The Magic Flute originally, back in the days of Hapsburg Germany, was one of Mozart's best. It has been produced at the Met in New York but the princess at the Met has usually been Lily Pons, a white woman who has had pin-up rating for years. But this was new pin-up. This white prince Sunday, before the eyes of North Side children who sat in front of television, fell head over heels in love with a loose-mouth, vast-bosomed, very black Negro woman who had not one ounce of pin-up appeal in all of her 160 or 170 pounds.

She was a good singer. But the picture of her that knocked the prince sexually irresponsible, was not a sound picture. Her white mother didn't give the prince one of the princess's platter recordings. She gave this mixed-up prince just a silent picture. The kids on the floor in front of the television were shown how a nice-looking white boy can go for a middle-aged Negro woman and marry her to the acclaim of the multitudes.

Those two hours Sunday, on which a lot of dollars were spent for promotion, were evidence that while Governor Cox's Atlanta newspapers might be agreeing that racial integration is not at all possible, he has his TV in Atlanta at work proving to the white child just how weak the white man can be when he's hunting a mother for his children.

It was good singing. The warm embraces and kissing of the original Mozart were deleted. The lovers stayed at arm's distance. But they were married.

It's interesting staying home from the Negro-captured golf courses these Sunday afternoons. You can see that TV's approach is going to be more subtle than Eleanor Roosevelt's approach was when her Negro traveling companion was not admitted to that Birmingham hotel.

Theyre really spending the dollars to force integration, even if it takes as long as the next generation of Southern whites.

Southern Opinion

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Thursday, January 26, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

Good For Mr. Hoover

J. EDGAR HOOVER blew the whistle last week on some of the most vehement anti-South diatribes that have been circulated yet. He did not only the South, but the cause of justice, a good turn by his criticism of Dr. T. R. M. Howard.

Dr. Howard made the error of blaming the hard-working FBI agents for lack of action on several crimes which had aspects of racial unrest; he even suggested that the FBI agents were betraying Negro informers. Mr. Hoover demanded evidence that any of these charges were true and blasted Dr. Howard's looseness with the truth.

There have been terrible crimes and injustices within the past year which should make us all thoughtful, but wild attacks on the federal agents who do their very best within the limitations of law and authority is not going to bring about a solution to our tragic and delicate problem.

Southern Opinion (1956)

Greenville News 2/6/56

Race Problem And Equality

Supreme Court Decision Endeavored To Solve Sociological Issue In Modern Society

Editor, The News:

I would appreciate the opportunity to present a few comments in regard to your series of editorials concerning the United States Supreme Court antisegregation decision.

In complete fairness to the Supreme Court, it should be pointed out that although the doctrine which permitted segregation according to race appeared in 1896—the separate but equal principle of Plessy V. Ferguson—earlier opinions of the Court appear to have construed the equal protection clause as proscribing all state imposed discrimination against the Negro. In cases decided as early as 1873 and 1879 (Slaughter House cases; Stander v. West Virginia) the Court has said:

"It (the Fourteenth Amendment) ordains that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without the due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"What is this but declaring that the law in the states shall be the same for the black as well as the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the states and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by laws because of their color?"

Fundamentally, though, the decision rests on the principle expressed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." Secondly, it rests on the principle expressed in the Constitution that certain rights shall be given the protection of law.

IT MUST ALWAYS BE emphasized that these rights are not created by social convention. They are rooted in the very nature of man. These rights, however, have to be fulfilled in a social situation, and the guarantee of rights or judicial decisions about them must always be referred to the actual social situation.

The Constitution clearly grants equal protection of the law to all citizens. But what, in this day and age, does equal protection of the law mean? The question had to be answered in terms of present social conditions. American society places such a high value in educational opportunities, considers it so essential to a full life of the American citizen. Therefore the Court concluded any failure of the law to grant equal opportunity in education would be a failure of the law to provide equal protection of rights.

This still left the question of what is equal opportunity. Here again the Court was faced with a sociological problem. Equal provision of buildings, books, teachers, etc., is only part of the matter. That is equal which, according to the socially defined norms of the time, is considered to be equal by the citizens. And in spite of the South's refusal to acknowledge the fact, the almost universal social and cultural definition of segregation in our society is that it is a mark of inferiority, a lack of equality.

RICHARD A. LAMANNA
15 Perkins Mill Rd.,
Greenville.

Southern Opinion

Children at Play

Opinion

To the Editor of the Journal:

Without mentioning Wordsworth or the observations of Christ on the subject, it is suggested that our statesmen, representatives, and law-makers here in the south, before making a final decision on the segregation question, consider a mixed group of children at play. Surely there are lessons to be learned from them who are closer to God—for when the Negro child and the white child refuse to laugh together, or when their color diminishes their joy, then, and only then, will it behoove us to appoint ourselves their guardians, or to plan their way of life.

—EBEN C. MILLER

Winston-Salem.

Journal 2-7-56

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
311 EAST PEARL STREET
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1956
JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS

Sunday at the act of March
..... Editor
..... Publishers

SENSELESS CRITICISM

Criticism of the student body of the University of Alabama for staging a mass protest against the attempt to force a Negro woman student into the institution is evasive of the main issue.

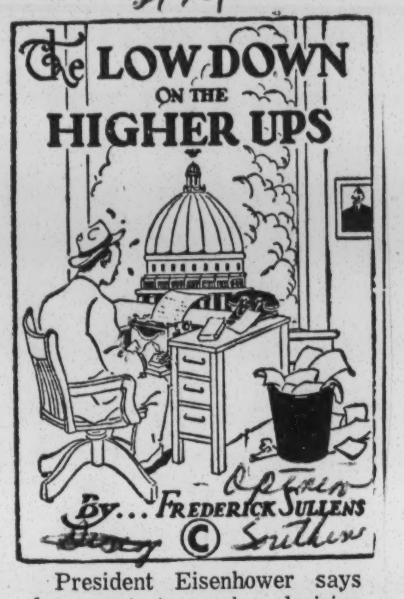
The NAACP financed the litigation that resulted in a Federal court order to admit Autherine Lucy as a student. It was a deliberate attempt to enforce integration in that commonwealth.

The NAACP willfully asked for trouble and is getting what it asked for.

Rebellion in the student body against admission of Autherine Lucy was a natural and normal resentment. Any denunciation of what happened on the University of Alabama campus as "uncivilized behaviour" is silly, senseless, and close akin to expression of approval of the NAACP fight for desegregation.

Here's hoping the student body over at Tuscaloosa never loses its determination to fight for preservation of the Southern way of life.

Jackson Daily 2/10/56



President Eisenhower says he expects to reach a decision about running again by March 1st. You still have two guesses. He either will or he won't.

* * *

The NAACP is trying to force the integration issue over in Arkansas, demanding a three-judge Federal tribunal to hear an injunction seeking to force Negro children immediately into the white schools of Little Rock. Write your own comment about that.

* * *

Integration will not work at the University of Alabama. That has been made clear and conclusive. Any new effort to force Negro students into the institution will no doubt provoke much sterner forms of opposition.

* * *

Editorial Opinion

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
311 EAST PEARL STREET
FREDERICK SULLENS ..... Editor
MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS CORP. .... Publishers

DR. WARREN'S BELLYACHING

It seems that Dr. Harold C. Warren, president of Tougaloo College from 1947 to 1954, is now biting the hand that fed him. In the January issue of "McCormick Speaking," a magazine published by McCormick Seminary, a little-known theological institution at Chicago, Dr. Warren describes his eight years at Tougaloo. Here is a paragraph from the article:

> Four times while in Mississippi I toured the state in behalf of the United Negro College Fund, in which thirty-one leading accredited, privately supported colleges for Negroes participate. **This experience acquainted me with the attitude of the general run of white Mississippians, who feel that education of a Negro only spoils a good servant, and who particularly decry such education for Negroes as is supplied by a college of the liberal arts and sciences.**

Here is another paragraph from the article:

> "Progress has been made in the face of criticism and opposition by the white Mississippians who refuse to admit that Negroes have a right to first-class citizenship and a place of dignity in our land."

The statement of Dr. Warren that "the general run of white Mississippians feels that the education of a Negro only spoils a good servant." is a falsehood and Dr. Warren well knew it was a falsehood when he wrote that paragraph.

The truth about Tougaloo College is that it has always received kind and tolerant treatment from citizens of Jackson and Mississippi generally —much kinder and more tolerant than its board of trustees had a right to expect in view of the fact that its faculty is composed of both white and Negro instructors and social equality is both preached and practised within its walls.

Dr. Warren was also a million miles from facts when he said Negroes are denied "first-class citizenship" in Mississippi. Any Negro can become a first-class citizen if he can show proper qualifications. There are many thousands of registered Negro voters in the state. However, a very large majority of the adult Negroes in our state, do not want to vote and they persistently fail or refuse to pay the required poll tax.

If Dr. Warren scored failures when he toured the state four times in behalf of the United Negro College Fund it was largely because of his lack of ability as a money raiser. No matter how worthy the cause, raising money is not an easy task. It requires a persuasive personality. Dr. Warren happens to be much lacking in that respect.

It is a fact that when campaigns for the United Negro College Fund were launched each year they were given liberal support by both Jackson newspapers. Propaganda—most of it poorly prepared—was given free of charge all the space asked for. Surely Dr. Warren is not so dumb that he cannot realize that an educational institution where social equality is preached and practiced can never be popular in Mississippi.

There is one bit of truth in Dr. Warren's article. Here it is:

> One difficulty, of course, is the task of assembling and stabilizing a faculty of requisite caliber. We have maintained generally about an equal number of white and Negro members. Most of the white members must be recruited in the North.

Dr. Warren can say that over again, and with plenty of emphasis. No Southern-born teacher, man or woman, ever sought a place on the social equality faculty at Tougaloo College.

The main support of Tougaloo comes from a Northern organization known as the American Association, a body that has long preached and practiced social equality.

Dr. Warren is entitled to know that his diatribe has dealt a definite damage to Tougaloo College—perhaps more damage than the benefits accrued during his eight years as head of the institution.

MINORITY OF THE MINORITY

The Philadelphia Inquirer complains about "the tiny minority of Negroes in Mississippi qualified to vote."

As a matter of fact only a small minority of that "tiny minority" is not really qualified to vote.

The majority of them don't know what the hell they are voting about or who they are voting for or against.

They are almost as poorly qualified as the voters who are driven like cattle to the polls in Pennsylvania and vote as the bosses tell them how to vote.

(Montgomery Advertiser)
Southern Opinion
2/14/56

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

The Soft Core

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — After hearing Sen. Eastland's staunch defense of home, motherhood and Lister Hill, I am convinced that our politicians, the soft core of the resistance movement, will retreat every step of the way until the last school in Alabama is integrated.

If the Citizens Council is anything more than a carnival sideshow of imported breastbeaters, they can best prove it by drawing up articles of faith to which all pro-segregationists can subscribe, and pledge themselves to oppose actively any candidate for public office who refuses to endorse these articles.

FORD McK. MacELVAIN.

◆

Mob Rule In Lowndes Too

LaFayette, Ala.
Editor, The Advertiser:

Mob rule cannot be condoned. It cannot be condoned in Tuscaloosa any more than it can be condoned in the rural counties of Alabama. We must face the facts. Mob rule was in force at the University last week. Mob rule was *also* in force in Lowndes County last week.

The Child Welfare Worker of the Department of Public Welfare in Lowndes County was on a routine mission of mercy in an isolated section of the county last week. This lady is a graduate of Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Ga., and a graduate student of the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. She is a state and federal employe. For eight years she has carried out her assignments giving help to the white and colored unfortunates of Lowndes County.

Alone and unprotected on a rural road, she passed a colored school just dismissing for the day. Two teen-aged Negro boys refused to move from the road as she was passing. When she slowed to a stop, a rock was thrown at her car by a Negro girl and another Negro girl spit on the ground at her feet. She was surrounded by a group of "hostiles." This occasion, as much as the celebrated autherine Lucy case, calls for serious thinking by citizens of all races. These Negro children would not have acted in such a maner if their parents had not been subjected to outside propaganda. The progress for better racial relations which is the work of more than three generations is being nullified by foreign agitators who do not give a fig for the workable status-quo.

This incident in Lowndes County, remote as it may seem, has all the elements of tragedy in its content that the Tuscaloosa incident has. This "happening" however, will most assuredly not reach the public press as its celebrated counterpart did. Why? Because the NAACP will not recognize it for its undertones of Negro violence, and it will never be printed in the Detroit, Chicago, or New York newspapers.

L. J. POWELL.
Lowndesboro, Ala.

◆

Folsom Is Half Right

Editor, The Advertiser:

I agree with Jim Folsom when he says that 98% of the people in Alabama are against "mob rule." In fact, I would say that 99% are against it and that same 99% are also against putting a Negro in a white school.

Pine Level. W. T. BARNETT.

◆

Southern Opinion

CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., WEDNESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 15, 1956

Voice of the People

Dear Editor:

Here in the Southland of this United States is the greatest stronghold of true Christianity perhaps on earth, which is now enjoyed by both the white and colored people. Satan knows this fact and so the mighty movement now underway in the northern part of this Country under the guyse of NAACP is nothing more nor less than a movement of the anti-christ seeking to destroy this last stronghold of Jesus Christ. They know there is no faster way to do it than through forced integration. So make no mistake about it my friends of both races. If this evil design of the devil is forced upon us we can say good by to Christianity as we know it today. The anti-Christ will replace true Christianity with a false doctrine of religion, the Civil Liberties Union, and other left wing organizations dominated by political demagogues seeking to destroy our blessed heritage of freedom of worship of a true Christ. No true Christian would advocate the mixing of the races because it is contrary to the teaching of God's word.

The leaders of this movement care nothing about the welfare of the colored people or no other people beyond their own selfish political designs.

J. T. Wallace
Forest, Miss.

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Pine Level. W. T. BARNETT.

Blackout Boycott News

Editor, The Advertiser:

Iread Joe Azbell's columns Sunday and Monday. Part of it was amusing and the rest was good horse sense. If let alone, everything would settle down and be as it used to be.

Newspapers and television are giving too much publicity to the disturbing situation. The leaders are eating it up, seeing themselves on television and being on the front page of the newspapers. If all the publicity would stop, they would see that no one cares one way or the other.

Both white and colored people have worked together and been good to each other. Let's see how quick all this disturbance can be stopped. Give less publicity to the agitators, then they will see just how much our people, white and colored, care about them. Peace of mind among our people is all that matters now. ESTHER BROWN.

Montgomery RFD.

THE RUSSIANS' HANDICAP

The Sacramento, Calif., Bee

One trouble with the Russians is that they suspect everybody else of being too much like themselves.

EAT HEARTILY

Charles W. Morton In The Atlantic

At one London club the host is handed a menu which lists each item and its price. His guest is given the same list, only there are no prices on the guest's menu.

Southern Opinion

Montgomery Advertiser

★ Tell It ★

To Old Grandma

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New Suit For Shores

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Lawyer Shores is about the luckiest Negro in Birmingham, now that he has found Miss Lucy and the U. of A. Before Miss Lucy, the law practice of Lawyer Shores, according to my understanding, wasn't so good.

But those days are gone now (that he has Miss Lucy) and it is wonderful to be eating regular again, have a client, and wear new clothes like other folks. And his name is on the front pages of all the papers over the nation. But he must keep busy trying every trick in the bag in order to stay in the news. He must also prove to his colored lawyer friends up North how smart he is, because if he loses his case, his bubble is busted for good.

Should Lawyer Shores win his case, and Miss Lucy returns to classes at the University, what if the other students stage a general strike and refuse to attend the same school with her. Would Lawyer Shores then get a court order ordering the school to remain open for Miss Lucy to be the one and only student at the University?

Frisco City, Ala. ROBERT LAY.

The Court Proposes, Congress Disposes

Editor, The Advertiser:

The writer has read much in the papers about the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States being the law of the land. We have even read statements by some members of the Congress who proclaim that the decision of the court is the law of the land and should be obeyed.

We will have to admit that we are not as well learned, in law, or many other subjects, possibly, as the distinguished gentlemen who have made these statements, and should not be so presumptuous as to take issue with them. But,

The fifth section of the 14th Amendment clearly states as follows: "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

This section of the amendment shows without doubt, that the states in adopting the amendment delegated the power of *enforcement* to the Congress describing the manner in which Congress should enforce it. (By appropriate laws.)

Therefore, the Supreme Court is without power, in the absence of such appropriate legislation and the violation thereof, to enforce any decision they may hand down concerning the 14th Amendment, or for that matter, any other amendment where enforcement is vested in Congress.

For any member of the Senate or House of Representatives of Congress to contend that such decision or decree of the Supreme Court is the law of the United States, is for such member to contend that the Supreme Court is a superior lawmaking body than that of Congress and has the power to make, adjudge and enforce their own laws in disregard to the provisions of the Constitution. (The law, the judge and the jury.)

Troy, Ala. DAN J. BAKER.

Southern Opinion 2-16-56

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by **Tom Ethridge**

A STRANGE SILENCE

A Negro school teacher in Georgia has just been deprived of his civil rights. He has been forced to quit his job because of violent threats and pressures by members of his own race. His sole offense has been to exercise his Constitutional right of free speech.

Because this plain-spoken Negro educator urged a sensible attitude toward integration, irate colored folks demanded his resignation and threated to kill him, his wife and two small daughters.

THIS OUTRAGE has been greeted with thunders of silence from left wingers and bleeding hearts allegedly dedicated to free speech and free thought. No crusading parlor pink or sociologist-minded religious leader has mounted a soapbox to defend this Georgia citizen's "right to dissent."

No vote-hungry politician has taken the floor of Congress to denounce this "economic pressure because of personal beliefs." No internationalist has screamed that such incidents give American bad name abroad. LOOK Magazine has sent no special correspondent down to get this ugly story of violence and terrorism in the South.

THE FBI, ever prompt to investigate real or imaginary violations of Negro's Civil rights, seems to be looking the other way just now. The Attorney General shows no official concern nor has the CIO-AFL, the NAACP or the Communist Daily Worker demanded federal action. The National Council of Churches, increasingly anxious about "human rights," expresses no alarm because this Georgia educator has been deprived of his right to work.

Yet the case is amazing similar to some which have caused grave concern among the foregoing and other sources. A Negro citizen has dared to express his honest convictions on a controversial issue. He has lost his job, the lives of his loved ones have been threatended and he has been driven from the community — all because he exercised a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Meanwhile, professional champions of freedom maintaine a strange silence.

LET US EXAMINE the facts in to show a bit of consistency. Let those high priests who worship nonconformity deliver a few sermons on the shameful treatment of Prof. Harrison E. Lee. Let's have some left-wing indignation at mob tactics which have endangered this

Southern Opinion

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DAN J. BAKER.
Troy, Ala.

You've Made Your Bed, Now Lie In It

Editor, The Advertiser:

Before you condemn the Negroes, in the "Battle of the University of Alabama," consider the following facts and ask yourself if you and I aren't the ones who should be blamed?

I contributed money and lots of my time to the election of Mr. Eisenhower (approximately 18 months before his election, in a lengthy article in *Collier's* magazine, Ike stated in no uncertain words, that he believed in states rights), and so did you and millions more support and vote for him.

The President appointed Mr. Warren chief justice of the Supreme Court, a known radical when it comes to socialism and civil rights, in keeping with the times, as a reward for Warren's help in politics, with little regard as to his qualifications. But wait, Democrats, don't laugh. Before Mr. Warren could take office he had to be confirmed. I never heard or read of where Mr. Sparkman, Mr. Hill or any other Southern or Northern senator got up in Congress and raised hell because an unwise or unqualified appointment was going to be made. And remember, too, members of the Senate are far more informed than you or I.

The same situation took place under Truman, yet your Hill and Sparkman played party politics as usual and as usual you good Democrats continued to support the party, come hell or high water. Now, need I mention Mr. Roosevelt and his Supreme Court packing?

Now don't miss the point. The same applies to the Republican Party as well as the Democratic Party: When a party fails to change (when need be), then it's time to change the party.

RALPH ROBERTS,
Member Republican State Executive Committee, Eufaula, Ala.

Southern Opinion

Yet the case is amazing similar to some which have caused grave concern among the foregoing and other sources. A Negro citizen has dared to express his honest convictions on a controversial issue. He has lost his job, the lives of his loved ones have been threatended and he has been driven from the community — all because he exercised a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Meanwhile, professional champions of freedom maintaine a strange silence.

LET US EXAMINE the facts in this sordid case. Prof. Harrison E. Lee is a young Georgia Negro, age 35. He has served ably as principal of the Speight Negro School built last year in Fort Gaines. It is regarded as the community's most modern and best equipped school.

Prof. Lee is an intelligent man, holding a master's degree. His wife has been a teacher in the Negro school at nearby Bluffton, Ga. He and his family are respectable, law-abiding citizens, the kind of colored people the South needs more of today.

UNTIL RECENTLY Prof Lee was a recognized leader among his people, although not the vicious type of rabble-rouser represented in NAACP agitation. All went well until Prof. Lee started reminding his people of certain unpleasant truths. He told them that Negroes have not yet learned completely how to cooperate with whites. Too much emphasis is placed on Negro rights, he believes, and too little on Negro responsibilities.

In recent PTA speeches, Prof. Lee has taken a dim view of overnight integration. "We must remember," he told his people, "that we have not learned as yet how to pool our resources and build so much as a recreation hall for our children.

PROF. Lee has rejected the absurd theory that Negroes are victims of violence only because they are Negroes. "I have noticed," he said, "that everytime something happens to a Negro it is said to happen because of his color. I say that 99 per cent of what happens to Negroes is because they do something to deserve it. We must learn the lesson of cooperation. We still demand things we either do not deserve or that which are not yet ready for."

After several such speeches, Prof. Lee started getting threatening calls and letters. His wife and childern were ostricized. A Negro mass meeting demanded his resignation. Fort Gaines police offered him protection but Prof. Lee was fearful of his family's safety. He was literally hounded into resigning, leaving the community under cover of night.

THIS SHAMEFUL EPISODE and the negligible publicity it has received indicates that our self-appointed watchdogs of constitutional freedoms are asleep at their posts of duty. Nor is this an isolated instance of "liberal" inconsistency and indifference. White Southerners are castigated for applying alplying alleged "economic pressures" against Negroes, yet Negroes can boycott whites without protest from South haters.

Alabama students demonstrating against race-mixing are branded as "hoodlums." Georgia Tech students raising hell in favor of race-mixing receive 'liberal" plaudits. (Laws seem important only when being flouted by segregationists.) What is hideously wrong in Tuscaloosa is right in Atlanta, according to left-wing brain washers.

OUR DO-GOODER clique needs

Did Supreme Court Decision Violate Principle of 'Public Will'?

Sunday Opinion

Wes Sentinel Feb 16, 1956

By Francis C. Anscombe

The Declaration of Independence included the immortal words that "the right to govern is derived from the consent of the governed."

This is true of states which have a form of government which tends to be democratic or republican.

Under absolute monarchs, or totalitarian dictators, or tyrannical obligarchs there is no consent required and little opportunity to resist.

Every worthy work on political science has a chapter devoted to the discussion of "the public will."

Democratic governments give periodic opportunities for the expression of the public will by elections for office holders, and those who by their record violate the public will can be removed from public office.

In the discussion of the present great issue before the Southern states little has been said concerning the public will, yet ultimately it will become the determining factor.

Can't Survive

No government can long survive if it ignores or frustrates the sentiment of a great proportion of the public vitally concerned.

It is no secret that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in regard to the public schools is contrary to "the public will." In a democratic community, therefore, the decision cannot stand.

It is futile to argue that the decision is constitutionally proper and socially right. If the opinion of the justices is repugnant to public opinion, it cannot be enforced.

Public opinion may not always be right; it is subject to change, but it is a fact in human history that no institution can survive long after it has become contrary to the public will.

When the acts of George III became offensive to the collective mind of the American colonists, revolution was precipitated; when a sufficient number of citizens came to regard slavery as evil, the institution was abolished; prohibition may have been right, but it was not supported by the public will—therefore, it could not be enforced.

The same principle will apply in the present issue.

Adequate educational facilities should be available for all, but "mixed schooling" was enforced upon the "prostrate South" by the Carpet-baggers and Federal troops and, as a consequence, millions of whites grew up as illiterates.

A colored preacher summed up the situation by telling his congregation: "God made the white birds, and the black birds and the red birds and the yellow birds. They all fly in the same air; they all feed upon the same ground; but they don't all roost in the same nests."

Subject to Change

Decisions of the Supreme Court are subject to change. In fact, it is a matter of record that the federal income tax law was constitutional or not according to the change of mind of a learned justice.

Of course, the court in this instance could render no other decision, because the justices are familiar with the conditions prevailing in our great cities, where daily may be seen peoples of all races and kindreds and languages, and if they are all eligible for citizenship, then they cannot be denied the privileges and rights of citizens. But "the consent of the governed" was not considered when the historic decision was rendered.

If it is the function of the states to train, certificate and appoint the teachers, to provide the schoolhouses, to assess taxes to support the schools, to provide retirement funds for teachers and administrators, to enforce attendance, then it should be the right of the states to respect the public will in regard to separate and equal opportunities.

So. Opinion

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
MISSISSIPPI'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
311 EAST PEARL STREET
FREDERICK SULLENS ..... Editor
MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS CORP. .... Publishers

SMEARING JIM EASTLAND

One of the propaganda organizations now engaged in vicious attacks on Senator Jim Eastland, the South's acknowledged leader in the fight for maintenance of segregation, calls itself "Americans for Traditional Liberties." This body sent a telegram to the United States Senate demanding that legal action of some sort be taken against Senator Eastland.

Further investigation shows that "Americans for Traditional Liberties," is a camouflaged front for the NAACP. The telegram to the Senate was also signed by thirty-seven individuals who may be classed as Communist-aiding, Marxists, fellow-travelers with Communism, dupes, dopes, nit-wits, and egg-heads.

Our investigation of the attack on Senator Eastland clearly revealed that the Americans for Traditional Liberties is a dummy front for the NAACP which in turn is a front for the American Jewish Congress. The office at 40 East 40th St., New York, is an almost empty room with a desk, 'phone and chair (phone number: Murray Hill 4-5645) and is a cubby-hole among a group of other offices in one main office (rooms 230-250). The front desk clerk, a woman, has stated the A.T.L. people merely pick up mail there periodically and never occupy the office.

Upon request the front desk clerk gave the name of Ella Baker (from a small address and telephone reminder) as the person who picked up mail and as the official from whom information and copies of the attack could be secured. She gave her home 'phone number (Audabon 3-6527 and Audabon 6-2608, which is the 'phone number of the New York Branch of the NAACP, 165 West 131st Street, New York City. A 'phone call to that number elicited the fact that Ella Baker does work there, and the main NAACP office confirmed this.

So there's the dingy background of the forces now seeking to smear Senator Eastland and discredit him in the eyes of the American people.

The champions of integration may not like the senior Senator from Mississippi but when he visited Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, one night last week he was greeted by 15,000 cheering citizens and 2,000 on the outside were unable to gain seats. Jim stands mighty well with his home folks.

KARL MUNDT'S ADDRESS

Our good friend, Senator Karl Mundt, of South Dakota, told the Mississippi legislature Wednesday that he wants to see the Federal constitution so amended that eight states cannot control Presidential elections, which is now the case.

It was the second time that the genial, pipe-smoking Senator from the Far West had made an address in Jackson in recent years and escaped with his life. Mundt is a Republican—but not a Republican to hurt—and no doubt a lot of his GOP friends in Washington told him he would be taking his life in his own hands, if he visited Mississippi; that he might be shot, hung, blown up with dynamite, or plunged into boiling oil if he ventured into the commonwealth where the people have dared to disagree with a political opinion by nine muddy-minded old men who constitute the United States Supreme Court.

Nevertheless the North Dakota Senator came, was cordially invited to address a joint session of our House and Senate, and an old fashioned Jeffersonian Democrat could not have been given a more courteous hearing. Our lawmakers may not have agreed with all that Senator Mundt said but his address was frequently punctuated with liberal applause, especially when he said that both major political parties ought to be junked and new alignments made for a better two-party system of government.

Gov. Coleman introduced the visiting Senator as "a man who is more like a Southerner than any Republican I know," although the Governor frankly disagreed with several proposals made in the address.

Well, it was nice to again see the chubby figure and smiling face that became so familiar to millions of people during the McCarthy hearings in Washington, even if he did fail to say whether he is for us or against us concerning that Supreme Court decision.

BUG UNDER THE CHIP

One of the members of the clergy to cancel his engagement to take part in the Religious Emphasis Week at the University of Mississippi was Rev. Joseph Fichter, S. J., head of the department of sociology at Loyola University, New Orleans.

Looking under the chip in search of the bug the interesting discovery is made that on January 31st Father Fechter was a member of Citizen's Panel on integration held at the Rabouin school in that city; that the principal speaker at the meeting was Dr. Margaret Buchter, member of the board of education in Washington, and an ardent champion of integration in public schools and colleges. In her address Dr. Buchter said complete integration in the schools of Washington will take place within the next four years "and Negroes will be placed on an intellectual level with the whites."

And more blah-blah to the same effect.

We now know why Father Fichter withdrew from his proposed speaking engagement at Ole Miss It is well that he did.

NIXON IS CLARIFIED

Opinion

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NIXON IS CLARIFIED

The Delta Democrat-Times makes this comment on recent political spoutings of Vice-President Nixon:

> Mississippi's Senator John C. Stennis made quite clear the meaning of Vice President Richard Nixon's Lincoln Day address, in a Senate speech Tuesday afternoon.
>
> Nixon, he pointed out, had verified all the charges that Southern protesters have made against the Supreme Court decision that schools must be desegregated. Nixon labeled the decision as a political one and served notice that the Republican Party intends to capitalize on it as a campaign issue.
>
> This means that the next-to-highest ranking Republican has said that the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court is a Republican first and a judge second, and that the decision was to win GOP voters first and to set a legal precedent second.
>
> Senator Stennis said he regretted that Nixon had referred to the action of the court as a Republican one, but now Nixon has "branded the decision for what it was—a political one."

The "Black Monday" decision of the Supreme Court was born and bred in political chicanery, and it is but natural that Vice-President Nixon should be going around proclaiming that it is the greatest victory for Negroes since the emancipation problem.

The object and purpose of the decision was to get the Negro vote back into the Republican party. The GOP will resort to any method, no matter how desperate.

THEY WANT INTERMARRIAGE

The NAACP has a Negro lawyer on its staff named Albert A. Kennedy. In the New York Evening Post of Sept. 1st, 1955, Kennedy was quoted as saying:

> **"Psychologists say that a girl's chances of getting married are governed by the number of her male associates. Integration will result in white girls being associated with Negro boys. Naturally, intermarriage would result. We of the NAACP are committed to a program of full integration."**

The late Walter White, for many years secretary of the NAACP, and its ablest leader was quoted in the United States News and World Report of May 28th, 1954, as follows:

> **"To prevent interacial marriages is improper, immoral and unChristian. The association of the races in public schools leads to friendship, love and intermarriage."**

Those two paragraphs should be printed in indelible letters on the minds of the white citizens of Mississippi who have not yet awakened to the real dangers that will follow if our public schools ever become integrated.

WE STILL DON'T WANT IT

Adlai Stevenson urges integration by degrees. "We ain't buying."

Integration by degrees would be akin to the ancient Chinese way of torture — cutting off a little strip of skin at a time, plus pulling out fingernails and toenails.

Integration is rotten wrong. It cannot be bettered by an installment plan.

Slow doses of arsenic are just as deadly in the end as cobra bite.

We don't want it in any form and we won't have it.

And no thanks to you, Mr. Stevenson, for such a suggestion.

WHAT LINCOLN SAID

On February 12th the Republican party celebrated with much ado the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. No fault to find with that. Abraham Lincoln was one of the nation's foremost Presidents. Had he lived the South would never have been forced to undergo the horrors of reconstruction, and were he alive today the South would not be facing an attempt to have integration of races forced down its throat.

On August 14th, 1862 Abraham addressed a group of free Negroes assembled on the White House lawn. Here is what he said:

> "You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated."

The Republicans should pause in the midst of their Lincoln's birthday celebrations and study what that martyred statesman had to say on the subject of segregation.

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 17, 19

Southern Regionalism

Ledger

Voice of the People

Dear Editor

All people who have studied the Bible book by book and chapter by chapter know that God always warned and foretold of events to come so the people could prepare themselves for whatever was coming.

Many of the prophets named in the Old Testament told the people of the coming of Jesus into the world and how he would be born, rejected and crucified. Many of the people of that time believed the message of the prophets and prepared themselves, I don't find anywhere in the Bible where God has warned us that people of the two distinct colors on earth must integrate and mix their blood before Jesus Christ comes back to earth.

From where then do the supporters of the intergration movement get their reason and authority for their plan of intergration and mongrelization of the races? It has every indication of being a purely political movement and sponsored by Communists and people who know but little and care less about God and his word rather than being based on Christian principles and God's holy word.

We will need the vision and grace of Almighty God if we are to be able to stand against the terrible pressure we must bear from the integration movement.

M. C. Durr
Route No. 3
Brookhaven, Miss.

FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 17, 1956
THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS.

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

LETTERS FROM READERS

(Note: Letters to this column cannot be published unless we know identity of senders. Upon request, name will be withheld and pen nane or initials used. Thanks.)

TAKE IT EASY, BOYS!

As a newcomer to Jackson I like this city and its people very much. Unlike many new arrivals, I always look for things to appreciate and not things to condemn.

But if I may say so, local garbage collectors seem rather tough at times on trash cans. My two comparatively new garbage cans look as if they had been hit by a truck. Bot tops have been bent and no longer fit the cans.

Not complaining, understand, but more careful?

NEWCOMER
Jackson, Miss.

WANTS THIRD PARTY

Those students at Ole Miss who believe in racial integration should pack their bags and go at once to an integrated school. We do not need them in our state. I hope the students at Alabama don't give up the fight. . . .

Laws are made by mere men and I cannot accept them as divine. We do not have to abide by the decree of nine insigificant men. We believe in majority rule here, not in the political whims of nine men. . . those who want to integrate can leave here by bus, auto, train or plane. It is a free country and they can live where they please, provided they do not keep others from living as they please. . . .

We need a third party. . . .The Republican party was once a third party. Our section is not fairly represented and a good third party might kill one of the older parties. Equal taxation should be given to Negroes. If one part is equal, all parts must be equal.

MRS. W. J. SUPINGER
Columbia, Mississippi

STRONG STOMACH NEEDED

Autherine Lucy and her attorney alleged that Alabama authorities permitted certain acts in order to "assimilate" an air of riot and disorder. The University of Alabama may have "assimilated" an air of riot but it has not yet "assimilated" Autherine.

It looks doubtful whether the University's digestive system is strong enough for the job. "Simulate" is what Autherine and her lawyer probably mean. Your column is sound, sensible, well written and enjoyable.

B. L. MOSS
Soso, Mississippi

"CORNPONE DIXIECRATS"

You are very correct in saying that today's "self-styled liberals" are inconsistent. However, please remember it was your own beloved Roosevelt who put the Socialist Liberals into business.

Mennen Williams, Hubert Humphrey, Herbert

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Mennen Williams, Hubert Humphrey, Harriman or TGA's own Kefauver—which of these champions of conservatism will YOU select to replace Ike? The Democratic Party has done more to champion the cause of Socialism than any other group besides Joe Stalin's gang.

And yet you cornpone Dixiecrats go right on blindly supporting them for no other reason than "Republicans are Yankees" Consistency? Wow!!!

CONSISTENT READER
Goodman, Mississippi

A FATHER'S ADVICE.

Note: Chief Justice Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court once was asked by his young daughter whether she should accept a Negro classmate's request for a date. Judge Warren advised her to "follow your own instincts." This incident, mentioned in Mississippi Notebook not long ago, has inspired the following verse by a Collins reader:

JUNGLE LAW UPHELD
(A Burlesque)

"Chief Justice" Rules Again, Alas
Upholds the Jungle Law:
"Do as thine instincts bid, my lass,
Be true to Nature's Law!"

Observe the freedom of the doe,
When springtime's call is clear!
Unhampered by impending woe,
Or concience-breeding fear.

Seek not my counsel, my sweet lass—
Paternal guidance I withhold.
The Laws of Nature far surpass
All else you may be told.

Her laws are deep within thy breast —
She speaks a language clear;
Whatere the deed at her behest
Is naught that thou should fear.

So, when thou goeth forth to fawn,
Be not troubled by thy plight;
For, in Nature thou has sown.
And in Nature all is right.

—By HORACE G. HILL
Collins, Mississippi.

Complacency In Washington

Birmingham Post Herald (2/18/56) (Southern Opin.)

John Temple Graves, in his column of Thursday, Feb. 16, quotes a question asked by Adlai Stevenson: "How can the Republican Party, which has been complacent about the past, . . . be anything but complacent about the future?" Then Mr. Graves adds on his own behalf: "But this is what the doctor orders."

If I understand Mr. Graves, he says that what the American people want in their national administration is complacency. They want an administration which doesn't worry about things, and doesn't try to anticipate social and economic disaster, and doesn't try to prevent such disaster by taking action in advance.

Well, that is the kind of national administration we have now. And that is the kind of administration we had in the years of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. The Coolidge-Hoover prosperity looked as solid to some people as the Eisenhower prosperity looks today.

And the Coolidge-Hoover complacency paid off in the years 1929-1933: starvation, suicide and near-revolution.

If that is what the American people want again, they can vote for it in 1956. But I do not think that is what they want.

The price of complacency is a high one.

RICHARD P. GREENLEAF,
307 College-st, Boaz.

* * *

Our World Is A Divided One

2/18/56 (Birm. Post Herald) (Southern Opin.)

Today's world is a divided one. On every hand there is quarreling, rioting, and division. This world is split wide open.

First the East-West division, then communism vs. democracy. And within both of these factions and splits which threaten a greater gap, such as capital and labor. Every one is seeking to get the other fellow down. Selfishness and greed is on the increase.

The nations of the world are divided religiously today, worse than ever before. Also race hatred is fast coming to the point of explosion not only in the United States but worldwide.

Every newscast, every newspaper brings news of new race troubles in one part of the world or another. Then last, but not least, there is the divided homes. Homes broken by divorce, children left with no mother or father. What mankind is faced with today is the breaking up of the devil's kingdom worldwide.

Then when the last vintage of his works are gone, the Kingdom of God will bring to the peoples of earth its blessings of health and peace; all enemies of man, even death, shall be destroyed.

C. V. JONES,
Goodwater.

Post Herald (Birm.)

Demonstrations May Increase

Serv. Opinion

I don't approve of mobs or violence but I think the demonstrations at the University may have been mild compared to demonstrations that may follow in the South in protest of integration because real Southerners won't take it very calmly.

In states that have integration they have intermarriage. That's one of the things the NAACP wants.

I think any race of people should want to stay among their own race, even animals don't mix. They stay with their own kind. We have politicians in both parties who are trying to force this integration on the South. But Averill Harriman has made the strongest attack against us.

George Meany has made strong attacks on our Southern way of life. I don't think he will improve his union membership much here in the South with his attacks.

CRESS JOINER,
2/18/56 Talladega.

* * *

Let's Use Our Heads

(an editorial)

If ever there was a time when we needed to keep our heads and watch our words and actions it is now.

No thoughtful citizen of the South minimizes the dangers with which we live.

For the problems which plague us there are no ready answers.

How foolish then, at such a time, to permit ourselves to be confused and divided by propaganda deliberately planned to goad us to rashness and to replace reason with blind emotion.

Yet just that is happening in our community.

"Black lists" secretly circulated to spread vicious rumor in time will destroy our unity.

Already "rumors" aimed at a number of outstanding local business concerns are doing them untold harm and they are defenseless.

It is reported that so-and-so has refused to join a certain organization dedicated to the preservation of the South as we know it or that he has contributed to another organization devoted to just the opposite purpose.

Tongues wag openly or behind the backs of hands.

The story grows with the telling.

No one takes the trouble to inquire into the real facts. So a neighbor's reputation is destroyed, his business ruined or his job put in jeopardy.

Such rumors are always hard to track down. The source is vague and elusive. That is what makes them so vicious and dangerous. They are accepted from a friend and passed on without question to another.

How foolish can we get? How careless?

If this program was designed to foster suspicion and breed hate among us it certainly is succeeding. But unless we as individuals want to be a party to it then we should start using our heads.

Let's be quick to demand proof. Let's be careful indeed before we denounce another.

The Birmingham Post- Herald
2-18-56

State Times

The Newspaper Owned by the People

Published Each Evening and Sunday at Jackson, Mississippi, by CITIZENS PUBLISHING

Jackson, Miss., Sunday, February 19, 1956 Vol. 1, No. 35

Free-and-Open-Minded South About the Republicans Seen

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"The White Elephant South!"

To the New South, the Fighting South, the Advancing South, the South Jonathan Daniels didn't ever discover—add now the White Elephant South.

That would be a South which by contributing numbers of readers, advertisers and letter writers to the national magazines becomes so important in their consciousness and circulation that they dare not ignore or affront it any longer but adjust to it as to a white elephant on their hands.

Of even more moment and requiring even more imagination, it would be a South which by becoming possible for Republicans regularly to win in part or whole is literally a White Elephant, an uninvited, undeserved and immense factor in the party's hope of every four years to be, a South suddenly needing to be cajoled like a minority group in good standing.

There is no suggesiton in this that the South surrender either to the magazines or to the Republicans. But there is suggestion that we write-and-write-and-write to the magazines and that we be totally free-and-open-minded about the Republicans.

GRAVES

This region's mounting prosperity is giving it a self-sufficiency complex, thinks Columnist Holmes Alexander, after a tour. He doesn't mean economic sufficiency alone.

"Food, raiment and shelter are the basic needs of man," he writes. "But give him these things and he demands something else — his privacy of mind, person and property. The American South is pretty nigh at that stage now."

"Privacy of mind, person and property."

That would mean anti-union-bossism, anti-integration, anti-Fair Deal.

It will interest Mr. Holmes Alexander to know of Mr. T. B. Templeton, of Natchez, Miss., who is telling The Charleston News and Courier that the South ought to have labor unions of its own. "We need unions for working people but why not a union that will be governed by people who will see and understand our needs . . ."

And of Mr. V. H. (Van) Baldwin, of Birmingham, who believes in "advancement of colored people" but thinks millions of Southern Negroes would be happier and better served with a "Southern Association for The Advancement of Colored People" within the segregation pattern the South requires.

It isn't only economic prosperity that's making the South do-it-yourself-minded, Mr. Alexander. It's this plus being the South, being a land with a peculiar problem, a bitter memory and a dear one, too, a way, a taste, a sunlight, an economic emergence with decentralizing oil and electricity rather than centralizing steam for bases.

We have reason here to believe the last words on race relations, labor relations, economics, politics, morals, art and religion have not been written.

We think we may be nominated for some writing of our own.

In reaction to desegregation, some are proposing super-segregation. The Alabama women, for example, who declined to attend a Democratic Party Regional Conference in Nashville because two Negro women were attending. Two years ago they wouldn't have felt like that. Negroes are properly and importantly a part of both political parties now.

Especially of the Democratic Party.

One of many tragedies for both South and nation in the Supreme Court's unconstitutional decision is that advancements like this which were coming to the Negro in the South in natural course are being opposed now in a new and bitter race-consciousness.

State Times

The Newspaper Owned by the People

Published Each Evening and Sunday at Jackson, Mississippi, by

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PAGE 8A Jackson, Miss., Tuesday, February 21, 1956 Vol. 1, No. 358

Letters From Our

A Southerner in Yankeeland

So Openor

State Times,

Back in December the papers were filled with such headlines as, "Ired Tech Students in Riot," and "Protest Effort To Ban Bowl, 2,000 Riot Over Governor's Act." Lately, the papers, both North and South, have been filled with the incident at the University of Alabama. The riot at Tech was commended by all Northern papers. Even Ed Sullivan, on his TV show commended them. But the riot on the University of Alabama campus has been treated quite differently everywhere. Why? Because that first campus riot was for what the Yankees want. The other was against the Yankee's drive to integrate our Southern whites with Negroes.

Every Southerner who says one word against what took place in Tuscaloosa is helping to destroy our Southern mores. Even those who took part in the riot don't want blood shed, but our very country was built on the principle that it is better to fight than to take anything that is forced on us.

If we really believe in segregation, it is the duty of every Southern state to encourage Alabama in her attempt to keep the state's segregation laws. If we are going to take sides with every Yankee newspaper and condemn Alabama, then let us give up our struggle for segregation. We've either got to be for segregation and stick together, come what may, or we are going to make fools of ourselves. Are we going to let this thing drag along, taking sides first with Southerners, and then with Yankees, until the Yankee gets his way? We should have sense enough to know that you can't win a fight by half the time saying you are wrong. If we are wrong in this struggle against integration, then let's stop the struggle right now. If we are right, then let's stick to our guns and go all out to win.

By the way those two campus riots have been treated by Northern newspapers should show Southerners that Yankees aren't against riots, it all depends on what the riot is over. It should also show above the Mason-Dixon Line for Southern whites.

More Southerners should live in the North awhile and see how many segregated schools they have That's why they are trying to put the Negro in the Southern schools, so he won't move North. So many have moved North lately, that too many are getting in their schools. That, and only that, is the reason for the Supreme Court's decision.

Yours truly,
Mrs. B. L. Carter
600 W. Elm St.
Carbondale, Illinois

W.S

The Way of the South

To the Editor of the Journal:

I have been reading your fine newspapers for years and think they are the best.

Only one thing troubles me about them. Couldn't you write some articles on how we people are very much against the mixing of our schools? Write a nice article on our great governor and his fight to save our schools. I'm sure that you will agree that Luther H. Hodges is the most able governor that this state has ever had. Ever time I read one of your articles about your one sided stand on segregation, it makes boil, why can't you write for the way of the South. I would suggest that you take a poll and then maybe you would agree that the people will never stand for the mixing of the schools, so please write for us some time.

—CALVIN B. WHITE

Winston-Salem.

Afro American 2/25/56

Southern Opin

South is sick, says professor at Hopkins

"Most white and colored people are to be congratulated for the manner in which they are conducting themselves in the midst of the disturbances and soreheadedness concerning desegregating the public schools."

This opinion was expressed by Dr. Carl B. Swisher, chairman of the political science department at the Johns Hopkins University, as he spoke last Friday at Morgan State College during the installation of the college's new chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, national social science honor society.

"Twenty-one students and teachers who became charter members of the seventh national scholastic society to be established on the Morgan campus heard Dr. Swisher say:

"The Deep South is psychotic and sick and will not get over this condition soon."

* * *

THE AUTHORITY on American Constitutional law said that he expects segregation to disappear from the border states, "from Maryland to Missouri in the next 20 years," but he had no such high hopes for the Deep South.

He admitted, however, that segregation as a public policy is on the way out, "and has been on the way out since the 1930's in the face of consistent opinions from the Supreme Court."

As colored Americans move upward, he warned against their "turning against your rootage, forgetting those who have not had your opportunities, and giving up every aspect of your cultural heritage."

Dr. Swisher said that he, himself, had suffered because he had not kept enough rootage with his people in the mountains of West Virginia, where he was born.

* * *

ESTABLISHMENT OF the new chapter and the initiation ceremonies were conducted by Dr. Daniel Spencer, professor of economics at American University, Washington D.C., and vice chancellor of Pi Gamma Mu for the Atlantic Region.

He was assisted by Drs. Clifton R. Jones, professor of sociology, and G. James Fleming, associate professor of political science, of Morgan, members of the University of Iowa and the University of Pennsylvania chapters of the society, respectively.

Speaking briefly in addition to Dr. Swisher were Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, president of the college; Dr. George C. Grant, dean; Robert Sutton, president of the American University chapter; Dr. Alexander Walker, adviser of the new chapter; Miss Mary J. Humes, "Miss Morgan of 1955-56"; and George T. James, chief justice of the Student Court.

* * *

TO BECOME a member of Pi Gamma Mu, the student must hold an average of "B" or better in 20 or more hours of history, political science sociology, economics or geography, and must not have failed in any college subject.

The 13 students initiated into the Morgan chapter are John Bland, Baltimore; Lucile Cephas, Hurlock, Md.; Albert Dixon, Baltimore; Herbert O. Edwards, Cleveland, Ohio; Viola Graves, Salisbury, N.C.; Ulrica Greenidge, Atlantic City, N.J.; Walter Griffin, Swedesboro, N.J.; Mary J. Humes, Rocheester, N.Y.; George T. James, Paul Lee, Dewey Robinson, Elaine Matthews, all of Baltimore; and Rossie Wills, Aquasco, Md.

Faculty members initiated are Drs. Donald G. Brandon, Robert L. Gill, Frederic A. Jackson, Roland C. McConnell, Alexander J. Walker, and Messrs. Lawrence H. Middleton, Arthur H. Reagin Jr., and Isaiah A. Woodward.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Op Opinion 2-28-57

Publisher Blasts At Southern Editor

"You can't go home again..."

* * *

My generally enlightened friend, John S. Knight, the great Chicago and Detroit publisher, seems to have bought The Charlotte Observer without comprehending what he bought.

With amazing intemperance and unwisdom he lets himself go against much-loved Editor Waring, of The Charleston News and Courier. "People like Tom Waring," he writes in his column, "who wrap themselves in the folds of the Stars and Bars and mutter imprecations against their fellow citizens above the Mason-Dixon line should put aside their venomous, slimy pens and decide to join the union."

* * *

YOU CAN'T SAY that about Tom Waring—in the South or nation—and be followed.

The Charleston editor has won a name everywhere for high-calibred championship of the constitutional cause which the desegregation decision makes intense.

Even left-of-center Harper's picked him for the first break in the paper curtain against the actual Southern point of view. Temperate but nonetheless fearless and free of hems and haws, Mr. Waring is the South's best editorial foot foremost on this now national theme.

Mr. Knight will find many readers of his newspapers looking upon such words as "venomous" and "slimy" against such a man a reflection not upon Mr. Waring but upon Mr. Knight.

WHAT WITH HIS Charlotte editor, C. A. McKnight, making that crack about the South's "crumpled culture," which was as offensive to North Carolinians as to other Southerners — John Knight is off to such a bad start in the South that he ought to sit down and think things over, it seems to me.

I don't believe there's prejudice here against outside ownership as such. But there is certainly prejudice where the effect is out of tune, especially when the tune is one in which so much of the nation begins to join.

John tells us that even though he was born in West Virginia his father was a Georgian and his ancestors fought for the Confederacy.

With such forebears it ought to be easy for him to go home again but right now, unhappily, he can't. He shows further his unawareness by quoting Time against Tom Waring—as if you could prove anything about the South from those notoriously hostile, unfair and uncomprehending pages.

* * *

NOW HEAR THIS! Since I characterized William Bradford Huie's Look story on the Till case as "imagined" he has convinced me it was based on his investigations.

I was incorrect, therefore, when I said it was imagined. The only honorable thing is to say so.

* * *

IT IS A GOOD START for the proposed bi-racial commission in Alabama that it prefers this word to "interracial."

The latter is a good word, too, but has come to be identified with people who interpret it as the exercise of good will en route to integration.

The commission will serve best, it seems to me, if it takes care never to deny the epochal importance of the struggle in the South and equal care not to think it can be settled with peaceful words among Southerners. Peace is only one of two indispensables.

* * *

SENATOR BYRD, the South's great man calls for "massive resistance."

The massive resistance is here.

What is needed is magnificent leadership and the senator is nominated, Leadership in resistance and equally in light against Ku Kluxery and inevitably increasing fascism. Every discredited hate-monger in the country is beginning to think himself paged.

* * *

WE HAVE GOT TO WIN this fight in the light, not in the dark.

And our real enemies don't live here.

All over the nation, in spite of what John Knight presumes, lights of sympathy for the South are coming on — if we can just keep our own lights on. To keep them involves the twice-doubled job of (1) organizing for law and order while not forgetting resistance, and (2) fighting off the swarming fascists with one hand while holding the torch with the other. Since that is what most of us want it should be simpler than it seems.

* * *

"SILENCE AND SEPARATION . . ."

To keep silent, day after day, may be a good solution for things which are static. But never for things on the move, which are growing deeper and more fatal every day.

You can die holding your peace—or cause others to die. It is a thought for Mississippi's Gov. Coleman who thinks we should keep silent and separated. The NAACP isn't going to be silent and neither are the fascists.

INEZ ROBB—

Southern Opinion

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Tuesday, February 28, 1956

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. —Thomas Jefferson.

Two Mellow Notes

OF all the statements of various Negro leaders in the South and elsewhere, two made Sunday stood out as reflecting some maturity of thought.

First a Mississipi Negro lawyer braved possible denunciation at Charleston, S. C. to tell a regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that "all of the white people and 99 per cent of the Negroes believe that desegregation there (in Mississippi) is impossible," and that he was "not too sure that many of the Negroes in Mississippi want to be desegregated at this time."

Whatever else lawyer C. A. Hall said, he gave the NAACP a glance at the truth here.

Secondly, the leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott told his church congregation that the protest action there, started not because bus seats were segregated but because there was not a large enough "for colored" section reserved on the buses, should not be exploited "like the Emmett Till case in Mississippi was." He said he did not intend to "get rich" filling speaking invitations all over the country when "our job is here in Montgomery."

Here was another look at reality — the reality that people shamelessly profited from a tragedy that did both the Negro and the white tremendous damage in Mississippi and in the South.

Southern Opinion

Mississippi's Leading New
Clarion Ledger
Y Jackson, Mississippi, Tu

Campbell Says Racial Barriers' Elimination Must Come Gradually

2/28/56

PASADENA, Calif., Feb. 27. — (INS) — A. Boyd Campbell, Mississippi businessman and president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, said today that the elimination of racial barriers in the South must be done gradually.

Campbell said in Pasadena that solution to the segregation question in the South lies in the "enlightened leadership of men and women of good will from both races."

The Jackson, Miss., business executive declared that wages for white and Negro workers are equal in the South, but he added:

"A big problem is that young Negroes finish their schooling in their home states, then go north or to California, leaving us with only the elderly."

He said northern capital and labor is now developing southern resources and "we are getting along splendidly with no friction."

Campbell is in Pasadena to address the local Chamber of Commerce."

Southern Opinion

Southern Star

Coleman Says Integration Impossible In Mississippi

2/29/56 Atl World

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — "It is impossible to get a Negro into a white school in Mississippi."

That's the opinion of Gov. J. P. Coleman, an avowed foe of public school integration, who told a press conference last week that Mississippi would close its institutions of higher learning if they were forced to accept Negro students.

"The people would not support integrated schools," Coleman said, speaking for his state 1,600,000 citizens, half of whom are Negroes.

He told reporters that state colleges must be operated "with a decent regard for the people who support them."

"Right or wrong," he added, "It's an inescapable fact. To allow integration is to destroy schools."

The Mississippi Constitution already permits the legislature to close public elementary or high schools faced with accepted Negro students,

Coleman said the legislature also would close any college faced with integration. Apprprations would be cut off, he added.

The governor charged the press with "making matters worse" by "continued agitation of the segregation) question."

He established a new press conference rule:

"We will not discuss segregation unless there is a new development to justify it, because the more you agitate this old sore the worse it gets."

Then he announced that he had signed two more bills to prevent the mixing of the Negro and white races in Mississippi. They would permit the choice of customers or clients and would require railroad and bus companies to provide separate waiting rooms for Negro and white passengers traveling within the Mississippi.

Earlier in the week, Coleman vetoed one of the bills he had originally sponsored -- a measure aimed at restricting civil rights investigations by the FBI.

He said in a veto message that "conditions most happily have changed for the better," since he had proposed the measure last September to the Legal Education Advisory Committee.

Coleman's original recommendation was made shortly after the justice department had asked for investigations in alleged civil rights violations during the 1955 Democratic primaries.

"Since that time, nowever, the U. S. Department of Justice declined to intervent in a case the occurrence of which we deeply regret, but which simply presented no ground for federal interference," he added.

This was an obvious reference to the Emmett Till murder case which the FBI had refuse to investigate after a state trial jury acquitted two white men of the slaying of the 14-year-old Negro youth.

---

its findings to the large committee. The larger committee will then make plans for combining provisions proposed by the Administration with those set forth in pending bills to bring out a measure which will be satisfactory to both political parties.

It will then move as rapidly as possible to get the bill through the committee and before the House for action, according to Cong. Hugh Scott.

Southern Opinion

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 1, 1956

Voice of the People

Letters to the Editor must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Dear Editor:

What is "Religious Emphasis Week"? Has it to do with segregation or integration, or racial opinions? Or has it to do with the feeding of human souls? How can a man belive he is "called of God to preach the Gospel — then refuse to refresh men's souls? Have these Priests and preachers gone on their knees and asked for God's guidance in this, and if so, was their refusal to participate in R.E.W. a result... did God actually say to them "Under the circumstances better forget men's souls". Who believes God guided them to forego His teachings?

To me it looks like a case of "follew the leader" ... right or wrong. Aren't these renegers doing just the thing that they take a stand against, in forcing their opinions on others?

It has often been said "gas and liquor" and "religion and politics" don't mix... well do they? Webster says "Religion is a system of faith and worship; piety; devotion; fidelity". Does this definition correspond with a broken promise to participate in Godly worship? Then can there possibly be right in students preparation for the R.E.W. where there will be those men of God opening with a plea for His blessings on this, or these meetings... read a text from His Holy Word... sing a hymn of praises to Him and then change from the atmosphere of peace and quit, prior to worshiping Him to a debate on the "Affairs of State?"

We should seek God's aid and guidance in all we do — yes! but when we come to His House (be that church, chapel or improvised space) to worship, let us worship!

If you have been blessed with the power of speech and intelligence of leadership in this Field, Men of God (if you are truly, 'Men of God') haven't you passed up a wonderful opportunity? Think it over and then pray over it.

Yours very truly
Li'gon F. Gardner
Jackson, Miss.

Faulkner Advises NAACP, Others To Slow Drive for Mixed Schools

Chr 3/1/56

Southern Opinion

NEW YORK, Feb. 29 (AP)—William Faulkner, Southern writer who was against compulsory segregation, says integration backers should slow up in their current campaign for immediate establishment of mixed schools in the South.

Writing in Life magazine, he says:

"I would say to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and all the organizations who would compel immediate and unconstitutional integration:

" 'Go slow now. Stop now for a time, a moment. You have the power now. You can afford to withhold for a moment the use of it as a force. You have done a good job, you have jolted your opponent off-balance and he is now vulnerable. But stop there for a moment; don't give him the advantage of a chance to cloud the issue by that purely automatic sentimental appeal to that same universal human instinct for automatic sympathy for the underdog simply because he is under.' "

Faulkner, a member of an old Mississippi family, says the Civil War failed to prove to the North "that the South will go to any length, even that fatal and already doomed one, before it will accept alteration of its racial condition by mere force of law or economic threat."

His article says swift integration and possible resulting violence might make the whole matter "one of the race," compelling the white minority like himself "to join the white segregation majority no matter how much we oppose the principle of inequality" and might force the Negro minority who want peace to join the Negro majority who advocate force.

"So the Northerner, the liberal, does not know the South," he writes. "He can't know it from his distance. He assumes that he is dealing with a simple legal theory and a simple moral idea. He is not. He is dealing with a fact: the fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go at any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it.

"So I would say to all the organizations and groups which would force integration on the South by legal process:

" 'Stop now for a moment. You have shown the Southerner what you can do and what you will do if necessary; give him a space in which to get his breath and assimilate that knowledge; to look about and see that (1) nobody is going to force integration on him from the outside; (2) that he himself faces an obsolescence in his own land which he cannot cure; a moral condition which not only must be cured but a physical condition which has got

Southern opinion

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 2, 1956

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

The persistent old crone still barred his path. "Then buy a flower to celebrate your good fortune," she suggested.

WHY NOT TRY IT HERE?

There has been considerable publicity about the Crusade For Freedom and the importance of spreading the truth about America behind the Communist Iron Curtain. This project is worthwhile, deserving of public support, yet it is also needed here in the United States.

Our pet project is to have the Crusade For Freedom release a few "Truth Balloons" over non-Southern states, to penetrate the Time - Life - NAACP Iron Curtain. How can we expect foreigners to disbelieve Communist propaganda when so many Americans swallow Red-tinted lies about the South?

TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

Arrival of the 1956 tourist season reminds us that some Mississippi cities and towns need to make themselves more appealing to visitors. One practical way to do this is through tree-planting projects by clubs, groups and individual property owners. We hate to say it but some places in our state look ilke the hind side of Hades-drab, barren and quite depressing.

A bit of coordinated spadework can easily change all that. The planting of dogwood, magnolia, live oak, pear, peach and other typically-Southern trees can do wonders toward improving the looks of any community. The Highway Department is doing an excellent job in landscaping our roads but more local cooperation is needed.

SOME FINE EXAMPLES

Offhand, we think of quite a few places in Mississippi that are memorable to visitors because of stately tree-lined thoroughfares. Bolton, here in Hinds County, is a good example. So is Greenwood, Greenville, Hazlehurst, Brookhaven and Magnolia—just to name a few. Their beauty is not accidental but a result of planning.

Conversely, far too many towns have approaches littered with junk yards, juke joints, ramshackle cabins and plain-jane streets utterly devoid of trees or shrubbery. These offer little inducement to tourists. As a result, such communities fail to obtain a fair slice of the Mississippi tourist melon—now estimated at more than a quarter of a billion dollars annually.

TIME AND THE MAJOR

A reader of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser suggests that Time Magazine show a bit more courage in trying to tell Major Frederick Sullens how to run "Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper." As Aesop once said, it is easy to be brave from a safe distance.

Via the Montgomery daily, Leo B. Yelverton ends an open letter to Time by asking its editor to visit Jackson and low-rate Major Sullens to his face. "And when you do," Mr. Yelverton suggests, "be sure to have your shoes off. You will need a fast get-away."

AID FOR BUS COMPANY

Speaking of Montgomery, many white persons are quietly but effectively offering moral and financial support to the bus company now being boycotted by colored patrons in the Alabama capital.

Citizens have been dropping a dollar or more each week in bus company token boxes, although they don't ride the buses. These people board the buses, drop in their contributions and get off. Too bad this laudable movement can't be conducted on a Southwide basis.

Southern Opinion

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1956.

LINCOLN IN ERROR, JUDGE DARR SAYS

Emancipation Proclamation Was Illegal at Time It Was Made, He Claims

President Abraham Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation attempting to declare American slaves free men was a legal nullity, U.S. District Judge Leslie R. Darr declared yesterday in a speech before the Chattanooga Civitan Club.

The federal judge received national attention a short time ago in a speech here in which he contended that the states lost the rights they had reserved to themselves in the Constitution, when the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified. He also said that the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified at a time when Southern states were without representation in their own legislatures, much less in the Congress.

Following that speech Judge Darr has been receiving mail from throughout the country from persons taking one side or the other on the issues he raised. He delivered the speech as a "private citizen," the same role he assumed yesterday. He insisted that he was discussing the "legal aspects" of the issues and "I am not taking sides."

Rights Annulled

It is Judge Darr's position that the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment annulled the rights the states had reserved to themselves under the original Constitution. He said yesterday that every single amendment that has been added to the constitution, in a measure, has been an encroachment upon the rights the states reserved to themselves originally.

Discussing the Emancipation Proclamation, Judge Darr said that at the time President Lincoln published the proclamation —Jan. 1, 1863—slaves were private property. It took the Thirteenth Amendment, Judge Darr said, to remove slaves from the status of private property and give them citizenship. There was another time in history, Judge Darr recalled, when an effort was made to seize private property by presidential proclamation. That was during recent years when President Harry Truman sought to seize the steel mills of the country when a strike threatened to close them. The Supreme Court held that the President could not seize and confiscate property, even temporarily, by proclamation, Judge Darr said.

Discussing the right of freedom of speech Judge Darr declared that "in this country it is recognized that the dignity of one's right to freedom of speech must be assured" and added that actually the constitutional amendment making that guaranty "forbids the congress from doing anything that will inhibit that right." But explained that the inhibition is not absolute and quoted the famous legal principle announced by the late Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court, as bearing out that contention. Justice Holmes said, Judge Darr recalled, that "Freedom of speech gives no person the right to shout fire in a crowded theater."

FUGITIVE SENDS WORD

Winston, Top Red, Says He Will Surrender Monday

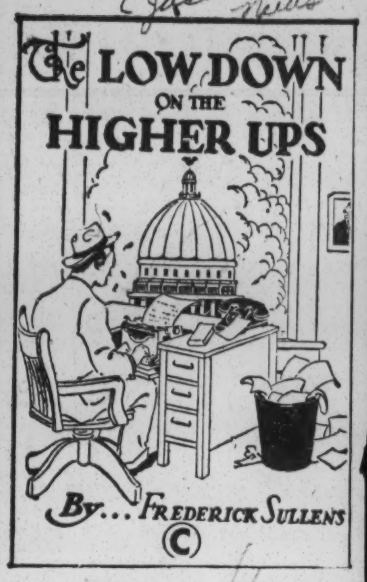
NEW YORK, March 2 (AP)—Henry Winston, last of the fugitive top leaders of American communism, announced last night that he will surrender for imprisonment next Monday.

He followed the same formula used by Gilbert Green who surrendered last Monday—addressing his notice in a letter to newspapers.

Green and Winston, both under sentences of five years in prison for revolutionary conspiracy, were among four top Reds who fled in 1951 rather than go to prison.

The other two, Gus Hall and Robert G. Thompson, later were seized by the FBI.

C3/4/56 Clarion Ledger Jackson Daily News



Our Mississippi lawmakers have asked for the restoration of the Democratic rule requiring a majority of two-thirds for the nomination of a candidate for President, but it is akin to a bald man asking for the restoration of hair on his head. When that rule was abandoned the South lost a power that may never be regained.

* * *

When the congregation of Jackson's super-sized First Baptist church wants a revival it is not necessary to send elsewhere for an evangelist, its beloved pastor, Dr. Douglas Hudgins, being one of the top-flight evangelists of the nation. Dr. Hudgins starts a series of evangelistic meetings this morning, to continue throughout the current week and he will no doubt be greeted by large congregations.

* * *

The shallow reasoning of Senator Wayne Morse, who opposed Senator Eastland's promotion to the chairmanship of the Senate judiciary committee, was strikingly shown when he contended that the Senate owes an obligation to the Supreme Court to have a judiciary chairman "without bias or partiality." The Senate owes nothing whatever to the Supreme Court except contempt for that integration decision.

* * *

"Dixie Demagogue: The story of Senator Eastland," is the screaming headline in the February 13th issue of the New York Post. Jim ought to accept as a fulsome compliment any criticism from the New York Post. That paper is a notorious NAACP and Communist sympathizer.

* * *

Proof that the NAACP is being used as a front for Communist activities can no longer be doubted. Eighteen members of the NAACP are known Communists. The NAACP is allowing itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states. Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the South and is disrupting relations between these races, which heretofore have been—and at present are—harmonious and friendly in every respect. These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism.

* * *

Let this be said in behalf of an overwhelming majority of more than 900,000 Negroes in Mississippi: They are not being swayed to any serious extent by the mouthings of NAACP leaders, and it is still a fact that they prefer their own schools to any plan of integration. There are bonds of lasting friendship between white people and the best type of Negroes in Mississippi that cannot be broken.

* * *

Southern opinion

CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 6, 1956

Voice of the People

Dear Editor:

While spending a delightful weekend in your city I was happy to read a copy of your fine paper.

Along with numerous other good features I read a letter from Mr. A. S. Coody of your city.

Since I teach during part of the year in the schools of Moss Branch, Arkansas, in the general field of history I was most interested in what Mr. Coody said. You know we are having some integration in Arkansas. I am dettrmined to resist the undermining of my pure, white Southern blood to the last ditch. Because of this fact and the fact that I am in a position to teach so many young, pliable minds in my life work which truly I consider a mission of the Lord, I would like amplification of Mr. Coody's remarks. I should like to be able to tell my children what reputable historians they can quote on the matter Mr. Coody mentioned. That is the fact that "no nation and no people have ever survived mongrelization." As he so truthfully says, "We can call the roll of all the states whose bones bleach upon the sands of time, and the fatal blow was mongrelization. Whether it be Sumeria, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, or Carthage, the answer is the same." Besides being good writing this is, of course, true. But my point is I have some smart students who expect me to prove everything I say. Therefore Mr. Coody, come to my rescue and give me aid in this segregation battle! Let me know what historians you consulted to give you these great truths.

Yours truly,
Lillie Belle Hartfield

Dear Miss Hartfield:

You present two questions; one, what historians you may quote that no nation may survive mongrelization; and, two, what historians I have consulted. As a history teacher, you know that historians say they seek facts only, and do not express opinion, nor state conclusion or causes for what has happened.

Until recently there has been little clarity about race, and the issue is still much clouded. Writers confuse race with nationality, or language, or general culture. We may begin with some facts. A people who can create a civilization can maintain it. When a civilization perishes, it is evident that its creators also perished. A people who cannot create a civilization cannot maintain it. A people will find the cultural level to which they are adapted. This may be seen in many places in the world today.

You will find the History of Herodotus helpful in learning the races in the world around Greece, about 450 B. C., the date of the history. The history of England by Greene is excellent, especially the first hundred pages, where we learn of the origin of the jury system, parliaments, and representative government. Beowolf is recorded as saying: "Fifty winters have I ruled this people, and no folk king dare meet me in the sword strife; never have I defrauded a kinsman; never wronged a fellow man; never sware I falsely; and I have repaid friend and foe more than I owed." (Quote from memory) Will Durant in (Caesar and Christ) tells of the motley horde which came into Rome. He says what would have been the result "if" Rome had done about a dozen things FOR these comers. But it was not done and the fertile slaves took the sterile master's house.

An indispensible book is The Color Line by Dr. W. B. Smith (deceased) of Tulane University. Henry George in Progress and Poverty has a chapter entitled, How Modern Civilization May Decline. Gibbon's Rome and Seven Great Monarchies by Rawlinson are good.

Some other books are Dickens' A Child's History of England, The Cult of Equality by Stuart O. Landry, The Passing of a Great Race by Madison Grant and the Reforging of America by Lothrop Stoddard. If obtainable, Races of Mankind by Louis Agazziz is fine.

We can see the evidence of mongrelization in all parts of the world today. Just drive across the Rio Grande, or visit Cuba or Puerto Rico. Of course Haiti is the classic example of a colored race taking over a ready-made civilization. And I think we can see the process well under way in New York city, Chicago, Washington and some other large American cities.

With best wishes, I am,
Cordially and sincerely,
A. S. Coody.

CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 8, 1956

Voice of the People

U.S. Senator Herbert Lehman
Washington
District of Columbia
My dear Senator Lehman:

The people of Mississippi have worthily bestowed upon Senator James O. Eastland the greatest honours within their power to confer. No doubt, still further and greater honours await him in the future. Many compliments have been paid this gentleman for his outstanding ability, his integrity, and his loyalty to the United States of America; and to his zeal in the fight to save the people of the United States from complete mongrelization; and which blight now obtains t oa shameful degree in the Empire State.

But the greatest compliment which has ever been, or which can ever be, paid to this distinguished Senator from Mississippi, is the fact that you judged him unworthy of the Chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee; and that you, Senator Lehman, urged his defeat and voted accordingly. In the estimation of Mississippians a vote for him by you would have cast a real suspicion and a grave doubt upon his character and leadership. Yea, it would have been a withering blight in the estimation of my fellow-Mississippians and who hold him in such high esteem.

You are quoted as saying, in speaking of our distinguished Senator Eastland, that he is "a symbol of defiance of the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court." Senator, in that statement you are so damned right, tho it was not your intention so to be. Any interpretation given by that bunch of misfits anytime, anywhere and on any subject is likely to be far from a correct one. When a bunch of would-be-judges resort to citing for their authority Sears - Roebuck Catalogues and Communist negro authors on works relating to races instead of citing decided cases, then it is high-time we resist with every legal power we have. Mississippians back Senator Eastland to the hilt; and they give not a tinkers dam what you and your numerous negro cohorts and associations may think about it.

As long as there are any Mississippians left to raise a hand or a voice your black Africans will never enter the white schools of the State of Mississippi. And you can put that in your blow-pipe and smoke it.

Senator, you are apparently hell-bent on ramming your negroes down the throats of Mississippians. And to this end you apparently advocate the appeal to force. Well, if that is what you want, Senator, and if nothing else will satiate this wild desire of yours, bundle up your negro cohorts, constitute your self as their leader, and come on down to the hospitable State of Mississippi, and try to impose your will upon us. You know, you damned yankees tried that in 1861. And we received you warmly and with such hospitality as you deserved. So much so that many of you have remained with us; and are now peacefully pushing up the daisies on many a sun-kist hill and battle field. It would probably embarrass you if I mentioned them all.

Senator, you run things as you like in your New York State. If you want your State further mongrelized than it now is, Mississippians will not desire to do any thing to prevent you from having the full fruition of your taste in this regard. I assure you, my dear sir, you have damned little influence in Mississippi, and, so it seems, on the Judiciary Committee.

Truly,
Dick C. McCool
Canton, Miss.

Southern Opinion

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 9, 1956

Voice of the People

Dear Editor:

Why this feeling of relief and joy in the hearts of Mississippians because "Ike" has decided to run again for the high office which he holds? From the way I see it, any Mississippian that votes for "Ike" after the last four years of his administration is nothing more than a Scalawag. And a "scalawag" is not a nice word in our language, or rather did not formerly have a good connotation.

I noticed in Friday's issue in Purser Hewitt's column a reference to a club called "Citizens for Eisenhower." Now, ain't that just for the birds? Those Northern, no-good, rabble-rousing, carpet-bagging, cotton-picking Yankees have even come down here in Mississippi and started a club, and they have the audacity to think that honest, hardworking Mississippians are going to fall for their bunk. Baloney!

And I say "baloney" because every red-blooded, pure-thinking, self-respecting, honorable Southerner and Mississippian, knows that Dwight D. Eisenhower was the responsible one behind the "Black Monday" decision of May 8, 1954. It takes little gumption to know who is responsible for the decision when you remember that it was "Ike" who appointed that pseudo-judiciary Chief Justice (justice?) Earl Warren to the court, and what his vote-getting stand was.

We broke with the Democratic party because of the stand that they took on State's Rights and Civil Rights—but the Democratic party ouly talked about "reform." It was the Republicans, "Ike" and his horde of Vote-sekers that not only talked about "reform," but actually tried to do something about it.

All you "Citizens for Ike" had better stay away from my door! And you had better not approach any true Southerners with your "Ike" proposals, either.

Miss. State College
Student

Dear Editor:

Oberlin College is preparing for its twenty-third Mock Political Convention to be held in May. This year, for the second time in its ninety-six-year history, the convention will be Democratic, a decision acclaimed by Stevenson, Harriman, Kefauver, and Butler. This convention, covered in previous years by radio, television, newspapers, and national magazines, will be as realistic as possible with the usual nominations, party platform debate (with pressure groups to influence it), favorite son candidates, and the usual festivities that accompany a convention. Robert Meyner, Governor of New Jersey, will keynote and Neuburger will be permanent chairman.

In the interest of realism and to inform a campus predominantly Northern in background, of the South's potentials, problems, and point of view, we of the Mississippi State Delegation are seeking information as to Mississippi's political complexion. There is only one Mississippian on campus; therefore, although she is a member of our delegation, our first-hand information is rather limited. In order that we can give Mississippi's stand an accurate representation, we need current information. What do Mississippians's think now, about the policies which the Democratic party should include in its platform? For example, how do they feel about nullification of the Supreme Court's segregation decision, relegation of the Supreme Court to its historic position, or flexible price supports? Any suggestions of persons we might contact, literature we might read, or speakers we might invite to our campus would be helpful. The more information we can obtain the more effectively we can impress this predominantly Northern campus with the South's point of view.

Extensive publicity will be required to acquaint the students with the South's position. Publicity such as printed and mimeographed literature, posters, and if financial support is sufficient, a Southern speaker. A speaker, we feel, would be by far the most effective publicity, but the committee's extremely limited personal resources can not come close to financing one. By work the committee can make a little money go a long way, but it can do little to spread the South's point of view without any money.

We thank you very much for whatever information or assistance you can provide us.

Sincerely yours,
Stanley I. Richards
Secretary
Mississippi State Delegation
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., THURSDAY MORNING MAY 10, 1956

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by Tom Ethridge

UNDERGROUND — The State College Reflector, student newspaper, quotes Negro agitator T. R. M. Howard who recently told a state audience of alleged colored leaders here, "If they outlaw the NAACP, let's go underground."

Then the college editor jokingly comments, "Keep up your trouble-making, Dr. Howard, and you'll wind up underground, all right — about 6 feet to be exact."

He won't of course. Any agitator, however inflamatory or asinine his utterances may be, and must enjoy the rights of free speech with full protection of the law here in Mississippi.

A Southern Editor on Integration

In Which Hodding Carter Discusses His Homeland

AUSTIN

Hodding Carter is one of those fellows the newspaper leads identify as "Pulitzer-prize winning." What he says would be listened to, therefore, regardless of what it was. Since he is also a leader of a field of moderate liberals in the South, and since he has stood his ground where it is hardest to do so, in the Mississippi Delta, he was listened to even more than might have been customary as he made more specific the meaning of the "gradualism" he advocates on a recent swing through Texas.

3/14/56 Dallas Observer

In a speech before a gathering of University of Texas students and faculty, he said it would have been allright with him if the Supreme Court had waited 20 years before it handed down its integration ruling.

"It's not what I think about what it should have been, but when it should have been and if it should have been," he told a questioner. "I would have liked to see the decision not come for even another 20 years of the progress we were having."

The decision, he believes, has brought to a halt at least two decades of racial progress. It had "abstract morality" on its side, and there was "an international need." "I can't quarrel with the morals of the decision," he said. But now Southerners should stop arguing the point, accept the remoteness of integration in the Deep South, and work for better schools and a sounder economy, he advised.

The Deep South states will resist integration "for a long, long time," he said. "Very few Negroes will be in the white schools in the South when and if it does happen."

CARTER is a short, pudgy man, light on his feet, and very serious, though he is given to an occasional anecdote with a serious point. He was introduced simply as "the South's fighting editor."

When the Mississippi Legislature, by a heavy vote, had called him a liar, he called them all liars back. "That's Mississippi," he said.

He said that from his vantage point of 20 years as editor and publisher of a small city daily, he had watched "a warm and hopeful and heartening transition in the South," but that since the Supreme Court's integration decision, especially in the Deep South where Negroes are in a majority, there has been "a tragic and accelerating deterioration in race relations."

Since he moved to Mississippi, he said, there has been a revolution of mechanization on the farm and industrialization of the city, along with other changes, some social, some political, some moral: "a growing awareness of man's responsibility for his fellow man, a growing if grudging willingness to share human rights with another." He conceded some of this progress has been with prodding and by appeals to "something other than our morality," but by and large the changes were accepted willingly "until the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision."

What brought the South—the Deep South, the "black belt"—to its present pass? he asked. What are its legacies, both good and bad? He suggested some areas of cultural contradiction, with "the presence, in considerable numbers, about one out of three, and under long established and resented patterns, of the Negro in the Deep South" as the key to each of them.

First, he said, the South was one of the earliest cultures in the U.S., cosmopolitan, urbane, but it was at the same time "a frontier society for good and bad." This was because of its overdependence on a primitive, one-crop economy which rested "on the backs of Negroes, slave and free."

Second, the South has the most homogeneous group in the U. S., with common occupations and long citizenship, yet it still has "the largest unassimilated and unassimilatable, in the ascertainable future, racial group in the country." The Southern Negro has remained "a person apart," he said. (In a question period, he alluded to a "historical tendency" of "lights" to voluntarily "herd" with others likewise "light.")

Third, the people of the South love land and the home place more than those of other areas, yet in this region there are more landless people and land waste than in any other. This again is ascribed to the one-crop system resting on cheap Negro labor.

FOURTH, while they are "a kindly folk to the stranger," Southerners are "the most suspicious of any Americans of outsiders who come to challenge their economic, social, or political patterns." "We pride ourselves on our gentility. In Mississippi it's said a man will be polite to you until he kills you. Yet we have the most violence statistically in the country." The South has developed a "dual system of justice" under which economic and social conditions breed crime among Negroes and the white group is indifferent to crimes committed by Negroes against Negroes. In Mississippi in 1955, for example, 20 white persons were killed by white persons, but 186 Negroes were killed by Negroes.

Fifth, Southerners have been patriotic Americans except for the four years of the civil war, "a patriotic, martial people," and yet they are "most defiant of the national authority"—but only when the racial systems have been threatened.

Seventh, Southerners take politics more seriously, intensely, and personally, and yet they have set more obstacles in the way of voters than other states — residence requirements, requirements for interpretations of the Constitution, and the like.

Finally, Southern individualism is strong, a concept of personal honor persists, yet in political and social thinking Southerners have permitted themselves to become "the most regimented" people in the country by the promiscuous use of the accusation, "Subversive!"

Carter ranged over a wide area on this last point—from condemnation of the McCarran Act to assertion of the fact that by 1948 either law or the Republican and Democratic platforms embodied many of the proposals of a leading "subversive" of the twenties, Norman Thomas. Carter said he was told he could not address the faculty at Mississippi State because of his convictions about integration "gradualism," and he pled for a lowering of the "barriers we have put up among ourselves against any intelligent discussion of the (racial) problem in the South."

Southern Opinion

Southern Opinion

LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 16, 1956

Voice of the People

Dear Editor:

Since the Supreme Court ruling on racial segregation we are being subjected to all kinds of arguments concerning race superiority. And it is generally admitted that the Bible, our only source of divine authority, throws but little light on the subject, other than to say that all men were made of the same life giving blood, and were given equal standing in the sight of God. However, we do find a clear statement recorded in Acts 17, 26; to the affect that men of all nations were not only created of one blood, but that the bounds of their habitation were also determined by God even before their appointed time. And elsewhere it is stated that they were authorized to bring forth each after their own kind, which would indicate that the different races comprising the nations of earth were intended to be segregated in the beginning. And if this be true, it would be reasonable to conclude that any subsequent attempt to mongrelize would be in violation of God's natural laws.

It would seem that the Negroes of this Country would be proud of the natural color of their race, and of their equal standing before God, and would want to keep it that way, instead of trying to make themselves look and act more like the white race. Examine any Negro publication and you will find it filled with advertising for all kinds of preparations for making hair straight and skin light. Ebony, Tan, Brown and similar names are being used to glamourize the lighter shades, and many are working day and night in an effort to bring about, through legislation or otherwise, a closer mixing of the races, while the genuine black man, the only true representative of his race, looks on in disgust.

We are taught that to be found guilty of willfully or purposely violating any of God's natural laws, could prove to be a serious thing, and if it is being done in this case, it would be well for those who are responsible to take heed.

W. D. M.
Jackson, Miss.

Dear "Student":

In your letter to The Clarion Ledger, you certainly hung the correct tag on the citizens for Eisenhower, whether they be the imported or home grown variety of scalawag.

The tag shall soon be placed on their big toe, politically speaking, because the republican party is soon to be confined to the political morgue. The republican party may win this election on the "fools gold" glitter of Eisenhower, but it will tax the last of their strength and will be their final death rattle and struggle.

However, with the three "highbrows" running for the nomination on the democratic ticket, it makes little difference which party wins the election this year, for the now temporarily degraded office of the presidency.

This, the most exalted office in the world, being degraded, because the candidates are "crawling 'on their belly's," through the mud, begging for the negro vote.

One of them a traitor to the principles of his own Southland. He would sell out the white people of the South, in fact the whole nation, by catering and kowtowing to the demands of special privileges from the minority group of negroes, as against the CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS of the majority.

We can depend on the Democratic party keeping control of the Congress, so the South can keep control of the Senate, thereby keeping control of unconstitutional legislature, aimed primarily against the South, but actually against the entire nation.

This is a case, of what hurts the South, will hurt the nation. After 1960.

That will be the death knell of the Democratic party as such, as now controlled by the ADA and other left wing, communistic elements.

Then we will have a Congress, controlled by men who are ALL WHITE.

Then we will have a President elected by coalition of southern democrats, and a new party in the north, pulling white people out of both the Republican party and the communistic ridden northern wing of the Democratic party.

"Student", please write and give me your name and address. Write c-o The Clarion — Ledger — to D.M.C.

Atl Jnl.

DNESDAY, MARCH 21, 1956 23

Many Negroes Oppose School Integration Now

Editor's Note: This is another dispatch by the United Press Atlanta Bureau chief, who is making a tour of the South to report the desegregation controversy.

By AL KUETTNER

JACKSON, Miss. (UP)—Does the Negro in the segregated states want to intermix with the whites? Is he ready for integration? Will it help his race?

During a 2,500-mile tour of Dixie, I have talked with dozens of Negroes about just that. They ranged from NAACP leaders to cotton field hands, from bankers to a barber whose customers earn 30 cents an hour.

There is a big division of opinion among the South's Negroes. By no means all of them want integration, even in the schools.

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People represents one element. It wants immediate integration.

There is another huge segment of Negro population that still can't comprehend all the controversy. This is the uneducated element. And if they have any views on desegregation, they are afraid to speak out.

In still another group are Negroes, including many responsible leaders, who confess the belief that integration would be a mistake.

Spokesmen for the NAACP admit privately that lethargy and outright opposition from their own race are among their most formidable problems. White Southerners are trying to capitalize on it in their determined campaign to keep up the racial barriers.

Whether for or against integration, Negroes have it better today than ever in their history. Largely because of pressure, they have secured some fine schools, even in rural areas, and won notable civil rights victories. Their wages are far below the white average, but they are rising steadily.

Naturally the least agitation for integration comes from areas that have done the most for Negroes. Here in Jackson, for example, the head of the NAACP, Medgar Evars, says there is no big drive for integration "because emotions are too high."

But actually the big factor is that Jackson, under Mayor Allen C. Thompson, past president of the American Municipal Assn., has given Negroes a Midas treasure of schools and recreation facilities compared to what they had a fey years ago.

In some areas Negroes backing integration have been rejected by their own people. There's an example of that in Vicksburg, Miss., the famous old "Gibraltar of the Confederacy," where three out of every five residents are Negroes.

One of the most outspoken Southern Negro critics of integration is J. W. Jones, a New Albany, Miss., newspaper publisher.

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING, MARCH 26,

Mississippi Notebook

by TOM ETHRIDGE

CONVERSATION PIECE

The celebrated Autherine Lucy case is still a favorite topic of conversation here in Mississippi. The Brookhaven Leader-Times reports a local drug store discussion of Autherine's statement when she arrived in New York — "I am calm on the outside but all messed up on the inside."

Which prompted a member of the Brookhaven discussion group to remark: "If Autherine had returned to the University of Alabama, she'd have been all messed up on the outside too."

MEDALS FOR REBELS ?

Instead of expelling Alabama campus rebels, the Winston County Journal at Louisville believes the kids should have a medal. "Had it not been for Leonard Wilson and other pro-segregation students," the Journal points out, "Autherine Lucy would be going to [illegible] with them right now."

The Louisville weekly further observes, "too many of our leaders and so-called brilliant men have lost the sap in their spines and are letting the ranting of the NAACP, civil rights organizations and the Supreme Court scare them."

AN HONEST WOMAN

While quoting from the Winston County Journal, consider the sad plight of a game warden's wife, as reported in the Louisville newspaper. Game Warden Lester Hamill caught a man with 150 white perch and catfish and immediately confiscated same.

His good wife looked at all those fish and her mouth watered mightily. Realizing that she couldn't legally have even one teeny-weeny fish, she opened two cans of sardines for family dinner — and eating them made her dreadfully sick. The big batch of fish was turned over to the county home.

In other words, the reward for honesty in this case was violent nausea.

CAMPUS COMRADES

Evangelist Billy Graham says that Communism is making gains among young intellectuals, particularly college students, in Asia.

Don't look now Billy, but this also seems true right here in the United States.

opinion
southern

Page 8 Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss. March 25, 1956

Letter To Editor

Southern Opinion

Reader Submits Creed For 'The New South'

To the Editor:

May I submit this "Creed For The New South?"

I BELIEVE - that in this, God's world, all races of men share equally in His love;

- in the universal brotherhood of men, as children of God:
- in the United States of America and in the equality, under law of her individual citizens of whatever race:
- that all races of men CAN live together in peace, with mutual respect and in growing harmony, if we do not succumb to fear, hysteria and panic:
- that it is the duty of all thinking Christians, of whatever race, to take a positive stand now, that we may preserve the gains toward racial harmony which have marred the past decades:

AND SO BELIEVING-

I RESOLVE - to be thoughtful in my use of words and phrases, that I give no needless hurt; to omit racial jokes;

to discuss no tensions or incidents in the presence of children, and thus add fuel to the growing flames of intolerance:

to respect every man for his character, ability and achievement and to judge no man by race or color:

to be as courteous in my daily contacts as I would wish to be treated with courtesy, remembering that those repeatedly faced with discourtesy become sensitive and resentful.

IF I AM A NEGRO, I FURTHER RESOLVE-

to be proud of my race for its many accomplishments, but to realize that I must, by my own life, earn the respect of my fellowman

to be willing to be judged as an individual, accepting personal honors without racial arrogance and censure without blaming my failure on racial prejudice:

to realize that intolerance is a double-faced curved mirror which distorts the truth from whichever side it is viewed.

Mrs. C. M. Chauncey
Apalachicola, Florida

At Courts
3/27/56

Racial Ills Blamed on Do-Gooders

WASHINGTON, March 26 (AP) — Sen. Stennis (D-Miss) said tonight that "carpet baggers and do-gooders" are causing rapid deterioriation of relations between whites and Negroes in the South.

"I have never heard any responsible leader of the colored or white race in the South say that the ultimate goal of their social relations or their race relations was to have integration educationally, socially or otherwise," he said.

COURT OPENED WAY

Stennis said the impact of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools opened the way for "outsiders and do-gooders" to try to convert the South to their way of thinking. He added:

"They will see the futility of their effort and then the leaders of the white and colored races will return to the scene of their labors and start building again from those smouldering ruins, and they will rebuild."

Stennis, interviewed on a radio program (Mutual — Reporter's Roundup), said, "we insist that the only pattern that can be successful is a pattern that we have a part in making."

MUCH INTERESTED

"The colored people are very much interested in a continuation of their greatly improved school programs, their better teachers pay, better transportation and better schools," he said.

"...they are not pressing for this so-called recognition or the technical right to go in the other schools."

Clarion Ledger
March 27-56
Southern Spirit

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

"LIMBER-TAIL MULES"

You ever hear of a "Limber-Tail Mule"?

If so, you're really from the country. Personally, it's a new term to us.

A writer in the Georgia Tribune employs that picturesque phrase in comparing the "limber-tail mule" with Southerners opposed to resisting integration.

"NO GOOD TO ANYBODY"

"The majority of older brethren knows what a 'limber-tail mule' used to be," the Georgia editor remarks. "When a mule trader could take a mule's tail and bend it back—without difficulty or resistance—he knew then and there that the mule was no good to anybody."

Humm. Is your tail good and stiff today, podner?

"STINKING ALBATROSS"

Speaking of name-calling, the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of March 6 offered this timely editorial comment:

"At the Civil Rights assembly in Washington, NAACP leader Clarence Mitchell called Mississippi's Senator Eastland a 'stinking albatross'. . . .

"The 'liberal' Northern press probably will not deplore Mitchell's bad manners. But we tremble to think how the mighty New York Times would thunder if Eastland should describe Mitchell as a 'stinking black bird.'"

MODERN PARADOX

Further quoting the Charleston editorial: "No race on earth has ever been so sensitive about being called names as are the 'new Negroes' of today. They are so sensitive that they object to spirituals in which Negroes are called 'darkies.'

'They have tabooed such bedtime stories as 'Little Black Sambo'. And when a colored fighter appears in a boxing bout, it is considered bad manners for the announcer to refer to him as a Negro. . .

STILL QUOTING—

"The truth is that Negroes do not even like to be called Negroes. . . .In view of all this, it seems paradoxical that Clarence Mitchell himself emerges as a rude name-caller.

"An albatross," the Charleston editorial concludes, "is a white bird—however 'stinking.' Does part of Mitchell's hate for Senator Eastland stem from the fact that Eastland too is white?"

LOGICAL VIEWPOINT

Here's a letter from Hon. Garvie Walker of Savage, Maryland, offering a simple but penetrating observation on Interposition, — reduced to its simplest terms. And we quote:

"As I see it, the only difference between the 5th and 10th amendments is that one protects the rights of individuals and the other protects the rights of states.

"If subversives, Communists, fellow travelers and various criminals can protect themselves by invoking the 5th Amendment, why can't the states—whose great majority consists of patriotic citizens—be protected from illegal and compulsory racial decay by invoking the 10th amendment?"

It's a fair question, Mr. Walker, one to which Southern states are seeking an answer through acts of Interposition.

ALABAMA IN DOGHOUSE

During the awful Till mess, we complained privately to a leading Mississippi editor that other Southern states were powerfully well-behaved—when some distraction was sorely needed to take the spotlight off Mississippi.

Times have changed. Comes now the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser to register a similar complaint, as follows. . . .

"A NEW SCAPEGOAT"

Remember back in the good old days when Mississippi was the target for all attacks on the Deep South and we all were thankful for our sister state to the West?

Times have changed, as witness the following from The New York Times:

..Phoenix, Ariz.,—The Giants and the Indians, aware of the tense racial situation, have cancelled their exhibition baseball game on April 10 at Meridian, Miss. Both teams have Negro players.

"Too close to Alabama," a spokesman for the New York club said

Southern Courier

Gradually

Item

To the Editor: 2-29-56

The Davidson County School Board (Nashville, Tenn.) is considering a plan to desegregate public schools a year at a time beginning with the first grade.

Under this plan it would take 12 years to desegregate the school system, but it might be accelerated if there were no incidents during the early years.

I had this same idea and was hoping someone in New Orleans would suggest such a plan. Young children don't have the prejudices that the older students acquire from their parents.

Desegregation appears to be a moral problem. Let's make an effort to solve it ourselves.

A JEFFERSON PARISH HOUSEWIFE.

Unmoved

To the Editor:

Our honorable Archbishop's letter on segregation leaves us unmoved!

He is unrealistic and he and the Editor of Catholic Action are adding to the turmoil in no real spiritual way. The Church is to save souls, not put them beyond the pale by ex-communication. . . . In theory only are all men created equal. . . . How can racial segregation be morally wrong, all of a sudden, when it has been with us since the first boatload came over from Africa?

* * *

SEGREGATION has always been practiced. People of wealth or distinction do not send their children to common schools. . . . In Catholic hospitals one gets what one pays for — different care, different wards, different floors. No one objects. It makes sense.

However it is, in principle, segregation.

One does not knock at exclusive private clubs and demand admission, even though one does have a white face, and the background. Clubs reserve their right to choose their membership. We do the same with our friends, our schools. The white race built their Catholic schools and colleges long before the Archbishop of New Orleans and Mr. Everett arrived on the scene.

NEW ORLEANS ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Major Sullens' Mail

Comment from Readers

(Please Sign Your Name. Keep Letters Brief)

A Salty Letter To Digest Editor

E. F. Stubblefield, prominnent citizen of Indianola, has sent the following salty letter to the editors of the Readers Digest:

Indianola, Miss.
March 23, 1956.

Editors, Dewitt Wallace &
Lila A. Wallace,
The Readers Digest
Pleasantville, N. Y.

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Wallace:

"Approved Killing in Mississippi," was just what you were seeking, I am sure. It placed you in a group with Life, Time, and Look, sensational. All of you have a printing Metropolis that you use to throw your slurs southward never realizing that, "Learning, without thought is useless."

Thurgood Marshall, the $15,000.00 per year counsellor, has also sold the Wallaces a bill of goods for the NAACP. Don't be ashamed, he has sold others: the Carters and Faulkners in Mississippi, the Orgills, Clements, Kefauvers, Khrushchevs, Malenkovs, Bunches, and others of like nature and ilk.

The NAACP is growing large and has everyone running, doesn't it, Mr. Wallace? We who do protest are hotheads, aren't we? The $10,000,000.00 program of "Free By 63" should be enough to make us run. We are hard-headed, for they even show us that only when whites and negroes mingle freely in school, church, social activities and marriage will they not tend to keep to themselves.

Charles Diggs, son of a crooked politician, commands the FBI to see about us. Adam Clayton Powell tells us that nations throughout the world look to them for leadership, but still we run not. In the end we will run, though, run the same as we ran at Richmond, at Vicksburg, and Gettysburg.

Mr. Wallace, what would you do do if rape came into your family? Would you run? How is the population arranged in Pleasantville? If you were in Newark, Washington, or Chicago would you send a loved one out at night? We still do, and we wish to maintain that way of life. Any other way is racial suicide.

Emmett Till was out for rape that night; he grabbed a wife belonging to a white person; he was not an innocent child, and he forgot, "When in Rome do as Romans do." In justice to us, did you ever stop to think that had that been a white man attacking a Negro man's wife that we would all have felt that he, the Negro, would have a perfect right to defend his home; even if it meant killing?

We do not believe in integration, we feel that Polly Ann Hudson and Autheine Lucy should seek out their own people. As for our schools, churches, homes and socials, we do not intend to integrate at all. Trouble will have to seek us out, as we aren't looking for it. We are "At Home" and bothering no-one. On the other hand, should an undesirable — be he black, red, or green—move next door, I seriously doubt that the whole neighborhood would move fifteen blocks over and leave him with that many blocks to Africanize.

The NAACP brags of growing and state they collected $634,756.00 in 1955 and that they have 80,104 members in Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, (where is Texas?) and Tennessee. Now let's say these same states (still waiting for Texas) have a population of 25,000,000 people. Politicians should look at these figures, because if we have skimmed off the skum then that leaves us 24,919,896 good, white and black Southerners. It could be that Senator Lehman needs to see these figures, being a politician he likes to look at numbers. It could dawn on him now useless his demands are in this direction.

Now Mr. Wallace, if you have enough of quoting William Brad- [illegible] That man is a General in every sense of the word. He knows when he is out-maneuvered. He won't take it lying down. He is parrying for time, changing tactics, bringing up new and more potent reserves, along with his big guns for the coup de grace.

Billy Graham did not visit the White House to get a golf game His visit preceeded the good feelings and understandings the president found for us. Then too, the unholy, Morse, Humphries and Lehman didn't stop having verbal hemorages for nothing.

We of this good Bible belt have based our stand on the segregation issue on what we believe to be righteous principals, godly traditions. The enemy knows that.

If we do have "niggers-in-the-woodpile", strange latent murderers lurking in the darkness of our understanding, just waiting and sweating out the time when they may plunge a dagger in our backs here at home, we might be in more danger than we think.

How would we react to great inter-racial revivals in the name of Christ right here in our Southland? Would it not be good generalship to attack us in our most vulnerable spot? Are there preachers low enough down to cooperate with great preachers like Graham in such subversion? It would be subversion wouldn't it?

I live away up right at the Tennessee line, and we get your paper a day late. I am just mentioning what I had on my mind. My neighbors don't think it can happen to us. I don't trust anything north of the Mississippi line. If there is such a danger, I hope you or some one will do something about it.

Most Respectfully,
C. C. Smith,
Dumas, Miss.

'Frisco Paper Makes Him Mad

San Francisco, Calif.

Editor, Daily News: I am sure you know Mr. Hearst, editor of the Examiner here in San Francisco. I take his paper, also I get my Jackson Daily News.

I get mad every day I can hardly go to work. Every body here is Negro crazy. I have to ride with them and eat with them.

I am enclosing a picture of Kefauver who was here last week.

He is shown in the middle of Fillimore street, the same as Farish street in Jackson.

I am a very close friend of Jim Eastland.

I have read your paper for 30 years and always [illegible]

and direct its subversive activities. This is why various organizations not officially cited as "subversive" consistently "follow the Communist line." The above-named organizations all have top personnel with Red records.

There are at least 25 other pro-integration organizations (mostly with "Negro" leaders) of which 21 have been officially cited as "Communist" or "Communist - front" which are believed effective units of the pro - negro segment of the Red Revolution against America.

The Communist aims are: 1—To stir up dissension and sectional strife between races and in churches, education and communities. 2—To promote racial mixing to mongrelize the white race and weaken the U. S.

To prevent this insidious Red drive from destroying our free Republic patriotic citizens must organize for immediate militant action and broadcast the true facts throughout the nation.

Stanley F. Morse.
Charleston, S. C.,
March 26, 1956

Race Relations Not For Courts

Editor, Daily News:

In the eyes of man all his ways are right, but the Lord weighth the spirit United in groups people signify their oneness of belief or spirit and only God can judge their spirit. Surely man can weigh the teachings and judge the actions of these groups to decide who is American and what is Christian.

No nation of people have ever kept their freedom or religion; religious sects or political groups, who seek not truth or understanding, but power, make themselves tools to ambitious political or religious leaders, who gain power only to forget their religion and politics or the group, who by their loyalty gave them power.

Ever seeking to prove by might the meaning of right, those who use force shall perish by force. Is forced integration less dangercus or more desirable than forced segregation of race? If a law is unjust it may be changed, but more unjust than a faulty law is the abuse of power to change that law. Neither a Supreme Court decision to abolish segregation or a State Interposition to maintain segregation will long help the black or white Americans and Christians of Mississippi. There can be no progress for one race or two without understanding and unity of purpose among the people and between the races.

Our disagreement about race merely makes more plain our disagreement about religion and government. Who decides when "liberty under the law" becomes "Subjection by the Law"? If the purpose of the American Government is security and freedom, not only who, but how does it make secure and free?

Race-relationship is a problem not only in America, but the world. In Mississippi let us seek not pride of race, but love of race. If we can love our own race we can love another. If we are proud of our own we can only hate or look with shame upon another.

When Americans and Christians speak to each other to seek understanding not of their own christian sect, but the purpose of Christianity, the purpose not of the Supreme Court, but the American Government; when we realize our need for races, states, and nations, who seek unity to protect and help each other not dominate, change, or destroy other races, other states, or other nations, we will be ready then for progress.

Mrs. Lucian Wadlington,
Belzoni, Miss.

South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, (where is Texas?) and Tennessee. Now let's say these same states (still waiting for Texas) have a population of 25,000,000 people. Politicians should look at these figures, because if we have skimmed off the skum then that leaves us 24,919,896 good, white and black Southerners. It could be that Senator Lehman needs to see these figures, being a politician he likes to look at numbers. It could dawn on him now useless his demands are in this direction.

Now Mr. Wallace, if you have enough of quoting William Bradford Hule, you could follow exactly the same trend again. Ebony had an article in which it was stated that Adam C. Powell and his wife ran around their home, in the nude, and in front of their son. Why not visit there, and again seek your lowest in jornalism.?

A southern editor has stated that if the whites numbered fifteen million and the negroes 150 million, the whites would then be even more insistent on segregation. Whites don't want their race mongrelized.

Why did I write you in this manner? Because, Mr. & Mrs. Wallace, the Readers Digest has been my friend over a long period of years. I admire it greatly; and hope I won't be forced to stop any time soon. It is too fine to seek out material of any tabloid status. I have long admired and approved its editors for their wisdom and discretion in choosing from the leading magazines of our nation the articles of high caliber, literary merit, and authoritative origin.

The wisdom of Confucius is as applicable today as it was thousands of years ago- "Learning, without thought is useless."

Very sincerely yours,
.E. F. Stubblefield

Has No Faith With Yankees

Dumas, Mississippi

Editor Daily-News, I am not a politician, not a leader in any of the Isms or Ites, just a country man away back in the North East Mississippi hills. I do belong to the Citizens Council, but have not been prompted to write you or any one else. But I am very much concerned about things I believe even I can see approaching.

Knowing you by reputation only, which is an honor, and thinking perhaps some of our great men may not be able to see the forest for the trees, I am appealing to you for consideration. I believe it's important. If it isn't, well, just chunk it in the waste-basket and forget it.

There is no question about it, Thus far we have proven to be a very great thorn in the side of those who would intergrate us. We may not be exactly solid, or as nearly so as we would like to be, but we have certainly caused concern among the top-brass in Washington. I believe they know what our position is, and that we will not stop until we feel safe. Our goodness spilling over in other states has also grieved them to no end, and if we think just because Mr. Eisenhower has shown a word or two of kindness and understanding for us, that they may relent more, we're natural born idiots.

Editor, Daily News: I am sure you know Mr. Hearst, editor of the Examiner here in San Francisco. I take his paper, also I get my Jackson Daily News.

I get mad every day I can hardly go to work. Every body here is Negro crazy. I have to ride with them and eat with them.

I am enclosing a picture of Kefauver who was here last week.

He is shown in the middle of Fillimore street, the same as Farish street in Jackson.

I am a very close friend of Jim Eastland.

I have read your paper for 30 years and always admire you.

Joe Hassnall
1504 Irving Street
San Francisco, Calif.

Negro Commie Now In Jail

Editor, Daily News:

The surrender to the FBI of Henry Winston, Negro Communist, as reported in AP dispatches of March 1 and 5 published in the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier and other papers, omitted the vital fact that Winston is a Negro.

Winston not only is one of the 11 top U. S. Communists and former Party organization secretary but also was one of a large number of Negro Reds sent to Russia where they were trained in political warfare and the strategy and tactics of rebellion and civil war.

These Negroes were trained for the Red Revolution against the U. S. by order of Stalin. This information is from Manning Johnson, reformed ex - Communist, Negro leader, in sworn testimony and articles in 1954 and 1955.

It is most important that the general public be given the facts about the Red planning behind the pro-Negro drive so that the true significance of the anti-segregation campaign by the NAACP, National Urban League, Southern Regional Council and similar organizations may be fully revealed.

Citizens should remember that one or two trained, disciplined Reds holding key positions in an organization can effectively plan

loyalty gave them power.

Ever seeking to prove by might the meaning of right, those who use force shall perish by force. Is forced integration less dangercus or more desirable than forced segregation of race? If a law is unjust it may be changed, but more unjust than a faulty law is the abuse of power to change that law. Neither a Supreme Court decision to abolish segregation or a State Interposition to maintain segregation will long help the black or white Americans and Christians of Mississippi. There

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 6, 1956

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

AN ODD ATTITUDE

A special committee for the American Association of University Professors has just recommended that five anti - Communist colleges be "censured". These schools have fired faculty members refusing to take loyalty oaths or for not cooperating with congressional investigations of subversion.

Moveover, the AAUP committee is on record as opposing the firing of professors who are known to be Communists, just because they are Reds. "Professional fitness," says the committee, "is the only question which should be considered when a teacher is challenged."

THE COMMITTEE recommendations must still be approved by the annual convention of the American Association of University Professors to be held later this year. The group has considerable membership through the United States.

Schools which the AAUP committee wants to have "censured" are Ohio State University, University of California, Temple University, Rutgers and Jefferson Medical College. Each has fired teachers for not cooperating with anti-Red investigations, or refusing to take required loyalty oaths.

ODDLY ENOUGH, the same committee has praised schools which refuse to dismiss faculty members who have defied the U.S. Government or who refuse to take loyalty oaths. These include Harvard, Chicago University, Cornell, John Hopkins, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Sarah Lawrence. Some of these schools, it is claimed, are heavily infested with pinkos, pro-Reds and bona fide Communists.

To the South's credit, no college below the Mason and Dixon line is singled out for praise by the leftist-minded AAUP committee. Also, it seems unfortunate that no Southern school has been marked for "censure" by this group. Any knock from Red sympathizers or appeasers is a boost in the eyes of many Americans.

IT IS NOT TOO surprising that the AAUP committee failed to recommend "censure" for the American University in Washington, D.C. That school has fired a professor because he cooperated with Congress and testified against subversives.

This victim of "academic freedom," Herbert Fuchs, lost his job as a law professor at American University after he gave aid and comfort to the U.S. government. He named 34 persons he knew to be members of the Communist Party while holding sensitive federal jobs.

FREELY ADMITTING his own

Southern Opinion

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FREELY ADMITTING his own past membership in the Party, from 1934 to 1946, he said he had quit after becoming sickened with Red subversion and espionage. The government praised his services, describing his information as among the most valuable since the infamous Alger Hiss case.

After Prof. Fuchs was fired by American University, House committee chairman Francis Walter denounced his dismissal as "reprehensible." However, professional defenders of "academic freedom" have maintained a deep, dark silence. Militant "liberals" shed no tears over his plight.

GETTING BACK TO the committee purporting to represent the American Association of University Professors, its failure to recommend censure for American University, or to condemn the firing of Prof. Fuchs, indicates an unusual and highly questionable attitude. Apparently the committee favors "censure" only for those schools which act against suspected subversives. Its sympathies seem reserved only for teachers fired for playing footsie with Communism.

Because of this implied attitude, the AAUP committee itself deserves vigorous censure instead of those pro-American colleges which have incurred its displeasure. Certainly the committee's recommendations merit and probably will receive a swift, merciless death at the coming AAUP convention.

INSOFAR AS IS known, Mississippi was not represented on the AAUP committee. Certainly there is no reason to believe our own splendid institutions would hesitate to fire a suspected subversive, whether the AAUP committee liked it or not. Nor has there been the vaguest suspicion that there are any subversive teachers in our state schools.

However, since the foregoing matter involves "academic freedom"—a controversial issue in this state recently — the AAUP committee's recommendations should interest Mississippians. For one thing, these recommendations illustrate some of the inconsistent, hypocritical thinking now masquerading under the cloak of "liberalism" in these United States today.

Southern Opinion

Don't clip Southern Opinion See other page also

never understand; but when a magazine, as in the case of *Life*, goes out to besmirch and murder the ideals of the South, that magazine is guilty of a crime that is not found in the lexicon of man—but is subject to the laws of Divine Creation. What I wanted to say to you is this: I do not want *Life* magazine!"

J. B. MILLS

Ozark, Ala.

Best Day

SIRS: My copy of SOUTH usually arrives on Friday morning, and it goes a long way toward making Friday the best day of the work week for me. I wouldn't be without your weekly reports on "Southern Affairs," and your editorial page ranks with the very best. . . .

THOMAS J. MALLORY

New Orleans

Shoddy

SIRS: *Time* held up Emmett Till's father as a hero, and it backfired. The NAACP promenaded Pollie Hudson as one of its prize exhibits and the backfire was really something when your publication laid the real facts on the line. *Look* trotted out Joe Foster as a hero, and your story this week (April 2) about the Albany *Herald's* exposure of his criminal record keeps the backfire going. It seems that the anti-South agitators would select their "heroes" and prize exhibits with more care. Their performance to date has been shoddy and terrible.

WALTER CHAMBERS

New Orleans

Court Critic

SIRS: I have just read your editorial (April 2) taking issue with the contention of Senator Kefauver and Governor Stevenson that the Supreme Court is above and beyond criticism, and hasten to congratulate you. I believe you are right in saying that few liberty-loving American citizens will agree with their contention. You pointed out that Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt had been unsparing in their criticisms of the court, but didn't you forget one Hugo L. Black? I seem to recall that he was a senator from Alabama before he went on the court, and that he, too, was quite critical of the court along about the time he was supporting the Roosevelt court-packing program.

L. M. BULLARD

Chattanooga

TIME's *Laxness*

SIRS: . . . At the time our Feb. 20 story, "Alabama Scandal," went to press on Feb. 11, *TIME* did not know that the reasons for the University of Alabama's rejection of . . . (Pollie Anner Myers) Hudson were more compelling than was indicated in its official statement: "The evidence before the board is that her conduct and marital record have been such that she does not meet the admission standards of the university." Our reporter made considerable effort to get behind this official statement, but, as you know, the University did not amplify the basis of its decision.

Since the ramifications of the case became known to us, we have had no occasion to report on . . . Hudson because, when her action against the University was dropped, she too dropped out of the news. Attention has been focused on Autherine Lucy and we hope you have not missed our subsequent stories on her and the NAACP. You will note that in our March 12 Education story, *TIME* says: "The NAACP was fighting a united and determined opposition in Alabama, and it could ill afford either the tactlessness or the impatience it has shown in some of its recent actions."

FRANK SHEA

Assistant to Publisher,
TIME
New York

➤ *TIME* ought to read SOUTH to keep abreast of developments. SOUTH printed facts on Pollie Anner Myers Hudson in its Feb. 13 issue, available Feb. 9.—ED.

Illegal, Illogical

SIRS: The right of a state to interpose its sovereignty by appropriate action in the Integration decision of May 1954 is based on the unconstitutional usurpation of authority by the Supreme Court. The court did not hold that the law it overruled was bad law but that it was bad sociology. The Constitution does not give to judges the authority to pass on sociological matters. That is for the Legislative branch whose members are constantly going before the people with platforms to change, amend or repeal existing laws and create new ones. The court said in referring to the intent of the framers of the 14th Amendment it "cannot be determined with any degree of certainty." The court knew that the same Congress which promulgated the 14th Amendment passed two bills providing for segregated schools in the District of Columbia. Therefore the court did not base its decision on anything in the Constitution and cited as its authority books on sociology which were not introduced in evidence and contained in the record. The court said in *Pinkus v. Reilly* (1949) that non-legal material offered in evidence was illegal, illogical and unfair. If it was illogical, illegal and unfair in 1949 how did it happen to be legal, logical and fair in 1954, particularly when not introduced in evidence and the other side given an opportunity to cross examine the authority? The Constitution had not changed. The integration decision was more unconstitutional than any of the many decisions where interposition worked. The South should stand firm for her rights.

JOHN ALTMAN

Carrollton, Ala.

Up to South

SIRS: . . . The ultimate goal of the South must be, as you will note in the declaration of constitutional principles which has been signed by 18 or more Southern senators. . . ., to gain the cooperation of all areas

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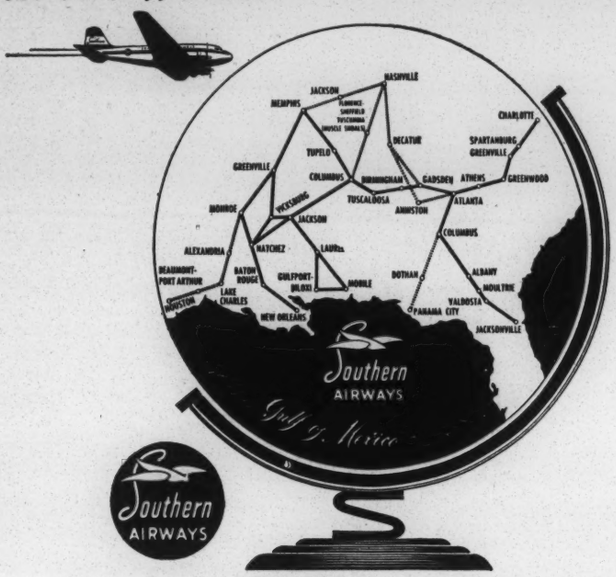

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Backfire

of the nation which are interested in preserving our dual form of government and the preservation of the rights of the states and the people thereof. Whenever enough members of the Senate indicate to us a willingness to support congressional action we can then bring to the floor of the Senate a resolution along the lines I have indicated which will in effect declare that schools that are separate but equal are constitutional. We, of course, can't get such a majority this year but the chances of ultimately doing so are no more remote than those of states like New York and New Jersey to bring about the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to which they so seriously objected from the very start. You may recall that in the campaign of 1928 the Democratic convention meeting in Houston nominated Al Smith but refused to put in the platform a plank calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. In accepting the nomination, Al Smith said that if elected President he would do all he could to bring about the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Republican nominee, Mr. Hoover, said that the Eighteenth Amendment was "an experiment noble in purpose." And between prohibition on the one side and Catholicism on the other Hoover won a tremendous victory. But the end result of that so-called noble experiment became so distasteful to law-abiding citizens that in the end about as many states voted to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment as had previously voted to ratify it.

Naturally, I hope that states in which there is no school issue will not refuse to give aid to the Southern states on the broad constitutional principles involved until after the school system in many of them has been wrecked and racial animosities developed which will be lasting in effect. But, as indicated above, the South will never get a legal remedy for our deplorable situation unless we of the South make such an effort.

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
U. S. Senator,
Virginia
Washington

Not For Him

SIRS: I have received the last three copies of your publication, though I haven't subscribed to it. I shall appreciate your removing my name from your mailing list.

JOHN ALLEN ADAMS
Arkadelphia, Ark.

Delighted

SIRS: Our folks were so delighted with your fine article on the work of our agricultural and forestry department that we made up a little folder for use of that department. Reprints were distributed at the annual meeting of the American Railway Development Association at Memphis in February. . . .

C. G. MASSOTH
Editor Illinois Central Magazine
Chicago

Lulu's Buch ...

Pulse of the Public

Const 4/13/56

Amending Constitution Suggested To Nullify Controversial High Court Integration Verdict

Rome—Instead of constant complaining by Griffin and Cook and officials in other states, including the North, against the Supreme Court's ruling on integration, why don't they take advantage of the Constitution and the remedy provided by it?

This is the second method defined by the Constitution of amending the document, all-important to the states because it conveys to them absolute sovereignty and the final word in any federal vs. state struggle. There is nothing complex about this remedy. It is simply that 32 state legislatures can force Congress to call a constitutional convention for any stated purpose.

Once assembled the state delegates would consider, approve and pass on to the several legislatures the proposed amendment or amendments and should 36 state legislatures approve the proposed amendment it would become the law of the land.

Every amendment that has been added to the Constitution has had the effect of nullifying previous Supreme Court rulings.

PARKER ARNOLD.

* * *

perience or may be inferred with certainty."

O. M.

Southern Spectator

Southern Opinion

THE CLARION-LEDGER, JACKSON, MISS., FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 20, 1956

Voice of the People

Dear Editor:

In your paper of last Wednesday, you published an article signed by 28 Southern Baptist leaders. May I as a lifelong Baptist, make a few remarks about this article, and what seems to be the purpose of it. The article urges the Baptist to be quite, calm, and to restudy their faith for another solution to the racial problem. The article picks up the propaganda of the NAACP that there is great friction and feelings between the races of the South that must be stopped. This they suggest can be done only by the white and colored Baptists of the South.

As much as I would like to be loyal to our leaders, I cannot agree with them about the friction. There is no friction to speak of between the races of the South. The friction is between the NAACP and some of our statesmen, and religious leaders. The trouble is communism, propagated by subversive organizations, and individuals, against Democracy that allows for freedom of choice, and a wide range of differences.

The people of the South have been made the victims of Communism, that had its origin in Russia, has infiltrated America, and American institutions. Today, it has been given a new shot in the arm, by the UN, the Supreme Court, and some denominational organizations, and leaders. Now, I am not going to accuse these worthy leaders, and they are worthy, of being for the destruction of segregation. However, from their writings, and from their voting, I sincerely believe that they are. I believe that they are for the UN, the decision of the Supreme Court, and for mixing the races in our denominational colleges and seminaries. If they are not, and will say so, I will most humbly apologize.

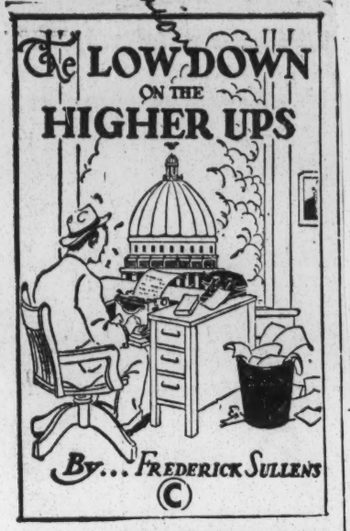
A majority of our people in the South, both colored and white do not want desegregation. They know that the problems of desegregation would be greater than the problems of segregation. The doctrine of desegregation is not the product of Democracy, the teachings of the Bible, nor Christianity. It cannot be derived from the laws governing God's creation, nor from the laws of Christianity that warns against the weaknesses, and destruction of the flesh. Redeemed people must fear, and have no confidence in the flesh; they must hate even the garments spotted by the flesh, and crucify their own flesh daily. Segregation is not perfect, neither is any other law. However, it has worked wonders, and let us not exchange it for a mere theory, that will put greater friction, and feelings, between the races of the South.

Rev. Chas. C. Jones
Mendenhall, Miss.

The Clarion-Ledger
JACKSON DAILY NEWS

ALL THREE MAJOR WIRE SERVICES — Associated Press, United Press, International News Service

Jackson, Mississippi, Sunday, April 22, 1956 — Six Sec



THE MAYFLOWER
Washington

Strikingly illustrative of conditions in Washington is a report of the superintendent of the District of Columbia juvenile reformatory showing 38 white boys and 218 Negroes are inmates of the institution. Washington is rapidly becoming a Negro city but the juvenile criminal percentage shoud not show such a wide difference in any city.

* * *

The deplorable effect of the Supreme Court integration decision is to lower the level of instruction in both elementary and high schools to the pace of which Negro children are capable. All educators are aware of the fact that after they reach the fifth grade Negro pupils learn much more slowly than white pupils and at the high school age their slowness is much more in evidence.

* * *

"God is on our side in this problem," yells an NAACP leader. God is not on anybody's side in the solution of any controversial matter. God put us here to solve our own problems and work out our own destinies with whatever we may have available in the way of brains. It is typical of the times that weaklings try to place all the responsibility on a God who is quite too busy making other worlds to be bothered with the petty personal troubles of human beings on one small planet.

* * *

Major Sullens' Mail

Comment from Readers

(Please Sign Your Name. Keep Letters Brief)

Ike Favors Integration

Editor Daily News: The Mixiecrats and mongrelizers, along with other propagandists, are having their troubles. After the Black Monday ukase of the not so Supreme Court, it was felt that the South would immediately begin to mix the white and black in schools, golf links and swimming pools. But a considerable amount of opposition has sprung up, and the mixing has not gone so steadily forward as the vote seekers thought.

So President Eisenhower has decided, or it has been decided for him, that he must fling himself personally into the fray, and support the Ukase, or edict, of his "Republican Chief Justice," as boastfully proclaimed by Vice-Pres. Nixon. The procedure of "Ike" is typically child-like. One day he comes out with a statement that we must be "calm," and "moderate", and other insane expressions. The next he is out with a message to Congress, which stripped of its political color, means this: The damned South is showing signs of resisting my Court Edict, and I want the Congress to come to our aid, and "pass a law" and give us the men and money to force the un-willing whites to bow the knee, and acknowledge the sovereignty of this administration and proceed to obey the Wkase of My Court.

The message, like others from the same source, seeks to conceal the person, by saying: "The Eisenhower administration today asked Congress to enact a broad civil rights program." The message then proceeds to list the things desired. Among the things is a Federal Commission, appointed by Eisenhower of course, to investigate cases of personal grievances, a separate division of the Attorney General's office, in effect, to prosecute white people of the South who are charged by any negro or the NAACP of infringing any of the "rights" of negroes.

Threatened with such as this the President has the monumental effrontery to ask us to be "calm" and "moderate," and other like honeyed words. What does he think we are? A race of fools? He wants us to sit quiet, and calm, and speak softly, while he disrupts our entire economic and social structure. It is a little rough, but the story fits "Ike". A Negro had a nice big catfish, stretched on the table ready to skin. The fish persisted in flopping off the table Finally, in exasperation, (same as Ike) he said, "What fo' de matter wid you ole fish; I aint gonna do nuthin but gut you and skin yu' "

No, "Ike" we won't lay still and let you work your will on us.

Those southern Governors, like Clement of Tennessee, had best review their position before it is too late This is election year, and it is clear that the Mixiecrats and Mongrelizers will stop at nothing, lawful or unlawful, to implement the Ukase of the Court. It is time for those "Citizens for Ike" to look over their hand. Will they stand for orderly government or for the spoils office?

George Washington, in his Farewell Address, spoke of the changes that must come, and he added, "But let there be no change by usurpation."

We stand against usurpation; the usurpation of the law making.

Power of Congress, assumed and exercised by the Court in May 1954. Our freedom depends on the separation of the powers of government between the sharply defined powers of the Federal Government, the powers of the States and the powers reserved to the people themselves. And then upon to cease the farce of pretending he is a minister of the gospel? He says he intends to clean up the South's backyard. He would be wiser to preach to his people to clean up their front yards and quit killing, raping and other criminal practices. Congressman Williams' speech giving statistics on major crime in New York should clearly show this fat head that he has plenty of distance to go before his race is in a position to demand equality, Meanwhile the innocent Negro is being confused by this promise of Heaven on Earth.

You have already ruled out Little Ave Harriman's bid for the Democratic nomination so what do you say we give him to Powell as a candidate for the Negro party? Let us suggest that they prevail upon the deserving members of the Supreme Court to serve as cabinet members in case the country goes really insane and elects the ticket.

Bob Varner
P. O. Box 545
Mobile, Alabama

planted in every section of the USA. Let us dig out the roots and dump them where they belong. They belong in the ashes of time.

I wish you and your papers the best that you can wish for.

Sincerely,
Harry W. Mutimer.
Hayward 2, Wis.

Indiana Man Sends Invite

Editor Daily News:

A retired lawyer, I haven't much else to do, and I find a lot of fun in needling the editor of the Chicago TRIBUNE, which has become the outstanding propaganda machine for NAACP. Another such propaganda machine is Headquarters, UAW, Detroit, Mich., where anti-segregation script is prepared for broadcast over station WCFL in Chicago. But that editor never publishes MY letters. Perhaps my needle is either too sharp or too dull. H. L. Mencken once said of his own writing, in substance: they supply relief of tension and achievement of function, as enjoyed by the cow when she gives milk. Perhaps that is why I write to the TRIBUNE.

If you find it desirable you may publish, over my signature, the following:

Invitation: Anxious and frustrated white people of the South never have the glass replaced. They have garbage littering the front of the house (thrown from windows). They have either nothing, or dirty rags where there should be curtains. They cluster on the front steps in stinking lumps, oggling, laughing, pulling one another around, smoking, spitting and cutting up in general. They have a new car one week, and the next week it is already filthy, dented and neglected. They fill so many posts in the civil service jobs, that they outnumber the whites in the unemployment offices, the post-offices, and now they are appearing more and more often in police uniforms. The income tax offices are creeping with Negroes, and their slow movements and crass ignorance makes it difficult to understand how tthey ever passed the necessary examinations to get those jobs.

Damn Yankee
Mrs. Will Heinrick
New York, City

New Yorker Likes South

Editor, Daily News:

I am a frequent reader of the Daily News and am 100 per cent behind your segregation policy in the South. The Negroes, the NAACP and the Supreme Court and all the rest of their crummy gange are out to destroy the white race. Our hopes are the South will keep up the good work and I want you to know you have friends here.

Sincerely Yours,
Jamesh Burns
New York, N. Y.

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George Washington, in his Farewell Address, spoke of the changes that must come, and he added, "But let there be no change by usurpation."

We stand against usurpation; the usurpation of the law making. Power of Congress, assumed and exercised by the Court in May 1954. Our freedom depends on the separation of the powers of government between the sharply defined powers of the Federal Government, the powers of the States and the powers reserved to the people themselves. And then upon the absolute and strict separation of the powers of the Legislative the Executive and the Judiciary.

We have kept that division fairly well since 1887. We have kept separate institutions for the white and colored races since 1865. We have kept separate institutions for the white and colored races since 1865. The carpetbaggers set up separate schools for white and black when they had control of Mississippi; and Congress provided for separate schools in the District of Columbia. We have built our economic and social life on those things. They are our life, our very existence.

The South has been gaining in wealth and economic power, and as we have been able we have provided schools and hospitals for our colored bretheren. There is no quarrel and no emmity between white and black. We ask nothing except to be let alone. One of our colored teachers here in Jackson, Prot. Gooden, had a splendid statement in a local paper two weeks ago. But now comes Eisenhower and his gang of modern carpetbaggers, with the same hate and malice and the same hunger for votes and plunder, and proposes, overnight, to scramble the whole works. Our answer is an emphatic, Hell, NO!

A. S. Coody
776 North West St.
Jackson, Miss.

Cites Prospects For Negro Party

Editor, Daily News—Wouldn't it be ironical if after all the mad efforts of the two major parties to gather in the Negro vote, Adam Powell could carry out the threat to form a new party with his race.

Imagine the frustration it would bring to the leaders of some of those sharpies in Washington. Also consider the misery and disillusionment it would bring to the decent people of both races in this country. Powell says he is considering resigning from Congress to carry on his demogogrey, Wouldn't it be more proper for him

Eastland For President

Editor, Daily News: I agree with you in every way when you say there is not a man yet mentioned for President who is acceptable to us Southerners even though we may have to accept one of them. I have talked to many travelers or tourists and I have had many to say that our own Sen. J. O. Eastland would be more acceptable. I have not had one out of more tahn 100 who I have talked with who is any different than us on integration and al lsay Jim is a fine and capable man. So I am suggesting that his name be put on the list as possible candidates for President. His record is a much better one politically than some of the recent past. So why not give him a boost?

Yours respectfully,
K. V. Bell
RFD 2, Box 160
Vicksburg, Miss.

Yank Defends Southern Way

Editor, Daily News:

I am in receipt of many clippings from your Newspapers. I agree 100 per cent with your views even if I am a Yankee. Up in the north we don't want you to tell us how to shovel snow, therefore why should misguided northerners try to tell you how to handle the south.

Live and let live is my religion. However, in religion there are problems. It is not for me to tell any one how to vote, yet in the great era of the New Deal and the Fair Deal the south has been given the roots of the controversy that today has come to a boiling point. Communisism is the heat that has brought the water to a boil.

If this menace is not dug out things will go from bad to worse. In the 20 years from 1932 to 1952 the seeds of communism were

A retired lawyer, I haven't much else to do, and I find a lot of fun in needling the editor of the Chicago TRIBUNE, which has become the outstanding propaganda machine for NAACP. Another such propaganda machine is Headquarters, UAW, Detroit, Mich., where anti-segregation script is prepared for broadcast over station WCFL in Chicago. But that editor never publishes MY letters. Perhaps my needle is either too sharp or too dull. H. L. Mencken once said of his own writing, in substance: they supply relief of tension and achievement of function, as enjoyed by the cow when she gives milk. Perhaps that is why I write to the TRIBUNE.

If you find it desirable you may publish, over my signature, the following:

Invitation: Anxious and frustrated white people of the South are respectfully invited to move to Chicago or other northern cities, where segregation still is practiced — with subtlety but never the less effectually; where Negro children are burned to death in century — old tenements.

Valparaiso is a small city which boasts publicly that it has not a single Negro resident. Many people in this area find repugnant the President's plan to interfere in the internal affairs of the several states. They will cast protest ballots against him this year.

Sincerely,
S. G. Evans,
Valparaiso, Ind.

New Yorker On Race Question

Editor Daily News: You have no idea how far-reaching this issue has been felt thus far. Even in the chain grocery stores, the colored women flaunt their "equality" to a point where it is "supremacy". Of course I do not tolerate their insolence when it is directed toward me. But I see many white women afraid to defend their rights because of some towering darkey, bedecked in cannibal earrings, spindle heels and equipped with a loud, vulgar voice. These newly rich wenches ride rough-shod over many white women shoppers, usurping their places on the checking-out lines, and pushing their way along, banging metal carrier baskets into other shoppers' legs and feet. You can understand that a well-bred woman is unaccustomed to such unnecessary beligerance, and is quite unprepared for senseless quarrelling and bickering.

I certainly admire you and your Southern Brothers for their brave fight against being wiped out by sheer numbers; and we feel that your voting should be protected against the mass Negro votes that would most certainly stamp out the thinking white man in the South. You would be amazed, Major, if you were to see a map of New York City, showing the inroads that have been made by the black race here. They have our widest, most beautiful avenues. Not only do they have them, but they wreck them. As soon as they take over a neighborhood, the window panes are broken, and they stuff cardboard or rags or any old thing in, and

May 2, 1958

Southern Opinion

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

EASTLAND SLIGHTED?

The possibility that state political leaders are ignoring Senator Jim Eastland is suggested by our good friend Erle Johnston, editor of the Scott County Times at Forest.

One of the most astute political observers in these parts, he offers some interesting speculations to which devote our entire space today, as follows. And we quote:

"THERE ARE FEARS among the politicos that the selection of Senator John Stennis to make the keynote address at the State Democratic Convention July 16, instead of Senator Jim Eastland, will be interpreted up North as an indication that Mississippi is not solidly behind Eastland's campaign against integration.

"This is no reflection on the capable Senator from DeKalb, but recent articles in magazines and Yankee newspapers have hinted occasion that Eastland's voice is not as vigorously backed as he indicates...

"ANY INCIDENT which might support this theory is exploited by the integrationists, and the fact that Eastland was passed over for the most important state convention of the year may start a curl of smoke.

"Actually," the Forest editor continues, "the nod went to Stennis because of the influence of Governor J. P. Coleman, who is expected to head the state's delegation to the national Democratic convention. Tom Tubb of West Point, chairman of the state Democratic Executive Committee, was a Coleman man last summer. He will serve as temporary chairman...

"ANNOUNCEMENTS TO THE PRESS from Chairman Tubb make about plans for the convention no mention of Senator Eastland—although the senior Senator is in more demand as a speager than at any time since he took office in 1942.

"Some observers see the maneuver as a means of propelling Senator Stennis — who is a strong segregationist but not as vigorous as his colleague — into a more favorable position on the segregation issue...

"STENNIS IS CERTAIN to declare firmly that Mississippi will not accept a platform which supports the desegregation decree of the U.S. Supreme Court. An able speaker, he can strengthen his political support by impressing such an important audience as the Democratic delegates rom every county in the state.

"To Governor Coleman," the Forest editor opines, "it is far more important to his own political future to keep Stennis in the limelight and Eastland in the shadows — when possible...

"THERE IS MORE talk than ever that Stennis, who comes up for reelection in a short time, may have opposition in Congressman John Bell Williams, who is almost as vigorous as Eastland on segregation. (End quote)

Plan To Reduce

Southern Opinion

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Manager
T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

Another Threat To Freedom

Apparently guided by the callous philosophy that might makes right, a House majority in Congress has indicated a determination to force President Eisenhower's so-called "civil rights" program down Southern throats. This means that the Senate is virtually certain to be the scene of a showdown battle on this issue in the near future.

Stripped of glib phraseology, this "civil rights" program is merely another step in an overall campaign designed to strip the states of more powers and vest increased authority in the federal government. Even worse, this program will if enacted strike a serious blow at the citizen's traditional right to trial by jury.

Through this program, the administration seeks legislation which would enable anyone to go into a federal court and seek an injunction against any person or persons accused of trying to "intimidate" a voter from going to the polls. Such legislation would to all effects and purposes nullify the accused's right to request a jury trial by his peers.

Instead, if a federal injunction were granted and if election officials or anyone else "defied" it, the accused party or parties could be prosecuted for contempt of federal court and heavily fined or even sent to prison if found guilty. Thus, the federal government would in effect be trampling on the civil rights of some persons in upholding the civil rights of others.

It is impossible to understand how fair-minded persons dedicated to accepted American principles could endorse legislation having the obvious purpose of circumventing traditional procedures of justice. However, fairness has never been a characteristic of those who seek to employ steamroller tactics in crushing states' rights and establishing a federal hierachy controlled by NAACP agitators and unsavory radical elements.

The President's so-called "civil rights" program is the most damaging threat to democracy and individual freedom since the infamous Force Bill of Reconstruction days. It is a deliberate, dangerous and diabolical effort to emasculate the Bill of Rights and inaugurate a reign of terror in Southern states. For this reason, the administration's politically-inspired power grab should and must be defeated.

Editorial Opinion

Gazette 5-18-56 NC-5

The Right Spirit

The trying problem left by the decision of the United States Supreme Court against segregation is one that challenges men of good will who would hold to their convictions but act with calmness and charity, with respect for order and good relations and for the good name of their communities and their state.

This was the spirit of the words used by Governor Faubus in addressing more than a hundred citizens from all over the state in a meeting that considered two proposed measures. The governor said the purpose of the proposals is to maintain, in an orderly and peaceful manner, "what is the will of the people at the present time."

The two parts of the quoted line are equally significant. So. Opinion

So. Opinion

So Opinion

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by

Tom Ethridge

FAULKNER'S LATEST

Mississippi's one and only William Faulkner seems obsessed with the notion that white races are doomed to be enslaved by the world's colored hordes. Our Oxford literary genius, whose specialty is morbid fiction, has stressed this "white slavery" theme quite frequently in anti-segregation writings and utterances.

Mr. Faulkner's latest emphasis on the subject is the current issue of Harper's Magazine, a leftist organ which consistently plays pinkish tunes. In fact, one astute commentator has branded Harper's as "a slick paper edition of the Daily Worker."

HIS NEW ARTICLE is entitled, "On Fear, The South Is In Labor." Mississippi's foremost man of letters sees very little hope for the white race, unless we abandon segregation and clasp colored brethren tightly to our loving bosom. It is the same old fear motive which integrationists love to stress.

The fact that Mr. Faulkner himself does not hobnob with state colored folks — or very many Mississippi white folks for that matter — is entirely beside the point. Like the joke about that worldly old Negro preacher, Mr. Faulkner's moralizing suggests, "Don't do as I do. Do as I say do." Here is the general thesis of his Harper's article. And we quote —

"SOON NOW ALL of us —not just Southerners not even just Americans, but all people who are still free and want to remain so — are going to have to make a choice, lest the next (and last) confrontation we face will be, not Communists against anti-Communists but simply the remaining handful of white people against the massed myraids of all the people on earth who are not white.

"We will have to choose not between color nor race nor religion, nor between East and West either, but simply between being slaves and being free."

IT SEEMS TO US that Mr. Faulkner sadly underestimates the intelligence of both Americans and Russians, not to mention his omitting the minor detail of how the world's mongrel, backward colored hordes could enslave the white world even if so inclined. Certainly Russia has no intention of permitting Asia and Africa to become so powerful, nor will Americans, if we have any sense at all. Unless by our own effort, colored nations can never achieve naval, air or bomb power necessary for world conquest. Mere numbers cannot [illegible]

petted in exchange for services rendered.

Unlike witless sheep, Mississippians and Southerners in general can readily recognize any attempt to lead them into the slaughterhouse of racial suicide. The "Judas Ram" is a fairly common creature neareabouts but, happily, they have few followers.

FOR THAT REASON, Mr. Faulkner would be wise to confine his time to writing of helpless virgins being raped by corncob-wielding sex degenerates, village idiots making love to cows, or corpses decaying in the family guest room. Home folks can too easily see the fat wallet bulging under the robes of this self-appointed prophet.

So Opinion 6/7

"SOON NOW HERE ...
just Southerners not even just Americans, but all people who are still free and want to remain so — are going to have to make a choice, lest the next (and last) confrontation we face will be, not Communists against anti-Communists but simply the remaining handful of white people against the massed myraids of all the people on earth who are not white.

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Moreover, this question arises: what will be gained if, to avoid conquest by colored races, we whites meekly submit to slavery here at home? What is freedom worth if we must embrace Communism and tyranny to preserve it? And speaking of slavery, has Mr. Faulkner forgotten the unsuccessful attempt to enslave the South after the Civil War? Would he have his fellow Mississippians voluntarily to put their heads in that same noose again, immediately, rather than escape fancied or improbable enslavement in the distant future?

THERE IS MORE in Mr. Faulkner's latest article. He brings out the fact that Southern public officials technically violate their oath of office by not complying with the federal government's desegration decrees. In this connection, it is a matter of record that Mr. Faulkner's own illustrious grandfather committed "treason" against the United States by fighting gallantly as a commander of Southern troops in the Great Rebellion.

Unlike his courageous ancestor, our Nobel-Pulitzer prize winner chooses to side with Mississippi's enemies. It is, of course, a mere coincidence that those enemies can offer material recognition and rewards which Mr. Faulkner cannot find in his homeland. We keenly suspect that old Colonel Faulkner would turn over in his grave if he but knew that his family had produced a Southern renegade of the first water.

IT IS RECALLED that Mr. Faulkner made a foreign tour under sponsorship of the U. S. State Department last summer. During this time he enjoyed the international spotlight and made racial statements which were hailed by radical, anti-Southern elements including the malodorous NAACP. They were exactly the type of statements gratifying to One World zealots, including those of the State Department, who have donated Mississippi cotton markets to foreign lands.

Those statements served to enlarge the climate of fear so necessary to a continuation of global meddling, foreign giveaways and rampant internationalism sponsored by Mr. Faulkner's sponsors. This seems more than a coincidence. It strongly suggests that our Oxford genius is being deliberately used as a "Judas Ram" by his benefactors.

A "JUDAS RAM", in case you didn't know, is the animal trained by butchers to lead trusting sheep to slaughter. Fancying himself a leader, the Judas Ram actually is just a dupe. This unwittingly-treacherous animal is well-fed and

A Opinion C/1

So opinion

.1 DAILY NEWS, SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1, 1956

OUR

The Clarion-Ledger
Jackson Daily News
311 E. Pearl St.

Frederick Sullens — Editor Jackson Daily News
T. M. Hederman — Editor The Clarion-Ledger
R. M. Hederman — Publisher

Cider From The Mississippi Press

Both white and colored are getting a taste of integration up at Knoxville, Tenn. Some 1500 of them battled with rocks and clubs the other day over the use of the city-owned play ground. This is not happening just in Knoxville, it is happening in all of the cities and will continue. The temperament of the two races is too far apart to ever expect them to mix and mingle without trouble.—WINSTON COUNTY JOURNAL, Louisville

* * *

Often Demagogic Fires Rage Out of Control

Atlanta—Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook at a news conference re-

[illegible] the banner for

vealed he had called on members of the General Assembly to adopt legislation which would subject the NAACP to heavy taxes and possible criminal prosecution.

My husband is with the armed forces and we spent 3½ years in Germany. One of our aims is to teach those people our way of democracy.

How can we expect to accomplish this when our leaders come up with such proposals as this one of Cook's?

MRS. A. D. R.

* * *

So Opinion (1956)

Opinions of Readers

July 27 1956 Journal

Letters should be brief and must be accompanied by the names and addresses of their writers. The editors reserve the right to condense any letter. Spelling, grammar and punctuation are the writers'.

'Starvation or Integration?'

To the Editor of the Journal:

I have read your lead editorial of July 27 with consuming interest. However, there is no need to fuss about it, but it is very obvious now that the Pearsall Plan was made public just on the eve of the convening of the Special Session of the General Assembly so there would not be time for selling any other plan to the people or even familiarizing the members of the General Assembly with any other plan. The Pearsall Plan could have been made public ten weeks ago as easily as ten days ago.

After all any plan that has for its purpose evading the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation fiat or merely delaying compliance therewith is just as good as any other, for the end result will be integration.

No one knows whether the people of the state want integrated schools or not to the extent that they are willing to sacrifice to avoid integration. The Pearsall plan does not give them the opportunity to express themselves on the subject in the only way their vote will acount—withholding public moneys from the support of integrated schools, voluntary or involuntary. Anything short of a state-wide policy of withholding moneys from support of integrated schools will surely meet defeat in the Federal Courts. The Washington court desegregated the schools by naked force and awkwardness, and it will sustain its fiat in the same way.

No one knows how many schools would be closed by starvation under a constitutional provision prohibiting public support of integrated schools. I do not believe it would require the closing of many in order to persuade the Negroes here and their pseudo outside friends that a Negro child is not "hurt" very much by limiting his schooling to classes of his own race.

In any event, how does one figure that we can have local option and comply with the Carpetbagger constitution of 1868, which our Court holds is still valid, that requires a uniform state-wide public school system? Can we have schools financed from the treasury at Raleigh and local option too? If our schools were financed at the local school board level as well as administered at that level, we might have a chance of maintaining a local option system. A local option system and a constitutional mandate for a state-wide system are mutually exclusive concepts. We can't have half of one and half of the other.

We are up against a Court at Washington that is obsessed with the notion that a Negro child is hurt in mind and heart by having to associate with its own race as it obtains an education; and you can't reason with an obsession; you have to await the death of those so afflicted before you can get anywhere.

Therefore, we have our choice of closing some schools by starvation or submitting to integration. There is no other alternative.

—JOHN W. HESTER

Pittsboro.

Tyranny and the South

To the Editor of the Journal:

If I were Mark Twain (the temerity of such a suggestion:), I'd put it like this:

The Governor speaks of tyranny. He tells us that Nine Men have actually usurped power in our land, that they want to force integration upon an unwilling South—at least upon an unwilling 'white' South. I keep forgetting, somehow, that the white South is not all of the South . . and then I forget that some Southern white folks aren't as color-minded and race blinded as others.

He says these tyrannical Judges upset a doctrine laid down by some other old Judges 60 years ago. Wonder if our country hasn't changed any since then? (Oh, I forgot again: in the South it is impossible to change. At least, pocket change is few and far between . . especially in North Carolina where we rank 46th or 48th or—well, we're in a good place to hold the ladder up. And I do mean hold up.)

What I mean is this: has it taken us 60 years to learn that there is no such thing as "separate but equal"? If equal, why separate?

Well, those tyrant Judges have to recognize the world is watching us.

But the Governor and his nice planter friends down east want to keep things old-timey and cosy-like with our high wages and fair representation for all our citizens. And how can things be old-timey if colored and white children start going to school together? Why, they might learn one another to be human beings. Lord help us, then we'd have the Golden Age, and that would contradict Prophecy, and mustn't contradict Prophecy. Better do WITHOUT schools. A generation of ignorance might make us more humble. The Governor was SPEAKING of tyranny.

So you nice colored people (I would say 'Nigras' but you all don't appreciate a Southern accent, and my tongue isn't acrobatic enough to pronounce Neegrow correctly, although I am perfectly able to say "knee" and "grow.") . . you nice colored folks should recognize we are the best friends you have, so stay off to yourselves (except when we need you for friendship), and don't come around us except to nurse our babies and prepare our meals and clean our homes and build our houses and work in some of our factories and . . well, you know what I mean.

Above all, don't go to church with us. If we find out we have segregated inspiration all these years UNJUSTLY . . well, we might lose our reason. And that would be tyranny, indeed.

I did hear that launderies wash white people's clothes in one water and colored people's clothes in another. That's all right. But diaper companies, they say, don't wash colored babies' diapers. Well, they segregate everything else, even graveyards, so . . . The Governor was speaking of Tyranny.

Mark Twain once said rumors of his death were much exaggerated. But how exaggerated are the rumors of tyranny . . and in which direction?

—W. A. McGIRT, JR.

Winston-Salem.

'Height Of Bad Taste'

8/31/56 Delta Democrat Times Ed. Opinion

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, who might qualify for the title "The Most Lied About Editor In Mississippi," takes issue this week in her Lexington weekly newspaper with those "Mississippi—The Most Lied About State" car tags.

In her usual outspoken manner, which has caused many who wear the well-fitted shoes she describes to cast stones, Mrs. Smith declares in her front page column:

"To us they (the tags) represent the height of bad taste and poor judgment, for if Mississippi is, as some believe, the most lied about state it certainly doesn't help any to go around with a sign proclaiming it on your automobile.

"The signs seem to represent a kind of chip on one's shoulder — and a dare to knock it off. They are diametrically opposed to what we all should be trying to do—build good will and make friends for Mississippi.

". . . An open, friendly, positive approach is needed — not that the world doesn't understand and is down on us negative attitude which appeals to no intelligent individual or group."

THE CLARION-LEDGER—JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS, SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1956

A PUNK DISCOVERER

The Chicago Tribune, chief South-hating newspaper of the nation, has sent another staff writer to tour the South and write some articles on "the progress of integration."

This time the naive quidnunc chosen for the task of gathering misinformation is Walter Trohan, and here is a sample of his writing, dated from Jackson:

> Any visitor to the state — which is undoubtedly the farthest from integration of the white and Negro races in any degree — cannot help but be astonished by the violence of conversation on the social revolution occasioned by the Supreme court's decisions outlawing segregation in schools and public facilities.
>
> What starts out as a pleasant dinner party winds up with angry shouting, table pounding, red faces, strained throat muscles and not a little hysteria. Curiously enough, the diners are not angry at one another or at Negroes.
>
> It seems that they have to talk loud, and with conviction, perhaps to convince themselves. One cannot help but wonder if man isn't always at his loudest when he is at his wrongest.
>
> Mississippi is a curious blend of tensions and frustrations. These are coupled with fanatical fervor that there shall be no mixing of the races.
>
> What strikes the northern visitor is that Mississippians are not angry at Negroes individually. They don't hate Negroes as Adolph Hitler hated the Jews. Rather they are angry at the Supreme court, the federal government, the new crop of northern "abolitionists," and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro group fighting to advance Negro rights.

It would be interesting to know where and among whom Trohan heard any loud and violent conversation on any phase of the race question. The odds are about 100 to 1 that he didn't hear any such talk unless he was visiting with a group of members of the NAACP, the usual company sought by Northern writers when sent South to do stories on the race question.

Trohan did tell the truth, however, when he said that "Mississippians are not angry at Negroes individually," and that we don't hate Negroes. He would have been much more surprised if he had done some real investigating that would have led him to the discovery that 95 per cent of the Negroes in Mississippi do not want integration in schools nor do they desire any other form of social equality. They are content with existing conditions and their most earnest desire is to dwell in peace and harmony with white people. Northern writers, however, never discover that fact because they really don't want bona fide information.

So Opinion

So Opinion - 1956

Southern Opinion 8-16-56

SECTION ONE

MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by Tom Ethridge

SAME DIFFERENCE

Above the sound and fury of the current Democratic Convention, one basic fact seems painfully clear. Regardless of whether a Democrat or a Republican wins in November, our federal government still will be dominated by radicals, reformers, negrophiles, bleeding hearts, global meddlers and tax-and-spend bureaucrats.

Despite high-sounding talk of "moderation" by Democrats, and "dynamic conservatism" by Republicans, both parties are captives of leftwingers and pinkos who will continue running things, no matter who gains the White House. It's the same difference, either way.

THIS FACT is readily apparent to all who even casually examine the remarkably-similar philosophies of the three leading presidential contenders — Eisenhower, Stevenson and Harriman. Each staunchly advocates a welfare state, in one form or another, and each favors an all powerful central government at the expense of states' rights.

Each is immensely popular with the tax-hungry Washington hierarchy. Each is a "fair-haired boy" with bipartisian internationalists, on Capitol Hill, and in the United Nations tower of babble in New York. All three leading contenders (at this writing) enthusiastically embrace the concept of rampant socialism.

THE PRESIDENT, of course, is plainly on record as sympathizing with the same old leftist aspirations. Landslided into office on a solemn pledge to "clean up the mess in Washington", Eisenhower speedily proved to be a wolf in sheep's clothing. Far from liquidating the Truman bureaucratic dictatorship as promised in 1952, the President has largely retained the Fair Deal in essence.

Yet he could not do so without the cooperation of Congress, where Democrats hold the whip hand and have supported many of his pinkish programs. Certainly our "liberal" Democrats see eye to eye with Ike on "civil rights" and are just as eager to promote integration as Republicans. Six of the nine justices who outlawed segregation are Democrats, appointed by Democrats, please remember.

MISSISSIPPIANS who consider Adlai Stevenson as a knight in shining armor, merely because he promises not to sic federal troops on us, are closing their eyes to his radical tendencies in other directions. For example, he has indicated firm opposition to "Right to Work" laws — a stand obviously taken to appease Walter Reuther and other CIO extremists. Nor has Eleanor Roosevelt and Estes Kefauver endorsed him for nothing.

Unlike Harriman and Eisenhower, Stevenson also is quoted as favoring recognition of Red China. Such a step, obviously, means recognition of that bloody-handed regime by the U. S. Government. Mr. Stevenson believes that excluding Red China from the U. N. is (and we quote) "keeping the Chinese people from legitimate recognition in the world organization."

IT IS DOUBTFUL if many Americans who lost loved ones in Korea share Stevenson's tender concern for the "rights" of a bandit people who constantly menace world peace and who try to shoot their way into the United Nations. Whatever faults Eisenhower and Harriman possess, they have declared vigorous opposition to admitting Red China, which at least is a point in their favor. (As Major Frederick Sullens says, it's hard to understand how a nice fellow like Stevenson can be such a damfool politically.)

These "Big Three" see eye to eye in other important issues however. All favor lowering our immigration barriers to admit hordes of aliens who will compete with Americans for jobs and housing. All three favor continued handouts to ungrateful foreign nations at the expense of overburdened American taxpayers. Each is a high priest of high taxes world government and UNESCO meddling. Each is, at heart, a rank socialist.

THERE ARE MILLIONS of Americans who reject the pinko concepts of Eisenhower, Stevenson and Harriman. These millions favor a return to constitutional government on an "America First" principal. They want federal powers restricted to those authorized in the Constitution. They want taxes reduced. They think Uncle Sam should quit wet-nursing the world. They do not believe Communism can be conquered by imitating it. They believe that Reds are just as dangerous in this country as in Europe or Asia.

These conservative Americans should but do not have a proper influence in shaping platforms and policies which rule our destinies. They never will have proper influence so long as our government remains of, by and for selfish minority pressure groups — and so long as both major political parties remain captives of small but enormously influential cliques of internationalists.

As a Shakespearian character once cried in disgust, "A plague on both your houses!"

Democratic or Republican President — it's six of one and half a dozen of the other.

8-21-56

Southern Opinion

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Manager
T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

8-21-56

Force Can't Solve Problem

It is surprising how many Americans believe their principal racial problem is confined to the South, observes the Christian Science Monitor in a thoughtful editorial on this compelling topic. The fact is that nearly one-third of our colored population now resides in Northern states, the Monitor points out.

"Two often it is assumed that segregation is a wholly artificial pattern enforced by unworthy prejudices," the editorial continues, "but much of segregation comes about naturally through the same processes of selection which cause individuals to choose like-minded associate or families to seek congenial neighborhoods.

"All of us can deal with this situation (Segregation)," the Boston religious daily adds, "if we recognize that two rights are in conflict. One is the right of equal opportunity. The other is the right of the individual to choose his associates."

It is this very basic American right which so many well-meaning persons overlook in their zeal to promote integration. They do not, unfortunately, possess the Christian Science Monitor's objectivity in appraising America's racial dilemma. Typical of these are extremist elements which have sought to adopt an anti-Southern Democratic plank in Chicago.

Sponsors of the so-called civil rights program during the recent Congress afford a typical example of one-sidedness. They sought to destroy many basic rights of the great majority t oinsure what is mistakenly regarded as the supreme rights of minorities. The right to equal opportunity is no less precious than the right of individuals to associate with persons of their choice.

Both are closely related to the Democratic ideal, as the Monitor wisely notes. To enforce the former by law destroys the latter. It is here that a glaring weakness presents itself in the muchly-agitated Fair Employment Practices which radicals so hotly demand. There is the same woeful weakness in forced integration of schools.

Again quoting the Monitor, public officials who are trying to compel race-mixing, in the face of such forces as "natural selection," should be able better to understand why desegregation moves slowly in the South. So too should Northern whites who object to their pattern of life being changed either by racial migration, by industrialization or be any social force causing deterioration.

STATE TIMES, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1956

LETTERS FROM READERS

Cooperation

State Times,

On behalf of the Jackson League of Women Voters I take pleasure in this opportunity to thank you for the excellent cooperation we have received from you and the members of your staff, during our fund drive for our educational project.

Your excellent editorial and the front page space that the State Times gave for the opening of the campaign. The "Salute to the president" written by your capable editor of the society department and pictures by her assistant.

We are proud of the State Times and the contribution it makes to all Mississippians. Congratulations to you.

Yours sincerely,
Velma J. Rodgers (Mrs. Robert)
President
3417 North State Street

★ ★ ★

Omit Arrington

I do not profess to being a critic nor wish to imply to being a crank but for the past week the expressions of Mr. Arrington could have served the paper better by having been omitted by appearing blank.

L.E.P.

★ ★ ★

Mixing Of Races

State Times,

I read in the State Times Friday about the trouble Mr. John H. Sanders had with his wife in the aisle of the segregated waiting room at University Hospital.

The spokesman stated that the hospital policy is to keep them segregated by this aisle even if some of one race must stand while empty seats are available for the other race.

As a white tax payer of Mississippi I want you to know that this is certainly against our principle and our laws are not for the mixing of races, and since we the white tax paying public is paying for this hospital we expect this to be enforced. If it is not enforced we will try to get other tax payers to have some changes made.

Your prompt attention to this urgent matter will be greatly appreciated by all of the people of Mississippi.

Yours very truly,
Calmes Grocery Co.
W. M. Prince, Jr.
Brooksville, Miss.

★ ★ ★

Boys' Town Story

State Times,

Please do me a big favor by thanking the responsible person for the very commendable editorial published August 22, 1956.

Our progress continues beyond our highest expectations. We are now receiving endorsements and help from sources and persons heretofore we did not have.

Next Friday, August 31, we are publishing an eight page insert in the LAUREL LEADER CALL, giving the "Magnolia Boys' Town Story" and a pictorial progress review.

Of all the things I might have been charged, I have never been charged with being an ingrate. Please know that we are conscious of your warm friendship and your continued interest, cooperation, and help which is so vital in building our own home for neglected, unwanted boys on Boguehouma Lake.

Very sincerely
Rev. Henry Bucklew
Magnolia Boys Town
Laurel, Miss.

9/1/56

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Leters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters end to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Dear Editor:

I noticed in your good paper that the A.D.A. and NAACP have held their convention, the ADA nominated their man for president and the NAACP man for vice president, they also let the Democrats (Southern delegates) sit in this convention as observers only. Now four years ago they did not even want them to sit in as observers. Could it be because all of the votes this party received four years ago were from the south, they wanted them to sit in on this convention, hoping to get our vote this time?

Two things that happened at this convention made me feel good. First the great Harry lost every battle and lost them badly. Second was when the great Governor from Georgia raised up on his hind legs and got both the DA and NAACP delegates "told." He reminded them that they did not carry one of their states last time and that he bet they would not carry one of their States this time for the party. We need more men like him.

I wonder if the Democrats (Southern Democrats) will hold a convention this year and nominate some men who we can vote for with a clear conscience, or will they do like they did four years ago and ask us to vote for one of the Republicans or ADA and NAACP candidates. Wayne Morse left the Republican party because he said that the ADA and NAACP party had morel iberals in it. He was one of those who tried to make the civil rights plank stronger.

Now if some would-be dictator tells you that you will be kicked out of the Democrat party for voting for one of those candidates, you know that this threat has been made in the past, you tell them this cannot be done. Our leaders foresaw this a few years ago and passed a law giving us the right to vote for anyone without having our party affiliations jeopardized. I hope no one uses this as a club to keep us in line.

What are we going to do, vote for Ike and hope and pray that he will live four more years? Or vote for Adlai and hope that both of them will die before they can take office? With Ike and Nick, if Ike

the Republicans or ADA and NAACP candidates. Wayne Morse left the Republican party because he said that the ADA and NAACP party had morel iberals in it. He was one of those who tried to make the civil rights plank stronger.

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What are we going to do, vote for Ike and hope and pray that he will live four more years? Or vote for Adlai and hope that both of them will die before they can take office? With Ike and Nick, if Ike should die we would be in a bad fix, and with Adlai and Estes we would be in a mess, so there you are. You pay your money and you may take your pick but any way you choose you will be in a bad fix. As for me I am joining the "POGO for President" club.

J. C. Grubbs
Mendenhall, Miss

Dear Editor:

In these troubled times of American History it is but natural for every citizen who loves God, family and country to want to contribute something of help to others so that we all may continue to enjoy the freedom to choose the best things that God has to offer a free people.

We are now confronted by a choice of two people who want to be supreme leaders of our nation for the next four years. There is but little difference in the opinions of aspirants to the supreme office with regard to civil rights and absolute control of our thinking and actions as free citizens.

With these conditions before us I have chosen to support the Democratic party as the best course for every American to pursue. I have been a Democrat and believer in Jesus Christ as God's son and man's only hope of Eternal life for forty-four years, and I believe our future for every American citizen is dependent on the awakening to the truth of the falsity of the new ideas of Integration and civil rights proposed to us. The TRUTH is the LIGHT and will shine into the darkest hours of life.

As good American citizens we should have no fear to march on with our Democratic party trusting to the truth to guide us out of the many falsehoods that present to us as the true and better way of life.

Jesus Christ was certainly a Democrat. His teaching and work prove that. Maybe you can find space for these honest remarks.

Sincerely,
M. C. Durr, Natchez, Miss

Dear Editor:

I enclose a clipping from your Mr. Hills' column.

Surely you have a poor staff if they do not know that the Negro vote has been Democrat since 1936!

As a matter of fact the Negro vote was the only group vote not to break to Eisenhower in 1952. It saved South Carolina from going Republican then.

As one who has lived in both North and South, I think separate schools might be justified to many people in the North. But the case will have to be presented by honest informed people, not the self-deceived like Mr. Hills.

Logan R. Crouch
Box 554
Jackson, Miss.

'Clarion Call' To Return To Fundamental Things

9-1-56

Editor, Journal and Guide:

I liked your editorial, "Fiddling While Rome Burns." It is a clarion call to some important people to set their minds upon the serious problems of the present critical times, when both money and thoughtful action is needed to save the social and economic gains we have made in the past 50 years. There is a move on in the South to destroy the public schools, and this move is aimed at the Negro. You can bet your life that the politicians will find a way to funnel public funds into private channels for the education of white children, unless there is eternal vigilence and the exercise of statesmanship.

PHILLIP BARKIS
Richmond, Va.

We Should Not Take The Path Of Least Resistance

Editor, Journal and Guide:

The article "Fiddling While Rome Burns" was very timely and impressive. I was impressed with it to the extent of discussing same with our County Wide Steering committee. It was the feeling of the committee that this article should be expanded upon and made an issue in order to make our people more fully aware of assuming their rightful responsibility as citizens.

We, along with many others, would like to improve the standards of living in this vicinity, which includes Petersburg-Hopewell and surrounding counties. But it seems that the steps toward growth and progress (that have been used successfully by nations and other groups in the past) is being discouraged and intimidated (through fear) by the very people that mold our vision of thinking.

We are not satisfied standing by seeing our people seemingly following the path of least resistance, which in most cases encompass the destructive, degrading, humiliating activities of our modern society. We believe that your paper can help us find the basic truth in such a manner that we will be able to sell it to our people.

THEODORE O. THWEATT,
chairman
Disputanta, Va.

Civil Rights Planks Of Both Parties

Editor, Journal and Guide:

It does seem that the two major political parties do spend a lot of valuable time, energy, and effort on cutting and shaving to get just the right type of planks to fit into the cracks of the fence to help keep poor and unfortunate Negroes in their segregated places and on the right sides of the tracks. But, despite all the barriers or handicaps, the Negroes, much like Old Man River, just keeps rolling along progressively, here and there, in spots. Their progress has been much more and increasingly general than their retrogression. Democracy is supposed to be based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people and the Negroes come into that category.

GEORGE WESLEY BLOUNT
Chester, Pa.

"Fiddling While Rome Burns"

Editor Journal and Guide:

Mrs. Guerry and I enjoy your paper constantly, but I happen to have kept out your editorial on "Fiddling While Rome Burns," to mention with special appreciation.

(Rev.) MOULTRIE GUERRY
Norfolk.

Southern opinion

9/1/56 Journal & Guide

Attorney Says South Is Misunderstood

So Opinion Delta Dem. Times 9/13/56

By MARIE HEMPHILL
Staff Correspondent

INDIANOLA—Forrest G. Cooper Indianola attorney, speaking at the local Rotary Club said the South is "misunderstood by other sections of the country."

"Our friends in the North and West have been so brainwashed by left-wing propaganda through television, radio, the press, and from the platform and pulpit", he said, "that they believe no one has a right to question the pronouncements of the Supreme Court They call us narrow, bigoted, and even traitorous because we refuse to slavishly bow to the whims of the nine appointed judges. However, I have great faith in the American people when they know the truth, and we must continue to get the truth to them."

Reviewing the background of the formation of the Constitution, the speaker said this plan of government would never have been ratified unless the people had been assured that "all powers not expressly delegated to the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the states." Seven states held back on ratification until this matter was definitely settled by the Bill of Rights. Cooper also delved into the history of the 14th Amendment upon which the high courts claims to have based its anti-segregation decision, declaring that the validity of this amendment is doubtful since it was "never legally adopted by a three-fourths majority of the states."

Denouncing what he called the "dangerous tendency of the Court in ignoring the Constitution and the legal precedent set by some of the world's greatest jurists," he declared that the power of this judicial body must be curbed.

"People of the North and West must realize that the school issue is merely an outward sore which indicates a malignant disease within. The shoe pinches our foot now, but tomorow it may pinch the other fellow's foot. In their wild lust for power, the nine judges will undoubtedly invade other fields to usurp states' rights interfering with election of officials, taxation, and the right of the individual to run his own business and hire his own employees," he said.

"As an attorney I have sworn to uphold the Constitution, but I owe no loyalty to any decree of the Supreme Court which tries to read into the document something that is not there. The Constitution is not a fluid instrument meaning one thing yesterday, another today, and still something else tomorrow. It is not merely what nine men think it is, to be changed every time the Court changes. It is patriotic to interpose state sovereignity when any one, President, Congress or the Supreme Court, deals unlawfully with the Constitution," Cooper said.

Teacher Important To Dixie's Youth

Dear Editor:

I am neither a teacher or parent but I often wonder if the public realizes the value and importance of our teachers. Christ, the greatest of all teachers was the trailblazer for those to follow. Even to understand His teachings the child must first be preprepared by our teachers of today. Every minister, public official, judge, doctor, scientist, lawmaker and statesman owe their position in life to our teachers and few there be among them that have actually contributed as much to the good of our country as has the first grade teacher, yet it seems to me that the teacher is ignored in about the same manner as the humble household servant.

I have heard and read all sorts of opinions on the hot political school integration subject. Undoubtedly political because the Vice President claimed the Supreme Court decision as an accomplishment of the Republican Party. Teachers have been subjected to the embarrassment of performing their duties under orders of U. S. Courts. Mobs have paraded on the school grounds. Violence and bloodshed has resulted.

Citizens have been jailed because they attempted to preserve their time-honored way of life as one of the priceless freedoms of a free people. But in no single instance have I heard or read of the teacher being called upon for his or her advice in the interest of the children. No the teacher has been entirely ignored.

The teacher, the most important of all public servants, for his or her own best interest and for that of the children of the South, the State and the Nation, should organize into a Dixie Teachers Union. Every craft and profession from the Farmer to the employees of the Government are organized and they get results.

If they were now so organized and would take similar actions to the other big unions, mobs, strife, and bloodshed would become a matter of history over night. There would be no soldiers on the school grounds, neither would there be any picket lines or strike breakers. They could lay down their terms and they would be quickly recognized by every court of the land and School integration would soon lose it's political standing in both national parties.

Both races fully realize that integration of the races will bring crossing of their blood. Both also realize that by every applicable law of nature such a crossing of the blood is a violation of God's laws.

Right carries the power of might and will eventually prevail. May God inspire our teachers to think and act for the good of themselves, the children and our great country.

Joe T. Teaver
Canton, Miss.
(Box 58)

Clarion Ledger 9/14/56

So Opinion

1956 - Sou. opinion

Hitlerism Seen In Forced Integration

Dear Editor: SO Opinion

Since the State of Mississippi is short, of teachers, may I suggest we offer jobs to those teachers who have had the courage to walk out of integrated schools in the face of threats of losing their jobs if they did. It is a sorry state of affairs when a teacher so near the end of his career has to accept intergration or jeopardize his retirement. He has no alternative., which is Hitlerism.

Mr. Eisenhower has told us in plain English that he realizes we don't want integration, but that we can be whipped into accepting it. Stevenson has made his stand clear without whitewashing it. There is no such thing as the lesser of two evils. Evil is evil in any mans language.

To stay away from the polls election day would indicate we have not been whipped into making even a poor choice. It would show our dislike for either of the two. Good points that either would have in favor of the South would be dragged into the dust by integration, so we still wouldn't have anything, so why cut our own throats. The least we can do is band together and fight back. We can rest assured no one else is going to do it for us.

"DAILY READER"
(Name withheld by request)
Wiggins, Miss.

Clarion Ledger
9/20/56

Lady Offers Views On Segregation

cl edit pag monday Voice of the

Dear Editor:

Since schools are starting every where in the South at this time, I would like to say a word or so in defense of segregation and its importance for the good of this and future generations.

We have only to look around us at the schools where integration has been forced and see the havoc that has been incurred. Schools where this has happened have slowed down from three to four years. Those in Washington, D. C., are good examples and near riots have broken out in the case of Clinton, Tenn., and Sturgis, Ky.

The way I see to solve this problem is for each school in the community, county and district to vote on whether they will have integration or not. I venture the assertion that there would be no integrated schools in our Southern states. If our government is still a democracy by, of and for the people, then integration should be settled by a direct vote rather than by the Supreme Court. Federal troops would have nothing to say about our schools. Even our colleges would vote against it.

The Southern states deplore actions of the National Democratic Convention in the nomination of Adlai Stevens and Estes Kefauver but there is nothing we can do about it now. Neither candidate is in sympathy with the South in any of its ideals and problems. We may expect integration to be rammed down our throats sooner or later, unless the Southern states can ward it off by the use of interposition or other lawful means. The same is true in the case of Eisenhower and Nixon. We can expect nothing of them. Either way the election goes, it will be hazardous to the South and to the nation. SO Opinion

Mrs. Clayton Mitchell
Silver Creek, Miss.

Clarion Ledger 9/19/56

Leters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters end to limit the number of letters on any one subject. SO Opinion

Sherman's Spirit Is On The March Again

Dear Editor:

In 1952 Ike, our beloved Republican President, spoke of unleashing Chiang Kai-shek's forces and freeing the people behind the Iron Curtain so they could vote in free elections. This promise has not yet been fulfilled, but give him plenty of time.

No doubt, for the present, he is more interested in integration and a free vote for colored people in every nook and cranny of the South. Our Republican philosophy is equal voting rights; equal pay; equal moral, social, spiritual, economic and financial rights of all white and colored people.

So let's all campaign for Ike's reelection with all the vigor of Gen. Sherman's glorious march from Atlanta to the Sea.

Henry K. Wallace
The Mall
Washington, D. C.

Going Fishing Won't Help Southern Fight

Dear Editor:

I agree one hundred per cent with the Rev. Charles C. Jones' letter in The Clarion-Ledger. That would be very effective if the teachers of the schools would just walk out and refuse to teach mixed classes. If they are not Mixiecrats, they will do so.

And may I add that we, the white people of the South, have voted ourselves into this mess by going along with the party for too long. Come Nov. 6th, let's vote ourselves out of the mess by voting against any man that advocates integration of the races in any form regardless of what our leaders may say. We the people hold the key with our vote. Let the world know that Mississippi doesn't intend to have integration by any party, now or ever.

Just remember a vote for Adlai and Estes won't only be a vote to integrate our schools, but also our public offices throughout the South. When a man says he is opposed to integration of the races but still he's supporting Adlai and Estes, I have my doubts of that man. I just don't trust such a man to be my leader.

Going fishing won't help the cause any. It's better to vote, but be careful with it, or we will find ourselves in a worse mess than ever.

An independent States' Righter,
John M. Lee
Rt. B
Poplarville, Miss

Clarion Ledger
9/20/56

Clarion Ledger 9-28-56

Brotherhood And Understanding Can't Be Forced With Bayonets

Southerners have been disturbed and all other thinking Americans are pained at recent developments in Tennessse and Kentucky, where bayonets and tanks have been used in an effort to force racial integration among school students.

No one questions the need for maintaining law and order, or that domestic disturbances are unbecoming. Nevertheless, authorities in both states seem to have shown a callous disregard for due legal processes, in an obvious desire to impress outsiders with their "liberalism."

The U. S. Supreme Court, in decreeing enforcement to federal courts and federal integration, have specifically delegated its enforcement to federal courts and federal marshalls, not to the armed forces of the Southern states. Moreover, gubernatorial action has circumvented the right of local school boards to act in local cases. In Kentucky, particularly, state law requires that local boards must take action in such cases before Negro students can enroll.

Studied disregard for legal processes and the use of Hitler Storm Trooper tactics have perhaps doomed the future political chances of both Governor Chandler and Governor Clement. Their clumsy efforts have served to increase rather than lessen tensions caused by the racial crisis. Certainly neither governor has made any effort whatsoever to exhaust existing legal recourses before knuckling under to the mixiologists.

There has been much pious talk of "brotherhood and understanding" in the grave race problem created by the unfortunate Black Monday decree. Needless to remark, brotherhood and understanding cannot be established through arbitrary use of bayonets, tanks and machines, to intimidate those who protest radical overnight changes in the customs and habits of a century.

These observations are in no way intended to condone "mob violence," which seems to us as having been greatly exaggerated. It is not mob violence for citizens and taxpayers to assemble and present their grievances. In fact, the rights of free assembly and free speech are guaranteed by the Constitution, although these rights have been trampled in both Tennessee and Kentucky.

If there is any lesson to be learned from what has happened, it should be the inexorable fact that brute force cannot win the South, nor can compulsory integration ever succeed. Those who entertain such an asinine belief merely deceive themselves and further complicate an already deplorable situation. Nor can hypocritical moralizing serve any useful purpose, until those who vilify the South set their own houses in order.

As for law and order, it must and shall be maintained. However, orderly processes cannot be circumvented by those demagogues and political adventurers who would use military force to destroy the constitutional right of citizens to choose their own associates, customs and social companions. If and when those rights are abrogated, democracy will indeed have reached its twilight and the Constitution itself will have become meaningless.

So Opinion

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Letters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Confusion Created Our Race Problems

With regard to the presidential election, it has been a common expression that we have nowhere to go except to Stevenson. This sounds a rather doleful note in our political life It is a plain admission that we have little voice in the selection of our national leadership. Be it Democrat or Republican, it is out of the politics of this leadership that we have derived the race problem.

It is a recent thing that the Negro race has pressed forward as an associate of the white race. A comparatively small Negro vote outside of the South has both parties all up in the air, bucking each other by making concessions to get this vote. While the chances are most remote that this vote would swing a presidential election, it has more weight in national politics than millions of white votes in the South.

Despite the fact that the race problem is a direct consequence of the present political situation there is a looking back and clinging on to the long fixed way of being in the bag. And despite the fact that the Democratic nominee at the Chicago convention expressed "unequivocal support" of the Supreme Court ruling, top state officials continue to be counted in the bag. "Game in the bag" is the prey of the enemy.

It is of much importance at this time to have a ticket that supports our way of living. Why the dilemma between the "devil and the witch", when we have the States Rights Ticket? Should what is right be doomed to everlasting failure, because it did not meet with immediate success? Success often falls short of what is right. There is failure by not supporting what is right.

Why support candidates who are fatal to our cause? It is time for our talk and our ballots to mean the same thing. The States Rights ticket is an answer to the political mass of confusion and to its attendant, the race problem.

J. C. Whatley,
Morton, Miss.

Inconsistent Stand Of South's Critics

Dear Editor:

The NAACP has charged persecution of Texas Negroes because the Assistant Attorney General was accompanied by armed officers while they checked their records. They lost no time in accusing the incident as being "coercive" and "intimidating."

The same charge could have been made by the white citizens of Tennessee and Kentucky of their own National Guard who stood with bayonets and machine guns in their sides as they attempted to defend their schools from the onynx plague. But that was a horse of another color. When the NAACP is in Rome they don't believe in shooting roman candles.

Evidently the maggot ridden odor from Mr. Eisenhowers "example" of integration in the Washington schools hasn't reached his nose as yet. If said "example," to set the pace for the South was so highly succesful why oh why are the Negroes screaming their heads off for him to stop the investigation of said "example" now being conducted in Washington.

When the wind changes, Mr. Eisenhower will find his foot in his mouth. Then I am going to "rock 'n 'roll."

A Daily Reader
Wiggins, Miss.

So Opinion

Clarion Ledger
9/26/56

Opinion

South Right Upheld To Run Its Business

Nationally Known Speaker Regrets Some Things Magazines Are Carrying

By EDWINA DAVIS

One of America's most popular speakers Friday told Southern civic leaders and students here that "the rest of the country isn't trying to run your business."

Referring to the racial issue, Dr. J. Kenneth McFarland, educational consultant for General Motors, said "some things being written today would indicate this."

Then he added:

"It's too bad some of the national magazines are not published in the South so we could get this idea across."

Dr. McFarland made the keynote address at the Georgia Leadership Training Institute Friday morning at Georgia State College of Business Administration. Some 400 civic leaders from towns in Georgia and Alabama and high school and college students from the Atlanta area are attending the institute.

* * *

AFTER HIS reference to the racial issue, Dr. McFarland turned to other matters—the need for leaders with organized, usable information and freedom.

He said people in the United States today have more facts in their heads than at any time in history. But this information must be organized and used intelligently, he stressed.

Dr. McFarland defined freedom as "the right for as many people as possible to be as happy as they can."

He broke this down into five "rights"—the right to look around, to be consulted, to be uncommon, to look ahead and to look up.

By looking up, he meant the right to worship God, and he placed the greatest emphasis on this right.

* * *

IN PASSING, he debunked conventional courses on speech making, overemphasis on group learning and committees.

"If you have something to tell people, you'll make a good speech," he said, indicating that the mechanics of speech making were of far less importance.

He said he felt many so-called group learning activities were merely group activities and that little learning was involved.

"People today are afraid of being lonely when man, because he is the only animal overbuilt for this world, can never be pletely fulfilled on this e he said.

He lashed at committees nothing groups.

Dr. McFarland's speech blend of inspiration, inform and humor. The handsome mer school superintendent on a 140-acre ranch at To Kansas.

Frank Graham Asks South To Obey Law of the Land

"Now is the time for the people of good will in all Southern communities," Frank P. Graham told a New York audience last month, as he has said on platforms in the South, "to make clear their support of two basic propositions: obedience to the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court and preservation of the public schools."

Dr. Graham, United Nations Mediator, former U.S. Senator from North Carolina and president of the University of North Carolina from 1930 to 1949, addressed a meeting held by the Roger N. Baldwin Civil Liberties Foundation. His subject was "The Heritage and Hopes of Freedom in the Atomic Age."

Opinion

Tracing the concept of human liberty from earliest to present times, Dr. Graham said that the world now looks westward in "both fear and hope" as to whether the American people will "repudiate their own great revolution and in fear of freedom renounce the very freedom which gave them their birth and made them great."

Arrangements for the publication of Dr. Graham's lecture are now under way.

Carol Liberty June 1950

1956

Mrs. Roosevelt Called Prodder of Integration

9/2/56 Const

Atlanta—I note that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt says that President Eisenhower should have set up a racial conference. I personally feel that had Mrs. FDR conducted herself as our past two charming first ladies, namely Mrs. Truman and Mrs. Eisenhower, that we would have no racial problems. This situation arose in the Roosevelt administration and she certainly added kindling to the fire.

I believe in every American having his rights, but I cannot see that we will ever accept our colored friends socially, especially in

So Opinion

Primary Victory Qualified Support

our schools. I feel that the colored students will receive far more snubs and hurt feelings if they are ever put in our schools, as they will never be invited to the school parties, etc., so why not let them stay in their own schools? It will be best for all concerned.

GEORGIAN.

Leo Aikman

Flossy Sl

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS: Kiwanis leaders get the point of a remark from Former Governor-Secretary Of State-Supreme Court Justice Byrnes. From left, Fulton B. Creech, Mr. Byrnes, B. C. Preslar, I. D. Elmore. (Staff Photo by Crowson).

Byrnes Says South Won't Surrender

Sumter D. Item 10/6/56

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Blames Both Parties For Developments In Kiwani s Club Address

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party should receive credit or blame for the U. S. Supreme Court ruling asking for the end of segregation of races in the public schools, James F. Byrnes, former governor of South Carolina, declared here yesterday in an address delivered at the American Legion Hut. The occasion was a meeting of the Sumter Kiwanis Club attended by 240 members and guests.

The elder statesman traced the developments leading to the Supreme Court decision handed down May 17, 1954 and pointed out that it was a unanimous decision made by seven Democrats, one Republican appointed by former President Harry S. Truman and Republican Chief Justice Earl Warren who was appointed to his post by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The latter read the court's opinion.

"While it is not fair to criticize either political party for the decision," Mr. Byrnes declared, "every American is free to criticize the Supreme Court." He added: "The Supreme Court did not create the people; the people created the court."

He termed the decision one which "interferes with the rights of parents in the education of their children." The investigation conducted by a House of Representatives Committee of the integrated school system in Washington, D. C., "dramatically proves the great harm" done to the white children attending these schools. He expressed the belief that the findings of the investigating group will make the people of the South more determined than ever not to mix the races in the schools.

Mr. Byrnes, a former member of the highest court in the land, was interrupted by applause when he declared: "My hope is that the people of the South will not surrender."

"I have supreme confidence that we will find ways to lawfully maintain segregation" in the schools," he continued. He hoped further that "innocent Negro children" will not be made to suffer and denied an education because "of the actions of the N.A.A.C.P. directed from New York."

Mr. Byrnes, who was introduced by Fulton B. Creech, outlined steps he had taken while governor of this state to improve race relations. Among these he listed the outlawing of the Klu Klux Klan, the imposition of the three per cent sales tax for school building purposes, the appropriation of "greatly increased funds" for the operation of the State College for Negroes, the hospital for mentally-deficent Negroes, and the domitory for Negro

(Continued on Page 9.)

Byrnes

(Continued from Page 1.)

women at the State Tuberculosis Hospital.

"I know that the deterioration of race relations is a source of sorrow to you - as it is to me," Mr. Byrnes stated. "I know you are disappointed - you are distressed. To me, the increased tension is tragic." The usurpation of power by the Supreme Court, by its abuse of the injunction, is now a matter of concern to the South, but "in time" will be a matter of apprehension to the entire country, he predicted.

COMMENTING ON election trends, Mr. Byrnes said there is "overwhelming evidence in South Carolina" of block voting on the part of Negroes, and cited specific examples in Columbia and in Darlington. In 1952, 90 per cent of Negroes voting in the state cast their ballots for Adlai Stevenson, he said. "Block voting is always unfortunate," Mr. Byrnes said. It shows "no thinking" and "acting under instructions, from somebody, somewhere." Furthermore, it is forcing white voters, who usually consider foreign and domestic issues when voting, "to vote as a block against the Negro-supported candidates." For 75 years South Carolina has been supporting the Democratic candidates and for this the people of the state "have a right to expect some consideration."

"You and I must continue to do what is right," Mr. Byrnes concluded. "We must continue to stand by our decision to maintain segregated schools in South Carolina."

The speaker, who has been a member of Kiwanis for 25 years, being affiliated in that time with the Aiken and Spartanburg clubs, was presented a country-cured ham to take to Mrs. Byrnes. "I didn't think there was one in existence," he quipped. He said he couldn't promise to keep it as long as he has kept the robe given to him by Sumter which he still insists on wearing in academic processions. It is the same black robe he wore when he was a member of the Supreme Court.

BYRNES ASSAILS INTEGRATIONISTS

Chat Times 10/6/56

Ex-Governor Says South to Get No Help From Either Party

SUMTER, S.C., Oct. 5 (AP)—Former South Carolina Gov. James F. Byrnes declared today that the South "need look to neither the national Democratic nor Republican party for assistance" on the race issue.

Byrnes, a former justice of the United States Supreme Court, asserted, however, he has "supreme confidence that we will find ways to lawfully maintain segregation" in public schools despite the attitude of the parties and federal court pressure.

"Even if the court decisions shall force the closing of public schools," he said, "we will find ways to educate our children."

In a speech to the Sumter Kiwanis Club, Byrnes said:

"This feeling of determination is due to no petty prejudice. It is an instinctive desire for the preservation of our races. It is useless to argue whether the racial instinct is right or wrong —it exists."

Investigation Cited

Byrnes said the current congressional investigation of racially integrated public schools in Washington "proves the great harm done to the white children of that city by the mixing of the races.

"The facts disclosed in that investigation make the South more determined to resist integration in every way that it can be lawfully done."

Byrnes added that he is "still hopeful that notwithstanding the efforts of the NAACP, the Negroes of South Carolina will voluntarily continue to attend their own schools. Whatever may be said of conditions in other states, Negroes know they now have equal school facilities in this state."

Indian Editor Visits Greenville

Clarion Ledger, 10-19-56

GREENVILLE —The success or failure of India's efforts to raise its living standards under Democratic processes will probably determine whether non Communist Asia can survive, a noted Indian newspaper editor, now visiting Greenville, said Tuesday. The reason is that Communist China is also attempting an economic revolution through dictatorial methods, and if these succeed and India fails, Communism will prevail.

Dr. Sachin Sen, editor of the "Indian Nation", an English language daily in Patna, India, believes that the United States has a vital stake in India's effort, and that enlighted self interest dictates continued assistance from this country in India's drive for self sufficiency.

FIVE BOOKS

The studious and observant 53 year old journalist and author is in the United States as a participant in the state department's foreign leader exchange program. During his three months stay, he will tour every section of the country, but Greenville is his only small city to visit. Holder of a Master of Arts and Ph. D. degree from Calcutta University, Dr. Sen has been since 1946 the editor of the "Indian Nation," the largest provincial publication in India. He is also president of the All Indian Newspaper Editors' Conference, comparable to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and has published five books in English, and others, including three works of fiction, in his native tongue, Bengali.

Since Dr. Sen's principal interests are political, he has been following the presidential campaign closely, and says that he has been particularly impressed with Adlai Stevenson's views on matters of international importance.

PEOPLE FRIENDLY

While Dr. Sen marvels at the extent of mechanization in American agriculture — he visited Delta and Pine Land Company Tuesday as the guest of Dr. and Mrs. C. R. Syre — such techniques would presently worsen India's underemployment problem, he says. He has been almost as impressed with American "self service" devices in the home and in business enterprises.

As for the American people, they are much more communicative and friendly then he imagined them to be, and he has been especially impressed with Greenville because of its progressive atmosphere and because he does not have here the cramped, closed-in feeling that he experiences in larger cities.

A similarity exists between India's now outlawed subjection of its "untouchable" caste, the lowest economic and social group in the country, and the race problem in the United States, he says. In each country, there is still a great gap between the legal status of these groups and public acceptance of legal decisions.

~~Letters to~~ the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Says Both Parties Ignore Real Issues

Dear Editor:

This presidential campaign is surely unusual, if not amazing. The four men who are candidates for President and vice president, assert that the opponent refuses to discuss the "great issues" of the campaign; but neither has as yet discussed any important issue, not to say "great." Incidentally, that word "great" is over-worked. It goes with any noun. "Great" Congressman, from a "great" state, and our Great Republican Chief Justice.

The latest is that "great" mongrel from New York City, who lists himself as "of the Negro race." He seems to have changed from a "great" Democrat to a "Great" Republican. In reply to a charge that "pressure" was brought, News Secretary Hagerty, says that a "new low has been reached", his favorite word. So he lets out a "blast" at the Democrats. Hagerty used that "new low", when it was mentioned that Eisenhower sends his grandchildren to a private white school, or to a white school in Virginia. Now, Ike says Nixon is a "great American", and Nixon says that the Negro is his equal. So why is it a "new low" to mention that the "great" Republicans do not send their children to mixed schools? And why do they all, Democrats and Republicans, insist that southern white children and black children be mixed?

CLEMENT'S ACTION

The NAACP is clearly supporting the Democrats. In line with that policy is the mixing efforts tried in Texas, Tennessee and Kentucky, all states in the doubtful column. In Tennessee the Governor orders out the militia, with machine guns and seven tanks, to control a few hundred women, children and men, and force about eight Negro children into an all white school. Clement was out in full battle regalia, with steel helmet. One correspondent wrote that the action of Gov. Clement assured that the Negro vote would go to the Democrats. Truly a "great" issue!

There are great issues, but there seems to be agreement that each of the Parties will not bring up the subject; a conspiracy of silence. All the writers, magazines and commentators agree that there is no difference between the platforms of the parties. One national magazine says that the two major parties "offers to the American people only a frivolous choice between Socialism with a broad grin and Socialism with a psuedo-intellectual stare."

Both parties are for the United Nations, which costs us many hundres of millions a year, we paying two-thirds of the cost and the other 60 or 70 nations paying one-third. Lord Beaverbrook of England said in response to a question: "You Americans are a strange contradiction. You spend huge sums of money fighting the fifth column in your country, but at the same time you've erected the biggest fifth column headquarters in the world—the United Nations."

ARMS FOR ISRAEL

Both parties favor arms and money to Israeli, which means war with 40,000,000 Moslems, and their eternal enmity. Both favor the "give away program" as permanent, which means that we continue to send our substance to the ends of the earth, at the expense of the American tax-payer, much of it to people too proud to work and too lazy to steal. If that five billion a year was stopped, it would mean reduction in personal income taxes of 15 percent. But no one favors the American tax-payer.

Neither party dares to endorse the views of Jefferson, Jackson or Lincoln on the Supreme Court, nor their views on the race problem. Mr. Lincoln said that he was not in favor of making "voters or jurors of Neroes."

Neither Party dares to oppose the flood of alien, anti-Christian immigrants poised to come, as soon as our barriers are lowered. Neither dares to oppose the acts of violence practiced by the Big Labor Unions. In the Kohler strike, the press reports that more than 800 acts of violence have been committed, ranging from beatings of strikers and their wives and children to actual killings. Walter Reuther is reported to have spent six million dollars to force the factory to bow to the Union bosses. The strike has lasted two years and eight months. If the Ku Klux had committed one percent of the crimes committed in the strike at Kohler's, how the Northern press would have raged and raved!

And neither candidate for President will pledge himself to appoint only outstanding Constitutional lawyers to the Federal bench.

Yes, there are "great issues," but none of the four candidates will dare state his position, and attack the other side. Reason, — all are controlled by the same pressure groups. The rivalry is which can practice the most abject cowardice.

A. S. Coody
776 North West Street
Jackson, Miss.

Clarion Ledger
10-17-56

So Jackson

Clarion-Ledger
10-18-56

AFFAIRS OF STATE

By Charles M. Hills

BRITON SEES OUR SIDE

We have heard a great deal from outside sources that the segregation practiced in the South horrifies the rest of the world.

So it is with considerable interest this morning that we read a page from the Middlesex Independent and W. London Star, England, Sept. 21 issue, which carries as one of its stories the following discussion of our Southern way of life. . . . .

"Sir, History records that grave crises arise in the life of every nation, often created by the Government, when the people are forced in defense of their freedom and rights to demand redress.

"The demands of the people of England through the Barons at Runnymede, which resulted in the granting of Magna Carta is an historical case in point. Today the American nation is confronted with a parallel instance of the deprivation of its judicial rights.

COURT TRANSGRESSOR

"The Supreme Court of the United States is responsible to the people, and if through its acts it transgresses the law and wrongs the people, they have a right to redress. The ruling of the Supreme Court on racial integration may be regarded as America's Runnymede.

"The N.A.A.P.C. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples) is conducting an intensive campaign throughout the States for the implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling. Behind the N.A.A.C.P. are pressure groups, Communists and unscrupulous politicians.

"The N.A.A.C.P. has been responsible for the recent race riots in the Southern States. The Negro's worst enemy today is the N.A.A.C.P. which tells him that he is a second-class citizen that he must assert himself and demand his "rights."

"~~In doing~~ this, the Negro becomes troublesome, discourteous and arrogant, and generally behaves like a second-class citizen.

OPPOSITION

"There is strong evidence that the Negroes themselves are as opposed to integration as the whites.

"At the African Methodist Episcoapl Conference in Pittsburgh, a Negro church leader said that the Negro people must retain their separate entity. The Negro must maintain his individuality as a Christian.

"Integration can be accomplished only by the abuse and eventual destruction of constitutional government and States' rights.

"The South is determined to defeat the attempt to mix the races, regarding it as an attempt at complete domination of the South by radical forces beyond its borders. For the South 1956 is a year of decision.—Yours faithfully,

(Mrs) M. GARSIDE
Chepstow Road,
W.2."

ENGLAND AWARE

This story from a London newspaper is dealing directly with the South section of the United States.

Yet, on the same page there are others, too lengthy to reprint here, that deal with the sordidness and "vice on Harrow Road," a Negro settlement in London.

"Why should people with self respect be forced to live alongside the drunks and prostitutes of Harrow Road?" questions another writer.

"We are entitled to something better and more civilized," he continues.

These revelations in the London Star certainly refute the stories we have heard in the past that the English welcomed the blacks into the British Isles as fellows.

And, we are delighted to learn that the English are not so bitter toward the South and segregation as are some of our own Yankee brethren, a few of whom came down here last week to see if they couldn't help us integrate.

Letters to the Editor

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Letters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the the right to reduce lengthy letters and to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Sorry Spectacle Is Disgrace To Nation

Dear Editor:

The Eyes of the World are on America and its integration issue, thus say the People of Distinction. The eyes of the world really have a grand view of it now, through the Washington School Report.

What is the matter with white parents in the city of Washington that they allow their children to be subjected to such low moral treatment and indignities that are thrust on them by the Negro students?

What a disgrace to the nation for such a report to come from its national capital!

Are some folks' faces red? Well, they should be. Anyone, no matter what rank they hold, of what social, political or financial prestige, who still upholds racial integration as right, and still sponsors and defends integrated schools after reading or hearing this report, should be classed as contributing to juvenile delinquency. The vileness of it is sickening to think about. And may the Good Lord have mercy on our little Southern children, especially little girls, if treachery whould ever condemn them to such conditions.

Intergration columnists in my estimation, are rattles on the tail of the N.A.A.C.P. serpent, rave that Citizens' Councils should be outlawed and federal funds denied to states that refuse to integrate. They should be set straight a little, if it is possible to do so. It is a real pity that people of one section of the country should feel compelled to organize against tyranny and unjust enforcement and roughshod riding over by people of another section, who have no more consideration of individual rights, states' rights or morals of children than a rattlesnake.

Too, if Citizens' Councils are illegal, what about Labor Unions? Aren't they organized for safety and justice to laborers against impositions? What about N.A.A.C.P.? Aren't they organized against white people of the South and aim to overthrow the Southern way of life? What about the Communist Party, whose aim is to overthrow the entire government? So—Mr. Columnist, who is who?

Federal funds should be refused? What about the 278 million dollars that Mississippi paid in federal taxes last year? What if that fund should be refused to federal government by the state of Mississippi? Seems to me that the state has as much right in that matter as the federal government.

It shouldn't be forgotten that those states whose leaders howl loudest for our Southern scalps still have plenty of segregation within their borders, and that the tops of both major political parties don't give a hang about our school children or what happens to them. All they want is to occupy the White House in Washington and the President's chair.

Yours for Segregation,
Mrs J H. O'Kelley,
Purvis, Miss.

P. S. It seems to me that segregation is an institution of the Creator, and who are mere men to go beyond the jurisdiction of the Creator? What happens in the long run to men who play God?

May I say all Hail to the men who have shown spunk enough to carry on this school investigation. Down South should be proud of their native sons. Those Yankees who gave up the ghost seemed to have shown a "yaller" streak.

Clarion Ledger
10-1-56 — So Opinion

"Miss. Notebook" Ethridge Claim Letter

WE'LL TAKE SPINACH

9-25-56

Southerners hear a lot about the wisdom of "working out our differences within the party". Considerable progress seems to have been made in this direction, if developments along the Southern educational front are an accurate indication. So Opin

Democratic governors in Kentucky and Tennessee apparently have found a solution to the integration problem without any help from Republican mixiologists. They are outlawing segregation with Southern bayonets rather than with the Yankee variety, but the end result will be exactly the same.

If this is a sample of "working out our differences within the party", will somebody please pass the spinach?

"QUOTES"

Let's Be Consistent

Too many people talk against socialism and expanding governmental power while at the same time demanding more services from the government. The only way to keep this so-called creeping socialism from expanding is for private citizens and counties to take the responsibility for certain operations and resolve to bear the cost without running to state or national government for assistance.

If we want individual and states' rights we must be prepared to pay the cost to keep them. — NATCHEZ TIMES

Clarion Ledger
10/20/56 So Opinion

"Ike on Integration"

May I speak to the defense of the "good people" of the South to whom President Eisenhower referred and whom reader James E. Lee contends do not exist?

These "good people" exist all right—perhaps not in the majority but certainly in sizable numbers. They exist among ordinary people like my parents in Alabama, who, even if they spoke, would never be quoted in a newspaper. More than 60,000 of them voted in Alabama recently against an amendment to permit use of public money for private schools to prevent integration. They exist among the clergy and church laymen, many of whom have spoken out and gotten only a line in the newspapers, and many others of whom fear the wrath of their congregations. They exist among teachers and educators who are afraid to speak out for fear of losing their jobs. They exist among Congressmen and lawmakers who say one thing in private and another in public because they fear being defeated in the next election.

Now, why don't these "good people" speak out? It's from fear, and from the lack of having respected and influential people backing them up. And who is the most respected and influential person in the country? The President himself. And does he back up these "good people"? He does not!

In June of this year 125 "good people"—Southern educators attending a Southern Regional Conference on Human Relations Education—met at the University of Oklahoma. The stated purpose of this meeting was "to provide an opportunity for Southern educators to come together to discuss human-relations problems which Southern public schools will have to face in the desegregation process ordered by the United States Supreme Court." President Eisenhower sent a greeting to this conference. The conference caused a letter to be written to President Eisenhower on July 26 and from which I quote:

"... Your message, however, brought forth expressions that those who are seeking peaceful and constructive means of conforming with the law would be immeasurably strengthened by moral support from the White House.

"There was general agreement among those present that a conference of representative groups of Southern leaders brought together at the request of the President would help immeasurably in dealing with a situation so fraught with complexities and possible serious disruption of law and order. Such a conference, they felt, might be limited to educators and school administrators. It was felt, too, that only the prestige of the Presidency could provide the necessary stimulus for such a full-range conference."

Where are the "good people" of the South? Too many of them are silent, and their silence will be broken only by the strongest leadership and support.

MELBA RUTH WILLIAMS.
Chevy Chase, Md.

Clarion Ledger - 10-22-56

(Tom Ethridge)

So Opinion

Dr. James W. Silver, head of the history department at Ole Miss, managed to get his name in the papers recently with some exhibitionist remarks at the expense of our state. The Associated Press quoted Dr. Silver as saying: "The South including Mississippi will probably join the United States in a few years."

This statement, made before a civic group in Tennessee, somehow suggests that Mississippians are un-American. Perhaps our University should apologize to the state for an asinine inference by a member of its faculty, if he spoke in an official capacity.

STATE UNDER FIRE

Elmer Davis, professional "liberal" and leftwing commentator, heads a committee of the American Civil Liberties Union raising funds to promote racial agitation and unrest. Our state is a target of this odious extrovert and his campaign.

He has circulated an appeal on the A. C. L. U. letterhead, asking $10 donation "to protect the Bill of Rights." Since his letter takes some nasty digs at Mississippi and mentions the Till case, it should reap a rich harvest from soft-headed suckers. . .

FOX IN THE HEN HOUSE

Commenting on the Elmer Davis plea, The Southern Conservative says, "It is not quite clear just what Davis proposes to do about the (Till) criminal case, which legal authorities in the soverign state of Mississippi have officially closed. We greatly fear that leaving Elmer Davi to protect the Bill of Rights would be like letting a fox guard the henhouse."

The official letter head of Elmer Davis and his American Civil Liberties Union racket lists 108 "prominent leaders" whose hearts bleed for oppressed minorities. Of those 107 meddlers and do-gooders, 59 (or more than half) have official citations as having belonged to one or more Communists fronts dedicated to overthrowing the U. S. Government.

As for Elmer Davis, he has savagely opposed anti-Communist investigations. Any knock from his kind is a boost for patriotic Americans.

So Opinion

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

FIAT LUX SINCE 1888

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Huey Stinson ---- Circulation Manager

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1956

The South Today: Death Of A Cliche

THE first man to type-cast Dixie as a land of magnolias and molasses may have been Ponce de Leon or it may have been Uncle Remus.

But for roughly 443 years, ever since the South was discovered by a band of Spanish badmen, our reputation has been one big julepy cliche.

No region, with the possible exception of the Wild West, has been such a stereotype in the popular mind.

Millions think the South hasn't changed since Scarlett bussed Rhett in the moonlight on the veranda of old massa's plantation. Others wish it hadn't.

At least a newly published book of selections from the writings of the late Anne O'Hare McCormick (THE WORLD AT HOME) adds a new variation to the well-worn theme. Says she:

"It is easy to understand why European intellectuals, discovering the South in increasing numbers, find themselves more at home there than in other parts of the country. The oldest and the most native America is nearer and more intelligible to Europe than is the wild ethnic mixture of the newer America, made out of so many Europes that it is strange to any as rayon must be to a silk worm—a chemical reaction rather than a race. The South conforms to an order the European recognizes. It is individualist, traditional, stratified, leisurely, homogeneous, as nations are."

Even though written some years ago, it fits the popular stereotype to the last crossed "t." The new variation is the part about European intellectuals being drawn to us.

We suspect that European intellectuals were drawn more to the gothic South as pictured in the novels of William Faulkner than to the real South of yesterday or today.

A Sartre or a Hesse or Mann would be about as comfortable and "at home" in the real South as Samuel Johnson would have been on Robinson Crusoe's island.

The South is no longer individualist to the extent that its "way of life" differs in every important detail from other regions. Furthermore, its traditions are being dissolved in the wake of an astounding industrialization and a population influx from other regions. The same goes for a southern society that was allegedly "stratified, leisurely, homogeneous."

If the South was rural, agrarian, easy-going, poor and proud at one time in its history, it is fast becoming urban, industrial, hard-working and prosperous today.

In time, even the stereotype may break down. As James Street wrote shortly before he died, some people already can't agree whether ours is a land of "moonlight or moonshine, Tobacco Road or tobacco factories, Texas Cadillacs or ox carts, Uncle Remus or George Washington Carver, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black or Senator Claghorn, hydrogen plants or hot air, RFD or TVA, hospitality or hostility, violence or tranquility, Miami or mud, Li'l Abner, Prince Valiant or Pogo."

There is, of course, no longer one South. There are many Souths today. The region has simply outgrown its odd adolescence and is finally maturing as a part of the United States, not simply "Uncle Sam's other province," as Allen Tate once called it.

A part of this maturity is an enormous diversity, perhaps best illustrated by the words of W. J. Cash, whose wisdom once graced this editorial page: "Anyone may see . . . it . . . simply by riding along any of the great new motor roads which spread across it—through brisk towns with tall white buildings in Nebraska Gothic; through smart suburbs, with their faces newly washed; through industrial and Negro slums, medieval in dirt and squalor and wretchedness, in all but redeeming beauty; past sleepy old hamlets and wide fields and black men singing their sad songs in the cotton, past log cabin and high grave houses and swamp and plain. . ."

The South wears many faces—some of them bright, some of them dark and cadaverous. But its diversity is its new strength. It is no longer a cliche.

"The Mean Old Federal Courts Are Trying to Impose Their Will on Others"

An Open Letter To Governor Coleman

Dear Governor:

In your reply to my letter about the racial issue you said, and I quote, "We know we can expect no help from the Republican Party as presently constituted and operated". At this point I agree with you. However, in reference to the Democratic party you said, and I quote, "As to the Presidential campaign, I am convinced that our best hope of ultimate success lies in the support of the Democratic nominees".

On this point we are not agreed. Furthermore, you stated and I quote again, I likewise repeat the conviction that we can never expect any help from the United States Government on this problem. We will have to save ourselves by our own ingenuity, and this we can do".

Logically this means that if the Democratic Party is elected it will be in power, and constitute the Government from which we can never expect any help. Now, Governor, I am afraid of the policy. I feel that we should desert the Democratic Party until it rids itself of socialistic and communistic programs, that are confusing and deviding the people of our state.

Would not Mississippians look better and feel better fighting for Constitutional law instead of a left-wing part from which we can never expect any help?

Yours very tryly
Chas. C. Jones
Retired Baptist preacher
Mendenhall, Miss.

Clarion Ledger
10-24-56
So Opinion

Clarion Ledger 10-24-54

Editorial Opinion

IKE FAVORS FORCE

Eisenhower forces in Mississippi apparently seek to sell the idea that Ike is a benevolent "moderate", who frowns on the use of force in bringing about integration. Recent development would seem to belie such an inference.

The President has not yet denied or even commented on a sensational announcement by Powell, Negro Democrat who has just bolted to the GOP camp. Ike's silence arouses the natural supposition that Powell, for once, was telling the truth.

POSITIVE STATEMENT

Speaking in Harlem recently, Congressman Powell told his colored audience that Eisenhower had talked to him and had emphatically endorsed the use of force against Southerners who might dare to resist compulsory integration.

Powell quoted the President as prescribing a definite course of action in such cases, as follows: any person defying or resisting a federal court order should be arrested. Then, if found guilty after a hearing, should be sentenced to prison.

JUDGE IS THE JURY

The Negro Congressman further quoted Eisenhower as saying that the federal judge in such cases should have as many marshals and deputies as may be needed to enforce an integration decree.

Incidentally, this method involves contempt of court proceedings and the fact has considerable significance. Judges themselves, rather than juries, determine whether contempt of court is apparent and judges prescribe the punishment for such offense. Their decisions can be appealed, of course, but only to other federal judges.

ROB PETER, PAY PAUL

Thus the President would seem to favor nullifying the white Southerner's constitutional right to a trial by jury, as a means of guaranteeing the alleged right of colored persons to attend white schools. More briefly stated, he seems to consider one part of the Constitution as more important that another.

It is difficult to see how Mississippians opposed to forced integration can vote for Eisenhower, in view of his reported ideas for dealing with Southern resistance.

$64,000 QUESTION

As for the President's alleged plan, it is interesting to speculate on the number of federal marshals and deputies necessary to enforce an integration decree in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia (just to name a few). In fact, one seriously doubts if that much civilian manpower is available in the Deep South for such a purpose.

In the border state of Kentucky — theoretically willing to accept integration — it took 500 National Guardsmen to put two Negro children in one school, or 250 troops per colored pupil. If this project required 500 armed men just for two students, how many armed men will it take to integrate more than one million colored students of the Deep South?

BIG DISAPPOINTMENT

Aside from his zeal for integration, Eisenhower has otherwise been a tremendous disappointment to conservatives, whose balance of power put him in the White House. Elected as a militant conservative, the President has long ago rejected conservation. Instead, he has surrounded himself with radicals, global meddlers, Negrophiles and other fuzzy-minded architects of an all-powerful bureaucracy.

Southern agriculture, the backbone of our economy, has fared poorly at the hands of his administration. With our own acreage sharply curtailed, foreign competitors have been encouraged to raise more cotton and have been given a lion's share of the world market as a means of winning foreign "friendship."

And now the President seems perfectly willing to emasculate the constitutional rights of Southerns in order to harvest every possible vote from our enemies. If Eisenhower is the winner in November, the South seems certain to be the loser.

Tyranny Creeps In Posing As The Law

Dear Editor:

The preamble to the U. S. Constitution is a statement by the founding fathers stateing the purposes of the Constitution. It should be memorized by every ctizen. It reads:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Every U. S. Official, including the Supreme Judges, swear to "support this Constitution." The President must swear to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

No one of the six proposals is to be preferred above another. Some Judges have tended to range far afield under the pretense of promoting the general welfare. By construction, and by means of "leftist" interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, "General welfare", covers everything.

ACTUAL WORDING

But let us note that the Constituiton says one of the purposes was to "INSURE domestic tranquility", not "promote" it; and another was to "Secure the blessings of liberty."

Since the Ukase of the Court in May 1954, "domestic tranquility" has been thrown to the four winds. Presidents and presidential candidates, insist on "we the people" forgetting "the blessings of liberty", and, subjecting ourselves to the Court-made law, regardless of "liberty" or the Constitution. Because the Court says we must, every one must bow to the decree, and send white and colored children to the same schools. Also they must be mixed in all places, even including golf links. Ever since 1883, we have had no "Civil Rights Laws" and no "Force Bills". There appears no reason why former decisions of our most learned judges should be reversed. There is no law and decision to support it. It is merely government by men and not law. If we submit, we deserve to be slaves.

Let us inquire if this course INSURES domestic tranquility. In Tennessee we have the terrifying spectacle of the Governor ordering out more than five hundred soldiers, armed with machine guns and seven tanks to resist an estimated group of five hundred men, women and children, totally unarmed. All to force twelve Negro students into a white school.

DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY?

In Kentucky we have had similar scenes. In Texas, the situation was handled by two Rangers—just two. In the southern states we have had "mobs" and "riots." In New Jersey, Deleware, West Virginia and Ohio, they were "crowds" and "demonstrations." In New Jersey, reports are that as many as twenty white boys were in the hospitals at one time suffering from knife wounds by Negro boys, and in some cases, Negro girls. Is this "domestic tranquility?"

Candidate Stevenson counsels "moderation", "obedience to the law", "no violence," and no use of force. When Governor of Illinois, he used the State Militia to force Negroes into white housing units. Does that look like "no force"?

The Congressional investigation into race-mixing in schools has revealed conditions that are revolting to every sense of decency. That is the U. S. Court's idea of "domestic tranquility." The President and presidential candidate Stevenson, each deplored the investigation. Why? Because it reveals the falsity of their positions, and the sickening ugliness of race-mixing. They are not interested in "domestic tranquility", or "the blessings of liberty." They only want votes, at any price of shame and degradation.

A. S. Coody
776 Nort West St.
Jackson, Miss.

Clarion Ledger
9-29-56

Editorial Opinion

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Clarion Ledger 10-8-56

Leters to the Editors must be brief, must be signed (though name may be withheld on request) and must avoid defamatory or abusive statements. The Editor reserves the right to reduce lengthy letters end to limit the number of letters on any one subject.

Condemns Violence In Use Of Bayonets

Dear Editor:

It's five minutes to midnight on the clockface of Destiny so far as Mississippi is concerned. An integration act is in the cards for us, before second semester gets a week old. The reason is simple, and this is the way of it:

Ready to commence "force and violance" with naked bayonets, battle gear and tanks against Southern white parents and children disturbed to their hearts core by the mongrelization educational program, The Combat Trained Troops naturally face their own kind, in the current press pictures of beginning of school, in Clinton, Clay and Sturgis, etc. These white parents, bewildered and cowed, with many already brainwashed into the hour of their indecision will succumb to the inevitable, as it is at the present time.

SORRY FOR CHILDREN

I feel sorry for the youngsters, that their memories of "schooldays" shall be that of clanking tanks, troops at the ready, with fixed bayonets, By their own kind mind you; — no INTEGRATED troops in pictures I saw. That will come later, in the long-range plan, as is indicated in the purification crusade of Gen. Eisenhower in Germany, and is part and parcel of changing a Republic into a "democracy."

In short, if weasel words, insipid brotherhood and political cunning don't get the job done, then use ths bayonets and tanks. But use them. Thats the story in Africa, Cyprus, Egypt and Arabia, likewise Formosa, Korea and Japan. In short, have "loving hearts" as a so-called PTA opined nationwide in a recent radio quote, if it has to do with our Southern States. Positively no "equality, fraternity or liberty" for the African native, the Chinese, the Arabs, and above all, the Russians and the Southern white race of the U.S.A. Any fool voter can go Adlai or Ike and the end will be the same, as for me, "I go Pogo," unless or until a so-called "third party" but actually an American Party — comes into the current election picture.

NO "DIGNITY OF MAN"

Likewise personally, I see no "dignity of man" in the photo of the negro youth practically frog-marching in a ring of bayonets being forced into a predominently white school without thought of the days to come. It is the children — both white and black, who are eternally warped, just so that the One-World gentry, can use their accompishments in other sections of the globe. The "Morgantheau Plan" for destroying the German white race, and I quote "the country can be made into a goat pasture, and we'll feed the "natives" from soup kitchens." That Morgantheau plan never was nationally publicized, in fact was semi-censored and down-graded when Gen. Eisenhower and such like began their "Great Crusade", and a dime will get you a dollar, that shortly the word "Crusade" will be a favored slogan or cliche in the coming election.

"BLOODY DEATH"

I suggest it is what I understand communists call "Aesopian language", meaning double talk, which will be acceptable to those not in the know, but to the palace guards and inner circles, has an entirely different meaning, for example, when bayonets are fixed for force and violence, and nasty bloody death.

Each minority race, creed and color in the U. S. has its ethical organization, and an equaly ethical but punitive organization existing along side — viz: the NAACP has its Urban League, the Bnai Brith has its Anti-Defamation League, the Catholic, or so I am told, had its Jesuit Society and what has the ordinary peaceful decent white man got? Answer is NOTHING. He can and in fact, is urged — to vote every four years, either democrat or republican, and in the end, the trap of his ballot-box simply had two openings.

It is a sad day for Mississippi that there is no Fielding Wright, Theodore Bilbo, John Rankin or one of the type of Gen. MacArthur, or Joseph McCarty or even Robert Taft, behind whom the citizens could rally, at the polls, and at least gain time until the One-Worlders bring on World War IV, whereupon the propaganda mills will go into high against a new enemy, and the Southland accomplish its own destiny as its white and black citizens alike have done in the past. Not for nothing did the Jewish prophets of old call for a return to the old paths.

W. L. Hardin, Sr.
1441 Central Street
Jackson, Miss.

So Opinion

AR const
10-30-56

Segregationist Points To Way Things Are

Decatur — The races may generally be classified as white, black, red and yellow. It is not believed that Biblical scholars nor scientific researchers have satisfactorily established the whys and wherefores of the differences in color.

Is it unreasonable to assume that it was the Creator's plan that the races should remain separate and intact and each in its own way contribute to the advance of civilization, the peace of mankind and the glory of God?

JOHN TRIMBLE.

Southern Opinion

Federal Troops Not All From The North

Dear Editor:

I have read the U. S. News and World Report for Sept. 14, 1956. The first thing I see is on page 39 a group of National Guardsmen, fully armed with bayonets and combat helmets with the bayonets pointed into the stomachs of some sightseers who have their arms crossed and are seemingly pretty much unconcerned about the whole thing, but the guardsmen particularly the ones closest the camera, have a scowl on their faces and look, either ready to do battle or scared.

These men are forcing integration — like it or not — they have the gun and the bayonet and they are ready to force integration on the people of Clinton Tennessee and they are enforcing it.

FEDERAL TROOPS

In view of this startling situation a question arises in my mind and has me disturbed no end. Are these guardsmen the same type people as our own beloved 31st Dixie Division? Are they home town boys in the National Guard drawing the bulk of their pay from the U. S. Government and ready for recall into active Service by the United States? Are they home boys who would be eager and willing to defend their country in a war or an emergency? But who are forced to force this integration down the throats of the people of Tennessee? In case of such a disturbance in Mississippi would our 31st Division be called out to bayonet us in the guts?

Frankly I have a terribly hard time telling a National Guardsman from a Federal Soldier. Of course when I think of a federal Soldier I think of a crude individual from the back-woods of Michigan with a three day beard and a dirty blue uniform firing Minie balls instead of a 30-06 or M-1. I wonder if this is the thought of so many of us who wouldn't dream that our Own National Guard, Supported by the United States Government, Paid and Clothed by the Federal Government are FEDERAL TROOPS. Are Tennessee and Kentucky being integrated by the Federal troops under disguise as National Guardsmen. Or are our National Guardsmen really Federal Troops?

ANOTHER QUESTION

Are our men, strong in heart and brave, willing and wanting to protect their country and their people in the National Guard, aware that they may be called on to integrate Mississippi by a Governor who may not be quite so strong against integration as Governor Coleman? Would our men belong to and support this National Guard with the KNOWLEDGE (not thought) that they may someday be ordered to active duty with a bayonet and rifle to force integration on their own children? I am completely ignorant as to the status of the National Guard but having once been a reservist who got called up about the same time as the National Guard, I have a sneaking suspicion that there is more Government control of the National Guard than there is state Government control. I think this is terribly important to every citizen in Mississippi and Alabama.

A DELTA READER
(name withheld by request)
Belzoni, Miss.

Clarion Ledger

9/24/56 Opinion

Atl-Journal-Const-10-14-56
(South. Opinion)

—Alley in The Memphis Commercial Appea

—Without a Paddle

Fundamental Rights In Democracy Cited

Atl-Const-10-2-56
So. Opinion

Atlanta — I have been reading The Constitution all my reading life and I was amazed to see a preacher such as Dr. Charles Allen make an issue of segregation in the pulpit.

I believe Negroes have the right to vote and to compete for jobs for which they are qualified.

ROBERT T. SMITH.

* * *

Back to School

So. Op.
Time 10-1-56

Sir:

I have been reading in the Dutch newspapers about the things that happened in Clinton, Tenn. I say shame on the U.S. and its citizens (white).

P. NOUWENS

Breda, The Netherlands

Sir:

Maybe to you the white patriots in Tennessee and the other Southern states are a mob, but to me and millions of other white Americans the Supreme Court is responsible if any blood is spilled to enforce the unconstitutional Black Monday decision.

JAMES BURTON

Baltimore

Sir:

Re school integration: any law that requires bayonets to enforce it is a bad law. The dictators of Germany, Russia and, in the past, Italy, used bayonets and still use bayonets to enforce their laws. We fought two world wars to correct this situation.

EAVES ALLISON

Sarasota, Fla.

Sir:

The story of man's maltreatment of his fellow man is tragically long, but it is sad to think that some of the most recent chapters are being enacted in the democratic U.S. of 1956. You may be ahead of the rest of the world in many things, but in the matter of human relations your Deep South is on a par with the Neanderthal man.

R. KARUNARAJAH

Geneva, Switzerland

Back to School

So. Op.
Time 9-24-56

Sir:

The latest outbursts of racial violence in the South have filled me with shame and disgust. This mob violence and mass hysteria has no justification and to poison the minds of children with hatred and bigotry is nothing less than atrocious! Instead of hanging effigies, these mobs should hang their heads in shame.

LAURIE LORMÉ

Dallas

Sir:

Now that school is starting again, and little kids all over the world will be studying about our great American democracy, wouldn't it be a kind gesture for Congress to add an asterisk to that phrase about Liberty, Equality and Justice for all saying: "*Except Negroes"? It would do so much to help relieve all the confusion and doubt the world over about our being a nation of hypocrites.

LEWIS J. STOFFER

Cincinnati

Roman Suggests Way To End Racial Strife

So. Opinion
Atl Const 9-8-56

Rome — I sincerely believe that the majority of the Southern people have no spokesman in the segregation issue.

I believe that segregation is best for all concerned in the South, but I do not believe in "white supremacy."

I think that if the people of both races who really want to see the issue settled could get together the South soon would have the respect of all thinking Americans.

An organization, with both races belonging, to carry out the theme of "Segregation Without Discrimination" would be workable and acceptable to the majority.

HAROLD MANN.

* * *

Southern Opinion

Southern opinion — The Charlotte ~~News~~
Nov. 23, 1956

The Law Is To Be Obeyed Regardless Of The Cost

By IRVING CARLYLE

Editors' Note: How the Pearsall plan can blaze a trail out of North Carolina's segregation dilemma was discussed in The News Nov. 9 by Col. William T. Joyner, prominent Tar Heel attorney and vice chairman of the State Advisory Committee on Schools. The ideas were presented during a panel discussion of the North Carolina State Bar. Here is a dissenting view, filed by a leading Winston-Salem lawyer and opponent of the Pearsall Plan.

TO THE great credit of our profession, its members can strongly disagree with each other and remain friends. That knowledge makes my task here today much easier becaus I must speak forthrightly about a difficult and controversial subject and I do not expect general agreement with all that I shall say.

It should first be said that lawyers have a peculiar obligation to speak out at times of crisis when law is on trial before the bar of public opinion. That trial is now in progress, and as it goes on, we need to remember that the law is the cure, as well as the cause, of upheavals. In fact, it is the only cure. The superior knowledge of the lawyer about the law gives to him a unique and privileged role, to be played fearlessly for the public good. His silence at a time like this is a betrayal of his trust. Therefore, this panel discussion is most fitting, and I am happy to speak to the subject from some strong legal convictions.

BACKGROUND

As the background for my remarks. I call attention to a few statements by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown case and its implementing opinion. The court said:

". . .in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. . .The opinions of May 17, 1954, declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle."

During the campaign for the adoption of the Pearsall Plan it was referred to by the proponents as safety-valve, stop-gap, and time-buying legislation. From this accurate description, and for other reasons, it seems to me to be obvious that the adoption of the plan has not yet settled the legal problems in the field of school segregation. The solution of those problems has merely been postponed to some future time. Our concern about the constitutionality of the plan is still with us. Hence, one of our functions is to prepare our own and the public mind for the day when the time bought by the plan will have run out.

PROBLEMS AT HAND

There are some things that the lawyer knows better than anybody else, and this knowledge must be brought to bear upon the solution of the problems at hand. For instance, he knows that our whole scheme of life in all parts of America is based upon the supremacy of law. He knows that the source of law is the conscience and reason of man. He knows that the problem of public authority must be based upon law, because we live "under a government of laws and not of men." He believes that the law is no stronger than the integrity of the courts, the law-makers, the lawyers, enforcement officers, and of the people in general. And he also knows that discrimination by government among citizens on account of race, creed or national origin is now under almost complete condemnation by law. He knows full well by now that all citizens are entitled to equal protection under law and to live under laws that fall upon all men equally. He knows that the law is a hard but fair taskmaster whose rewards are reserved solely for its faithful servants and whose penalties are inescapable. And finally, he knows that the law is our ark of the covenant to which every man, woman and child must look for refuge; and, therefore, that more important than what the law does to us is what we do with the law.

EXPEDIENCY

From this, it follows that when expediency rather than principle is the controlling factor in the legal process, the outcome is injustice. We do great injury to ourselves when we seek to bolster our claims to superiority by compelling others to surrender their legal rights. And the damage done is far greater when the surrender is coerced by punitive measures taken under color of law. The use of intimidation by law is a backward step unworthy of a great profession that is committed to improving the administration of justice for all men. And this is so because respect for law should not be predicated upon fear but solely upon a sense of justice, and for the further reason that we profane the law when we use it as a weapon against the legal rights of others.

The High Road And The Low Road

RIGHTS OF MINORITY

The usurpation of law by a majority to deprive a minority of constitutional rights is certain to backfire. That is the verdict of both history and common sense. Temporizing is overlooked in politics and sometimes tolerated in government but it has no place in the law.

The law is always to be obeyed regardless of the cost. The belief that the people are justified in disobeying laws which they do not like and their censure of the courts for unpopular decisions do great harm. That is not the process for changing the law. The test of the law is not, is it popular, but is it in accord with basic principles, and when that test has been met, the attitude of the people and not the law must change.

The thing that will matter the most for all of us in the next 10 or 50 years is that democracy shall win out over communism and that victory will only happen if democracy is stronger than communism in its support of moral principles. And a moral principle of the first order is that men obey the law and that they give to each other equal justice under law. Regardless of what some may think, the spirit of Thomas Jefferson still hovers over this country and his philosophy has gone deeper than we know.

As lawyers we know better than other men that the penalties for not obeying the law are always heavier than were anticipated; and they become increasingly heavy as men grow in mental and moral stature. Frankness requires me to say that one of the penalties inflicted for 58 years of widespread violation of the "separate but equal" doctrine of the Plessy case was the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown case. And with equal realism we should remind ourselves now that the penalties we and our children and grandchildren will pay for not obeying the law of the land as laid down in the Brown case will be heavier than we now foresee, and one of them could well be isolation from the rest of the free world and the ultimate destruction of democracy.

There are some lawyers—and I am one of that number — who believe that the Constitution of the United States will not be amended, federal legislation will not be adopted, and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown case will not be reversed to permit segregation of the races by law in the United States. If this should happen, we would be completely out of step with the rest of the free and democratic world whose friendship we must have if our nation is to survive.

RESPECT FOR LAW

The highest part of our calling as lawyers is to lead the people toward respect for law and order. In proportion as we meet that obligation do we lift our profession to higher ground. I question seriously that the Pearsall Plan is a step in that direction, although intended so to be by its able and conscientious sponsors.

For the reasons already suggested, a true lawyer is a noble personage and the freest individual in any community with a special mission in times like these. He is always responsive to human need. He stands always upon the same high level of mental and moral integrity. He is as incapable of looking up as he is of looking down; he is equally without reverence and without condescension. He is not afraid to do his own thinking and he does not quaver before the power of wealth or the authority of high places. He is the keeper of his own conscience and the creator of his own convictions. Where the law leads, he will ever follow. From this comes his strength because he stands always on the side of law.

Southern Opinion

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL

Reed Sarratt, EXECUTIVE EDITOR James B. L. Rush, EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR
EDITORIAL PAGE STAFF: H. Clay Ferree, Robert F. Campbell (on leave), Frances B. Griffin
Robert T. Barnard, Howard L. Myers, Rixie E. Hunter

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1956

A Time for Cool-Headedness

THREE new incidents on the school integration front tend to point up the serious and delicate nature of the problem faced by Southern communities in dealing with the mixed school issue:

1. The action of the U. S. Supreme Court in rejecting the plea of Mansfield, Texas, school authorities for more time "to solve its problems and end segregation" in the high school there. After rioting had occurred at the school when three Negro students sought to enter, they were denied admittance. The school board appealed from an appeals court decision ordering it to proceed with integration in the high school "completely uninfluenced by private and public opinion as to the desirability of desegregation in the community." This ruling was in conformity with the Supreme Court decisions on public school segregation. It means that local opposition to mixed schools cannot be made a basis for delaying the admission of Negro pupils.

2. The plea of the Anderson County, Tenn., school board for federal help in policing court-ordered, racial integration at the Clinton High School. Without federal help, the board said it might have to close the school within a week.

Under federal court order the Clinton High School admitted 12 Negro pupils along with its 700 white pupils last August. No serious incident occurred during the first few days, but violence erupted after the community had been stirred up by an outside agitator. The disorders were put down by local vigilantes and state troopers and National Guardsmen sent to Clinton by Governor Clement. But in recent weeks, new troubling incidents have multiplied at the school and two Negro pupils have quit school. Fanning the flames of racial prejudice is the newly organized Tennessee White Youth organization.

3. The attempt of a 17-year-old white youth, Billy Branham of Detroit, to enroll as a student in the racially integrated Louisville (Kentucky) Male High School after publicly stating that he intended to work against the mixing of races in the schools. Young Branham has been denied admission on the ground that he is a non-resident and a troublemaker.

These three incidents graphically outline some of the major difficulties confronted by community school leadership in connection with the federal court decisions on school segregation. The courts have plainly said that local sentiment or opposition to integration is no justification or excuse for failure to comply with the desegregation decrees. But at Mansfield, Texas, the mere appearance of three Negro youths on the school grounds set off a violent disturbance which was ended only by the appearance of Texas Rangers on the scene. At Clinton the school board, after five years of litigation, was left little choice as to its action. It was firmly and specifically ordered by the district court to integrate its high school. When it proceeded to do so, a situation developed which still threatens law, order and public safety in Clinton.

The action of the Detroit teen-ager in attempting to enter the Louisville schools to agitate against segregation ordinarily might be dismissed as the prank of an immature youngster who craves excitement. But the incident illustrates the appeal of the racial integration issue to propagandists, Ku Kluxers, rabblerousers and fanatics. It gives them an issue to rant over and arouse mass emotion and dormant projudices. Such people are difficult for responsible community leaders to deal with, as the acquittal of the Clinton agitator, Kasper, signifies.

But serious and delicate as the desegregation problem is, it is one to which our educational and political leaders in the South must face up with discretion and courage. It is clear that eventual substantial compliance with the decrees of the courts is inevitable. Whether that compliance can be brought about in a comparatively peaceful manner depends upon the wisdom and cooperative spirit of both races in the South and the degree of patience and understanding shown by the courts and federal authorities toward honest community efforts to work out solutions for the problem.

Daily Mgr. Jackson, 10-28-56

In the battle that is ahead the Citizens Councils of Mississippi deserve the fullest possible measure of support and encouragement. A good way to prove your disapproval of integration and your belief in states rights is to join the Citizens Council in your home community. It means, amon other things, that you will be mighty good company in this fight for preservation of the Southern way of life.

* * *

If you are a man who keeps a mistress—lots of men, both married and unmarried, are guilty of that form of sinning—you can actually claim the aforesaid mistress as a dependent when figuring your Federal income tax. That's the law as it now stands but Congress will be asked at its next session to change the statute.

* * *

The Mississippi branch of the NAACP has sent a telegram to President Eisenhower asking that the Russians sent to this country to study our election methods be "brought to Mississippi where Negroes are not allowed to register for suffrage." That's not a bad idea inasmuch as many NAACP are Communists at heart, if not actual card-carrying members. The Russian visitors would feel very much at home among them.

LETTERS FROM

Ala. Jnl. Southern Operation

St. Times Reviewer

To Be Free, Equal

State Times, Lda 12-9-56

"Everyone is created free and equal" is an impossibility if our country is forced to completely integrate or either to completely segregate.

Any one or any race does not have the right to over run any one or any race. This rule should work forward, backwards and across with the same answers. How can this be?

Our country was founded to be ruled by the majority. The minority says that is not fair, we do not have our rights. How can we fix it so the majority and also the minority have their equal rights?

Why are the rights and wishes of these ten Negroes in Clinton, Tenn. considered to be more important than the rights and wishes of several hundred white children. When the court upholds the rights of the Negroes are they not over riding the equal rights of the white man? Is that fair? Our rule is not working forward, backwards and across.

We must have different ways of life and customs in this country so each person will really and truly have "free and equal rights" to choose their way of life. The segregationists of all races can choose the South, and those who want to integrate can go to the few integrated spots in the North and the rest of the country.

Sincerely
Mrs. Mary Louise Supinger
Columbia, Miss.

DECEMBER 9, 1956

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Picking A Prexy

The Sylacauga News

It is little wonder that the trustees of the University of Alabama are finding it difficult to pick a successor to Dr. Carmichael as president of that institution. To please all the trustees, politicians, factions, and at least make an impression upon the student body he must have the qualifications of a superman. He must be a Democrat, a politician, a Christian, a gentleman and a scholar. He must have an eye for sports and an ear for music. He must be sharp-witted, a good speaker, a poser, a hale-fellow-well-met. He must be able to impress audiences, be affable with the press, kiss babies and pose in all sorts of momentarily appropriate costumes. He must have an over-all knowledge of worldwide events. He must be able to recite prose, poetry and tell jokes on the spur of the moment. He could be single or married—could have children or no children. His denomination is unimportant. He should be well dressed at all times although it would not be detrimental to his cause if one of his shoes needed half soling.

If this is what the trustees want, how about Adlai?

◆

No Easy Way Out

The Lee County Bulletin

This newspaper has no pat solution to suggest for the sort of thing that is happening in Clinton, Tenn. We wish fervently that we did. In considering the Clinton situation, with all its passions, emotions, and bullheadedness, it is dangerous to oversimplify.

The dilemma is not likely to pass quickly. That is impossible in a situation where the law versus people who despise the law, and where people of decent instincts and people of ill will lock arms in bitter struggle.

The need is for everyone to recognize the complications involved. The federal courts have said what is the law. That will not be changed. Nor can it be flaunted. To do so would be to bring anarchy and chaos even worse than that which has gripped Clinton.

But a sizable portion of the community's population does not want school integration, which the court says the U.S. Constitution decrees. There are those so inflamed that they are moved to violence to impose their will. To meet this situation with force would only fan the fires to ever worse displays of hate and passion.

What to do? The law is the law. But where people despise the law, can the law operate?

Easing of Clinton's dilemma is likely to be a long time in coming. The only ingredients we know which will affect the situation favorably are restraint and good will, plus the realization that we are a nation of laws, not men. And let all responsible people who deplore the court decisions which led to the

the complications involved. The federal courts have said what is the law. That will not be changed. Nor can it be flaunted. To do so would be to bring anarchy and chaos even worse than that which has gripped Clinton.

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◆

Klan Revival

Lucile K. Woodham In The Florala News

I'm no klansman—not interested in their letting women become members but some of the newspapers, especially the dailies, are howling like a pack of wolves about the Ku Klux Klan which is rising again. And if I understand what the Klan's objectives are, I think it has too many irons in the fire. But it is the Supreme Court of the United States that has brought the Klan to life again. Every time the Klan burns a cross it is a reminder that the Supreme Court has burned up the Constitution of these United States, the only fragment of that great document left being the 14th Amendment, the one amendment put into the Constitution by blood soaked fraud and force for the sole purpose of crucifying the South.

◆

Prize Asset

The Opelika Daily News

Felicitations are offered the Alabama Power Company and all its thousands of workers on the occasion of reaching the company's fiftieth birthday. Alabama Power is truly one of this state's prize possessions, and has done more toward attracting new industries than any other concern or unit of interests. Elders in Opelika know this, since the company was a prime influence in bringing the Pepperell Manufacturing Company to this city.

The amazing growth and development by Alabama Power during the fifty years of its existence excites the admiration of all. Chairman Thomas W. Martin told a statewide television audience Tuesday night that the company has doubled its strength and facilities each ten years of the half century. That means a climb of 32 times the size of the first ten years.

And the great power company is by no means through with its expansion. Construction will soon start of two mammoth new river dams at a total cost of several hundred million dollars.

Southern Opinion

TEN

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER — TELEPHONE 53-5381

JAMES E. MILLS ..... Editor JOHN W. FRIERSON ..... President

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"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way"

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1956

Toll the Bells for Hungary

"Let us take to heart the lessons the Hungarian people have written in their blood . . ."

In those words President Eisenhower appealed to the American people to take some time today—Human Rights Day—to give a little thought, say a prayer and contribute money to the sorely oppressed Hungarian people.

The President's proclamation converted Dec. 10, 1956—previously a routine observance of the anniversary of United Nations adoption of a declaration of human rights—into a day of mourning. This year the goal of fundamental and inalienable human rights for all mankind suffered a grevious setback.

The lesson of Hungary is that there is much evil in the world and the struggle for freedom requires eternal vigilance and sacrifice.

The encouraging aspect of the Hungarian tragedy, as the President reminded, is that "those who have once known freedom and the free exercise of human rights value them above life itself."

The Bolsheviks tried to make us believe differently. But the Hungarian people, after 10 years of intolerable slavery imposed on them by the Soviets, proved again that the old truths prevail. Men still will lay down their lives in order to gain freedom—thank God.

We again urge all communities today to toll their church bells, fly their flags at half-staff, to tell and re-tell the story of the struggle for freedom in Hungary in their schools, in the churches and at public meetings. Let us mourn for the Hungarian dead. But let us also pay tribute to the courage of people who preferred death to compromise with evil.

There is little the rest of the free world can do. We watch with horror the agonies of a people being systematically destroyed. But we can do what the closing words of the President's proclamation propose:

"Let us resolve to give generously of our substance that the hardships and suffering of the Hungarian people may be relieved and let us pray that this season of tragedy for them may end in the return of rights and freedom and self-government."

When the bells toll let us vow that the Hungarians shall not have died in vain. If we do not so vow, the bells some day may toll for us.

SOUTHERNER PROTESTS

N.Y. Times - 12/11/56

Brooks of Louisiana Asks F. B. I. End Inquiries There

Southern Opinion?

SHREVEPORT, La., Dec. 10 (UP) —Representative Overton Brooks has sent a telegram to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. demanding that the Justice Department quit treating the South "like a conquered province."

The Louisiana Democrat said today he had asked the Attorney General to halt investigations of white Citizens Council members in Louisiana's northern parishes by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

He said the Justice Department had not laid "a proper foundation for such activity" and that Federal agents had investigated sheriffs, state legislators, district attorneys and many others "whose records as law-abiding people have never been questioned."

The Justice Department, he told Mr. Brownell, "must quit treating this section of the nation like a conquered province and must treat us like a co-equal state that we are."

38-year-old nonprofit, nonpartisan organ- policies and decisions. So. opinion

12/10/58

Today Is "Human Rights Day"

Bennington Vt

On Dec. 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting that year in Paris, adopted and proclaimed an historic "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The document was conceived "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among peoples of territories under their jurisdiction." To celebrate its adoption, the General Assembly in 1950 asked that in future years Dec. 10 be set aside as "Human Rights Day."

Like the American Bill of Rights, the Declaration is short, containing a preamble and only 30 brief statements of particulars. It defines in simple language the inherent rights of all human beings. Article 1, for example, declares, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Article 17 states, "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

The other 28 articles bear on such matters as freedom of conscience and religion, freedom from slavery and servitude, the right to education, the right to family life and privacy of the home, free elections, freedom of opinion and expression, including the right to "seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Universal respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual is far from being achieved. But the Declaration constitutes the first world wide recognition of the inherent rights of man, and as such it can exert great moral influence.

Clarion Ledger - 10-30-56

BY WAY OF REBUTTAL

In The Clarion - Ledger's "Voice of The People" column Monday, a Jackson gentleman raked this writer over the coals, so to speak. He called us "dishonest" because we had written that Eisenhower favored the use of force against the South in bringing about integration. Our comments were based on a reported conversation between the President and Adam Clayton Powell, Negro Congressman from Harlem, in which Ike allegedly prescribed legal methods for punishing anti - integrationists.

Our esteemed and scholarly critic apparently takes the naive position that there has been no teamwork between executive and judicial departments in promoting race - mixing. His letter specified that the President has no authority to interfere with judges or their marshals, which of course is true in theory. . . .

Southern Opinion

WHO'S KIDDING WHO?

By the same token, the President has no official voice in administering public education in Washington. This responsibility rests with Congress. Yet Eisenhower demanded, and got, overnight integration in District of Columbia schools. Many Southern leaders believe Ike engineered the infamous Black Monday decision by appointing the notorious radical, Earl Warren, as Chief Justice.

As for "dishonesty", Eisenhower enthusiasts in Dixie want Southerners to believe that Ike has had little to do with the onward march of integration. Meanwhile, Eisenhower orators in the North assure Negroes in key areas that he has done more to abolish segregation than any President in history. Is not "dishonesty" apparent here? And what about those millions of votes Ike got in 1952, under false pretenses of being a crusading "conservative"? What about the farm votes he got by endorsing "full parity" price supports that ~~somehow~~ have not materialized?

Adam Powell Compels Demo Support

So. Man Opinion

State Times 10-24-56

Every word spoken by Harlem Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, newly-turned "Citizen for Ike," helps the Democratic ticket in the South.

Soon after giving the President his endorsement, for its dubious worth to Republicans, the Negro congressman was telling his district of Ike's intent to enforce integration upon Dixie.

That may help the GOP in Harlem, where Gotham segregates its Negroes, but it strikes a sour Republican note in these parts.

The same may be said of Rep. Powell's latest labelling of Adlai Stevenson as "a captive of the Dixiecrats." To that was added his postscript that "the Negro came out of both conventions with absolutely nothing in the way of civil rights."

At the rate he's going, Adam Powell is perhaps the most compelling voice for support of the Democratic ticket in the South where he claims men like "(Sen. James O.) Eastland and (Herman) Talmadges" are running the party.

Surely Sen. Eastland, as chairman of the Senate judiciary committee, is a power in Democratic circles. Along with Senate Majority leader Lyndon Johnson (Tex.) and House Speaker Sam Rayburn (Tex.), he is perhaps the Democrats' most significant figure in the Congress.

Because radicals like Adam Powell fear Southern Democrats is one reason many Mississippians have doffed their "Citizen for Ike" labels of ~~1952.~~

Racial Bias Is Integral Part of 'Southern Way of Life'

By Bem Price

CHARLESTON, S. C., Dec. 15 (AP) — The South, from Virginia to Texas, focuses much of its thinking on what has come to be called "the Southern way of life."

This insistence on a particular way of life sometimes puzzles the rest of the nation. Boiled down it appears to amount to this:

The white man in the South, who governs the area, owns its biggest farms, runs its biggest banks and businesses, is torn between his often very genuine affection for the Negro as an individual and his belief that Negroes, as a race, should "keep their place."

In effect, this often amounts to political, economic and social subordination for the Negro. The white man explains he believes this is the only way the two races can live together.

Whites' Fears

Some Southerners express concern that if the Negro is "allowed to mix," the result could be racial mongrelization. There is fear that in some areas which are predominately Negro the Negroes could gain political control.

The Southern white man has a long history of defending his relationship with the Negro, first as a slave owner and after the Civil War as a "white supremacist."

By and large he is convinced that no one outside the South really understands his position.

Ask State Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County — 86 per cent Negro — in southern Alabama to explain his conception of the Southern way of life and he says a person would have to live in the South and learn the Negro for at least a year to understand.

He abhors deliberate efforts to inflame racial passions. Nevertheless he is determined to maintain the Southern way of life he has known for 44 years.

Is the Negro innately inferior to the white man?

"Yes," says Engelhardt.

Educated Negro

If you educate the Negro, what are you educating him for?

"Let him have his own society," he replied. "We ought to raise him morally and economically."

Ask Harold A. Petit, vice president and regional manager for the South Carolina Electric and Gas Co., at Charleston, why he stands for the Southern way of life.

"The Negro is irresponsible in every degree," he will say. "I think it is a basic trait, although other conditions — environment, economics and education — contribute to his so-called lethargy."

Asked whether the Southern way of life is not in some measure based on fear, Petit answered:

"Yes. The basic fear is mongrelization of the races. I just can't visualize a South which is predominant mulatto."

In defending their way of life Southerners have re-developed the doctrine of states' rights to protect white surpremacy.

In no other region since the Civil War have state governments taken such steps to circumvent a high court ruling as did the Southern states in the aftermath of the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision holding segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

Seven states—Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana—said in essence they will not abide by that decision.

Editor's Statement

With this attitude on states' rights goes another attitude, one which permits a newspaper editor to say for publication:

"Democracy cannot and will not work indefinitely. Sooner or later in a democracy special interest groups gain control and you have oligarchy. When this occurs there is economic chaos. A strong man —a dictator—emerges, and you start all over again."

This firm belief, that not all people are necessarily qualified to govern themselves, permits Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston News and Courier, to say of himself and his newspaper:

'We have always taken a dim view of small 'd' democracy. We stand by an older form of government, small 'r' republicanism" (under which the vote is restricted to those deemed fit to use it).

Generally speaking, these views, not uncommon in the South, underlie the widespread reluctance in the deep South to give the Negro the vote unfettered by literacy tests, poll taxes and other restrictions.

In Columbia, S. C., a thoughtful, pipe-smoking educator, Dr. E. Ryan Crow, said:

Educator's Statement

"I would say that the average Southerner in his attitude feels that his position is a defense of a civilization. This state—to its great misfortune—started off wrong. The first ship to land here in 1670 brought Negro slaves. They created a peculiar type of civilization.

"The Negro has been a slave-menial. Some think that is his just and rightful place. . . .The large farmer in the state has a strong planter aristocracy tradition. The thought of the labor-menial getting out of that situation and tradition stirs him up."

Crow, chairman of South Carolina's education finance committee, was asked if he thought Southerners believed Negroes to be inherently inferior.

He replied: "The white man feels he belongs to a superior race.

"Of course," he added, "society is weak whenever any considerable segment is held down. There is a need to recognize that the Negro is worth educating and proceed to do it."

Solve Problem?

There is a widely held opinion in the South that the region, if left alone, can solve its race problem and that people in other sections, especially the North, should get their own glass houses in order before casting stones.

This opinion long has been meat for an editorial campaign by Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser.

Hall, a dapper, 41-year-old bachelor with a deep sense of tradition, said:

"You have to start with two essential points. You have to start with the disagreeable fact that to have been born a colored man is a misfortune.

"It is the colored man's cross to bear. It is an uneven struggle for him.

"The second thing is that the white people of the South—in their morality, ethics and character—are not different from the Westerner or Easterner.

"To debate that the Southerner is so different in character and ethics as to allow him to brutalize the Negro is preposterous."

Hall was asked if he thought the Southerners' feeling about the Negro amounted to just plain prejudice. "Of course it is prejudice," he said, and added he thought failure to recognize it would be highly irresponsible.

"Dramatic Change"

Hall contends that "if you stand the present generation Negro alongside his grandfather, the present generation has made a dramatic change."

Asked if social segregation wouldn't work as well as legal segregation, Hall replied frankly: "To the white Southerner the idea of surrendering legal segregation is a great point. He has it and is reluctant to give it up."

Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin who, with Senator-elect Herman Talmadge, has been one of the South's most adamant segregationists says:

"We believe in Georgia that the Negro has come a long way. His accomplishments are many. He has done it under our way of life and our institutions.

"I don't think any one race is particularly inferior, but let me say I don't think the Negro has made the progress he should have."

Asked "What are you educating the Negro for?" Griffin said:

"We are educating him for leadership in all fields. I don't know how many Negro lawyers and doctors there are in Atlanta. Here there is a Negro newspaper, an all-Negro radio station. There are a Negro-owned chain of theaters. There is more opportunity for them here than in the Northern states."

S. Opinion - 1956

So. opinion

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948 R. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Publisher
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921 T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Editor

Page 4 JACKSON, MISS., MONDAY MORNING, DEC. 31, 1956

Critics Of South Changing Tune Now That Shoe Is On Their Foot

Inasmuch as the Chicago Tribune has been extremely vocal in criticizing Southern handling of delicate racial problems, it is interesting to note that this self-styled "World's Greatest Newspaper" is beginning to learn certain basic facts of interracial life.

In a recent editorial headed "The Welfare State Is Expensive", the Chicago Tribune notes that nearly 150,000 persons are on public relief roles in Cook County. This rather illuminating editorial laments that the state of Illinois has gone far toward acceptance of the welfare state.

"While most welfare programs are taken for granted," the Tribune complains, the state program of aid to dependent children (ADC) is encountering sharp criticism from many persons who feel that cash grants foster illegitimacy and moral degradation." And why is this so? Again quoting the Tribune:

"Cook County Welfare Director Raymond M. Hillard says the ADC burden here has been increased by the migration from the Southern states of many people who do not yet regard illegitimacy as a social disgrace."

Since Mississippians and other Southerners are fully aware of this situation, it is unncessary for us to spell out in plain language just who the Chicago Tribune is talking about. Indeed, people of our state are all too familiar with the fact that there are some here and some migrating to other climes, including Chicago, who "do not yet regard illegitimacy as a social disgrace."

At any rate, the "World's Greatest Newspaper" has given Mississippians some degree of comfort and satisfaction by indicating that Chicagoans, in a small way at least, are beginning to come face to face with problems which the South has wrestled with for many, many years.

As the Richmond News Leader suggests, even Dixie's severest critics are coming to realize that the South's desire for racial separation is not so wholly undesirable after all. And, we might add, those furtherest removed from a problem are usually the most prompt in offering criticism and advice. Better late than never, the Chicago Tribune and like-minded Northerners are receiving a costly education in fact that there are two sides to every question.

12-31-56

GOP Barbs At Integration Surprising

St Times 12-31-56

Americans who honestly favor mass integration would do well to review the House subcommittee report on Washington schools.

Every committeeman who heard testimony in the District hearings signed the report urging re-segregation of schools.

Importantly, the brilliant hero of World War II, Joel T. Broyhill, Republican from the Arlington-Fairfax district of Virginia, endorsed the recommendation. His constituency, more than any other outside Washington, has been affected by the District's school integration.

In droves while families have raced from Washington into Rep. Broyhill's area where schools are segregated. Beyond question his signature to the report echoed sentiment of his district.

Even the subcommittee's two Northern members, Arthur Miller (R-Neb.) and DeWitt Hyde (R-Md.), though not signing the report, conceded all was not well with the integrated school system.

That Republican congressmen would even hint of possible wrongs in the school operation is eye opening. They assuredly must risk censure from party councils which wish to keep intact the support of minorities won in November.

The mess disclosed by the subcommittee probe is well known to Mississippians who heard or read reports by Rep. John Bell Williams, of Raymond, on his return from the hearings. These findings, however, won't move the radical element bent on politically-expedient race mixing at any cost.

It is to be hoped other, less-obstinate Americans give the report a sensible reception.

So. Opinion

Southern Opinion 1956

Ebony Photo-Editorial

Ebony Dec. 58
Opinion

WHO TURNED OUT THE LIGHTS?

FATS DOMINO and his band were playing rock 'n' roll music for the Newport, R. I., enlisted men's club dance. An interracial crowd of nearly a thousand GI's and their dates were having a wonderful time—until somebody turned out the lights. It was then that the beer bottle brawl, which quickly mounted to riot proportions, began.

Reports first put the blame for the ruckus on the nation's Number One whipping boy, integration. Second guessers said rock 'n' roll. Fats, from his under-the-Steinway vantage point, put a piano-plucking finger on quart bottles. "They should have used," he theorized, "paper cups."

An investigation ordered by Rear Admiral Ralph O. Earle, Jr., Base Commander, revealed that it was not integration, not rock 'n' roll nor bottled beer, but the sudden dousing of lights that triggered the bottle-throwing, chair-swinging free-for-all.

After the first outraged reactions following the U. S. Supreme Court's decision to desegregate public schools, there were indications that most of the South would eventually comply. Then someone revived the Ku Klux Klan, organized the White Citizens Councils. When nine Negro students attended classes at Clinton, Tennessee's first integrated high school, all went well until an imported rabble-rouser stung the lethargic little town into a jeering mob. This year, when schools in the nation's capital continued on their desegregated way, Congressional hearings were held to make public testimony attesting to the moral unfitness of Negro youth, and wide distribution was made of a report by a little-known psychologist who reached all the way back to the controversial intelligence tests of World War I in a floundering effort to prove the Negro mentally inferior.

It would seem that every time the Negro takes a giant step toward equality, everywhere desegregation attains a measure of success, somebody turns out the lights. The resultant chaos is no accident. It is part of an elaborate, well-financed plan to gain sympathy for the white South's vanishing way of life; to gain time for the white South to remarshal its forces for a final stand before bowing to the inevitableness of defeat.

Method In Madness

THE ARRIVAL of hireling John Kasper in Canton was a well-calculated move to set off the fall series of anti-desegregation demonstrations (see picture on opposite page) by white parents and white students, for there is method in such seeming madness.

Through patternless cross burnings, threats and economic reprisals, segregationists seek to give the appearance of an impregnable wall of resistance to integration. By rushing hate teams to sure fire "trouble spots," they hope to create with their noisy offensiveness, a smoke screen of predicted terror, thus distracting attention from the increasingly large areas of compliance with the law.

But Negro parents who would not give up and Negro children who would not frighten, again stole the show. That the President of the United States should openly praise an example of painless desegregation was an eventuality not provided for in the master plan. This was especially upsetting since the example is the handiwork of Omar Carmichael, Louisville, Ky., superintendent of schools and a real life cousin of Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, University of Alabama prexy whose ineffectiveness during the Miss Lucy riot set the stage for subsequent school disorders.

Climate Of Opinion

WHILE less subtle forces of bigotry are at work in the South at the textbook level, in the North a cold war is being fought behind a well-laid barrage of printer's ink. Again and again the South had complained that the North turned a deaf ear to the white man's side of the racial problem. Stung by these accusations of unfairness, the Northern press opened wide its pages. Dixie propaganda boys and their stooges are still flooding the country with literature slanted to create a climate of opinion more sympathetic to segregated schools.

Since South Carolina editor Thomas R. Waring wrote with such disarming helplessness about race mixing, the voice of the Southland has grown loud and demanding. Articulate Uncle Toms, Negro "leaders" without standing or following, are encouraged to declare desegregation is not the will of "their people." Northern whites are recruited to revive the long-debunked myth of white mental and moral supremacy.

Most quoted of the latter group is Villanova professor Frank McGurk, whose recent article sought to prove that "Negroes as a group do not possess as much (capacity for education) as Whites as a group"; that the recent social and economic opportunities afforded Negroes only tended to increase the differences between the groups.

"It would appear," commented consultants to the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council, "that Dr. McGurk has taken facts out of context, ignored the cautions of the researchers who made the studies that he quotes, arrived at conclusions entirely unwarranted by the data he used. We feel that he has misused the work of reputable scholars."

Added Dr. Carl Pfaffmann, speaking for the Rhode Island Psychological Association: "I think that in terms of the evidence that Dr. McGurk's conclusions are unwarranted. This man is taking test differences at face value. Most psychologists are skeptical of taking any test differences at face value."

Delaying Action

WHILE the McGurk report was still on the newsstands, a Congressional committee, admittedly pro-segregationists, began a one-sided hearing on two years of integration in Washington, D. C., schools. Led by Georgia chairman, Rep. James C. Davis, questions were centered on sex—tenderest spot in the fabric of Negro-white relationships.

Said Rep. Roy W. Wier (R-Minn.), "The sole object seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to prevent it from working in the future." Time magazine accused subcommittee counsel William E. Gerber of digging for headlines, concluded: "If the hearings demonstrated anything in their dreary recitation of well-known facts, it was simply that Negroes have suffered educationally and culturally in comparison with whites, and that the gap must be closed before they can compete on equal terms in the schools."

Coinciding with Dr. McGurk's analysis of the Negro's mental capacity, the sensational hearings were intended to turn out the light on peaceful desegregation and spread panic among white parents. Meanwhile, the best of Dixie brains work overtime creating legal stumbling blocks to integration. And the days of the Black Laws are again with us. All sorts of ridiculous and unconstitutional statutes are being rammed through Deep South legislatures, their sole value being the time required for their repeal. To insure more borrowed time, a delaying action fight is being waged to immobilize the hated NAACP, whose handful of black lawyers with inferior minds have bested the most brilliant legal heads of the entire white South.

Louisiana and Alabama have already outlawed the organization. Texas has obtained a temporary injunction forbidding it from doing business there. South Carolina is working on a plan. Even the Urban League, whose only sin is finding jobs for Negroes, has been denied financial aid by the Jacksonville, Florida, community fund.

Lights Of Progress

NEITHER mob demonstrations, riots, economic reprisals nor flying beer bottles can turn out the lights of progress. Nor can they stop the orderly processes of desegregation, for it is not on trial. Its rightness has already been proved. In the North people of different races and colors have always lived together and sent their children to the same schools. As yet there are no visible signs of mongrelization or evidences of genocide in the ranks of white men or black.

In fact, the Northern Negro soldier has been found to have a higher I.Q. than the white soldier in the South, protected as he is by three centuries of front door segregation. With the advent of desegregated school facilities, it should not take the Southern Negro nearly as long to catch up with his white brother.

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THE REPRESSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AS AN AFTERMATH OF THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASES

ROBERT B. McKAY*

I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the first Congress of the United States met in 1789, a majority of the delegates from states which had ratified the new Constitution were committed to the addition of a Bill of Rights. High on the list of the demanded guarantees were assurances of the freedom of speech and of assembly.[1] James Madison, reinforced in his own beliefs by the strong urgings and cogent arguments of Thomas Jefferson,[2] took the lead in Congress in proposing nine formal amendments to the Constitution, embracing some nineteen substantive items, including of course guarantees of the freedom of speech and peaceful assemblage.[3]

The importance of these rights, from that time secured by the first amendment against federal intrusion and subsequently against state interference,[4] has been eloquently attested by Alexis de Tocqueville:

> "If men living in democratic countries had no right and no inclination to associate for political purposes, their independence would be in great jeopardy. . . ."[5]

That inclination "to associate for political purposes" has of course remained at the core of the American democratic philosophy. Challenges to that concept have in general been sharply rebuked and set aside. Now, however, these cherished freedoms are being assaulted in new and more subtle ways in many of the Southern states.

These attacks date essentially from the 1954 and 1955 decisions by the United States Supreme Court that the segregated public schools affected by those decisions should be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."[6] With each additional instance of desegregation,

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This paper, in a somewhat different form, was presented as a part of the program of the American Political Science Association meeting in New York in September 1957.

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1 Dumbauld, The Bill of Rights 10-33 (1957).

2 See Cahn, The Firstness of the First Amendment, 65 Yale L.J. 464 (1956).

3 Dumbauld, The Bill of Rights 33-38 (1957).

4 Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

5 De Tocqueville, Democracy in America 378 (Oxford University Press ed. 1953).

6 Brown v. Board of Educ., 347 U.S. 483 (1954); Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497 (1954); Brown v. Board of Educ., 349 U.S. 294, 301 (1955).

whether voluntary or done in compliance with court orders, further ingenuity is displayed in techniques of resistance.[7] Thus, a number of states have adopted resolutions of so-called interposition[8] and elaborate school-assignment plans which more or less openly seek to preserve segregated school systems.[9] Meanwhile, private groups, often known as White Citizens Councils, have been formed to oppose desegregation at all levels and by all means.[10] A more recent manifestation of this program of resistance has been that which seeks to destroy or at least to frustrate the functioning of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is this effort, whose outlines are now fairly clear, which is the subject of this paper: the legislative program, the harassment in the courts, and the economic coercion. The central objective seems to be to compel public identification of NAACP members and contributors who can in turn be subjected to other legal and economic pressures, and perhaps even to physical hazard; to force the NAACP and its lawyers to terminate their sponsorship of litigation to enforce racial equality; and to have the NAACP defined as a profit-making organization operating in violation of state revenue laws. Exploration of these topics will here be limited primarily to the constitutional aspects of this onslaught:[11] freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of movement in interstate commerce, due process of law, and equal protection of the laws. Throughout it must be remembered that these issues, important as they undoubtedly are in the context of the present struggle, have wider implications as well. The present measures, while now aimed primarily at the NAACP, are broad enough to be used against other organizations and other groups. If they withstand constitutional challenge now, they will remain important weapons in other contests involving other groups and other principles.

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[7] For a general review, see McKay, "With All Deliberate Speed"—A Study of School Desegregation, 31 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 991 (1956).

[8] The Doctrine of Interposition: A Round Table, 5 J. Pub. L. 1 (1956); Interposition vs. Judicial Power, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 465 (1956).

[9] Wettach, North Carolina School Legislation—1956, 35 N.C.L. Rev. 1 (1956); Study, Exhaustion of Administrative Remedies, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 561 (1957); Note, Effect of School Assignment Laws on Federal Adjudication of Integration Controversies, 57 Col. L. Rev. 537 (1957).

[10] Fleming, Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation, 304 Annals 44 (March 1956). See also Martin, The South Says "Never" (1957).

[11] For an effective, popular summary, see American Jewish Congress, Assault Upon Freedom of Association (1957). See also Brief for Petitioner, pp. 12-17, NAACP v. Alabama, No. 91, Sup. Ct. (Oct. Term 1957).

II

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Like all organizations which support unpopular causes and challenge existing patterns of society, the NAACP has had a stormy history;[12] and it has been soundly praised and roundly condemned. In one respect, however, and perhaps in that connection only, friends and foes agree: The NAACP is now and has long been the single most effective catalytic agent in breaking down existing patterns of segregated society, in the North as well as in the South. It has been aptly described as "without question the most important agency for the Negroes in their struggle against caste."[13] Its legal record has been truly phenomenal. "The NAACP has won more victories in the Supreme Court than any other single organization."[14] Senator Herman E. Talmadge, no admirer of the NAACP, has conceded its impact. When governor of Georgia he wrote: "The leader, director and field general in the fight to break down all forms of racial segregation is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."[15] It is small wonder then that much of the current effort to preserve segregation takes the form of attacks, more or less overt, upon the NAACP. It is, indeed, a kind of compliment, grim and unwelcome though it may be.

The Beginnings.[16]—Whatever gains the Negro may have made by virtue of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments and the Civil Rights Acts of the Reconstruction Period, by the end of the nineteenth century these advances had been largely nullified by legislative indifference and judicial hostility. Seeking to recover lost

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[12] See Jack, History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1943); Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down (1947); Rose, The Negro in America 263-67 (Beacon Paperback Ed. 1956); Wynn, The NAACP Versus Negro Revolutionary Protest (1955).

[13] Rose, The Negro in America 263 (Beacon Paperback Ed. 1956). To the same effect, see Comment, Private Attorneys-General; Group Action in the Fight for Civil Liberties, 58 Yale L.J. 574, 581 (1949).

[14] Vose, NAACP Strategy in the Covenant Cases, 6 Western Res. L. Rev. 101, 102 (1955).

[15] Talmadge, You and Segregation 26 (1955). One of the few apparent dissenters from this view is Mississippi's Governor J. P. Coleman who denied the necessity of passing legislation outlawing the NAACP in the state because "I personally don't feel that the NAACP is a powerful organization in Mississippi up to this time." Southern School News, Aug. 1957, p. 15, col. 5. It should be noted, however, that Mississippi, like other deep-South states, has in recent years enacted legislation that works to the disadvantage of the NAACP.

[16] Factual data in the historical sketch which follows was largely drawn from Frazier, The Negro in the United States 523-26 (Rev. Ed. 1957). See also the materials cited in note 12 supra.

ground, W. E. B. Dubois, the acknowledged leader of the Negro intelligentsia at that time, called a meeting of Negro leaders at Niagara Falls in 1905. From this came the so-called Niagara Movement. The organization, however, was hampered by a lack of funds; and in 1909 a new organization was formed, made up of Negroes and whites, into which the earlier group merged. The new group took the name National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in that year and by 1911 was incorporated in New York as a nonprofit membership corporation. Its basic aims were then and now the elimination of all racial barriers. The articles of incorporation state the objectives as follows:

> " . . . voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interest of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law.
>
> To ascertain and publish all facts bearing upon these subjects and to take any lawful action thereon; together with any kind and all things which may lawfully be done by a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for the further advancement of these objects."

The sweeping character of these aims, as reinforced by strong leadership, was undoubtedly important in the significant progress of the NAACP from its modest origins in 1909 to the influential position which it holds today. Within ten years of that first meeting there were 310 branches of the NAACP with 91,203 members.[17] By 1956 the organization could report 350,424 members in 1,467 branches, youth councils, and college chapters.[18] During the year 1955, the last year for which a financial statement has been made public, the NAACP reported a gross income of $672,422.48.[19]

Organization.—Since 1939 the NAACP has really consisted of two separate corporations, divided in function, apparently for tax purposes.[20] The NAACP proper continues to devote itself to organizational matters, membership recruitment, and legislative activities. A separate organization, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education

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[17] Tenth Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 7 (1919).

[18] NAACP Annual Report: 48th Year 11-12 (1957).

[19] NAACP Annual Report: 47th Year 75 (1956). This is in addition to that portion of the membership fees retained by the branches, which amounted to $250,000.00 for the year 1956. N.Y. Times, Jan. 8, 1957, p. 19, col. 3.

[20] Comment, 58 Yale L.J. 574, 581-82 (1949). The Internal Revenue Service announced in September 1957 that investigation was continuing as to the tax-exempt status of the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, Inc. N.Y. Times, Sept. 27, 1957, p. 10, col. 8.

Fund, Inc., is responsible for the planning and conduct of litigation. Policy of a political and a legal nature is thus fixed at the national level; but the principal operating function is at the level of the local branches, youth councils, and college chapters. From an organizational standpoint this is probably a source of strength; but at the same time it may be a source of some legal vulnerability, as will be subsequently noted.

The Constitution of the NAACP authorizes the board of directors to create branches, youth councils, and college chapters which operate under charters granted by the national board of directors.[21] These local organizations function as independent, unincorporated associations which ordinarily operate on a state-wide basis through a state conference of branches. Through this loose confederation the branches are able to act in concert and to pool their strength on issues of state-wide interest. In addition, there are several regional offices staffed by full-time employees.

The principal responsibility for legal action falls on the national organization, headed by Robert L. Carter, General Counsel, and Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel.[22] In addition, there is a National Legal Committee, composed in 1956 of forty-four lawyers, white and Negro, in twenty-two cities.[23] Members of this group serve both in an advisory capacity and as active counsel in litigation as the need may arise.

At the local level, although the Constitution and By-Laws for Branches calls for a standing legal redress committee in each branch, that committee's action is confined to investigation, consulting with members of the National Legal Committee, and watching over litigation in which the branch is interested. Members of the local legal redress committees are specifically cautioned against giving "general legal advice."[24]

It is this organization, then, and these local units which are now threatened as never before with a serious challenge at least to continued effectiveness and perhaps to continued existence. The balance of this study will be devoted to an analysis of the attacks already made and the counterattack now in preparation; and an estimate will be made of the constitutional merits of the arguments advanced on both sides of the controversy.

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[21] NAACP Const., art. I, § 1.
[22] NAACP Annual Report: 48th Year 72 (1957).
[23] Id. at 70.
[24] NAACP Const. and By-Laws for Branches, art. III, § 2(d).

III

Foreign Corporations and Interstate Commerce

Even as the course of a battle may be shaped by the outcome of preliminary skirmishes, so important legal principles may depend upon matters essentially procedural. It seems a little thing, and not unreasonable, to require an out-of-state corporation to register with a state official when it wishes to do business in a state other than its place of incorporation. Probably all states have at least a minimal requirement of this nature.[24a] Indeed, in most states where the NAACP is active, it has complied with the formal registration requirement.[25] One exception which resulted in litigation was the refusal to comply with the North Carolina registration statute which requires, in the case of non-stock foreign corporations, payment of a registration fee of $40.00 and a filing fee of $5.00.[26] In addition, the foreign corporation is required to file a copy of its charter, the address of its principal office in North Carolina, the name of the agent in charge thereof, the character of its business, and the names and addresses of officers and directors.

North Carolina also requires, as do many other states, that corporations "principally engaged in the activity of influencing public opinion and/or legislation" shall register with the secretary of state, filing information similar to the above plus a financial statement "itemizing in detail any contributions, donations, gifts or other income and from what source or sources received."[27]

In the belief that neither of these provisions could constitutionally be applied to it, the NAACP filed an action in the superior court of Wake County, North Carolina, seeking a declaratory judgment that it was not bound to comply with either provision.[28] Defendants, North Carolina's secretary of state and attorney general, demurred on the ground that the two causes of action could not be joined in a single proceeding because one involved a civil penalty and the other a criminal sanction and that a declaratory judgment proceeding could not be used to test criminal responsibility.[29] The trial court sustained the demurrer,[30] and that judgment was affirmed

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[24a] See 17 Fletcher, Cyclopedia of the Law of Private Corporations §§ 8446, 8447 (1933).

[25] E.g., the NAACP has registered as a foreign corporation with the Virginia State Corporation Commission and has been granted a certificate of authority to do business in Virginia. Southern School News, Nov. 1956, p. 5, col. 5.

[26] N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 55-118 (1943), as amended (Supp. 1955).

[27] N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. §§ 120-48, 120-49 (1943).

[28] NAACP v. Eure, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 405 (1956).

[29] Id. at 410.

[30] Id. at 405.

by the North Carolina Supreme Court for the reasons given by the trial court and because the alleged causes of action did not affect both defendants.[31] Subsequently, the NAACP filed with the North Carolina secretary of state the information required of foreign corporations, but did not comply with the provisions requiring registration of organizations concerned with influencing public opinion, in the belief that it is unconstitutional and need not be complied with.[32] Although no immediate test of the constitutionality of either North Carolina statute is likely, the issues raised but not decided are sufficiently important to justify further discussion. Analysis at this point will be limited to the foreign corporation registration statute, while the problems raised by requiring public-opinion-shaping groups to register will be deferred for later discussion.

The NAACP alleged in its complaint in the North Carolina case that its contacts with the state do not constitute "doing business" in any sense that could constitutionally make it subject to North Carolina's registration requirement. The argument seems not well founded. Although the NAACP is undoubtedly engaged in interstate commerce,[33] this of course does not give it immunity from reasonable regulation to the extent its local activities within a state constitute a doing of business.[34] Of course, "doing business" may be something of a misnomer as applied to a nonprofit organization such as the NAACP, dedicated as it is to the advancement of principles of equality. But there seems to be no good reason for rejecting the now-current test of "traditional conceptions of fair play and substantial justice,"[35] in determining whether the NAACP has had sufficient contacts with a state to warrant an inference of its presence. If so, there could hardly be any doubt that the NAACP is doing business in this sense. After all, its objective is the promotion of racial equality throughout the nation, operating principally through local branches, youth councils, and college chapters. In North Carolina, as in other states, there is a state conference of branches; and local agents and

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31 245 N.C. 331, 95 S.E.2d 893 (1957).

32 Southern School News, March 1957, p. 11, cols. 3-4.

33 Transactions involving services or intangibles moving across state lines are consistently held to constitute interstate commerce. E.g., Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1 (1945) (news gathering). United States v. South-Eastern Underwriters Ass'n, 322 U.S. 533 (1944) (insurance); American Medical Ass'n v. United States, 317 U.S. 519 (1943) (medical services).

34 Union Brokerage Co. v. Jensen, 322 U.S. 202 (1944); Natural Gas Pipeline Co. v. Slattery, 302 U.S. 300 (1937); Interstate Amusement Co. v. Albert, 239 U.S. 560 (1916). Cf. Sioux Remedy Co. v. Cope, 235 U.S. 197 (1914).

35 International Shoe Co. v. Washington, 326 U.S. 310, 320 (1945). See Note, Jurisdiction Over Foreign Corporations—An Analysis of Due Process, 104 U. of Pa. L. Rev. 381 (1955). Cf. McGee v. International Life Ins. Co., 26 U.S.L. Week 4073 (U.S. Dec. 16, 1957).

members solicit new members, investigate cases of alleged discrimination, and generally perform the business of the NAACP. In short, the NAACP can hardly have it both ways: if it is engaged in interstate commerce, as assuredly it is, then it follows almost inevitably that it is "doing business."

On the assumption that the NAACP is thus doing business in each of the states where it has branches, it is of course amenable to reasonable regulation that does not unduly burden interstate commerce. There seems, then, little doubt that the North Carolina requirement for registration, furnishing of reasonable information, and payment of a nonrecurring license fee would violate neither the commerce clause[36] nor the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment.[37]

IV

Membership Lists and Freedom of Speech and Association

The NAACP also alleged in the North Carolina proceeding that the registration requirement amounts to a violation of "freedom of speech and the right to petition for redress of grievances" protected by the first and fourteenth amendments.[38] However, unless such an organization is constitutionally protected against *any* disclosure of its purposes, officers, and directors—which is surely not the case—there appears to be no first amendment objection to the disclosure of this minimal amount of more or less routine information.

North Carolina's requirement of disclosure of financial information, including sources, by organizations concerned with influencing public opinion is a very different matter which raises more difficult questions under the first and fourteenth amendments. Related issues are before the courts already in litigation now pending in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, and Virginia, all of which can conveniently be discussed together.[39]

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36 Union Brokerage Co. v. Jensen, 322 U.S. 202 (1944).

37 Atlantic Refining Co. v. Virginia, 302 U.S. 22 (1937).

38 Complaint, par. 8, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 407 (1956).

39 In addition, several other states have proposed or adopted legislation designed to require production of membership lists; but test litigation has not yet reached the courts.

Ark. Acts 1957, No. 85, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 495 (1957). This act requires the registration with, and the making of periodical reports to, the State Sovereignty Commission by persons and organizations promoting school desegregation by legislation or litigation. In addition to requiring in effect disclosure of membership lists, there are extremely burdensome requirements for detailed receipting and listing of expenditures. This may exceed permissible limits of regulation. Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284 (1927).

In Georgia, the attorney general proposed a resolution which, if enacted, would have authorized an investigation of the NAACP, described as "an enemy of the

North Carolina.—The North Carolina statute, it will be remembered, calls for disclosure of financial sources. If this means that names of all members must be listed because as members they are also contributors, that requirement would destroy the confidential character of the membership lists which has previously been preserved. And, in any event, because the statute is directed exclusively at organizations which seek to influence opinion and legislation, the free speech issue seems inescapably raised.

Alabama.—Although the Alabama foreign corporation registration statute[40] does not call for full disclosure of membership, the same issue was quickly reached in that state. The state attorney general sought an injunction in a state court to restrain the NAACP as a foreign corporation from doing business in Alabama without complying with the registration law. At an *ex parte* proceeding a temporary restraining order was issued broad enough in effect to prohibit the continuance of activities of the NAACP in the state during its pendency.[41] Later the state filed a motion to require the NAACP to produce certain books, documents, and other papers, significantly including its membership lists. Over defendant's objection production was ordered, and the NAACP was adjudged in contempt of court when it refused to produce the membership lists, although complying with other parts of the order. The punishment was fixed at $10,000.00, to be raised to $100,000.00 if compliance was not effected within five days; but it was not made clear whether the contempt was civil or criminal.[42] Although the Association had in fact ceased functioning in Alabama when the temporary restraining order was issued, the size of the fine was one of the factors which prevented it from purging itself of the contempt.[43] The Alabama Supreme Court denied certiorari.[44] Although the NAACP offered to produce some of

South," with authority in the committee to subpoena all Association records, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 956, 957 (1956).

In Florida, a package of proposals to preserve segregation, including disclosure of membership lists, was debated but not enacted in 1957. Southern School News, May 1957, p. 4, col. 1; id. July 1957, p. 12, col. 4.

Tenn. Pub. Acts 1957, cc. 151, 152, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 497, 498 (1957). These acts require the filing of membership lists by organizations which solicit funds to finance or maintain litigation or which promote or oppose legislation relating to racial matters.

A proposed Texas statute requiring registration of persons advocating segregation or integration was ruled unconstitutional by the attorney general of the state. Southern School News, June 1957, p. 2, col. 1.

40 Ala. Code Ann. tit. 10, §§ 192-94 (1940).

41 Alabama ex rel. Patterson v. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 707 (1956).

42 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 917 (1956).

43 NAACP Annual Report: 48th Year 28 (1957).

44 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 919 (1956).

the demanded records, its refusal to give up membership lists brought an order from the trial court confirming the fine at the $100,000.00 level. The state supreme court again denied certiorari, but this time with an opinion explaining that the fine was for civil contempt because it was coercive in purpose.[45] The United States Supreme Court granted certiorari for argument in the October 1957 term.[46] The principal question raised in argument in January 1958 was the question of freedom of speech and association guaranteed against state intrusion by the fourteenth amendment.[47]

Georgia.—The sole litigation against the NAACP in Georgia was brought by the state revenue commissioner, who made a demand on the Association and certain of its local officers and employees for production of records for the stated purpose of assessing tax liability. When the records were refused because compliance would disclose membership lists, the court found the Association and some of the individual defendants in contempt.[48] After the president of the local chapter was imprisoned, he gave up the records and was released.[49] After examination of the records the state levied an assessment against the NAACP for back income taxes of $17,459.08. Liability for back taxes is claimed even if the NAACP should sustain its claim as a nonprofit organization because it had failed to apply for tax exemption in the past. [50]

Louisiana.—Ironically, the legislation which the NAACP was charged with having violated in Louisiana was the anti-Ku Klux Klan legislation which the NAACP undoubtedly supported at the

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[45] 91 So. 2d 214 (Ala. 1956).

[46] 353 U.S. 972 (1957).

[47] Oct. Term 1957, No. 91. A somewhat unusual feature of the case is the fact that the state action complained of does not derive directly from state statute, but from a court order to produce membership lists, granted on motion of the attorney general. However, it has long been clear that judicial action which denies due process is state action violative of the fourteenth amendment. Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 339 (1880); State Action: A Study of Requirements Under the Fourteenth Amendment, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 613 (1956).

In addition, there are complex questions of Alabama procedural law. The NAACP argues that the state court's denial of certiorari (on the ground that mandamus was the proper remedy) was in conflict with Alabama precedent. Thus, to reach the substantive issue the United States Supreme Court will have to determine that there was no adequate state ground for the denial of certiorari. This may be troublesome, but is certainly not an insurmountable obstacle if the state court abused its own precedents to arrive at a discriminatory result. Cf. Konigsberg v. State Bar of California, 353 U.S. 252 (1957); Davis v. Wechsler, 263 U.S. 22 (1923); Rogers v. Alabama, 192 U.S. 226 (1904).

[48] Williams v. NAACP, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 181 (1957). Appeal from this decision has encountered procedural delays and difficulties under Georgia law. Southern School News, July 1957, p. 9, col. 2.

[49] N.Y. Times, Dec. 15, 1956, p. 16, col. 1.

[50] Southern School News, July 1957, p. 9, col. 2.

time of its enactment in 1924.[51] That legislation calls for the annual filing of membership lists of "each fraternal, patriotic, charitable, benevolent, literary, scientific, athletic, military, or social organization . . . operating in this state . . . ."[52] For failure so to file the state attorney general sought and obtained an injunction "forever enjoining, restraining and prohibiting" the Association and its branches, agents, and members from holding any meetings or doing any business within the state.[53] Meanwhile, however, before this injunction had been made permanent, the NAACP sought to remove the case to the appropriate federal district court, as provided in section 1446 of title 28 of the United States Code. Although that section provides that after proper steps for removal have been taken, "the State court shall proceed no further unless and until the case is remanded," the state court proceeded to the permanent injunction, as already noted. In these irregular circumstances the federal district court refused to enjoin the state court from further action in the case,[54] pending state court review. Some seven months later the matter was resolved when the state intermediate appellate court held that the removal had been properly effected and that it accordingly lacked authority even to entertain the appeal.[55] Although this ruling would seem to have left the way clear for a test of the constitutional issue in the federal court, the state attorney general announced his intention to enforce the penal provisions of the law. Accordingly, at the end of 1956 the New Orleans branch and other branches filed lists totaling 475 members;[56] however, it was several months before the NAACP again held meetings in Louisiana.[57] Clearly the freedom of speech and freedom of association issue remains critical and unresolved in the state.

Texas.—In most states it is conceded without question that the NAACP is a nonprofit corporation. But such an admission in Texas would apparently mean that the Association would not be required to register as a foreign corporation.[58] and would not be subject to the

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51 La. Rev. Stat. §§ 12:401-405 (1950). See Comment, Anti-Mask and Anti-Klan Laws, 1 J. Pub. L. 182 (1952).

52 Id., §§ 12:401, 12:402.

53 Louisiana ex rel. LeBlanc v. Lewis, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 571 (1956).

54 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 576 (1956).

55 Louisiana ex rel. Gremillion v. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 185 (1957).

56 Southern School News, Feb. 1957, p. 16, col. 5.

57 Id., June 1957, p. 6, col. 2.

58 Tex. Civ. Stat. Ann. art. 1529 (Vernon Supp. 1955) requires the issuance of a permit to "Any corporation for pecuniary profit," but apparently has no similar requirement as to nonprofit corporations. This distinction is of course consistent with the well-recognized difference between the power of the state to regulate commercial enterprise generally as compared with its inability to impose prior restraint upon the operation of organizations concerned exclusively with the dissemination of ideas.

franchise tax assessed against profit-making foreign corporations.[59] It is perhaps not surprising then to find that the state attorney general charged that the NAACP was not a nonprofit corporation, as it claimed, and therefore required a state permit which it did not have; that it had engaged in political and lobbying activities; that it had practiced law illegally; that it had unlawfully solicited and recruited plaintiffs for lawsuits opposing desegregation; that it had failed to pay franchise taxes; and that its activities would result in "racial hatred and inflamed communities." These charges were faithfully echoed in the temporary injunction granted by the state district court.[60] Some months later the same court issued a permanent injunction against the NAACP, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc., the Southwest Regional Conference of the NAACP, the Texas State Conference of Branches, and 113 named branches in the state. The original order was modified somewhat to permit educational and charitable activities, and the NAACP was now found to be a nonprofit organization. Nevertheless, it was held required to pay franchise taxes for the privilege of operating within the state and it was forbidden to engage in litigation or lobbying activities.[61] This order, on appeal to the Texas Civil Court of Appeals, raises questions of interpretation under Texas law as to whether a nonprofit corporation can be subjected to regulation of the kind sought; and of course it raises questions of freedom of speech and association.

Virginia.—Without doubt the most important legislative threat to the NAACP is contained in the package of statutes adopted by the 1956 Special Session of the General Assembly of Virginia. While others of those acts will be discussed subsequently, the ones here relevant are chapters 31 and 32 of that special session. Chapter 31 provides that any corporation which plans to solicit or spend funds for a legal proceeding in which it has no liability or pecuniary interest must file with the State Corporation Commission a copy of its charter, a list of names and addresses of officers and contributors, a detailed statement of financial transactions, and a statement showing the location of all offices and branches. Violation by a corporation permits a fine up to $10,000.00 and revocation of its authority to do business in Virginia. Chapter 32, after declaring the essentiality "to the welfare, health and safety of the people of Virginia" of the "continued harmonious relations between the races," requires submission of information similar to that required by chapter 31 as to persons

[59] Tex. Civ. Stat. Ann. art. 7084 (Vernon Supp. 1955).

[60] Following a similar, ex parte temporary restraining order. Both appear in 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 1068, 1069 (1956).

[61] Texas v. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 678 (1957).

and organizations advocating "racial integration or segregation or whose activities cause or tend to cause racial conflicts or violence . . . ." Provisions for enjoining activity in violation thereof are included in both sections. These statutes were enacted along with provisions outlawing barratry and acts providing for legislative investigation of the sufficiency of the anti-barratry legislation and of groups seeking to influence or promote litigation involving racial activities. The combined effect of the legislation creates a neat statutory dilemma for the NAACP. If it fails to register as an organization which plans to solicit or spend funds for a legal proceeding in which it has no liability or pecuniary interest, it will be subject to fine and revocation of authority to do business in Virginia, under the provisions of chapter 31. However, if it so registers, it will in effect convict itself under chapters 33, 35, and 36 of malpractice, thus becoming subject to fine and revocation of its authority to do business in Virginia. The latter chapters are discussed in part V, *infra*. The entire package has been challenged by the NAACP in an action for declaratory judgment before a three-judge federal district court.[62]

A. *Corporations as "Persons"*[63]

Shortly after the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, the Supreme Court denied that corporations could be *citizens* within the meaning of the privileges and immunities clause of the amendment;[64] and this remains the view at the present time.[65] On the other hand, the Court had no difficulty in concluding that corporations are *persons* within the protection of the due process and equal protection clauses of the fourteenth amendment, at least so far as property is concerned.[66] However, also without discussion or apparent reflection as to possible consequences, the Court has held that the liberty guaranteed by the fourteenth amendent is the liberty of natural, not artificial persons.[67] The most recent statement on this issue was in

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[62] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Almond, Civ. No. 2435 (E.D. Va.), filed Nov. 28, 1956.

[63] See Note, State Control Over Political Organizations: First Amendment Checks on Powers of Regulation, 66 Yale L.J. 545, 546-50 (1957).

[64] Orient Insurance Co. v. Daggs, 172 U.S. 557, 561 (1869).

[65] Hague v. C.I.O., 307 U.S. 496, 514 (1939).

[66] Santa Clara County v. Southern Pac. R.R., 118 U.S. 394 (1886); Smyth v. Ames, 169 U.S. 466, 522 (1898). But cf. Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. v. Johnson, 303 U.S. 77, 85 (1938) (dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Black); Wheeling Steel Corp. v. Glander, 337 U.S. 562, 576 (1949) (dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas, Mr. Justice Black concurring).

[67] Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. v. Riggs, 203 U.S. 243, 255 (1906); Western Turf Ass'n v. Greenberg, 204 U.S. 359, 363 (1907). See also Northern Securities Co. v. United States, 193 U.S. 197, 362 (1904) (concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Brewer).

However, there was not a freedom of speech or association issue in any of these

Hague v. C.I.O.[68] This was a suit by individual citizens, unincorporated labor organizations composed of such citizens, and a membership corporation (the American Civil Liberties Union) to enjoin city officials from enforcing municipal ordinances forbidding the distribution of printed matter, and the holding without permits of public meetings, in public places. Five of the seven participating justices held that the ordinances as enforced violated the rights of the individual citizen plaintiffs. However, in each of the two opinions necessary to the majority result there were explicit holdings that only the individual citizens were protected by the fourteenth amendment. Mr. Justice Roberts (with the concurrence on this point of Chief Justice Hughes and Mr. Justice Black), relying on the privileges and immunities clause of the fourteenth amendment to protect the individuals' right of peaceful assembly and freedom of communication, nevertheless specifically excluded corporations from that protection: "Natural persons, and they alone, are entitled to the privileges and immunities which § 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment secures for 'citizens of the United States.' "[69] Mr. Justice Stone (with the concurrence of Mr. Justice Reed) rejected the privileges and immunities argument, but found the ordinances violative of the due process clause. However, he continued:

> As to the American Civil Liberties Union, which is a corporation, it cannot be said to be deprived of the civil rights of freedom of speech and of assembly, for the liberty guaranteed by the due process clause is the liberty of natural, not artificial, persons.[70]

Despite this apparently unequivocal holding that corporations are not persons within the protection of the first amendment as incorporated into the fourteenth, the Supreme Court has been somewhat ambivalent on this issue. First amendment protection has been accorded newspaper corporations[71] and moving picture companies,[72] with no indication that this might be inconsistent with such sweeping pronouncements as have already been cited. And of course, as demonstrated in the *Hague* case itself, the Court finds no difficulty in recognizing the free speech protection due individuals who act in behalf of unincorporated associations,[73] or presumably those who act

cases. Cf. Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 535 (1925), where the Court denied that corporations were protected as to liberty, but granted protection to the claimed right of religious freedom on the basis of a denial of property.

[68] 307 U.S. 496 (1939).

[69] Id. at 514.

[70] Id. at 527.

[71] Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233, 244 (1936).

[72] Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495 (1952).

[73] In Hague v. C.I.O., 307 U.S. 496 (1939), the individual plaintiffs were labor organizers acting in behalf of unincorporated labor organizations.

in behalf of corporations.[74] Moreover, as already noted, though a nonprofit corporation may not be protected against deprivations of liberty, it is guaranteed against denial of property without due process.[75]

These distinctions seem to have developed almost by chance. In each case the Court appears to have decided these important issues in an ad hoc fashion, without explanation or meaningful citation of precedent. Indeed, this labyrinth of distinctions without difference suggests that the Court has not developed a coherent philosophy in this area. The apparent state of the law now would permit an officer or other agent of a corporation to complain of a denial of freedom of speech or assembly as to himself when acting on behalf of the organization, but deny the corporation any right in its own behalf. Moreover, the corporation can raise the issue directly if it is hit in the pocketbook (through loss of members or contributions), but cannot otherwise defend its freedom of expression. Such sinuosities in the law encourage new and unwelcome fictions at best, and downright evasion at worst. This anomaly in the law of the first and fourteenth amendments should be eliminated by overruling the objectionable statements in *Hague v. C.I.O.* and its predecessors. If corporations are persons as to property rights and equal protection of the laws, they should be entitled to no less security in connection with liberty, the most cherished right of all.

Even within the existing legal framework, the NAACP is by no means unable to assert its claimed first amendment rights. If it can show, as it has alleged, that the furnishing of membership lists will adversely affect its recruitment of members, it can of course demonstrate a financial loss that will amount to a denial of property (through interference with freedom of speech and assembly). As an alternative means of satisfying the vagaries of the present doctrine relating to corporations, the NAACP could join with it as plaintiffs in each suit individual members of the organization from the affected state conference or local branch. Those individual plaintiffs would then be entitled to demonstrate the way or ways in which state action invaded their freedom of speech or assembly.

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[74] See Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123, 186 (1951) (Mr. Justice Jackson concurring). See also Comment, State Control Over Political Organizations: First Amendment Checks on Powers of Regulation, 66 Yale L.J. 545, 548 (1957).

[75] Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 263 U.S. 510 (1925). Cf. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123 (1951). In that case unincorporated associations and corporations had been listed by the Attorney General as Communist without notice or hearing. Although the complaint raised essentially first amendment issues, the majority found the complaint stated a cause of action as a denial of property without due process under the fifth amendment.

B. *Identification of Members*[76]

As has already been noted, a number of states now require the filing of membership lists or, what may amount to the same thing, lists of contributors. Some of these requirements are based on statutes going back to anti-Ku Klux Klan legislation, as in Louisiana; at least one, North Carolina, is essentially a lobbying registration statute; others have enacted special legislation directed primarily at the NAACP, as in Virginia; and in Alabama and Georgia the direction to produce membership lists was not based on any statute, but on court order pursuant to motion by a state official. Despite this diversity of sources, all have been applied only since the decision in the *School Segregation Cases,* and all have been resurrected or enacted in a context which shows clearly an aim to frustrate the effectiveness of the NAACP. Indeed, if the facts of history were otherwise—if, for example, it could be shown that such a requirement in a statute was reasonably drawn to achieve a justifiable purpose, it may well be that the requirement would be sustained.

The precedent in favor of disclosure appears at first impression to be strong. Thus in *Bryant v. Zimmerman*[77] the Supreme Court upheld New York's requirement of disclosure of membership lists by any organization requiring "an oath as a prerequisite or condition of membership, other than a labor union or a benevolent order . . . ."[78] There was no doubt that the law was aimed at the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, its very specificity almost seems to have been helpful to the Supreme Court in upholding the statute. "It is a matter of common knowledge that this organization functions largely at night, its members disguised by hoods and gowns and doing things calculated to strike terror into the minds of the people. . . ."[79] Nevertheless, the restricted nature of the class at which the statute was directed was not found to violate the equal protection of the laws, even though other oath-bound organizations were specifically exempted from the provisions of the statute. The Court took judicial notice that the exempted groups "have a recognized lawful purpose," leaving for penalty under the statute only those whose activities tend "to the prejudice and intimidation of sundry claims of our citizens,"[80] such as the Klan.

Although this decision supported state control in these special

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[76] Comment, State Control Over Political Organizations: First Amendment Checks on Powers of Regulation, 66 Yale L.J. 545, 560-66 (1957).

[77] 278 U.S. 63 (1928).

[78] Id. at 66, quoting from N.Y. Civ. Rights Law art. V-A, as it read at that time.

[79] Id. at 75, quoting from the opinion of a state court in the case.

[80] Ibid.

circumstances, the precedent hardly seems applicable to the NAACP whose objectives and methods have been recognized as worthy and not criminal. Indeed, it is at least implicit in the *Bryant* ruling that a similar exaction of membership lists from "benevolent orders, labor unions, and college fraternities" would have been unconstitutional because they "have existed for many years, and, while not immune from hostile criticism, have on the whole justified their existence."[81]

Surprisingly, the Supreme Court did not even mention the free speech limitation imposed by the New York statute involved in the *Bryant* case. In a number of subsequent rulings, however, the Court has emphasized the constitutional problems involved in the requirement of membership registration of any kind. The Court has given reluctant approval to two kinds of federal statutes which directly or indirectly require identification of individuals engaged in political or public opinion activities. In *American Communications Ass'n v. Douds*[82] the Court upheld section 9(h) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, which denies certain benefits under that act to labor organizations whose officers fail to file affidavits of non-Communist affiliation. The Court recognized that the negative identification called for (that is, denial of membership) might impose a limitation on free speech. But it concluded that the legitimate public purpose involved in preventing political strikes in essential industry justified this minimal restraint. By way of general caution the Court noted:

> Under some circumstances, indirect "discouragements" undoubtedly have the same coercive effect upon the exercise of First Amendment rights as imprisonment, fines, injunctions or taxes. A requirement that adherents of particular religious faiths or political parties wear arm-bands, for example, is obviously of this nature.[83]

In *United States v. Harriss*[84] the Supreme Court upheld the registration provisions of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, but only by virtue of a narrow definition of the term lobbying to refer solely "to direct communications with members of Congress on pending or proposed federal legislation."[85] There was recognition that a broader construction might impinge on first amendment rights; but the majority of the Court found that hazard "too remote to require striking down a statute which on its face is otherwise plainly within

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[81] Bryant v. Zimmerman, 278 U.S. 63, 76 (1928).

[82] 339 U.S. 382 (1950).

[83] Id. at 402. Cf. Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Bd., 223 F.2d 531, 544 (D.C. Cir. 1954) (registration provision of Subversive Activities Control Act upheld in circumstances, although recognizing that there was a restriction on freedom of expression), rev'd on other grounds, 351 U.S. 115 (1955).

[84] 347 U.S. 612 (1954).

[85] Id. at 620.

the area of congressional power and is designed to safeguard a vital national interest."[86]

It is plain that the lack of concern over first amendment invasions by a statute requiring identification of members, as evidenced in the 1928 decision in *Bryant v. Zimmerman,* is no longer characteristic of the Court. Even minimal and indirect restraints can be justified only if there is involved a sufficiently vital public interest which can not otherwise be effectively protected.[87] To put the case mildly, it seems unlikely that the Supreme Court will find that suppression of the NAACP and its activities in the Southern states is a sufficient public purpose to justify such a limitation on free speech[88] and assembly.[89] There can be little doubt in fact that a requirement that the NAACP disclose its state membership lists in some of the Southern states will subject members to fear of reprisal[90] and may make prospective members reluctant to associate themselves with the organization.[91] There should similarly be little doubt in law that such re-

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[86] Id. at 626. Cf. United States v. Rumely, 345 U.S. 41, 46 (1953) (narrow construction of congressional resolution defining powers of committee investigating lobbying activities, thus avoiding first amendment problems).

Disclosure legislation has also been enacted by Congress in its efforts to enforce election honesty, principally the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. 43 Stat. 1070 (1925), as amended, 2 U.S.C. §§ 241-56 (1952). This act requires "political committees" to file periodic reports with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, listing names and addresses of all contributors of one hundred dollars or more. The Supreme Court has never passed on the question of whether this legislation violates first amendment rights of the political organizations or of contributors. However, it has generally been assumed that the legislation would be upheld. For discussion of this act and of the problem generally, see Bicks and Friedman, Regulation of Election Finance: A Case of Misguided Morality, 28 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 975 (1953); Notes, 48 Col. L. Rev. 589 (1948); 66 Harv. L. Rev. 1259 (1953). See also Overacker, Money in Elections c. X (1932).

[87] Comment, Legislative Inquiry into Political Activity: First Amendment Immunity from Committee Interrogation, 65 Yale L.J. 1159, 1173-75 (1956).

[88] See also Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516 (1945); Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105 (1943); Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88 (1940); Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444 (1938); Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359 (1931).

[89] See also De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353, 364 (1937). "The right of peaceable assembly is a right cognate to those of free speech and free press and is equally fundamental . . . the right is one that cannot be denied without violating those fundamental principles of liberty and justice which lie at the base of all civil and political institutions,—principles which the Fourteenth Amendment embodies in the general terms of its due process clause."

[90] A South Carolina statute making unlawful the employment of NAACP members in the state school system (S.C. Acts 1956, No. 751, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 751 (1956)), was repealed after the act was tested before a three-judge federal district court. Bryan v. Austin, Civ. No. 5792 (E.D.S.C. 1957), 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 378 (1957), dismissed for mootness, 354 U.S. 933 (1957). The 1956 Act was repealed by S.C. Acts 1957, No. 324.

[91] Before a three-judge federal district court in Virginia, sitting to hear argument on the constitutionality of the so-called "NAACP laws" of that state (see notes 100 et seq. infra), counsel for the NAACP indicated a sharp decline in membership

strictions, absent sufficient public purpose, are violative of the Constitution.

V

Malpractice of Law and the NAACP

Over the centuries lawyers have frequently, often deservedly, been subjected to restrictive legislation by an outraged public. In large part the complaints against the practice of law—or more accurately its malpractice—have centered on offenses known as champerty, maintenance, and barratry. The confused history, in ancient Greece and Rome, and in feudal England, relating to the origins and common-law development of these offenses, has been competently investigated.[92] For present purposes, however, the knowledge of the past can be sufficiently summarized in a single statement from a leading American case:

> The general purpose of the law against champerty, maintenance, and barratry was to prevent officious intermeddlers from stirring up strife and contention by vexatious or speculative litigation, which would disturb the peace of society, lead to corrupt practices, and prevent the remedial process of the law.[93]

Complex distinctions have been drawn among these offenses; but in the last analysis they are all activities indissolubly associated in the public mind with the practice of law. As Professor Radin has said:

> If a maintainor is one who stirs up vexatious suits to which he is not a party, if a barrator is one who makes a profession of doing so, if a champertor is one who does so for pecuniary gain and if an embracer is one who in the course of such proceedings seeks to influence or intimidate judge or jury, it must be admitted that in the minds of the lay public, the chief maintainors, barrators, champertors and embracers of today are the members of the legal profession.[94]

These "vexatious" activities of lawyers, perhaps best summarized as "stirring up litigation," are widely condemned in the United States today.[95] Penalties are sometimes imposed for the common-law offense of barratry, even in the absence of statute;[96] more often barratry has been made a statutory offense;[97] and the

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following the enactment of the new legislation. He stated that Virginia membership in the NAACP for the first eight months of 1957 was 13,595, whereas it had been 19,436 for the corresponding period of 1956. Southern School News, Oct. 1957, p. 7, col. 3. See also note 11, supra.

92 Radin, Maintenance by Champerty, 24 Calif. L. Rev. 48 (1935).

93 Gammons v. Johnson, 76 Minn. 76, 81, 78 N.W. 1035, 1037 (1899).

94 Radin, Maintenance by Champerty, 24 Calif. L. Rev. 48, 66-67 (1935).

95 And still more widely so in England. Id. at 76.

96 E.g., State v. Batson, 220 N.C. 411, 17 S.E.2d 511 (1941).

97 139 A.L.R. 620, 621 (1942). Such statutes may include the old offenses of champerty and maintenance. 10 Am. Jur., Champerty and Maintenance § 5 (1937).

canons of professional ethics forbid certain practices that relate at least generally to the activities prohibited at common law.[98] In addition, attorneys are subject to the inherent disciplinary powers of the court to protect against any activity in derogation of the principles of the profession. And finally, the corporate practice of law is generally forbidden.[99] These various restrictions, in terms of general principles, however, have little meaning; for each state is free to adopt or reject the common law, to legislate or not to legislate, to adopt or refuse to adopt canons of ethics, and to forbid or permit the corporate practice of law. Accordingly, it may be useful to examine the legislation and decisions of a single state. Virginia has been selected for this purpose because in 1956 the General Assembly completely recast the Virginia law regulating the practice of law, directed more or less specifically at making unlawful some of the practices of the NAACP and its attorneys.[100] This legislation is further important because, if successful in withstanding present attacks,[101] it will undoubtedly be the pattern for similar legislation in other states.[102]

The previously existing legislation in Virginia authorized disbarment for "Any malpractice, or any unlawful or dishonest or unworthy or corrupt or unprofessional conduct," including "the improper solicitation of any legal or professional business or employment, either directly or indirectly . . . ."[103] This provision, when coupled with the inherent disciplinary power of the court, had been found sufficient for civil proceedings of disbarment for corrupt and dishonest conduct.[104] In addition, it was unlawful for any person or organization to act as a "runner" or "capper" in the solicitation of business for an attorney.[105] It was evident, however, that these statutes were by no means sufficient as a basis for sanctions to be imposed against the NAACP and its attorneys in that the Association's normal activities clearly did not violate any of these provisions. Accordingly, new and more stringent legislation was devised and enacted.

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[98] The relevant Canons of Professional Ethics of the American Bar Association are Numbers 27, 28, and 42.

[99] Note, 44 Harv. L.R. 1114 (1931).

[100] Va. Acts 1956, cc. 33-36.

[101] NAACP v. Almond, Civ. No. 2435 (E.D. Va.), complaint filed Nov. 28, 1956.

[102] The State of Tennessee has already enacted an anti-barratry statute based on the Virginia act. Tenn. Pub. Acts 1957, c. 104. Other anti-barratry legislation enacted since 1954 includes the following: Ga. Laws 1957, No. 514, 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 501 (1957); Miss. Laws 1956, H.B. No. 33, 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 451 (1956); S.C. Acts 1957, No. ....., 2 Race Rel. L. Rep. 502 (1957).

[103] Va. Code Ann. § 54-74 (1950).

[104] Campbell v. Third Dist. Comm. of Va. State Bar, 179 Va. 244, 18 S.E.2d 883 (1942); Norfolk & Portsmouth Bar Ass'n v. Drewry, 161 Va. 833, 172 S.E. 282 (1934). Cf. Legal Club of Lynchburg v. Light, 137 Va. 249, 119 S.E. 55 (1923).

[105] Va. Code Ann. § 54-78, 54-79 (1950).

Chapter 33 of the new legislation amends the existing provisions described above, principally by enlarging the definitions of acts prohibited to attorneys. Section 54-74(6) of the Code of Virginia now reads as follows:

> (6) "Any malpractice, or any unlawful or dishonest or unworthy or corrupt or unprofessional conduct," as used in this section, shall be construed to include the improper solicitation of any legal or professional business or employment, either directly or indirectly, or the acceptance of employment, retainer, compensation or costs from any person, partnership, corporation, organization or association with knowledge that such person, partnership, corporation, organization, or association has violated any provision of Article 7 of this chapter, or the failure, without sufficient cause, within a reasonable time after demand, of any attorney at law, to pay over and deliver to the person entitled thereto, any money, security or other property which has come into his hands as such attorney; provided, however, that nothing contained in this Article shall be construed to in any way prohibit any attorney from accepting employment to defend any person, partnership, corporation, organization or association accused of violating the provisions of Article 7 of this chapter.

Section 54-78(1) (the beginning section of article 7 referred to in section 54-74(6)) reads as follows:

> (1) A "runner" or "capper" is any person, corporation, partnership or association acting in any manner or in any capacity as an agent for an attorney at law within this State or for any person, partnership, corporation, organization or association which employs, retains or compensates any attorney at law in connection with any judicial proceeding in which such person, partnership, corporation, organization or association is not a party and in which it has no pecuniary right or liability, in the solicitation or procurement of business for such attorney at law or for such person, partnership, corporation, organization or association in connection with any judicial proceedings for which such attorney or such person, partnership, corporation, organization or association is employed, retained or compensated.

Chapter 35 prohibits and provides penalties for the crime of barratry, defined as "the offense of stirring up litigation." This in turn is defined to mean payment of all or part of the expenses of litigation by persons other than plaintiffs unless the instigation is by a person related to the plaintiff or by a person having a personal right or pecuniary interest in the litigation. Numerous exceptions are made, including approved legal aid societies, contingent fee contracts where the attorney does not assume the litigation costs, suits involving the title of real or personal property, collection of taxes, rates or services of common carriers, and criminal matters. In short, the offense was defined as narrowly as possible to include the NAACP

and little else.[106] The thrust at the NAACP is indicated also in the penalty provision:

> § 3. A person found guilty of barratry, if an individual, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished as provided by law; and if a corporation, may be fined not more than ten thousand dollars. If the corporation be a foreign corporation, its certificate of authority to transact business in Virginia shall be revoked by the State Corporation Commission.

Finally, chapter 36 supplements the anti-barratry provision by making it unlawful for any person or organization lacking a direct interest in litigation to give or receive money or other assistance as an inducement to any person to commence any legal proceeding in Virginia. As a special enforcement device, plaintiffs and their attorneys may be required, on motion of opposing parties or the court, to submit affidavits disavowing violation of the section. Additional penalties for false swearing, including disbarment of Virginia attorneys, are provided.

The legislation is so drawn that, if it should be upheld, the NAACP would be virtually barred from its normal litigation activities in Virginia, which of course was precisely the intent of the drafters. Whatever may be the internal details of the Association's operation at the national and at the local level, there seems no doubt that officers and members of the NAACP have encouraged Negroes to resort to state and federal courts in the constant seeking after the objective of full equality of rights for Negroes. Under its charter, to do less would be dereliction. Undoubtedly, too, all or a portion of the expenses of such litigation are sometimes borne by local branches or by the national office, despite the absence of blood relationship or personal or pecuniary interest in the litigation. Clearly within the intendment of the statute as it is, then, can the NAACP make good its challenge to these acts as a part of the Virginia legislative program enacted in 1956? A qualified affirmative seems appropriate, for the reasons outlined below.

A. *Commercialization of the Professional Ideal*

There can be little doubt that modern statutes forbidding solicitation of legal business[107] and prohibiting the corporate practice of law,[108] as well as the canons of ethics,[109] are designed to preserve the

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[106] Perhaps inadvertently, the statute appears to include labor organizations within its strictures.

[107] For a recent discussion of one aspect of this problem, see Note, Legal Ethics —Ambulance Chasing, 30 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 182 (1955).

[108] The practice of law by corporations or by lay individuals is prohibited by statute in many states. Note, 44 Harv. L. Rev. 1114 (1931). See also Drinker, Legal

personal relationship between the lawyer and his client, and to protect against commercialization of the practice of law.[110] Thus it has been recognized that it is not only permissible,[111] but may be obligatory,[112] to represent an indigent client. And it has generally been assumed that litigation which was free of any commercial taint, and whose aim was the vindication of a valid public purpose, was not within the prohibitions imposed against champerty, maintenance, and barratry.[113] There may even be an exception where there is no public purpose as such involved, but only vindication of a private right not otherwise subject to protection.[114]

Presumably, organizations such as the NAACP, ACLU, Jehovah's Witnesses, and other organizations[115] which participate in litigation to further their announced policy objectives are motivated by a public purpose within the meaning of the public purpose exception. Even though such organizations have often "stirred up" litigation in the sense of seeking advantageous cases to be used as a basis for challenging existing laws, practices, or precedents, this has always been considered a constitutionally protected right of freedom of expression and free access to the courts. Indeed, much of the constitutional development has been in response to "test" suits sponsored by one or more of these organizations. In this respect the NAACP seems to be in a peculiarly advantageous position because its principal objective at the present time is to seek judicial enforcement of the principle of desegregation enunciated by the Court in relation to public schools, public transportation, and recreation.

The one point at which the NAACP might be vulnerable under the construction ordinarily given these statutes would be if members

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Ethics 159-69 (1953); Symposium, The "Unauthorized Practice of Law" Controversy, 5 Law & Contemp. Prob. 1-174 (1938); Weihofen, "Practice of Law" by Non-Pecuniary Corporations: A Social Utility, 2 U. of Chi. L. Rev. 119 (1934).

[109] Canon 27 of the ABA Canons of Ethics prohibits solicitation; canon 28 prohibits stirring up litigation; canon 35 prohibits the practice of law by laymen, including corporations; and canon 42 forbids a lawyer from agreeing to pay the expenses of his client's litigation.

[110] See notes 107-109 supra. See also Drinker, Legal Ethics 63-68, 210-20 (1953).

[111] E.g., charitable societies rendering aid to indigents are exempted from canon 35's ban on the intervention of lay intermediaries between lawyer and client.

[112] Canon 4 of the ABA Canons of Ethics. See also Drinker, Legal Ethics 62-63 (1953).

[113] In re Ades, 6 F. Supp. 467 (D. Md. 1934); Gunnels v. Atlanta Bar Ass'n, 191 Ga. 366, 12 S.E.2d 602 (1940). See also American Bar Association, Canons of Professional & Judicial Ethics 308 (1957) (Opinion No. 148, Nov. 16, 1935, approving public offering of legal services in protection of the constitutional rights of those unable to pay for them).

[114] Thallhimer v. Brinckerhoff, 3 Cow. 623, 15 Am. Dec. 308 (N.Y. Ct. of Errors 1824).

[115] Robison, Organizations Promoting Civil Rights and Liberties, 275 Annals 18 (May 1951).

were encouraged to seek legal advice on personal matters from lawyers employed by the Association.[116] However, this is expressly forbidden by section 2(d) of article III of the Constitution and By-Laws for Branches. Accordingly, all the legal work done in behalf of the Association objectives by members of branch legal redress committees, by members of the National Legal Committee, or by the staff of the NAACP Legal Aid and Defense Fund would seem to relate directly to the organization's purpose of promoting racial equality.

Of course, it is true, as pointed out above, that the Virginia legislation seems aimed specifically at these ordinarily unobjectionable practices. Therefore, the Virginia courts may well hesitate to carve out an exception of the kind here suggested. Similarly, since the interpretation of this legislation will be a question of state law, it may be difficult for a federal district court or for the Supreme Court to find that the statute does not prohibit present practices of the NAACP. That being the case, if the practices are to be permitted to continue, attack must be directed at the constitutionality of the legislation.

B. *The Constitution and the Practice of Law*

Several propositions are clear. In the first place, each state has the authority to fix reasonable standards for the admission to practice in the courts of that state and for the continuance of that practice.[117] In the second place, one of the few privileges and immunities which is accorded constitutional protection is the citizen's right of access to the state and federal courts.[118] Finally, it is axiomatic that every litigant, plaintiff and defendant alike, is entitled to exercise freely his choice of whatever counsel he can procure and pay for. But when a state seeks to exert its admitted right of control over the practice of law in a way that effectively deprives one group of its citizens of the only kind of representation likely to be effective, there may be a denial of a protected privilege and immunity, denial of the equal protection of the laws, and an abridgment of

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[116] See Hildebrand v. State Bar of Cal., 36 Cal. 2d 504, 225 P.2d 508 (1950). But cf. Ryan v. Pennsylvania R.R., 268 Ill. App. 364 (1932).

[117] Brooks v. Laws, 208 F.2d 18 (D.C. Cir. 1953); Divine v. Watauga Hosp., 137 F. Supp. 628, 632 (M.D.N.C. 1956); Application of N.Y. County Lawyers Ass'n, 4 Misc. 2d 728, 156 N.Y.S.2d 651, 655 (Sup. Ct. 1956). Cf. In re Summers, 325 U.S. 561 (1945). See also Jackson, Bar Examinations and Requirements for Admission to the Bar (1952).

[118] Section 1 of the fourteenth amendment provides that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . ." Although the clause was early given a restrictive interpretation in the Slaughter-House Cases, 16 Wall. (83 U.S.) 36, 74 (1873), the Court recognized that access to the courts of justice in the several states is a privilege and immunity of national citizenship. Id. at 79.

freedom of speech and assembly. Thus, where the prevailing climate of opinion discourages members of a class from independent assertion of their constitutionally protected rights, it perhaps follows that a nonprofit organization dedicated to preservation of those rights should be immunized against this kind of harassment. This seems particularly justifiable when the complained-of state action is directed in discriminatory fashion against a single organization and an identifiable class of citizens whom that organization serves. Refined though the device may be, shielded though it is under the respectable mantle of regulation of the practice of law, the discriminatory purpose cannot be concealed. This bears every mark of unfairness which calls for its elimination as a violation of equal protection and an intrusion upon first amendment freedoms.

VI

Intimidation by Investigation

Of the several Southern states which have authorized investigations of organizations "which encourage and promote litigation relating to racial activities,"[119] Virginia is again the leader whose example other states will assuredly follow if the scheme proves successful in its objective of harassment of the NAACP. Chapter 34 of the Virginia legislation provides for the creation of a joint legislative committee to study

> the administration and enforcement of those laws relating to champerty, maintenance, barratry, running and capping and other offenses of any other nature relating to the promotion or support of litigation by persons who are not parties thereto.

In addition to the powers regularly conferred upon legislative committees of the General Assembly this committee is empowered to administer oaths, examine witnesses, employ counsel, and compel attendance of witnesses or production of documents.

Chapter 37 establishes a legislative committee

> authorized to make a thorough investigation of the activities of corporations, organizations, associations and other like groups which seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities in this State.

This committee, too, is given broad investigative authority, the stated purpose being to consider the necessity for legislation and to determine "the effect which integration or the threat of integration could have on . . . the general welfare of the State. . . ."

The apparent, albeit unstated, premise underlying these investi-

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119 The language quoted is from the preamble to chapter 37 of the 1956 laws of the Virginia General Assembly. See also id. c. 34.

gative programs is an intent to force disclosures relating to the NAACP and its members that will establish violation of the statutory package; and if membership lists and financial statements are not made public pursuant to the other statutory requirements, here then is another way to accomplish the same objective. Even if the statute is not unconstitutional on its face, it seems almost certain that any committee investigation conducted in furtherance of the legislative intention would run into several constitutional obstacles. If, for example, the committee demands membership lists or names of contributors, the same objections can be made as described above in connection with the registration statute.[120] This conclusion is reinforced in connection with refusals to answer the improper questions of a state legislative investigating committee by the case of *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*.[121] Although that case involved a committee attempt to require disclosure of past associations of a political nature, that problem is clearly analogous to the right to associate with an organization dedicated to the preservation of approved social ideals. Indeed, if anything, the case for the NAACP is stronger. Political associations of a subversive character have on occasion been subjected to limitation in the exercise of first amendment rights;[122] but it seems unthinkable that an organization devoted to the promotion of racial equality—a Supreme Court-endorsed objective—would ever be restrained from the free exercise of its right of association.

VII

Summary and Prospectus

The legislative, judicial, and executive action designed for the harassment, or worse, of the NAACP is remarkably ingenious. Logic tells one that an organization truly dedicated to the promotion of equality should not be reluctant to disclose its purpose, members, financial structure, or way of doing business. Similarly, having nothing to hide, such an organization should arguably welcome investigation rather than shun it. And finally, no respectable lawyer or organization devoted to these public-service ideals would knowingly become involved in the historically nefarious practices associated with champerty, maintenance, and barratry.

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[120] It is probable that individuals could plead the privilege against self-incrimination to avoid identifying themselves with the NAACP (because its activities are tainted with criminality under the Virginia statute). But it seems almost unthinkable that thoughtful members of the Association would afford an investigating committee such an opportunity for damaging publicity.

[121] 354 U.S. 234 (1957).

[122] E.g., Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951); American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382 (1950).

The ring of plausibility is there. But behind the facade the discriminatory purpose is all too evident. The Virginia legislation, for example, was part of a program designed to implement Governor Stanley's announced policy of "unyielding resistance" to the decision in the *School Segregation Cases*.[123] To whatever extent a single act does not on its face manifest discriminatory aims, the package clearly demonstrates the pattern. Thus the NAACP seems to have exercised sound judgment in seeking a declaratory judgment as to the invalidity of the entire scheme in a single suit before a three-judge federal district court. If the association is successful in invalidating this legislative program, other legislation in other states, in some cases identical and nowhere more skillfully drawn, should similarly be held unconstitutional. As the Supreme Court has stated, it will nullify "sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination."[124]

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[123] Southern School News, Oct. 1956, p. 16, col. 1. The governor's forthright admission should prove useful to demonstrate the discriminatory purpose of the legislation. Davis v. Schnell, 81 F. Supp. 872 (S.D. Ala.), aff'd, 336 U.S. 933 (1949). Southern political leaders are often caught in a difficult dilemma. In order to satisfy the presumed desire of their constituents for a strong anti-integration stand, it may be necessary to make public pronouncements liable to prove the constitutional undoing of the proposed program.

[124] Lane v. Wilson, 307 U.S. 268, 275 (1939).

JAN 2 1959 BLACK DISPATCH

Civil Liberties Union Seeking Stronger Rights Legislation

NEW YORK. — The American Civil Liberties Union called on the new congress to give "paramount attention" to legislation increasing the federal government's power to initiate "preventive" non-criminal legal action in defense of all civil rights. The 197 civil rights law allows the government to act only in cases where the right to vote has been violated.

The Union's statement was made in a 73-page report on the civil liberties record of the 85th Congress released as a special publication on Bill of Rights Day. December 15 was the 167th anniversary of the final adoption of the Bill of Rights. The report was prepared by the Union's Washington, D. C. office, headed by Irving Ferman.

The appeal to the incoming 86th Congress to enlarge the Federal government's power to enforce civil rights noted that the last Congress did pass the first civil rights legislation in 82 years "guaranteeing principally the right to vote embodied in the Fifteenth Amendment."

"The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957," the report said, "although not broad enough to prevent the tragedy of Little Rock, did aid significantly the continuing struggle to guarantee Negroes and other minority groups equal protection of the law. However, there is still much to be done in establishing further bases for needed federal action."

The ACLU urged that a section deleted from the 1957 measure which would allow the Justice Department to intervene in school desegregation and other civil rights cases as well as voting cases be speedily enacted.

In addition to the civil rights comment, two other broad observations were made of the 85th Congress' record:

(1) A major campaign conducted by a coalition of anti-civil rights and other legislators against the Supreme Court was repelled only by the narrowest margin.

(2) "The premise underlying our security system, namely, that negative protection can safeguard our superior strength," was not fully revelation despite the disturbing revelation of Communist Russia's scientific progress.

In an introduction to the report, ACLU executive director Patrick Murphy Malin declared that the attack on the Supreme Court was "more disturbing because the debate often misrepresented the actual holdings of the court in specific cases," adding that there is "great need for increased public understanding of what those decisions were, and what they were not."

Asserting that the Congressional offensive was a direct challenge to the independence of the Judiciary, Malin said that the anti-court drive was turned back only after a "spirited counter-offensive" and that further attacks in the new Congress are to be expected.

Malin's analysis of the 85th Congress' attitude toward national security programs "derived from the concept of the barricade. The fence of security, we thought, could barricade our military, industrial and scientific superiority against all enemies. To maintain this guard a bureaucracy has been established which now has such a vested interest in maintaining this system that we have created a Maginot line psychology."

Urging that "scrupulous observance of our constitutional guarantees" is the best positive protection for our security, the ACLU director commented that the 85th Congress did little to end "obsessive and dangerous preoccupation with old methods of security." He concluded that the 86th Congress should make an honest appraisal of past excesses and judgments in the security system.

The report covers 14 legislative areas taken up by the 85th Congress, including access to government information, passport controls, internal union democracy, the Senate filibuster rule, amendment of the Smith Act and censorship problems involved in new curbs on obscene material. A limited number of copies are available at the national ACLU office, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

JOHNSON, ROGERS, COURT GET PRAISE

Chatt. Times

Report of Civil Liberties Union Optimistic on Outlook for 1959

1-2-59

NEW YORK (AP)—The American Civil Liberties Union Thursday praised the "parliamentary genius" of Democratic Sen. Lyndon Johnson, the leadership of Republican Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, and the courage of the Supreme Court.

In its 38th annual report, released Thursday, the union added up some gains and losses of the past year, outlined some of the problems likely to come up in 1959, and found the current climate for civil liberties definitely improved.

The new Congress was pictured by the union as offering far less danger to free speech and due process of law than the old Congress, and promising perhaps even some gains.

The report found a reasonable possibility that the new Congress would act to curb the filibuster, but said this would be merely a preliminary step in the drive for broader civil rights legislation.

ACLU Executive Director Patrick Murphy Malin said in the introduction to the report that the improved climate for civil liberties was noted even before the election—when Congress failed to pass a number of bills aimed at curbing the Supreme Court.

"This happy outcome," commented Malin, "was due in great part to the parliamentary genius of Sen. Lyndon Johnson. . . ." Johnson is the Democratic majority leader.

Court 'Undaunted'

The report said the Supreme Court was undaunted by the bills aimed at it or by the narrow margin of their defeat. The court was praised for standing firm on school integration.

Atty. Gen. Rogers was lauded for undertaking "the indispensable task of moral and political leadership" on the Little Rock issue "after four years of costly administration neglect."

The report found these civil liberties problems among those which should be faced during the new year:

Censorship — Both government restriction of information ("press releases and favoristic leaks are not enough. . .") and "censorship by boycott" of private religious and non-religious organizations.

Wiretapping—Termed by the report an invasion of privacy despite legal curbs on evidence obtained by bugging.

"The distortion of fair trial"—By pre-trial publicity and the "cruel slap-dash treatment of juvenile delinquents and the mentally ill" were regarded as "frightening problems."

Civil Liberties 1959

The New Abolitionists

A torrent of criticism has been directed against the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the long years of its inquisitorial reign, but efforts to abolish it have been sporadic. Representative James Roosevelt (D., Calif.) has promised that, when the new Congress convenes, he will propose an amendment to the rules which would abolish the committee. This latest effort at abolition is infused with energy and imagination. Last summer the Southern California Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been opposing the committee and its activities for twenty years, decided that Congress should be asked to abolish it. When the committee visited Los Angeles early in September, on its annual scalp-hunting foray, it was met with full-page ads of protest in the local press, sponsored by the ACLU, and signed by a distinguished group of citizens. For the first time in this happiest of all its happy hunting grounds the committee was forced into a defensive position. The hearings were held in closed session, the testimony was not revealed to the

The NATION

Orig. Tribune 1/3/59

purpose, it should be abolished.

Civil Liberties Union Sees Gains

NEW YORK (UPI) — The American civil Liberties Union said on Friday some gains may "perhaps" be made in the new Congress in the areas of free speech and due process of law but that only a preliminary victory appeared in sight in the fight for Negro equality.

In an introduction to the 39th annual ACLU report, Executive Director Patrick Murphy Malin said that "men have once again this year been more successful in conquering outer space than in redeeming inner space: They have done better with satellites and trans-polar submarines than with themselves."

Malin said the ACLU could "justifiably feel a bit uplifted by the temper of the times" in the field of civil rights during the past year.

"Even before the elections," Malin said, "Congress had negatively aided the cause of civil liberties, by not passing a parcel of restrictive bills - notably those aimed at the Supreme Court because of its recent decisions upholding free speech, due process and equal protection of the laws."

He said the 86th Congress, which convenes next Wednesday, "promises far less danger to free speech and due process than the old, perhaps even some positive gains; but in the area of Negro equality, the only victory which seems reasonably probable is a preliminary one - curbing the filibuster."

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD
JAN 3 1959

Orig. Tribune 1/3/59

Braden Contempt Trial Scheduled For Monday

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD JAN 17 1959

Carl Braden

The trial of Carl Braden, who will face a federal court hearing on charges brought by the House Un-American Activities Committee, is scheduled to convene here Monday, Jan. 10.

Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was indicted on a contempt of Congress citation after he stood on what he called his constitutional rights in refusing to answer questions put to him by a subcommittee on Un-American Activities Committee investigating Communist infiltration in the South.

Braden was cited for contempt of Congress after he refused to answer certain questions regarding activities of the SCEF at the Committee hearing in Atlanta during the past summer.

Set for trial the same day along with Braden is Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, Calif., who also refused to answer certain questions at the same Committee hearing this past summer.

The American Civil Liberties Union intervened in the case of Wilkinson and asked that the indictment against him be dismissed on grounds that the Un-American Activities Committee is an unconstitutional body.

U.S. District Judge Boyd Sloan refused Monday to consider an attack on the constitutionality of the House Committee and later set the trial date for Monday, Jan. 19.

At the summer hearing, Braden refused to answer some of the questions regarding his asscoiations and alleged association and some

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 5)

Braden Contempt

(Continued from Page One)

questions about SCEF board meetings on grounds that they violated his rights under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The core of Braden's resistance to the questioning was said to have been a belief that the Un-American Committee or any governmental agency had no right to ask a private citizen questions about his beliefs, associations and his activities as a citizen.

The Committee that ruled Braden in contempt came to Atlanta over the protest of approximately 200 Southern Negro leaders who were quoted as saying they foresaw that "the real purpose of the investigation would be to smear the integration movement" and those working in it as "subversives."

Carl Braden 1959

Contempt Trial Is Opened Here

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Civil Rts

By JOHN BRITTON JAN 21 1959

The first leg of a trial to determine if two men were actually in contempt of Congress when they refused to answer certain questions asked by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities last summer opened Tuesday afternoon and is scheduled to continue today at 9:30 a. m.

The first to face the 12 man federal court jury was Frank Wilkinson, executive secretary of the Citizen's Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, of Los Angeles, California.

Wilkinson ,along with Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was indicted by a federal Grand Jury last summer after they refused to answer questions regarding their present and past political ties.

Heading a government trial prosecutions team was Bob Sparks who said in his opening argument to the jury that the government intends to prove Wilkinson's refusal to answer the Committee's questions was willful and deliberate.

Sparks further declared he and his trial associate, U. S. Attorney Ralph Ivey, will prove Wilkinson knew his refusal to answer the Congressional sub - Committee's questions would obstruct the groups announced purpose.

Sparks then reminded the jury that the Committee had announced that it sought to destroy the "Communist colonization and infiltration of textile and other basic Southern industries."

The United States Attorney warned the jury, however, that the only consideration to be weighed in this hearing is whether Wilkinson actually knew his answers this summer were pertinent to the purpose of the committee and if the defendant refused to answer deliberately. He told the jury the question of Wilkinson's alleged po-

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 8)

Contempt Trial

(Continued from Page One)

litical ties was of no interest.

Sparks promised that his part of the trial proceeding would be very short. He noted that he intended to present only two witnesses. The prosecution put on the ness stand the tenotype reporter who served at the July hearing here in Atlanta and Richard Aarons, staff director for the Committee on Un-American Activities for the U. S. House of Representatives.

The stenotypist was used exclusively by the prosecution to positively swear to the validity of copies of transcrpits showing the testimony of Wilkinson when he refused to answer the Committee's questions.

Aarons took the witness stand to identify certain documents issued by agents of the federal government who were responsible for the contempt citations being issued against Wilkinson and Braden.

Neither man was cross examined by Wilkinson's attorney, Rowland Watts, of Maryland, who is the general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU is providing the legal representation for this case which they term "a test of the Constitutionality of the Mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

The trial of Wilkinson is scheduled to resume today at 9:30 a. m. Immediately following his trial, presiding Judge Boyd Sloan has said he will hear a case involving similar charges against Carl Braden.

The Jury, which included one Negro, Jack Grier, of Locust Grove, Ga., was instructed by Judge Sloan to refuse to either discuss the case with anyone, read newspaper accounts of the proceedings, or listen to news broadcasts over other communications media.

WILKINSON GUILTY OF CONTEMPT, JURY SAYS

Civil Liberties

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

JAN 22 1959

By JOHN BRITTON

After a concise final argument on the legal and technical points of law involved in a contempt case by Defense Attorney Rowland Watts, a 12-man federal jury returned a verdict of guilty against Frank Wilkinson on charges that he was in contempt of Congress this past summer.

The jury deliberated approximately one hour before returning the guilty verdict against Wilkinson, who was indicted last summer by a federal Grand Jury on charges that he had been in contempt of Congress when he refused to answer certain questions put to him by a sub-committee of the House Committee on Un-American Activites meeting in Atlanta last July.

Defense attorney Watts, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, indicated in a conversation after the jury's decision that the verdict brought no particular surprise to him, however. He added that a motion for a new trial will be made before presiding Judge Boyd Sloan today at 2 p.m.

Watts had asked the judge at the Monday arraignment of the Wilkinson case that the case be heard without a jury, however, Judge Sloan overruled that motion saying he never tries a criminal case without a jury. It was noted, however, during the trial that the jury was excluded from the courtroom on many occasions when attorneys on both sides argued technical points of law.

Watts indicated he might attempt several maneuvers to get a new trial or to delay the expected sentencing of Wilkinson. Watts pointed out, as he did at the Monday arraignment, that a similar contempt case is pending decision in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The attorney said he has hopes that Judge Sloan may allow a continuance of bond if he pronounces sentence today in order to await the decision of the Supreme Court in

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 5)

Wilkinson Guilty

(Continued from Page One)

the Barenblatt case. The decision in that case is expected sometimes near February 24.

Watts said the decision of the Supreme Court may have a direct bearing on the Wilkinson case and the finding of facts in the Supreme Court case may provide a basis for an appeal in the local case at a later date.

In his final argument, Watts told the jury that one of the basis for his defense was the challenge of the constitutionality of the mandate setting up the Un-American Activities Committee. Another argument was that the question the committee asked Wilkinson at the July hearing regarding his political associations was not pertinent to the group's announced purpose.

The defense attorney also declared it was possible that the subcommittee may have failed to make clear to Wilkinson the pertinence his answer might have on the purpose of the group in "seeking out Communist activity in the textile industries and other basic industries in the South."

Watts told the jury the indictment returned against his client by the Grand Jury this summer failed to allege any crime against the government. This was one of the reasons Watts contended that Wilkinson should be acquitted.

It is expected that Watts will, during his motion for a new trial at 2 p.m. today, ask the judge for a new trial and an arrest of judgement, ask for a continuance of bail pending an appeal and make a motion for an extension of time before filing an appeal pending the decision of the Supreme Court in the Barenblatt case.

Meanwhile, a battery of recognized legal brains are scheduled to take the courtroom floor early today in defense of Carl Braden who is also accused of being in contempt of Congress. He also refused to answer certain questions asked by the subcommittee this summer regarding his political affiliations, and his activities with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The jury decision against Wilkinson does not automatically indicate a like judgement will be returned against Braden, according to the indicted man's lawyers, however, they added they are also prepared to make an appeal to a higher court if the need arises.

The two contempt trials are thought by courthouse officials to be the first of their kind to be heard in a Georgia courtroom in the history of the state. U.S. Attorney Bob Sparks was smiling broadly after the decision in the Wilkinson case, however, his only statement to the press was that he "thought the evidence presented warranted the jury's verdict."

JAN 21 1959

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Contempt Of Congress Trial Opens

The trial of a Los Angeles, Calif., man charged with contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of a House Un-American Activities subcommittee, began Tuesday in U.S. District Court here.

Frank Wilkinson had requested a non-jury trial, but Federal Judge Boyd Sloan ruled for a jury. The jury, including one Negro, was selected Tuesday afternoon.

RECORDER CALLED

Among the first witnesses called by J. Robert Sparks, assistant U.S. district attorney, was Frank A. Smonskey Jr., of Alexandria, Va., stenotype recorder of the subcommittee's proceedings here last July.

Also put on the stand late Tuesday was Richard Arens of Washington, D.C., staff director of the House committee.

Defense counsel Rowland Watts conceded that Wilkinson had refused to tell the subcommittee at its hearing whether or not he was a Communist.

At the same time, Watts indicated he will raise questions during the trial regarding the subcommittee's authority to conduct inquiries into Communist activity in the South.

FOUGHT SIX YEARS

In an interview, Wilkinson said he has spent six years fighting the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.

He identified himself as secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

CONTEMPT TRIALS OPEN IN ATLANTA

Frank Wilkinson Is First to Face Jury in Refusal to Answer U.S. Probers

1-21-59

ATLANTA (AP)—A man who says he has spent six years fighting the House Un-American Activities Committee went on trial in U.S. district court Tuesday for refusing to tell a subcommittee whether he was a Communist.

He is Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, one of two men indicted on charges of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions July 30 at a subcommittee hearing into Communist activity in the South.

The other is Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., whose trial is scheduled to follow Wilkinson's.

Wilkinson identified himself to newsmen as secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. He said he formerly was director of the Los Angeles City Housing Authority but quit in 1952 to combat the Un-American Activities Committee as contrary to the freedoms guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

He and his attorney, Rowland Watts, staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, indicated that if he is convicted they intend to take the battle against the committee on to the Supreme Court.

They conceded in court that Wilkinson refused to tell the subcommittee whether he then was a Communist but declared that he was within his rights. They contend that not only was the committee pursuing an unconstitutional inquiry but that, even so, the question was not pertinent.

Persecution Claimed

Braden and his attorneys indicated to reporters that they planned a slightly different defense. He is a field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc., a bi-racial integrationist group, and he claims that he is being persecuted for his racial stand.

Braden argued that of six counts of an indictment against his only one dealt with a question of whether he was a Communist, the others with questions about his racial activity.

He charged that the Department of Justice in prosecuting him is "harrassing integrationists with its left hand while claiming to support integration with its right hand."

Richard Arens, staff director of the House Un-American Activities Committee, came from Washington to testify against Wilkinson and Braden. At Wilkinson's trial, he identified numerous congressional and committee records, several of which were entered in the absence of the jury and presumably were intended for the court file in the event of an appeal.

Arens was still on the stand when court recessed for the day.

Wilkinson had asked for a non-jury trial but Judge Boyd Sloan decided he should be tried by a jury. A Negro farmer was included in the jury which was selected in a matter of minutes.

Asst. U.S. Atty. J. Roberts Sparks told the jurors the trial issue is not whether Wilkinson is a Communist but whether he is in contempt of Congress, which created the Un-American Activities Committee and delegated its powers. He said the government intends to prove the defendant is wilfully in contempt.

One of Braden's attorneys is a Negro bishop in the AME Zion Church, the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker of Louisville, Ky.

Civil Liberties

Braden Believed a Commie, Witness Tells U.S. Jury Here

House Unit's Director Testifies On Data That Led to Subpoena

A government witness said Thursday in Federal Court here the defendant in a contempt of Congress trial had been subpoenaed before a House subcommittee in Atlanta on information he was a Communist.

Richard Arens, staff director for the House Committee on un-American Activities, opened the case against Carl Braden, 44, of Louisville, Ky., with testimony about Braden's alleged Communist activities.

"It was our information that Mr. Braden was a member of the Communist Party. That he was going over the Southland . . . doing Communist work," Mr. Arens said.

The questions about Braden's alleged Communist activities were put to Mr. Arens by Asst. Dist. Atty. J. Robert Sparks, as the government sought its second conviction for contempt of Congress here.

* * *

CARL BRADEN and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, Calif., were both indicted on charges of contempt of Congress by an Atlanta Federal Grand Jury here Dec. 2.

Both men were charged with refusing to answer questions of a House subcommittee on un-American activities meeting in Atlanta July 30.

Wilkinson, 44, was found guilty Wednesday.

The jury, deliberating for 50 minutes late Wednesday afternoon, returned a verdict of guilty on a one-count indictment charging Wilkinson with refusing to answer the question: "Are you now a member of the Communist party?"

* * *

Mr. Arens testified Wednesday that the House subcommittee had information Wilkinson had been sent into the South to "spearhead" Communist infiltration here. This was one reason Wilkinson was called before the subcommittee meeting in Atlanta July 30, Mr. Arens said.

* * *

DEFENSE attorney Rowland Watts of Baltimore, Md., said he would appeal the case for Wilkinson, who faces a possible maximum penalty of 12 months' imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

Braden And Wilkinson Cases Reset To Today

The federal trials involving two men who were cited during the past summer for contempt of Congress when they refused on Constitutional grounds to answer questions of a Congressional committee were re-scheduled for this morning.

The trials of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, originally scheduled for hearing Monday morning, was re-set from Monday until this morning when the pressure of other criminal matters forced the contempt case off the Monday calendar, according to a U. S. Attorney.

Infomation received from the U. S. Attorney's office indicated that Wilkinson's trial will begin at 9:30 a. m., today while a separate hearing on Braden's case is scheduled immediately following the conclusion of the Wilkinson proceedings.

HELD IN CONTEMPT

Both men were held in contempt of Congress this past summer when they refused to answer certain questions asked of them by the House Un-American Activities Committee on grounds that the inquiries violated their rights under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The early summer hearing was initiated by the Congressional committee for what they announced as an effort to root out Communist infiltration in the South.

The House Committee that ruled Braden and Wilkinson in contempt came to Atlanta over the protest of approximately 200 Southern Negro leaders who were quoted as saying they foresaw that "the real purpose of the investigation would be to smear the integration movement" and those working in it as "subversives."

Wilkinson, of Los Angeles, California, and Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., with an office in Atlanta, are scheduled to come under the jurisdiction of District Judge Boyd Sloan.

Civil Liberties

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

JAN 20 1959

'GUILTY' VERDICT FOR CARL BRADEN

Chatt. Times 1-23-59

ATLANTA (AP)—A U.S. District Court jury Thursday convicted Carl Braden, 44, of Louisville, Ky., of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of a House Un-American Activities subcommittee investigating communism in the South.

The jury required only 40 minutes to reach its verdict on an indictment charging Braden with failure to answer six questions at a subcommittee hearing in Atlanta last summer.

Judge Boyd Sloan said he would pass sentence as soon as he receives a probation officer's report on Braden. The defense asked that sentence be deferred until the U.S. Supreme Court decides a somewhat similar case now pending.

Sloan said that he would give consideration to this request but thought that the defense might better achieve its purpose by some other course such as a motion for a new trial. Attorney John M. Coe of Pensacola, Fla., said that such a motion is contemplated.

Braden was the second defendant to be convicted in as many days for balking at subcommittee questions in Atlanta. The other was Frank Wilkinson, also 44, of Los Angeles.

Civil Liberties 1959

Move To Abolish Un-American Activities Committee Opposed

By EDDIE WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON — (SNS) — House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D.-Texas) and a group of Republicans last week yanked on the congressional reigns in an attempt to halt a bill sponsored by Rep. James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and transfer its jurisdiction to the Judiciary Committee.

Rep. Roosevelt said his proposal is based on the charge that the congressional mandate of the nine-member standing committee is vague, thus allowing it to infringe on "constitutional guarantees of individual freedom."

Since introducing the bill, Mr. Roosevelt has stood alone in defending it, but some Capitol observers believe he has the silent backing of some one hundred or more Congressmen who at one time or another have voiced disapproval of the committee and who at present are afraid to speak out for fear of political consequences.

Political consequences are unavoidably tied up in any proposal to rid the nation of an organization or group constituted and dedicated to the suppression of communist activities. This is the avowed goal of HUAC.

HAND-OFF ATTITUDE

Despite the fact that the Roosevelt proposal specifically points out the need for investigation of subversion and says that the Judiciary Committee is best qualified to do this, there is still a general hands-off attitude toward the bill.

In all sections of the country sentiment over the proposal is gradually shaping up into two theo-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

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ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Civil Liberties

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Move To

(Continued from Page One)

ries. One is that HUAC does more harm than good and the second is just the opposite.

Opposition to the proposal which is now in the hands of the powerful Rules Committee, has been voiced on the House floor by members of HUAC, including the committee chairman, Francis E. Walter (D., Pa.).

Earlier in the session Mr. Walter sought to expand the jurisdiction of his committee by having it take over matters concerning immigration. However, Speaker Rayburn quickly put an end to this idea with a flat "no." Some political observers feel this was a compromising "no." A few days later Mr. Rayburn gave his dreaded "kiss of death" to the Roosevelt proposal. It may have been that Rayburn promised Walter he would spare the life of his committee, providing he did not try to take over immigration matters.

Meanwhile, the bill is pending before the Rules Committee whose chairman, Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia, has "assured" Mr. Roosevelt that the measure will be considered. Rayburn warned that if the bill is not killed in the committee, it will be defeated on the floor, apparently under his generalship. He obviously spoke for a large segment of Democrats, and a strong GOP bloc spoke for itself in unanimously agreeing to oppose the bill.

SECURITY QUESTION

Regardless of the future of the proposal, it has raised some questions concerning the internal security program. They will have to be answered some time. The big questions are: Is the mandate of the committee so vague as to hamper its operation? and, Just what is the meaning of un-American?

The U.S. Supreme Court raised the latter question in its Watkins Decision which is cited by Roosevelt as a challenge to Congress to do something about HUAC. The decision also held that a "person is entitled to have knowledge of the subject to which the interrogation is deemed pertinent . . . . ." The committee says its questions are aimed at exposing communist infiltration and at providing it with a sound basis for proposing anti-subversive legislation.

Pending before the Supreme Court is the Barenblatt case which is similar to the Watkins case and which may throw more light on the court's interpretation of the committee's role.

Mr. Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, last week told his colleagues, "we cannot continue to ignore or evade the issue (raised by the court) without running the risk of doing great

PRISON SENTENCE GIVEN WILKINSON

Chett. Times — 1-24-59

ATLANTA (AP)—Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles Friday was sentenced to 12 months for contempt of Congress, but was released in $1,000 bond after his attorney moved for a new trial.

U.S. District Judge Boyd Sloan said he will rule later on the new trial motion.

Wilkinson was convicted Wednesday of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of a House Un-American Activities subcommittee at an Atlanta hearing July 30. One of the questions was whether the 44-year-old Californian is a Communist.

Carl Braden, 44, former Louisville, Ky., newspaperman, also was convicted of contempt as a result of the subcommittee probe into Communism in the South. Braden, field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, will be sentenced next month.

Civil Liberties 1959

BRADEN IS SENTENCED TO YEAR ON CONTEMPT

Chatt. Times 2-4-59

© New York Times News Service

ATLANTA (AP)—Carl Braden, Louisville, Ky., integration advocate, was sentenced Monday to 12 months for contempt of Congress.

The contempt charge was made after Braden refused to answer questions of a House Un-American Activities subcommittee here last July. Braden was convicted in U.S. district court here Jan. 21.

Federal Judge Boyd Sloan set Braden's bond at $1,000 pending a motion by his attorney for a new trial.

Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles was given a similar sentence for contempt of the committee. He is secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom.

Braden is field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He accused the committee of using its position to harass people working for integration.

Civil Liberties

Law Enf. 1959

Civil Liberties

MAR 10 1959
NEW YORK TIMES

Robeson in Britain for 'Othello'

LONDON, March 9 (Reuters) —Paul Robeson arrived by air today from Moscow after having recovered from an illness in the Kremlin hospital. The 60-year-old American Negro singer will play the title role in "Othello" at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon.

Civil Liberties Laws

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD
MAR 18 1959

80 Senators, 75 Representatives File Rights Bills

WASHINGTON, D. C. — U. S. Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., (D.-Mo.), Chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, Monday issued a memorandum containing a list of legislation introduced during the first two months of the 86th Congress affecting civil liberties of the American people in one way or another.

"Because of our recognized interest in due process of law and equal protection of the laws, the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee receives numerous telephone calls and other inquiries every day from other Congressional offices, members of the press corps in Washington, and the public, asking whether legislation has been introduced in this Congress on a certain civil liberties issue, by whom, on what date, and to which Committee it has been referred," said Senator Hennings.

"Therefore," said the Subcommittee Chairman, "This list has been prepared, covering legislation introduced in the first two months of 1959, to provide a ready reference in answering such inquiries."

MANY FORMS INCLUDED

Senator Hennings went on to point out that the forms of the legislation include: resolutions expressing the sense or understanding of Congress; amendments to the Constitution of the United States; amendments to the Federal Criminal Code; authorization for civil remedies by the Government in certain cases; and authrization for other Government programs.

Among the subjects covered are: protection of Federal voting rights; public school desegregation; posting of voting information in post offices; Federal action concerning bombings of schools and places of religious worship; restatement of Congressional intention in various statutory provisions; censorship; civil rights; government employees and loyalty-security matters; newsmen and sources of information; freedom of information; service of warrants by military personnel; wire-tapping; judicial review of deportation orders; and powers of the Supreme Court to review lower court decisions.

Of course, not every bill has been further referred to a subcommittee for hearings. But to date the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has been assigned these bills: S. 435, S. 456, S. 499, S. 810, S. 957, S. 969, S. 1034, and commenced public hearings thereon Wednesday morning, March 18, in Room 318 (the Caucus Room), Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MAR 18 1959

Civil Liberty

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

New Trials Denied to 2 In Contempt

Carl Braden, 44, of Louisville, Ky., and Frank Wilkinson, 44, of Los Angeles, convicted on contempt of Congress charges, have been denied new trials in U.S. District Court here.

The two were convicted and sentenced to one year in prison for failing to answer questions of a House un-American activities subcommittee here in July.

Both are under appeal bonds.

Wilkinson's attorney had asked for a new trial. Braden's counsel sought a new trial and made a motion to arrest judgment on the verdict. Both of Braden's motions were denied by Judge Boyd Sloan.

Civil Liberties - 1959

A Communication

Christ. Cent.
2-7-62
Anti-Comm. Crusade

Contra the Schwarz Crusade

A Statement Addressed to Certain Church and Synagogue Groups in Northern California and Nevada

In presenting this statement on the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, we who are signatories to it would emphasize that we are acting as individuals. Our denominations have not taken action in this matter, and we are not committing them through our action to any specific position.

Indeed, the statement is addressed to the congregations of our church and synagogue groups and has already been mailed by us to them. Its major intent is to share with them our convictions on the crusade in order that they may take these convictions into account as they determine their own attitudes. Its release to the press is simply for public information. . . . The itemization of statements or attitudes which we find objectionable is not meant to be comprehensive but simply to illustrate the nature of our concern. We recognize that the documentation in a number of instances is from secondary sources, but we have discovered no reasons to doubt either their accuracy or their implications. And certainly our unhappiness with the crusade is not dependent upon any one of them or even upon any combination of them but rests fundamentally upon an approach to the whole problem of communism and national policy of which they are but examples.

It should not be necessary in this connection for us to state the obvious and to deny any "softness toward communism" on our part. That we are Christian and Jewish clergymen entrusted by our particular groups with administrative responsibilities of a significant nature should make any suspicion of that impossible for anyone to hold. But just so that there can be no doubt whatever in anyone's mind at this point, we reaffirm here our complete and utter opposition to and abhorrence of communism in any form and anywhere. We have taken and will continue to take stands at many points that seem to us wise and helpful in order to make unalterably clear that opposition. The atheism, the carelessness of individual life and aspirations, the ruthlessness in the attainment of objectives, the destruction of democratic freedoms which characterize communism everywhere would inevitably make it impossible for us to do otherwise than to oppose it. But this opposition does not commit us to ways of fighting communism which we are persuaded will be both ineffectual and damaging to the cause of free men and the maintenance of peace in the world.

ROBERT D. BULKEY.

THE STATEMENT

✦ NO ONE can quarrel with the basic premise of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade—namely, that Americans need to be aware of the true nature of the communist threat, as well as of their own American heritage. However, it is certainly permissible to question the degree to which an organization carries out its own aims; and the type of "education" provided by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade has seemed of dubious value to many commentators and positively harmful to others.

Such magazines as *Time, Life,* the *Reporter,* the *Nation, Harper's,* the *Progressive, Newsweek,* and The Christian Century have, in articles devoted to the spread of right-wing extremism, characterized Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz and his organization as belonging to this school of thought. Locally, the *San Francisco Chronicle,* in its editorial pages, has made the same point. Leaders of both major parties, including Pres. Kennedy and former Pres. Eisenhower, have warned us of the dangers inherent in this point of view and in its widespread acceptance. In short, it would seem that the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade has been guilty of using anticommunist motivations to promote specific attitudes which are characteristic of one political point of view. It is very difficult to identify any particular programs with the crusade itself, but most of the regular faculty members of the crusade are on record as to the views they hold. Among those which seem to us to be most questionable are the following:

1. Cleon Skousen has advocated United States withdrawal from the United Nations unless the U.N. charter is rewritten in such a way as to make it an instrument of American policy.[1]

2. Walter Judd and W. P. Strube, Jr., have called for an end to cultural exchanges, and have characterized them as mechanisms for the importation of communist agents.[2]

3. Both Congressman Judd and Dr. Schwarz have called for the end of negotiations on any subject with the Soviet Union, maintaining that we can never negotiate with the Soviets for to them negotiations are an act of war.[3]

4. Sen. Thomas Dodd, by suggesting that there are in the state department communists or communist dupes, has cast doubt upon the ability of the state department to furnish leadership to the United States in the field of foreign policy.[4]

5. Cleon Skousen, just before the death of Dag Hammarskjöld, said that the Congo "is fast going the way of Cuba and China. The move is being aided and abetted by U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld," whom Skousen described as a Socialist "with the dream of making the world one large Socialist State."[5]

6. Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, director of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, has as one of his announced lecture topics, "Why Millionaires, Ministers of Religion, and College Professors Become Communists."[6] He further says in his book *You Can Trust the Communists*: "The truth is that Communism as such has little appeal for the poor, the oppressed, or the exploited. The basic appeal of Communism is to the educated and particularly to the student intellectual."[7] Such charges, if unsubstantiated, lead to direct attacks upon the more basic institutions in American life. J. Edgar Hoover, for instance, has recently pointed out that the communists have been almost entirely unsuccessful in infiltrating American churches. In view of this, the raising of such suspicions has the effect of confusing those who might look to the intellectual and religious leadership of the community, and can be most destructive to our society in general.

7. The crusade curriculum has consistently used such training aids as "Communism on the Map," a filmstrip released by Harding College in Searcy, Ark.[8] This film, which has been repudiated by the defense department and many other official agencies because of the misinformation contained therein, makes the point that communism today is achieving domination of the entire globe with the exception of a handful of countries.[9]

8. Speakers for the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, including Dr. Schwarz, are reported to believe that the American way of life is under attack by fifth columnists operating under such "socialistic" guises as "liberalism," "the welfare state" and "one world-ism." Since "liberalism" goes undefined, such statements are further invitations to widespread suspicion of American institutions, particularly the churches and the schools.[10]

9. Despite these specific positions, the crusade as a whole denies having a "program,"[11] preferring simply to call upon

people to "fight communism," to "roll up their sleeves," to "be alert" and other such nonspecific suggestions. This approach seems to us more likely to produce frustration and fear than to produce intelligent action.

10. While the connection between the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the John Birch Society is apparently not direct, Fred Schwarz has been quoted as saying: "You know, I sometimes get the notion [Robert Welch] follows me around the country signing up people after I have worked them up." Not unappreciatively, Robert Welch has said, "The Fred Schwarz schools have already done a superb job of providing this preliminary education."[12]

For the above reasons, and because of the strong criticisms these schools have drawn from many fellow churchmen in communities where they have been held, we have decided personally to take no part in the sponsorship or support, directly or indirectly, of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade or any of its local schools or of any similar school which makes use of the materials and faculty of the crusade. While this is obviously an area for individual decision, we thought that perhaps you would like to be guided by the decision to which we have come as a group.

Experience in several communities has indicated that, in the wake of these schools, there has been a resurgence of attacks on churches, schools and councils of churches. While the crusade organization specifically denies any such intent, it is nevertheless a fact that the spread of the doctrines of the "radical right" have had this effect elsewhere.

At a time when America is faced with a dangerous and subtle external enemy, internal unity is of the gravest importance. Any activity which threatens this unity by adding to the climate of fear and suspicion which already is abroad must be approached with the greatest caution and discrimination. Good motivations alone are not sufficient; intelligent anticommunism demands a clear-eyed understanding of the danger, and the ability to discriminate accurately between communism on the one hand and genuine movements for social reform on the other.

SIDNEY AKSELRAD, *President, Northern California Board of Rabbis.*

BEN C. BOBBITT, *Executive Secretary, Christian Churches of Northern California-Western Nevada.*

ROBERT D. BULKLEY, *General Presbyter, North Coastal Area, Synod of California, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

MACK MCCRAY, JR., *Executive Secretary, Northern California Baptist Convention and Nevada-Sierra Baptist Convention.*

RICHARD C. NORBERG, *Minister and Superintendent, Northern California Congregational Conference.*

JAMES A. PIKE, *Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of California.*

DONALD HARVEY TIPPETT, *Bishop, The Methodist Church, San Francisco Area.*

SUMNER WALTERS, *Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of San Joaquin.*

REFERENCES

1. "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," television broadcast, Mutual network, Oct. 16, 1961. Also *Los Angeles Times,* Aug. 30, 1961, p. 2.

2. *Ibid.* Also *Los Angeles Times,* Sept. 2, 1961, p. 3. Cf. Schwarz, Fred: *You Can Trust the Communists,* Prentice-Hall, pp. 119 ff.

3. "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." Cf. testimony by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities, May 29, 1957.

4. "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." Cf. also tape No. SOC 61-3-A, "America's Internal Security," lecture by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd at the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, Los Angeles sports arena, Aug. 28-Sept. 1, 1961. Cf. Cleon Skousen and Rear Admiral Chester Ward, USN (Ret.), as reported in *Los Angeles Times,* Aug. 30, 1961, p. 2.

5. *Palo Alto Times,* Sept. 16, 1961, p. 2. The speech was delivered in San Jose civic auditorium Sept. 14.

6. "Sowing Dissension in the Churches," p. 20. Protestant Episcopal National Council, Department of Social Relations.

7. Schwarz, Fred C.: *You Can Trust the Communists,* p. 17.

8. The *Nation,* Oct. 28, 1961, p. 323.

9. Cf. also Protestant Episcopal National Council, *op. cit.*

10. The *Nation,* Oct. 28, 1961, p. 325.

11. Protestant Episcopal National Council, *op. cit.,* p. 20. Cf. also W. P. Strube, Jr., as reported in *Los Angeles Times,* Sept. 2, 1961, p. 3.

12. The *Reporter,* July 20, 1961, p. 25.

Religion

BISHOP AFFIRMS CONFIDENCE IN MISS BERKLEY

Excellent Jam File

The Augusta Chronicle-Herald
Sunday, February 25, 1962.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

(Editor's Note: Due to space limitations, The Chronicle-Herald ordinarily limits letters to the editor to 300 words. However, because of the subject matter involved and out of respect for the positions held by these individuals, that limitation is waived in the case of the two letters presented here.)

Editor, The Chronicle-Herald:

I note with interest your recent editorial in which you say the Directors of the United Fund call upon "The appropriate powers of the Methodist Church to take prompt steps to restore confidence so that it will not be necessary for the United Fund to withdraw its future support from Bethlehem Center." As Bishop of the Georgia Area of the Methodist Church, I desire to make an official statement regarding this matter. Thank you very much for the space in your paper to do so.

Our Methodist Church, including many many Augusta Methodists, has never lost any confidence in Bethlehem Center, nor in Miss Ruby Berkley, the Director. As I see it, if any loss of confidence is suffered, it is due to the Herald newspaper that performed a terribly immature prognosis, with respect to both fact and procedure. This flurry has been greatly exaggerated. Our Church regrets very much the disturbance involved but we do not accept the responsibility for placing the United Fund in an embarrassing position.

The following observations seem quite appropriate:

(1)When any subversive situation is suspected, we are reminded constantly by the Department of Justice that the individual citizen is not to appoint himself as a house cleaner, but instead, to report same to "constituted officers of the law." The Herald should remember that if it had succeeded in pointing up something treasonable in this case, it violated point number one in Edgar Hoover's suggestion for handling subversiveness.

(2) Furthermore, in this situation, it would have been proper to notify responsible Church authorities, rather than excite the public with suspicions and fears, not too well founded. If suspicion prevails regarding one of our preachers, we do not write an article in the Wesleyan Christian Advocate or the local newspaper before we consult with responsible citizens on the local level, Miss Berkley is an ordained servant of the Church. She is appointed to her position by the Methodist Church. Our Methodism has its own procedure with regard to both investigation and trial. According to Methodist policy, any other process is out of order.

(3) This statement is not to justify or condemn the meeting that was held where Mrs. Carl Braden and others were present. We would get quite involved, should we attempt to justify all the meetings where there are Methodist people. Topics of conversation, language used, refreshments served, etc., could get rather personal and one would want to claim his rights. One judges, however, that if

Mr. Braden were in prison for committing murder, it would be a probable act of kindness for a friend to invite an old friend to be present, but since he is a suspected Communist, no kindness or friendship may be tolerated.

Where are we? What about the luncheon that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kennedy had the other day with the daughter and son-in-law of Mr. Khrushchev? Many years ago, Chief Justice Marshall in relationship to the trial of Aaron Burr for treason, ruled that Burr was not guilty simply because he had associated with treasonable persons. The Chief Justice was calling attention to the difference between American freedom and the tyranny of other sections of the world.

Some contributors to the United Fund will be interested to know that Miss Ruby Berkley was born in Mississippi and has been a devoted and active member of the Methodist Church for many years, that she is in good standing in our Church, especially in the Church where she now worships and serves in Augusta; that she paid quite a price to become a Deaconess in the Methodist Church, taking vows that are quite demanding: that she has served most creditably in this capacity for approximately thirty-five years; that she is now performing a service in the name of Christ that 99 per cent of her critics would not even consider doing; that there are no evidences of Communist tendencies in her teachings or supervision at the Augusta Bethlehem Center.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the Methodist Ministers in the Augusta area that Miss Berkley is a fine Christian person and is doing well the work she was appointed to do; that she has been given a new vote of confidence by the local board of directors of said organization; that in spite of suspicions and accusations that have been thrown at Ministers and Deaconesses across this country during the past twenty-five years, no Methodist Minister or Deaconess has been found either by Church or Civil Court to possess Communist leanings. We do not believe the first one is to be found at Bethlehem Center in Augusta, Georgia.

The Methodist Church does not scare very easily at this point. The Cabinet of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, consisting of ten District Superintendents and the Bishop, in recent session, was amazed that a little lady working among Negroes in the South had become the target of subversive accusations. They wondered if this could possibly be the most subversive spot in Augusta. These men remember that some Augusta citizens extended cordial gestures to certain self-appointed individuals who say that they are out to fight Communism and save America; those who cast preposterous charges of pro-Communism against such Americans as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and other respectable statesmen; those who snipe and scandalize many of the ablest ministers and teachers in our country, though they never seem able to prove their accusations; those who

are always hunting but never finding; those who thrill at denouncing but never liking a private interview to talk turkey about their program.

One such patriot, not a citizen of this country, boasts that he collected from the American public $500,000 in 1961 and he anticipates contributions of $1,000,000 in 1962. The FBI has listed approximately twelve hundred of these organized endeavors, the leadership being frequently represented by a de-frocked preacher or a failure at some previously attempted profession. The Department of Justice has not only warned us against such, but has continuously expressed its disapproval of creating turmoil and insecurity on the local level. Quoting Edgar Hoover again, "Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake that the Communists are careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against Communism without being for any positive measure to eliminate the social, political and economic friction which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting."

Our Methodist leadership is aware that some of these movements have created a strange and useless restlessness in Augusta. We are loaded, not with insinuations or innuendoes, but facts to show this sort of thing is proving to be vastly more subversive in many communities than the meeting referred to in Miss Berkley's apartment.

The Methodist Church is up to its ears in the fight against Communism. Nevertheless, it prays that it may not get arrogant, tyrannical or Communistic in the scrap to win.

The Methodist Church is proud of its Bethelem Centers and we are glad that Augusta has one in its area. We reaffirm our confidence in its program and its director.

John Owen Smith
Bishop, the Atlanta Area
The Methodist Church.

TRAINING PROGRAMS and JOBS for RURAL SOUTH CAROLINIANS

a southern
rural conference
sponsored by

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
South Carolina Council
on Human Relations

February 13-15, 1963
Penn Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

FEBRUARY 14

THURSDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

A. WHAT IT IS, Which communities are eligible: Wayne Shields, Senior Field Coordinator, Southeast Region, A.R.A.

B. ARA IN SOUTH CAROLINA, Instances of the program helping low income families: Gordon Berry, A.R.A. Coordinator for S. C.

C. ARA AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, Where the porgram is and is not reaching Negroes, and what can be done to make it more effective: George Robinson, Special Assistant for Community Organization

D. TWO EXPERIENCES in Rural Development

1—Fayette County, Tennessee: Allen Yancey

2—Beaufort County, South Carolina: Jean Morot, Port Royal Industries

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—DISCUSSION

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

1:30 P.M.—FEDERAL AND STATE TRAINING PROGRAMS

A. ARA TRAINING: Miss Anne Gould, Training Coordinator, ARA

B. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACT: William Mirengoff, Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

C. NATIONAL DEFENCE EDUCATION ACT (TITLE VIII): Dr. Roy W. Dugger, Director of Manpower, Development and Training Services, U. S. Office of Education

D. SOUTH CAROLINA PROGRAMS FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING UNDER ARA, MDTA, AND NDEA (TITLE VIII): R. D. Anderson, Director of Vocational Education, South Carolina Department of Education

E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

FEBRUARY 13

WEDNESDAY

Chairman: REV. M. D. McCOLLOM

District Superintendent of the Methodist Church
Walterboro District

11:00 A.M.—REGISTRATION

12:00 N. —LUNCH

1:00 P.M.—RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

WELCOME: Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Center

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE: L. S. James, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

A. WHAT IS RAD, How does it work, What resources are available to communities and individuals: A. T. Mace, Director, Office of Rural Areas Development

B. RAD IS SOUTH CADOLINA, Special plans: O. W. Lloyd, Rural Development Specialist, Clemson College

C. RAD AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, How the program is and is not reaching Negroes, How it can reach them more effectively: Dr. L. P. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture

2:30 P.M.—DISCUSSION

3:30 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

4:00 P.M.—WORKSHOPS

Cooperatives. Job Savage, Director, Management Services Division, Farmer's Cooperative Service

Rural Housing Loans: James K. Barnes, Area Supervisor, FHA

Credit Unions: Sidney Gillikin, Federal Examiner for Credit Union

County Agricultural Committees: Ira Kaye, Lawyer, Sumter, S. C.

Community Services: Alvin Stortroen, Domestic Farm Labor, Department of Labor

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—KEYNOTE ADDRESS

"The Rural South 15 Years From Now", Dr. Gilbert Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology, N. C. State College

FEBRUARY 14

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9:00 A.M.—AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

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D. SOUTH CAROLINA PROGRAMS FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING UNDER ARA, MDTA, AND NDEA (TITLE VIII): R. D. Anderson, Director of Vocational Education, South Carolina Department of Education

E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

3:10 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

3:30 P.M.—

F. ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY IN RE-TRAINING PROGRAMS: Arthur Chapin, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor

G. SELECTION AND PLACEMENT FOR S. C. TRAINING PROGRAMS: Keith Aull, Director, South Carolina Employment Security

4:10 P.M.—DISCUSSION

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALL PEOPLE
John Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

FEBRUARY 15

FRIDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—WHO IN SOUTH CAROLINA CAN SEE THAT PROGRAMS REACH ALL OF THE PEOPLE?

A. ROLE OF EXTENSION AGENT: O. W. Lloyd

B. ROLE OF VOCATION AGRICULTURE TEACHERS: W. E. Gore, State Superintendent of Vocational Agriculture, S. C. Department of Education

C. ROLE OF GUIDANCE TEACHERS: Miss Ellen Lyles, State Supervisor of Guidance Services, S. C. Department of Education

D. ROLE OF TECHNICAL ACTION PANEL: John Lovorn, Director of Rural Renewal Division, F.H.A., U.S. Department of Agriculture

E. ROLE OF PRIVATE AGENCIES: Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Professor of Education, S. C. State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Mr. A. T. Mace, Director RAD
USDA
Washington, D. C.

Mr. O. W. Lloyd
RAD Specialist
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Mr. P. F. Aylesworth
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USDA, Washington, D. C.

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Domestic Farm Service
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Mr. Paul Anthony
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Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Dir.
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, S. C.

Penn Community Center

COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

MEMO to conference participants

HOW TO REACH PENN CENTER: Penn Center is located at Frogmore and one-half mile off U. S. Highway 21, six miles beyond Beaufort, S. C. It is roughly 50 miles north of Savannah, Georgia, and 75 miles south of Charleston. Greyhound bus line serves Beaufort from Savannah and Charleston, and taxi fare from Beaufort to Frogmore is $2. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad serves Yemassee, S. C., about 30 miles from Frogmore, and several airlines serve Savannah and Charleston. The Penn staff will provide transportation from Yemassee, Savannah or Charleston to conference guests arriving by plane or rail, IF THEY WILL NOTIFY PENN OF THEIR TIME OF ARRIVAL IN ADVANCE.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Penn Center has dormitory facilities for over 100 people, with arrangements in private homes for overflow. The dining room serves all meals cafeteria style. Main sessions of the conference will be held in Frissell Auditorium on the Penn campus; discussion groups will be in the classroom building. All buildings are heated and linen is provided. There is no charge for sleeping accommodations or for meals.

REGISTRATION: To register for the conference, simply contact Mrs. Alice Spearman at the address below and notify her of your intention to register. There is no charge for registration. Room assignments will be made upon arrival at Penn Center.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL
on HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.
Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director

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PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, S.C.

Spring, 1963

WORKSHOP ON RURAL PROGRAMS

"Good players are being benched because the people who are calling the signals in their communities have not yet awakened to the full meaning of democracy." This charge was made by John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at a workshop on rural development and re-training programs, which was held at Penn in mid-February. In his speech to the workshop, he also stated that prejudice is a primary problem in making effective the federal government's Rural Areas Development program.

Over 200 Negro farmers from across the state attended the three-day workshop and heard speakers from the U. S. Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, as well as representatives from the S. C. Departments of Education, Agriculture Extension and Employment Security. The speakers explained the functions of each program, what funds were available to farmers and for what purposes, and suggested means whereby Negroes could take advantage of the financial resources available to them. Questions from the audience were perceptive and indicated several major problems concerning the need for adequate information about the programs, and the difficulties encountered by Negroes seeking access to federally supported re-training programs for underemployed workers.

The principal address of the workshop was Mr. Baker's, which was delivered by Dr. L. A. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, after Mr. Baker was unexpectedly detained in Washington. The workshop was sponsored jointly by Penn and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. We have enclosed a copy of the program.

VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

In January and early February, Penn held two of three scheduled voter education workshops for the residents of Beaufort County. The workshops were designed to supplement voter registration drives by explaining to voters how their votes can be used more effectively. For a voting right to be a truly democratic instrument, citizens must understand their government, their responsibilities and how voting is related to community improvement. Thus, the first two workshops provided a basic introduction to the government of the county and state. Leaders in local communities conducted the two days of discussions for each workshop, which covered such topics as government and party organizations, the functions of elected and appointed officials, and agricultural committees. In addition, speakers analyzed Negro registration and voting, and briefly discussed techniques of voting and campaigning.

Attendance at the workshops was much better than we had anticipated, and we feel that the enthusiasm of the participants is a healthy sign. Throughout the workshops, audience participation was vigorous and pointed, with questions and suggestions concerning problems which might be solved through more effective voting. At the first workshop, Frank D. Reeves, National Democratic Committeeman for the District of Columbia, addressed a standing-room-only crowd.

In the third and final workshop, which is in the planning stages, we expect to bring into focus the major problems of Negro voters in the county, as well as their potential voting strength, in the hope that it

COURTNEY AND TOM VISIT PUERTO RICO AND JAMAICA

Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell left Penn on March 16, for a ten-day observation of community development projects in Puerto Rico and Jamaica. The projects, sponsored by the governments of each country, encompass many of the same problems we have found through our Pilot Project, and by studying their techniques, we can develop methods for making our own programs more effective. Courtney and Tom will interview administrators of the projects, and then will be individually assigned to field workers, in order to directly observe their methods. In our next newsletter, we will have a report of their findings.

$5000 LIBRARY AWARD

The Beaufort County library system, consisting of the Beaufort Township Library and the Laura M. Towne Library at Penn, has received a national, first prize award of $5000 from the Book-of-the-Month Club. The annual award, given in memory of Dorothy Canfield Fisher,was presented to the county system on the basis of its efforts to bring adequate library services to rural areas. John Mason Brown, a member of the editorial board of the Book-of-the-Month Club, will speak at the presentation ceremony, which will be held at the Beaufort Chamber of Commerce Building on April 21 at 3 P.M. Several representatives of the Club will be present, as well as state library officials. The ceremony will be open to the public.

CONFERENCES

Among recent conference groups at Penn have been two highschool seminars, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's regional office at High Point, N. C. The seminars were led by Bill Dreyer, the highschool secretary for the region. Norman Whitney, consultant in peace education for the AFSC, participated in the second seminar, March 15 - 17.

The SC Student Council on Human Relations a bi-racial group of college students,met here in early December, and will return in April for another three-day conference

Thirteen students from the Meeting School in New Hampshire, spent two days here in January, on a return trip from Jamaica.

Students from the new Arthur Morgan School in the Celo Community (Burnsville, N. C.) visited· us for a week in March, touring the islands and meeting local residents and students.

The Guilford College A Capella Choir will give a concert in Frissell Community House on March 30th. The concert will be sponsored by the Penn Nursery School.

STAFF

Hale Chamberlain and Jimmy Hazelton, two of our short-term staff members, left us in December. Hale, from Brevard, N. C., is now living in New York, and Jimmy , who was raised in Paraguay, is living on a dairy farm in Connecticut. Dave Habercom, from Antioch College, arrived in September and will be here until the end of the summer. Margo Martin, a sophmore at Oberlin College, will join our staff in June for two months.

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Our Sales House, which provides used, but servicable,clothing to local families for nominal prices, is in dire need of children's clothing. If you have second-hand children's apparel which is still useable please consider a donation to the Sales House. Packages may be mailed directly to Penn, or sent by express to Beaufort.

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Courtney Siceloff, Director
David Habercom, Newsletter Editor

will provide a basis for more concerted and effective participation in future elections. Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia's new Negro senator, has agreed to deliver the major address to this workshop.

BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS

In January, we published a brochure of statistics on various aspects of Beaufort County which we felt would be important to our Pilot Project. Based on 1960 census reports and county records, the statistics covered population changes, educational levels, farm characteristics, employment, income, housing conditions and voter registration. Whenever possible, the figures were broken down into white and non-white categories to help give a perspective to the problems with which the Pilot Project is specifically concerned. The data was also divided according to the county's six census divisions, in order to help identify the most pressing problems in each community.

Hale Chamberlain spent a full year combing records and compiling the data, and we feel that the result has been an especially comprehensive study. The twenty-page brochure was sent to all public officials in the county and is being provided to individuals associated with the Pilot Project.

Among the problems concerning Negroes which stood out most dramatically were these: 81% of the Negro students enrolling in 1950 dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old is functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student; Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but cultivate only 8% of the total farm land;almost one-third of Negro families earns less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earns less than $2,000; one-third of the total homes in rural areas have either an outdoor privy or no sanitary facility whatsoever, and one third lack piped water.

PILOT PROJECT

The Beaufort County Pilot Project moved into an important phase in early December. A meeting was held at Penn, attended by representatives of state and local health departments, the state department of education, and the regional office of the U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, as well as Courtney Siceloff and Thomas Barnwell, the Pilot Project Field Director. The objective of the meeting was to discuss where the health and education agencies and the Field Director might work simultaneously on common problems. It is thought that community development efforts can be substantially expedited through inter-agency cooperation, especially since the involved agencies approach similar problems at various levels. The group was particularly interested in Bluffton, where several community improvement projects are underway; Bluffton also has a high incidence of infectation by internal parasites, a serious health problem. In connection with this inter-agency cooperation, Tom will spend additional time in Bluffton. The group plans to continue meeting, in order to share information about what each is doing.

The Coffins Point Improvement Committee, organized as a result of Tom's work in this St. Helena community, has begun construction of a praise house. The building will also be used for Sunday School classes and general community meetings. Although the thirty members of the committee are contributing to the construction, a financial problem has arisen as a result of the shrimp season's being closed and many community residents temporarily unemployed.

Tom has also been working closely with young people in Beaufort County. He contacted approximately fifteen high school students, who attended a bi-racial conference at Penn entitled, "What Will the World Be Like Twenty Years From Today?" The conference was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. (see CONFERENCES) Tom also secured a scholarship for a week-long seminar in Greensboro, N. C., for Samuel Burke, a high school student from Sheldon. The seminar was also sponsored by the AFSC and was called, "The Courageous Generation."

Date?

Macon Telegraph

The South Needs Leaders Who Don't Play 'Ostrich'

Editor, The Telegraph: An ostrich is a bird, so tradition has it, that puts his head in the sand to keep from seeing what alarms him. By so hiding his eyes, evidently, he imagines that he is hidden, and that impending threats will not come too near.

Sometimes, I suppose, all of us have been like ostriches. We tend to hide our eyes, and so refuse to see what so obviously is there.

We Southerners, faced with the most tremendous change in our thinking is nearly a hundred years, are tempted to hide our eyes about integration. We don't want to admit that this thing will actually come to pass. Those that know better, sometimes, join the rest of us and pretend not to "see." They even declare that what we see is a mirage, or something that, though acceptable to other areas of the country, can never come to us.

I use to believe this kind of talk. I guess I did because I wanted to believe it. But I've had some jolts. A close observer and interpreter of what's happening to us in this explosive realm told this account:

Soon after the first ruling of the Supreme Court on integration, a former governor of a southern state was dining with some business and political friends The air was full of the subject. The former governor, publicly always loud in his declarations that "it" could never happen here, took the conversational initiative, and said substantially this,

"Well, of course, gentlemen, you know as well as I, that the edict of the court lays down the highway over which all of us and our children must ultimately travel. But I intend to delay transit as long as possible."

At this juncture the person reporting this incident was interrupted by a young member of the group to which he was talking with some such naive question as this,

"You mean, sire, that our Southern politicians talk one way privately and another way publicly?"

The rest laughed at the idealism of the young man, wishing at the same time that what he asked were not so miserably true.

The story teller explained that it would be political suicide now for a Southern politician to champion integration although all but a very few expressed privately—where they could be reasonably sure not to be quoted publicly—the view that integration is inevitable in spite of all state legal maneuvering to block it. All they hope for, they say in private, is to slow down the process until we can get ready for it, and thus avoid as much reaction as possible. Anyone, he added, who has enough sense to be a southern governor or member of congress knows some history, and knowing history, he knows the "signs of the times."

O, well, maybe I, too, was too naive and idealistic, for I looked at the young questioner admiringly and wished, like he did, that men who lead us would not pretend to stick their heads in the sand and tell us one thing when they really believe history is shoving us the other way.

Macon. A FORMER OSTRICH.

Opinion

Religion

CLAIMING THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE:

a profile

BY EDGAR A. LOVE

THE ferment of social change and the application of the Christian gospel to the problems of human society sometimes churn up dramatic incidents—particularly if the race issue is involved, and the location is in the South.

The story of John Robert (Bob) Zellner is a case in point. Although it may be folly—perhaps even unjust—to focus on one individual among the thousands who have been active participants in the struggle for racial justice and understanding, it may still be valuable in understanding events even now taking shape. Bob Zellner's involvement in the work of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is, in many ways, typical—a sort of paradigm—of the role of the individual in the contemporary Southern Revolution.

Bob's family—a somewhat typical southern one—was educated at Bob Jones College, and held traditional "Bible Belt" religious and social concepts until their own religious convictions forced them to re-examine the mores of their society. When Bob was a small child, his parents came to an increasingly liberal position on social issues, especially the race question. The Zellner sons—Bob is the second of five boys—were raised to share the parents' convictions.

Like children of many Methodist families in the South, Bob entered a small denominational college—Huntingdon College in Montgomery, Alabama. As a student, he became interested in the Christian application of sociological methods to the problems of a biracial society. And because Huntingdon is in Montgomery, he had ample opportunity to put his convictions to the test.

In Bob's senior year—1960-61—one of his classes received an assignment to "study the race problem and present your idea of a solution in a paper." Bob and some other students were aware that they were living in a community which had attracted world-wide attention but a few years before as a result of the application of nonviolence (as a philosophy and as strategy) in the midst of racial tensions. Therefore, they were not content to go only to the library for their answers. Instead, they used the resources of their community and attended the annual workshop on nonviolence sponsored by the Montgomery Improvement Association, the organization that had led the Montgomery bus protest.

Several Negro ministers in Alabama, including the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, who had succeeded Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, were defendents at this time in a libel suit by city officials—an outgrowth of an ad on which their names appeared in the **New York Times** seeking support for Dr. King who was under attack. Bob and some fellow students attended the trial of this suit and offered their friendship and support to the ministers. When the verdict was against the ministers and the courts confiscated Mr. Abernathy's car, the students took a collection of $22

among Huntingdon College students and sent it to Mr. Abernathy with a note saying: ". . . We are disappointed that the officials chose to resort to such petty harassment. . . . We would like to stand up for decency. . . . Any financial assistance we might be able to give will be nominal, but we wish to express our moral support with this small sum." This, along with several private interracial meetings, was about the extent of the students' activities, but it was enough to cause a major controversy at Huntingdon.

COLLEGE officials announced that it was the policy of the college that students who wished to remain in school should attend no meetings where Negroes were present. According to Bob's father, college officials later said verbally that the reason for this policy was that any other approach was "impractical and impossible" at that time. Several ministers in the Alabama-West Florida Conference (which supports Huntingdon College) protested the administration's policy. In an official document, it was noted that in seeking interracial contacts the students were only following the policies and recommendations of The Methodist Church, concluding:

We do not question the right of the administration of Huntingdon College to disagree with . . . the policy, directives, advice, and recommendations of The Methodist Church . . . (but) we question the rights of the institution to prohibit students from following these policies, advice, and recommendations if they so choose. . . .

This matter is still an issue in the Alabama-West Florida Conference.

Bob was graduated from Huntingdon with honors and spent the summer of 1961 in various interracial activities in order to study further the whole problem of racial conditions in a democratic society. More and more, he felt called to participate actively in the movement for integration.

The Southern Conference Education Fund, interested in seeing more white students participate in the historic movements being developed by southern Negro students, made a grant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for the employment of a field secretary to spend the 1961-62 school year in an attempt to present the viewpoint of this movement to southern white students. The leadership of the SNCC asked Bob to take this job, and he accepted.

On October 4, 1961, Bob was in McComb, Mississippi, for a staff meeting with fellow SNCC workers who were engaged in Negro voter registration activities. McComb is in southern Mississippi—a rural area where virtually no Negroes are registered to vote and, until the recent stirrings, there had never been a challenge to segregation. It was in McComb that Bob faced his "baptism of fire."

While the SNCC meeting was in session, over a hundred students from Burgland High School left their classes in protest because a fellow student, Brenda Travis, had been expelled from school for "sitting-in" at the local bus station. The Negro school administration was under pressure from the city government, and the students decided to march on City Hall in protest. They asked the SNCC members to go with them. Except for Bob, all were Negroes. They readily agreed to go. "How about it, Bob?" one of them asked.

Bob did not hesitate. He said he would go.

That afternoon he became the victim of an angry mob and was beaten under the eyes of the police; that night, he was thrown into an unheated jail cell and denied food and bedding. A Negro prisoner in an adjoining cell shared his supper with Bob and gave him a blanket.

After a few days, Bob and his associates were out on bail. They face four- to six-month jail sentences on convictions for breach of peace, which are on appeal.

In December, 1961, came Albany, Georgia, where students were also demonstrating and asked Bob's support. Again, along with the others, he went to jail.

HIS arrest in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, came on February 17, 1962. On that occasion, he and Charles (Chuck) McDew, chairman of the SNCC, went to the Baton Rouge jail to visit a friend, Dion Diamond, also a SNCC staff member who had been arrested several weeks before because of his part in student demonstrations against segregation there. Dion was under very high bond, and had to stay in jail.

Bob and Chuck arrived in Baton Rouge late in the afternoon of February 17. They learned at the jail that they could not visit Dion until the next visiting period, several days later; they could not stay that long. But they were also told that they could leave him a basket of fruit and books. They went to buy these, returned, and left them at the jail with a note. By this time, officials had apparently learned who they were. They were preparing to leave the jail and leave town when they were stopped by officials and arrested.

They had been in Louisiana two days—in Baton Rouge only a few hours. The charge was **criminal anarchy** against the state of Louisiana.

Bob has been fortunate in that, unlike many white students active in the protest movement, his parents share his convictions and have supported his actions consistently. In January, 1962, when Bob was refused admittance to the campus of his **alma mater,** Huntingdon College, because "his presence posed a potentially dangerous situation" in that his "views on racial matters differ from those of the student body," the Zellners issued the following statement to the press:

"Our son, John Robert Zellner, is currently involved in following his Christian conscience in the face of public disapproval. With other young students, Negro and white, he is active in seeking to

bring about a just, more democratic, and more Christian solution to the race problem—a problem his generation did not create.

"Our son's activities have landed him in jails, subjected him to mob violence, and have held him up to public and private scorn—none of which has yet broken his spirit. We, his parents, are proud of him for this. We doubt that any of his critics have paid such a price for the convictions they so vehemently hold.

"Many friends (and some others) have asked us for explanations and have indicated a desire, for one reason or another, to know why Bob is so engaged and what he hopes to accomplish by it. . . .

"Our son was reared in . . . The Methodist Church . . . he is an honor graduate of a Methodist college. . . ."

The parents' statement then quoted from the **Discipline** of The Methodist Church, including these passages:

OUR THEOLOGICAL BASIS: ***The Methodist Church must view the perplexing times and problems which we face today in the light of the teachings of Jesus. . . . To be silent in the face of need, injustice, and exploitation is to deny him. . . . We stand for the equal rights of racial, cultural, and religious groups. . . . The right to choose a home, enter a school, secure employment, vote or join a church should not be limited by a person's race, culture, or religion. . . .***

RECOMMENDATIONS: ***That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination and enforced segregation on the basis of race, color, or national origin; that as a church we pursue a program of education and action to bring about Christian practices with respect to housing, open occupancy, schools, opportunity of employment, and community acceptance which . . . create a sense of belonging. . . .****

* DISCIPLINE of The Methodist Church, 1960, pgph. 2020-2026 passim (italics supplied).

The Zellners then continued:

"Not all Methodists share these beliefs. It is not required of them that they do. In our church those who differ are entirely free to do so. It is felt, however, that those who do hold such convictions and choose to act in accord should have the blessing of their church and the tolerant understanding of this membership. Bob has been taught these things and has made them his own. . . .

"Some have chided us, saying, 'But all this agitating and demonstrating is not the way to do it.' To this we answer:

"Send us an outline of your better way. Draw up a report on how long you have worked at it and the success you have had. We espouse no particular method or technique. Our concern is for getting the problem solved. Our generation has had (as several before it) a try at the problem and our success has been something less than phenomenal. We say let the young try it their way. They can hardly do worse than we—and they just might have what it will take to turn the trick! How do we know it won't work? It's never been tried before.

"Others have said, 'But we have had this problem a long time. It has never been solved. This younger generation isn't going to solve it either.' To this we answer:

"But look at the progress they have already made! And besides this, if we expect to keep praying the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,' we had better keep working at the job.

"As long as our son, and others with him, are 'in there pitching,' we intend to stand by them, so help us God!"

This is the testimony of Bob's parents. A similar testimony, striking in its simple analysis, is that of Robert Moses, a young Negro working to promote voter registration in Mississippi:

"It has been said that few people know—or at least talk—about the bitterness and hatred which many southern Negroes feel toward whites. I've thought of the kids I've met here in McComb and some of the hatreds they have expressed toward whites and some of the folklore stemming from that hatred coupled with ignorance.

"At the same time I thought of the visible effect of Bob Zellner's appearance among us as a friend and co-worker: one girl talking of her white brother, when I had previously heard her say with bitterness, 'We don't associate with peckerwoods; another boy talking long after Bob had left of his laughter and good humor. . . . A new meaning I thought I detected in the phrase 'Black and white together' from our theme song. Little things, maybe, but very important, I feel. The kids here need more contact with people like him. . . ."

EDGAR A. LOVE is resident bishop of the Baltimore Area (Central Jurisdiction) of The Methodist Church, where he has served for the past ten years. He holds degrees from Howard University, Boston University, and the University of Chicago, and has been thrice honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He serves as Chairman of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

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1956

Herbert Answers Dabbs' Segregation Argument

Opinion

To The Editor of The State:

I have a high regard for Mr. Dabbs as I had for his father before him—both good men and good citizens.

The State has been generous in giving me space and I will try to make this brief. The whole subject of race is an immense subject and there is a vast deal that cannot be covered in one article.

Mr. Dabbs evidently answered my article before he had given much thought to it or he was "in the land of nod" to which he refers.

Purity of Race

No where did I say anything about the purity of race which he mentions several times. This, unfortunately, is one of the brain washing things that some of the northern press try to put upon the South in an effort to make us appear ignorant, vain and bigoted, vaunting our race as a pure race or a super race. There is nothing like that in my article.

I do not think there is any very pure race, nor do I think any of them have acted well enough to boast about it. I merely said whites and Negroes are widely different races occupying the same country and that under such conditions in all times controversies have arisen.

Under such circumstances both races do much better to recognize the race problem and each tries not to do things unnecessarily antagonistic to the other. In this way we will get along much better than if we claim that one or the other is vain, or bigoted, or low, or high, and I believe this more nearly comports with the Christian attitude.

Biblical Standpoint

Mr. Dabbs says I passed over the Bible lightly because I did not put "the curse of Ham" on our Negro friends.

I hope I shall never treat the Bible lightly. It is a book of wisdom and nearly every book in it shows the existence of race strife, feeling, and contention.

In my humble opinion, and I speak with some hesitation in a field in which I am not well qualified, the teachings of Christ are aimed at righteousness among all races, but there was plenty of segregation in His time and He no where spoke out against it.

He may have thought that if people could get along better and treat each other better living separately they should do so.

At any rate, in matters relating to government He said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

Supreme Court Devision

In the matter of the Supreme Court decision, this is not the place for a legal argument. The Supreme Court of course has on occasions reversed itself but never, I believe, where there was so long a line of precedence and with so little regard for the history of the controversy.

If the Chief Justice had thought more about the way he and his brother Californians treated the Japanese in California, the decision might have been different. It perhaps is easy for us to say how the Californians should have acted and easy for the Californians to say how we should act, but it is much different when you are close to the fire than when you are far away.

Question of Science

I don5t know where Mr. Dabbs got the idea that I was writing about science.I gave one quotation from Huxley's "Science and Culture" and I don't think Mr. Dabbs would take any exception to the wisdom set out in that quotation. He was evidently "in the land of Nod" and thought I was bringing science into the matter of race.

James Brice was a great man and a great writer. He was an Englishman and certainly during his formative period never lived in a land where two widely different races occupied the same land. Even the quotation from Mr. Brice used by Mr. Dabbs indicates that different races were striving one with another.

This shows exactly the theme my article carries; that is. people divide racially, each one tending to side with his race.

We all know that and what is there to argue about it? My contention is that we should all acknowledge it and conduct ourselves accordingly and cease to talk about bigotry and ignorance and pride.

Authority From Afar

There is plenty of authority from people who stand afar off and would tell their brothers how to run their affairs. Generally, the man who lives farthest from any kind of race problem will be the one who thinks he can find the readiest solution. That is one of the difficult angles of a vastly difficult problem.

If Mr. Dabbs will examine into the true conditions existing in Brazil, I do not think he will find much encouragement to set it up over the South, and I would not advise any of our Negro friends to change their status for that of many millions of people in Brazil.

Races and Nations

Mr. Dabbs says that my argument on race instinct allows the concept of race and nations to slide interceptedly into one another. It is obvious that races form into nations and what applies to race often applies to nations.

He says we are for the most part of the same race as the Russians. We have been separated a long time and we are very in-

ghastly failure of their part in government which, of course, was natural and should not be held against them, but you can scarcely blame the South for being very slow to open the gate too widely.

While I am not in favor of mixed schools and a mixed race, I am in favor of giving to the Negroes the same rights that we claim, including the right to keep the race which God has given each. We have a bi-racial society and I believe we will all get along better if we try to learn to recognize this fact and act accordingly.

R. B. HERBERT

COLUMBIA

Opinion 1956

He may have thought that if people could get along better and treat each other better living separately they should do so.

At any rate, in matters relating to government He said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

Supreme Court Devision

In the matter of the Supreme Court decision, this is not the place over the South, and I would not advise any of our Negro friends to change their status for that of many millions of people in Brazil.

Races and Nations

Mr. Dabbs says that my argument on race instinct allows the concept of race and nations to slide interceptedly into one another. It is obvious that races form into nations and what applies to race often applies to nations.

He says we are for the most part of the same race as the Russians. We have been separated a long time and we are very intent on preventing the Russians from butchering and annihilating our people as they did the Ukranians.

I wish Mr. Dabbs had tried to suggest some reason why states and communities with large Negro populations all react in racial matters the same way. His idea seems to be that somehow the White people in those communities are worse.

I would certainly not put it on our colored friends that to have more Negroes in a community makes it a worse community. I think it is much kinder to them to say what I believe is true that wherever you have two races present in large numbers there is a greater race problem.

Better Co-existence

The Negro race as a minority race has been able to work out a better co-existence than the Indians because at least they have been able to live and increase and improve in a land with a numerically larger race.

This the White people were unable to do in Haiti and San Domingo where they were the minority race and the Negroes were the majority because the Negro exterminated the White people. This is an unpleasant fact to recount. The same thing is today happening in Africa where the Maw Maws (Negroes) are endeavoring to destroy all of the White people.

Mr. Dabbs says that my argument rests on 19th century opinion and that we have now changed all that. If Mr. Dabbs can get that across to the various races he has a wonderful future. The United States should send him at once to persuade the Israeli and the Arabs in the near East and the Maw Maws in Africa that things have changed and that human nature has changed and that men no longer band together for self protection, each one siding with his race.

The UNESCO in New York may hold up such an ideal but it will be found hard to persuade many people in areas where other races in one way or another may threaten them not to band together for self protection.

Mixed Breeding

The matter of destroying a race by mixed breeding is merely one way. Anyone who will think about it knows that the potential threat exists also in politics and actual strife. Sometimes the threat comes in one form and sometimes in another.

It is all a part of an immensely difficult problem and both Negroes and white people should have sympathy and understanding in the handling of the problem and when outsiders come in and rock the boat it is just too bad.

I have alluded to outsiders. We of the South are partly to blame for the coming in of outsiders. We should have been able to do more for our Negro friends than we did and if we had done so I believe this segregation matter would not have come up. But here again we had gone through the Confederate War and all the reconstruction period, in which Negroes made a

Opinion 1956

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
OFFICE 311 EAST PEARL STREET
Entered as second class matter daily except Sunday at the post office at Jackson, Mississippi under the act of March 2, 1879.
Editor

THIS IS SHOCKING!

This writer does not know who is the editor of The Mississippi Methodist Advocate and does not care particularly, but he is evidently among those spineless and unthinking members of the clergy who think segregation is "in violation of the Christian spirit." Listen to this absurd editorial seeking to justify compliance with the United States Supreme Court decision.

In spite of the difficulties and unpopularity of the Supreme Court decision, we must think clearly and pray earnestly for Divine guidance. It is a problem we cannot solve ourselves but we should study carefully suggestions being made about our school system. In our sister state of Georgia we notice that the senate approved the bills of Governor Marvin Griffin's package of eight measures designed to close the public schools if necessary to maintain segregation. The problem of integration is small compared with what might happen if we in the south fail to maintain a free public school system. To deny public schooling to the poor and underprivileged at a time when Russia is outstripping us in the race for trained minds, seems downright stupid, to say nothing of being un-Christian and undemocratic.

For Christians to practice a caste system in free America is unthinkable at any time but when we do it in the face of the fact that communistic countries are turning our prejudices into their best propaganda weapon, it is dangerous. We must question the wisdom of men who preach Hitler's doctrine of racial superiority. We have no right to deny people the right of full citizenship nor stand in the way of their democratic rights.

How any mind could be so shallow as to seek to make a comparison between educational conditions in Russia and in the United States truly passes all comprehension.

Here in the South we do preach the doctrine of racial superiority and intend to keep on doing so. Any white man who does not feel he belongs to a superior race does not deserve to be called a white man.

Some may think it is unkind to thus refer to a prattling parson, but that is exactly the way the leaders in this fight against the Supreme Court decision feel about it.

In this battle against social equality, miscegnation, mingled whites and blacks in schools and colleges, wholesale bastardy and mongrelization of the white race, we can see no distinction whatever between a member of the clergy and an ordinary citizen.

You are either for us or you are against us.

There is no middle ground, no place for neutrals, and certainly no place for persons who advocate abject surrender.

The Daily News does not believe the editor of the Mississippi Christian Advocate voices the thought of an overwhelming majority of the Methodists in Mississippi.

Bishop Marvin Franklin and his superintendents in the two Mississippi conferences of the Methodist church had better start some fast thinking.

THOSE SPECIAL WEEKS

Gov. J. P. Coleman remains firm in his determination not to sign any ready-made proclamations for the observance of weeks or months in behalf of various causes for obvious selfish purposes.

The Governor will, of course, be subjected to a lot of pressure from persons seeking proclamations for their favorite causes and they will be

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The Governor will, of course, be subjected to a lot of pressure from persons seeking proclamations for their favorite causes and they will be telling him "this is an exceptional case and you can well afford to set aside your rule."

For instance during the month of February, aside from the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln, we will be having these special weeks:

"Cherry Vanila Ice Cream Week."
"Cottage Cheese Week."
"Better Bedding Week."
"Peach Dessert Week."
"Break A Cold Week."

In the offing—dates not available at the moment—will come the following:

"Idaho Potato Week."
"Onion Week."
"Printing Week."
"National Thirst Week."
"Church Week."
"Economic Life Week."
"Hot Tea Week."
"Noise Abatement Week."
"National Flower Week."
"Portable Radio Week."
"Television Week."
"Dairy Week."
"National Smile Week."
"Return Borrowed Books Week."
"Father-and-Son Week."
"Soft Water Week."
"Bird Cage Week."
"National Prosperity Week."

And so on and so forth. Some of these events cover a whole month, not a mere week, but at the moment we don't recall which is which.

Now, Governor, if you want to display a spirit of iron-clad destermination in this matter, issue a formal proclamation right now declaring "No Weeks-Week." That will show 'em you are much in earnest.

The Clarion-Ledger

T. M. HEDERMAN ..... Editor 1921-1948
R. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ..... Manager
R. H. HENRY ..... Editor 1871-1921
T. M. HEDERMAN, JR. ... Editor

"There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results, but there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weakness which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. The breaking down of the faith of the people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of the respect for standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone."

Southern Opinion

More Thefts Reported In Capital's Mixed Schools

Down here in shameful, backward and segregated Mississippi we have not heard of any serious or sustained theft of cafeteria silverware by students in any school, white or colored, but a Washington Post news item indicates that this has become still another problem and difficulty growing out of the loudly-boasted integration of the national capital's schools.

School integration there, claimed and boasted as being largely successful and an example for other U. S. cities, has caused many troubles, problems and difficulties, but integration is only indicated, not deliberately charged, as the cause of the theft epidemic mentioned in this report.

Note that the thieves were so numerous that the anti-theft action was aimed not at just a few of the students but at all of them.

This is the Washington news item:

"Taft Junior High students now must pay a deposit on school cafeteria silverware as the result of sticky fingers that have lifted 400 knives, forks and spoons since fall.

"Teen-agers are charged a nickel a utensil, the money refunded at the end of the lunch hour. Since the charge went into effect last week, all silverware has been returned. . ."

That such theft has been common in other Washington schools is clearly indicated by this added paragraph:

"Top school administrators currently are studying this experiment of Principal Harold H. Honegar. They are worried that some young people might come to school with 15 cents to eat on—and no more."

Is such impoverished want as common as such thefts in the famous racially integrated schools of the nation's wealthy capital?

Southern Opinion

March 29, 1937

SUMMARY OF STATE LAWS REGULATING THE KU KLUX KLAN

I. STATE LAWS FORBIDDING THE WEARING OF MASKS PUBLICLY.

1. Arizona -- Laws of 1923, Chapter 78, Section 4729-30. Felony for a person to wear a mask, etc. with intent to disturb, etc. any person, or to escape detection in the commission of any public offense; every act which would otherwise be a misdemeanor when committed by a person wearing a mask shall be a felony.

2. Illinois -- Cahill's Rev. St. 1935, Chapter 38, Section 34 (1 to 3) Hooded, robed or masked person appearing in public "with evil or wicked intent" is guilty of assault.

3. Iowa -- Code of 1935, Sections 12916, 12931, 12932. If a masked person assaults another with a dangerous weapon he shall be guilty of assault with intent to commit murder; misdemeanor for masked person to disturb peace or intimidate; masked person entering or demanding entrance to another's premises with intent to inflict bodily injury is guilty of assault with intent to commit a felony.

4. Louisiana -- Regular Session of 1934, Act 3 -- Misdemeanor for any person to use or wear publicly a hood or mask.

5. Michigan -- Acts of 1931, Section 396. Misdemeanor for any person to assemble, march or parade in public place while wearing a mask or covering whole or part of face.

6. Minnesota -- Statutes 1927, Section 10300 -- Misdemeanor for a person to appear in public wearing a mask.

7. North Dakota -- Laws of 1923, Chapter 240, Section 1. Misdemeanor to wear a mask, etc. in public.

8. Ohio -- Section 12810, General Code (March 28, 1889). Riotous conspiracy for one or more persons to unite or combine to commit a misdemeanor while wearing white caps, masks or other disguise.

9. Oklahoma -- Session Laws 1923-24, Chapter 2, Sections 1 to 3. Unlawful to wear mask, hood or covering concealing identity of wearer; for masked person to demand admission to premises; felony for a masked person to assault another.

10. Tennessee -- Laws of 1869-70, Chapter 54, Section 1. Misdemeanor to wear a mask publicly; felony to enter or demand entrance to premises while masked. Person who assaults another with deadly weapon while masked guilty of an assault to commit murder in first degree.

11. Washington -- Remington's Revised Statutes, Section 2553. Gross misdemeanor for three or more persons to assemble while masked; for owner of premises to permit such meeting.

12. Texas -- Chapter 1, Title 9 of the Penal Code of Texas. Article 439-454F. Misdemeanor to wear mask in public; felony for masked person to enter house; forbids masked persons to assault or falsely imprison a person; unlawful for secret organization to parade while masked.

II. UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLAGE OR PARADES WHILE MASKED. (See attached appendix II for typical law)

1. Michigan -- Misdemeanor to assemble, march or parade on street, highway or public place while wearing a mask. Acts of 1931, Section 396.

2. Texas -- Chapter 1, Title 9, Penal Code, Section 454-F. Unlawful for secret organizations to parade while masked.

3. Washington -- Remington's Revised Statutes, Section 2554. Gross misdemeanor for three or more persons to assemble while masked.

III. UNAUTHORIZED MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS (See attached Appendix III for typical law)

1. Colorado -- Compiled Laws of 1921, Section 230. Unlawful for any body of men other than National Guard or troops of the United States to associate themselves together as a military organization to parade in public with arms, without license from the Governor; unlawful for any city or town to raise or appropriate money to support such bands of men or to provide drill rooms or armories.

2. Washington -- Remington's Revised Statutes, Section 2546. Misdemeanor for any body of men other than the National Guard or troops of the United States to form a military company with arms without the consent of the Governor (social and benevolent associations allowed to wear swords).

NOTE: There are additional states having such laws, but these are typical. The complete list is being gathered now.

Appendix I

Tennessee Code

11031 6668 (4770a). PENALTY FOR GOING ABOUT MASKED OR IN DISGUISE. --- Any person or persons, masked or in disguise, who shall prowl, or travel, or ride, or walk through the country or any town to the disturbance of the peace, or to the alarming of the citizens of any portion of this state, they shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and imprisoned in the county jail of the county wherein convicted, in the discretion of the jury trying the case. (1869-70, ch. 54, sec. 1.)

11032 6669 (4770b). ENTERING UPON THE PREMISES OF ANOTHER IN DISGUISE. --- If any person or persons, disguised or in mask, by day or by night, shall enter upon the premises of another, or demand entrance or admission into the house or inclosure of any citizen of this state, it shall be considered prima facie that his or her intention is to commit a felony, and such demand shall be deemed an assault with intent to commit a felony, and the person or persons so offending, shall, upon conviction, be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary not less than ten years nor more than twenty years. (Ib..sec.2.)

11033 6670 (4770c). ASSAULTING ANOTHER WITH DEADLY WEAPON IN DISGUISE. --- If any person, so prowling, traveling, riding, or walking through the towns or country of this state, masked or in disguise, shall assault another with a deadly weapon, he shall be deemed guilty of an assault with intent to commit murder in the first degree, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death by electrocution; provided, the jury trying the cause may substitute imprisonment in the penitentiary for a period of not less than ten years nor more than twenty-one years. (Ib., sec. 3.)

11034 6673 (4770f). GOVENOR MAY OFFER TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD. --- The governor is hereby authorized to offer a reward of two hundred and fifty dollars, for the apprehension and delivery to the sheriff or jailer of any county, any person who may be guilty of a violation of section 11032 or section 11033. (Ib., sec. 6).

11035 6673a1. MISDEMEANOR TO RIDE OR TRAVEL THROUGH THE COUNTRY OR TOWNS TO THE DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE, DAMAGE OF PROPERTY, OR INTIMIDATION OF CITIZENS; FINE AND IMPRISONMENT. --- Any person or persons who shall willfully prowl or travel or ride or walk through the country or towns, to the disturbance of the peace or to the alarming of the citizens of any portion of the state, or for the purpose of damaging or destroying property, or for the purpose of intimidating or terrorizing any citizen or citizens of this state, or for the purpose of causing, through threats or intimidation or other improper means, any citizen or citizens of this state to do or not to do any

(more)

lawful thing or to do any unlawful thing, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, and imprisoned in the county jail for not less than six months nor more than twelve months, said imprisonment to be within the discretion of the judge trying the case. (1907, ch. 427, sec. 1).

11036 6673a4. FELONY FOR NIGHT RIDER OR OTHER LAWLESS PERSON TO ATTEMPT TO PREVENT DISPOSAL OF FARM PRODUCTS: IMPRISONMENT IN PENITENTIARY. --- It shall be a felony for any night rider or other lawless person, by threats, written or verbal, or by intimidation in any form, to attempt to prevent one having the disposal of farm products from selling and delivering such products, at such time and to such market as he may prefer. Any person convicted under this section shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than three nor more than fifteen years. (1915, ch. 15. sec. 1.)

11037 6673a5. FELONY FOR NIGHT RIDER OR OTHER PERSON TO SEEK TO COMPEL DISMISSAL OF LABORERS, SHARE CROPPERS, OR TENANTS, OR TO COMPEL THEM TO VACATE; IMPRISONMENT IN PENITENTIARY. --- It shall be a felony for any night rider, or other person, by threats, written or verbal, or by intimidation in any form, to compel or seek to compel one having hired laborers, share croppers, or tenants on his place to dismiss them or any of them from employment without due cause, or for any night rider or other person by threats, written or verbal, or by intimidation in any form, to compel or seek to compel hired laborers, share croppers, or tenants or their families to vacate, under fear or compulsion, the premises they have occupied. Any person convicted under this section shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than three nor more than fifteen years. (Ib., sec.2, modified.)

11038 6673a6. FELONY TO ADVISE OR INCITE, OR TO CONSPIRE TO COMMIT, SUCH OFFENSES; IMPRISONMENT IN PENITENTIARY. --- Any person advising or inciting others, or conspiring with others to commit the offense mentioned in the two preceding sections shall be guilty of felony, and on conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than three nor more than fifteen years. (Ib.)

Appendix II

Chapter 1. Title 9. of the Penal Code of Texas

Art. 454a (of the Penal Code of the State of Texas). WEARING MASK IN PUBLIC. If any person shall go into or near any public place masked or disguised in such manner as (to) hide his identity or render same difficult to determine, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction fined in any sum not exceeding $500.00 or imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding twelve months, or by both such fine and imprisonment provided this article shall not apply to private or public functions, festivals or events not fostered, caused or presented by any secret society or organization.

Art. 454b. "PUBLIC PLACE" DEFINED. Any "public place" as used in the preceding article is any public road, street, or alley of a town, city, or any store, garage, workshop, or any place at which people are assembled or to which people commonly resort for purposes of business, amusement, or other lawful purposes, other than a church or other place where people are assembled for religious services or purposes.

Art. 454c. MASKED PERSON ENTERING HOUSE. If any person who is masked or disguised in such manner as to hide his or (her) identity, or as to render same difficult to determine shall go into or near any private house, or shall demand or seek entrance therein or disturb any of the inhabitants thereof, he shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for a term of not less than one nor more than ten years; provided this article shall not apply to persons attending social gatherings in private homes where social custom sanctions the wearing of a mask or disguise.

Art. 454d. MASKED PERSON ENTERING CHURCH. If any person masked or disguised in such manner as to hide his identity or make same difficult of determination shall go into any church or other place where people are assembled for religious services or purposes, he shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for a term of years not less than two nor more than ten; provided this article shall not apply to any entertainments or service solely under the auspices of such church or religious gathering, and not fostered, caused or presented by any secret society or organization.

Art. 454e. MASKED PERSONS ASSAULTING; "MASKED" DEFINED. If any two or more persons acting in concert, or aiding and abetting each other, when either or all of whom are masked, or in disguise, shall assault or shall falsely imprison any other person, each of such persons so offending shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for any term of years not less than five. The terms "masked" or "in disguise" used in this article mean(s) that such person by artificial means has so changed or obscured his usual appearance as to render his identification impossible, or more difficult than it would have been if such mask or disguise has (had) not been used.

(more)

Art. 454f.. MASKED INDIVIDUALS PARADING ON PUBLIC HIGHWAY. It shall be unlawful for any secret society or organization, or a part of the members thereof, masked or in disguise, to parade upon or along any public road or any street or alley of any city or town in this State, and all members of such society or organization so parading, or other members of such, who aid, abet or encourage such parade, shall be guilty of an offense and upon conviction shall be fined in any sum not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars or imprisonment in the county jail not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Appendix III

Washington

Section 2546, Remington's Revised Statutes:

ARMED ASSOCIATION. It shall not be lawful for any body of men other than the National Guard or troops of the United States, to associate themselves together as a military company with arms, without the consent of the governor; but members of social and benevolent associations are not prohibited from wearing swords. Every person who shall associate with others in violation of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (L. '09, p. 980, Sec. 294)

Section 230 Compiled Laws, Colorado, 1921

"Unauthorized military organizations - Parades - Municipality not equip men. - Sec. 58 It shall not be lawful for any body of men whatsoever, other than the regularly organized national guard or the troops of the United States, to associate themselves together as a military company or organization, or to parade in public, with arms in any part of the state without license of the governor therefor, which may at any time be revoked; nor shall it be lawful for any city or town to raise or appropriate any moneys toward arming, equipping, uniforming or in any way supporting or sustaining, or providing drill rooms or armories for such bodies of men."

File under KKK.

Matter of file
Ku Klux Klan

June 30, 1948

The Honorable Theo McGee
Murrah Building
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Colonel McGee:

Word has reached us of a Ku Klux Klan demonstration at Cusseta, and we have been informed further that the City Council of the Town of Cusseta will take up the matter at its next meeting.

We are looking forward to the passing of an ordinance against hooded parades. You are nearby, and I am wondering if you could speak our mind on that subject and put the influence of our organization, and particularly of yourself, to pass such an ordinance.

I enclose a copy of the Columbus ordinance, adopted unanimously there on April 27, 1948. This copy has minute changes in Sections 2 and 3 only, deemed to close gaps in the language, and by the addition of clause 4 of section 3 to enable policemen, firemen, soldiers, and the like, to perform their duties as heretofore.

Sincerely,

R. L. Russell
State Director

Enclosures: 2 copies of
draft of Columbus ordinance

AN ORDINANCE

Proposed draft of an ordinance to prohibit the wearing of masks in the City of _____, where such masks wholly or partially conceal the identity of the wearers; providing for certain exceptions; providing penalties for violations hereof; providing that this ordinance shall become effective immediately upon passage; and for other purposes.

* * * * * * * * *

WHEREAS, the unrestricted wearing of masks which conceal the identity of the wearer is a hindrance to the maintenance of order and the effective detection of crime, it is deemed necessary that this ordinance be adopted as an emergency measure to take effect immediately upon passage;

Therefore, be it ordained by the commission of the city of _____:

Section 1

That it shall be unlawful for any person to appear upon a public street or in a public place with the City of _____ while such person is wearing a mask which wholly or partially conceals his identity.

Section 2

That it shall be unlawful for any person to enter any building or premises of another in the City of _____ while wearing a mask which wholly or partially conceals his identity or, having entered, to then wear such a mask, unless such person has secured the prior consent of the owner and all the tenants of such building or premises.

Section 3

That this ordinance shall not be applicable: (1) to persons attending, by invitation, private fancy-dress parties where masks are removed during the parties; nor (2) to children under fourteen years of age wearing costumes at Halloween; nor (3) to persons wearing Santa Claus costumes at Christmas or during the four weeks next preceding; nor (4) to legally constituted persons in the duly authorized performance of governmental functions.

Section 4

That any person violating this ordinance shall, upon conviction before the Recorder of said city, be punished, for each offense, by a fine not exceeding $250 or ninety (90) days confinement, either or both, in the discretion of the Recorder.

Section 5

That this ordinance shall be effective immediately upon passage.

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Section 5

That this ordinance shall be effective immediately upon passage.

The Klansman

ISSUED MONTHLY FROM THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE

ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, INC.

"The Lord Is My Shield; the Truth Is My Sword"

[illegible] 1, 1948 — NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS — COLUMBUS, GEORGIA — VOLUME ONE NUMBER ONE

Klansmen Alerted

ORIGINAL

[illegible]UTHERN KLANS Inc.

[illegible]LAMATION — 1

[illegible]UBJECT —Ritual Masks

[illegible] all Genii, Grand Dragons, [illegible]ed Cyclops, Terrors and [illegible]ns of the Invisible Em-

GREETINGS:

[illegible]hereas, from time to time, [illegible]oprieties have been com-[illegible]d by masked figures pur-[illegible]ing to represent the Klans,

[illegible]T IS THEREFORE OR-[illegible]RED that from this time [illegible]rward, the mask is banned

[illegible] the [illegible] alistic economics or property of the Klans, or an private property with the [illegible]

Statement Of Policy

The Original Southern Klans were organized and are operated for one specific purpose—to nullify the effect of Communistic teachings on peoples of the South. The Klans have come completely out in the open, unmasked, and are prepared to face the program of villification which will come from the fools who fight the Klans instead of turning on the common enemy which seeks to destroy our South.

We expect, and will get, a shower of brickbats from the "liberal" press, but brickbats from parlor pinks have never discouraged Americans from going after what they need. When the shower is over, we will settle down to the long, hard task of neutralizing the most dangerous propaganda campaign America has ever faced.

The Klans will devote time and money to Negro education; to teaching the minority groups that they can attain a status only when they deserve it. It cannot be forced for them, and it cannot be forced on us. We say that the primary objective is the Negro race because that is the fertile soil on which [illegible] weed flourishes best.

The Klans are not law enforcement agencies. If you are planning on joining the Klans to reform your brother-in-law who drinks too much and beats your sister occasionally,—don't

ORIGINAL

SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc.

OFFICIAL

PROCLAMATION — 2

SUBJECT—

—KLAN OBJECTIVES

To all Genii, Grand Dragons, Exaulted Cyclops, Terrors and Citizens of the Invisible Empire;

GREETINGS:

Whereas, it appears to the affiliate KLANS of the ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc., that the objectives and purposes of the Order were [illegible] the substance and forms of the original Order of the Ku Klux Klan under the leadership of General Nathan Bed[illegible]

All Klansmen in the East Alabama-West Georgia area were ordered today to be on the alert to render immediate assistance to law enforcement officers, if necessary, to prevent an outbreak of interracial violence following the occurance of the fourth of inflammatory incidents between the white and Negro races in the Columbus area within the past two weeks. Klansmen were placed under strict orders to take every measure prescribed by law enforcement officers to avoid a flare of tempers.

The incidents between the races have included the slapping of a white man by a Negro woman during a conversation altercation on a Columbus city bus; the slapping of a white woman by a Negro man after the Negro man had [illegible]

LAMATION — 1

UBJECT —Ritual Masks

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GREETINGS:

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T IS THEREFORE OR- RED that from this time rward, the mask is banned

alistic communics as property of the Klans, or on private property with the [illegible] of the owner [illegible] during licensed parades and demonstrations.

Whereas, the Klans do operate lawfully and in an orderly manner and have nothing to hide from the public at large, the use of the mask is restricted to the purposes above set forth in which the mask symbolizes the secrecy of its membership.

Any Klans personnel violating this order will be immediately subject to PENALTY THREE and all Exalted Cyclops are charged with the enforcement of this order.

BY ORDER OF THE GRAND WIZARD.

Alton E. Pate
Adjutant

RACIAL TENSIONS REPORTEDLY INCREASING

ATLANTA, June 30—Director James V. Bennett of the Federal Bureau of Prisons today said racial tensions are increasing behind the walls of the U. S. penitentiaries.

Bennett, here from Washington, for the federal prison wardens' meeting said the bureau is planning to increase recreational and exercise programs to help combat the problems.

IF YOU'RE NOT AFRAID,

JOIN! IF YOU ARE AFRAID,

WE'LL PROTECT YOU!

The Original Southern Klans were organized and are operated for one specific purpose—to nullify the effect of Communistic teachings on peoples of the South. The Klans have come completely out in the open, unmasked, and are prepared to face the program of villification which will come from the fools who fight the Klans instead of turning on the common enemy which seeks to destroy our South.

We expect, and will get, a shower of brickbats from the "liberal" press, but brickbats from parlor pinks have never discouraged Americans from going after what they need. When the shower is over, we will settle down to the long, hard task of neutralizing the most dangerous propaganda campaign America has ever faced.

The Klans will devote time and money to Negro education; to teaching the minority groups that they can attain a status only when they deserve it. It cannot be forced for them, and it cannot be forced on us. We say that the primary objective is the Negro race because that is the fertile soil on which the [illegible] of Communism are being planted, that is which the [illegible] weed flourishes best.

The Klans are not law enforcement agencies. If you are planning on joining the Klans to reform your brother-in-law who drinks too much and beats your sister occasionally,—don't do it. The Klans will maintain an intelligence unit and if this information is given to that unit, it will only pass it on to the proper law enforcement agency. It will not concern itself with intemperate inlaws, noisy tenants, bad girls, or necking parties on private property.

In other words, don't seek admission to the Klans in hope that it exercies police power. It does not. It does, and will, cooperate with law enforcement groups, but it never will usurp any of the powers they exercise.

Join the Klans to save America!

But not to save your brother-in-law.

An Open Letter To Dr. Brewer

June 30, 1948.

Dr. T. H. Brewer
1025½ 1st Avenue
Columbus, Georgia.
Dear Dr. Brewer:

The occurrence of several inter-racial incidents during the past two weeks in the Columbus area points up all too sharply the necessity for prompt action by members of both races, if racial friction is to be avoided.

With the realization that a discussion of racial problems is a delicate and touchy matter, nevertheless, the real danger of a flare-up prompts me to write you this letter.

The incidents, all of which are set out in this week's KLANSMAN, are becoming publicized by word-of-mouth all over this end of Georgia, and they were deliberately publicized in the KLANSMAN to point up a plea for intelligent action, rather than to wait on bloodshed.

You are the recognized leader among the Negroes of Muscogee County. They followed your suggestions solidly in voting, and they will follow your suggestion solidly in the matter of these pretext-incidents.

Won't you, therefore, publicly ask the Negroes of Columbus and the vicinity to attempt to avoid creating "incidents," to show common courtesy in their inter-racial relations, and to ask the white people to bear no more than they would ask members of their own race to bear in the way of insult and affront?

If you will do this, it is my belief that you will do much to avert a clash which now appears inevitable.

Very truly yours,

BY ORDER OF THE GRAND WIZARD

A. E. Pate, Adjutant.

SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc.

OFFICIAL

PROCLAMATION — 2

SUBJECT—

—KLAN OBJECTIVES

To all Genii, Grand Dragons, Exaulted Cyclops, Terrors and Citizens of the Invisible Empire;

GREETINGS:

Whereas, it appears to the affiliate KLANS of the ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc., that the objectives and purposes of the Order were [illegible] the substance and forms of the original Order of the Ku Klux Klan under the leadership of General Nathan Bedford Forrest; and

Whereas, it appears that the dangers of Communism are rampant throughout the American continent and that only the combined thought and action of patriotic Americans can vitiate those dangers; and

Whereas, it appears that no other Order or organization is prepared to cope with the Communistic infiltration; and

Whereas, the ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS are composed exclusively of native-born citizens having a greater responsibility to the future of

(Continued on page 4)

FOUR NEGROES HELD IN FARMER'S DEATH

MILLEDGEVILLE, Ga., — June 30 — Four Negroes arrested near the home in which James Edward Weaver, 53-year-old farmer, was found dead Monday night, today were held on recommendation of a coroner's jury.

The jury was unable to determine the cause of Weaver's death, which Dr. James Nunez said was probably a heart attack brought on by exertion, excitement or the heat. Coroner Sam Terry held that there was sufficient cause for suspicion.

The Negroes held for grand jury action are Viola McSwain, Gohen Mitchell, Wyatt Jones and Jones' wife, who lived on the Weaver farm.

Evidence given at a lengthy inquest yesterday said Weaver had a large sum of money when he went to his home Monday, but only a small amount was found when his body was found that night.

were ordered today to be on the alert to render immediate assistance to law enforcement officers, if necessary, to prevent an outbreak of inter-racial violence following the occurance of the fourth of inflammatory incidents between the white and Negro races in the Columbus area within the past two weeks. Klansmen were placed under strict orders to take every measure prescribed by law enforcement officers to avoid a flare of tempers.

The incidents between the races have included the slapping of a white [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] an altercation on a Columbus city bus; the slapping of a white woman by a Negro man after the Negro man had threatened to slap a two-year old child; insulting behavior toward white female personnel of the Columbus City hospital by male Negro personnel; and an obsene and brutal insult hurled at a white woman by a Negro soldier on the streets of Columbus.

The Grand Wizard of the Original Southern Klans, upon being informed the tempers were growing short between the races, issued stern orders that all Klansmen keep alert for any indication of individual or concerted violence and to report such immediately to the proper authorities. The order placed upon Klansmen the duty of watching and listening for any incendiary talk among members of either race and giving the result of such investigation to the authorities at once.

The first incident occurred on Hamilton Avenue in Columbus, Georgia, Sunday afternoon, June 23rd on a public bus when Lieutenant Wilbur O. Mack, a Negro Army officer of Fort Benning, sat beside a white man in the bus. The driver, W. R. Faulk, ordered the Negro Army officer to observe the State segregation law for public vehicles and to move. The Army officer arose and a fight started in which Mary Hawkins, a Negro woman in the face with a heavy pocket-book. A general melee began in the bus and the Negro Army officer struck several persons.

The bus driver locked his doors to prevent some 500 persons who quickly formed outside from joining the riot.

(continued on page 2)

The KLANSMAN

Official Organ Of The
ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc.
809-811 Talbotton Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

A. E. PATE,
Executive Secretary

Published on the first of each month in the interests of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan affiliated with the Original Southern Klans and dedicated to the destruction of Communism in America.

Non silba, sed anthar

The Shape Of Things To Come

Here in the South today, we are fast approaching a climax to scores of years of bumbling race relations which is going to cost blood, sweat and tears.

The lead story of this issue relates four separate incidents, any one of which would have made your grandfather reach for his shotgun with no compunctions.

To blame any of the Negroes involved in these incidents. is to blame a result—not the cause of the incidents. The Negro, without realizing it, is being used as the instrument of the dissension which Karl Marx holds is absolutely essential in priming a people for the sowing of Communism.

The thoughtful people of both races are earnestly urged to use all of the compassion and common sense of which they are capable in dealing with these things, because a multiplication of such incidents as these will inevitably cause actual combat between the races,—and it could happen here, today.

To intelligent people, a discussion of what the ruckus is about, will best enable them to cope with the incidents as they arise. It will be noted in these incidents have one factor in common, a sort of common denominator, as it were. The common denominator is a forced association of Negro people with white people; in two instances slapping of white people is involved, and in the other two instances, an attempt to associate on a basis of "romance" as lust is known to these benighted souls.

An analysis of the teachings of Communism on "social equality" is therefore necessary in order to understand the problem. The teaching of Communism on "social equality" uses the term as it is defined by the people they are infiltrat-

KLANSMEN ALERTED

(Continued from page 1)

The prompt arrival of police, plus the thoughtful action of the bus driver averted a serious disturbance.

Mary Hawkins was sentenced to 90 days in the stockade by City Recorder Alvin Davis, while Lieutenant Mack was bound over to City Court under a $500 bond.

The second incident occured in Columbus shortly afterward on 10th Avenue where Negro and white houses are side by side. A Negro man listed by police as Henry Hunter, alias William Hunter, was passing by the house of a white family when a two-year old child threatened to throw a rock at him. According to witnesses, Hunter said to the child, "If you throw that rock, I'll slap your head off!" The Grandmother of the child was standing on the porch and she stated to Hunter, "If you slap him, you'll have to slap me too." Hunter responded, "Alright, I will," whereup he leaped upon the steps and slapped the 76-year old Grandmother. She struck at him, and Hunter knocked her down, injuring her legs severly. Hunter disregarded all pleas and attempted restraint of his wife and mother-in-law when he ran up the steps to strike the white woman.

Hunter fled to the home of a nearby policeman and was removed to the city jail. He is at liberty under bond pending action in the City Court of Columbus.

Hunter is reported to have said to officers at the city jail that he was acting under the Civil Rights Bill in slapping the elderly white woman.

Nurses at the Columbus City Hospital were reported to be carrying pistols in their uniforms this week to protect themselves against molestation by Negro male employees when the nurses were forced by official business to visit the basement of the hospital. Tension between the races employed in the hospital was reported to have mounted when hospital authorities issued instructions that all white nurses address Negro orderlies, patients, and employes of the hospital as Mister, Miss, or Mistress as the case might be. The sarcastic treatment of the white nurses by male Negro personnel following this order is partially responsible for the attitude of the white nurses.

One nurse was reported to be armed against an impending proposal of a Negro doctor practicing in the hospital, and the nurse stated that his behavior clearly indicated that he was ready to practice "social equality" with her, and that she intended to resist his attempt at "social equality" with force and arms, if necessary.

Informed sources in the city administration stated today that unless drastic steps were taken by the Columbus city administration to lessen the racial tension, that violent trouble was likely to flare at any moment.

The fourth and most serious incident occurred in Columbus on Saturday, June 26th when police officers found a white woman sobbing on the streets while she was attempting to reach a telephone to call police headquarters. She related to patrol car officers that she had stopped for a stop sign at 4th Avenue and 5th Street, when Private Edward C. Merriman, a Negro soldier from the 25th Infantry at Fort Benning, shouted at her, "What's the matter, baby? If you can't drive that car, I can and I mean it, you white mother f---r!" The white lady drove to 4th Street and 4th Avenue looking for police officers and the Negro soldier followed her. The police found Merriman trying to batter his way into the door of a Trailway Bus with a bottle. He was taken to police headquarters where he resisted being searched and assaulted the arresting officers. Later, Merriman was removed to the hospital for treatment where he called the hospital doctors by the same filthy epithets he had applied to the white woman. The Negro had been drinking, the officers stated.

The lady who was thus obscenely accosted is a resident of Garden Drive in Columbus.

The Negro soldier, Merriman, was released on bond and returned to nearby Fort Benning where no segregation is practiced between the races.

Local law enforcement authorities expressed grave concern over the attitude of Negroes who seemed determined

HELP WANTED

Male or Female

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An analysis of the teachings of Communism on "social equality" is therefore necessary in order to understand the problem. The teaching of Communism on "social equality" uses the term as it is defined by the people they are infiltrating with their doctrines.

In 1917 Russia, the term "social equality" meant the right to rape, rob, burn, pillage and plunder, and finally to exterminate the ones who has been the ruling class.

To a Negro, "social equality" is defined in terms of a Negro "social," and that is the "equality" he wants. Any experienced Southerner knows that a Negro "social" begins with a drink and ends with a fight. In between drink and fight, there is eating together and various romatic acts conducted with varying degrees of moral laxity,—but there is nearly always, in the amorality, an element of force which is usually absent in inter-sex relations among the Caucasians.

Therefore, there is always, just beneath the surface of man-woman relations among the Negroes, a hint or threat of force on the part of the male, which is one of the contra-distinguishing characteristics of the sex-relations of that race.

Therefore, when the Communist organizer or pamphleteer speaks to the Negro with a view to organizing him, he holds out the overt promise of unbridled drinking, feasting, fighting and fiddling with persons of the white race,—all of which inflames the male Negro to the point of scarlet insanity.

We are dealing with a harsh, raw aspect of race relations, but this Order is pledged to destroy the cause which inflames the Negro, rather than to attempt to cope with mere results.

There are hundreds of raped white women in America today who were raped with Russian money—money spent to inflame the Negro to orgiastic heights so that he would do just what he did.

To the Communistic group, the purpose is two-fold; the first to show the minority group Negro just what he is missing by being denied "civil rights," and the other to cause the majority groups to take action which will appear as "oppression" because he is being denied his "civil rights." After disunity, comes Communism.

The answer is not found in the knout, rope, faggot, or torch with the offending Negro on the other end. The answer is found in a cold, calculated plan to make the Negro realize the correlative duties which go with civil rights. A plan of education which includes a rationalization of the proposition that two races can dwell in amity in the same community so long as they dwell apart.

No person, be he Jew, Catholic, Moslem, atheist, or Protestant, is a fit and decent American if he contribute even by one jot or tittle to the disunity of America by encouraging a minority group to flout law, order, and the conventions of the society in which they live.

The Negro in the South is in a fair way of becoming like a crippled child in a family of twelve. Petted, spoiled, indulged, fawned on, and given his way by all the rest of the social family, he will become an unbearable pest, socially, politically, and economically.

If he exercises the balance of power in an election or two, he will become a pawn of such proportions that the interest of all the majority of white people will be subordinated to the interest of the minority group.

This is not democracy, and this is not tolerable.

There is food for intelligent Negro thought in the four incidents related elsewhere in this week's KLANSMAN. **No white man would have tolerated from a white man what has been tolerated from a Negro this week** in Columbus. **It is asking white men to strain their tolerance pretty far to tolerate these things in a Negro.**

The attitude of harsh and resentful thrusting of themselves upon white people, in a manner which white people do not permit other white people to do, will in the end cause more trouble than the Communist party can come in and get stopped in time to save a lot of innocent folks.

White people are urged to be extra tolerant of Negroes trying out their civil-right wings. Negroes are urged not to be any more discourteous than they could expect to get by with in their own race.

If that is not done, no one can be answerable for the result

mother of the child was standing on the porch and she stated to Hunter, "If you slap him, you'll have to slap me too." Hunter responded, "Alright, I will," whereup he leaped upon the steps and slapped the 76-year old Grandmother. She struck at him, and Hunter knocked her down, injuring her legs severly. Hunter disregarded all pleas and attempted restraint of his wife and mother-in-law when he ran up the steps to strike the white woman.

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The lady who was thus obscenely accosted is a resident of Garden Drive in Columbus.

The Negro soldier, Merriman, was released on bond and returned to nearby Fort Benning **where no segregation is practiced between the races.**

Local law enforcement authorities expressed grave concern over the attitude of Negroes who seemed determined to create incidents which might result in mass violence.

The incidents are becoming more widely known in Columbus and its immediate vicinity, which led the Grand Wizard of the Original Southern Klans to issue a statement to all Klans personnel.

"The June 2nd elections in Muscogee County which resulted in victory for all bloc Negro-supported candidates except two, have caused widespread repercussions among the peoples of both races," the Grand Wizard said. "The emotional impact of political victory in the less intelligent Negroes carries serious implications. It is the time for cool heads and wise judgment among Klansmen who are sworn to uphold the law. Stand by now to help officers. All Klansmen are forbidden to take part in any individual or mass violence and are specifically ordered to keep sharp serrtiny for impending disturbances and to notify the proper officers before they occur. This way, and this way only can we uphold our oath and support the principle of law and order which we represent. Keep your heads cool and persuade your neighbors to do the same. An overt violent act now could destroy much of the work of he Klans and it is to be averted even at the price of insult and personal affront. We are striving for a goal under which this kind of conduct would not occur. Keep striving!"

Meanwhile, in Columbus, tension grows.

HELP WANTED

Male or Female

Wanted in each county in Georgia, a Klan organizer for pleasant, profitable work among patriotic men and women. Good pay, steady employment. Only sober, Christian men or women of excellent character need apply. If your record will bear close investigation, apply to the address below.

Also need a settled man as supervisory organizer in each Congressional District in Georgia.

ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, INC.

809-811 Talbotton Ave.

COLUMBUS, GA.

You Need The KLAN!

THE KLAN NEEDS YOU!

★ ☆ ☆ ★

WHITE, GENTILE, PROTESTANT AMERICANS Are Eligible For Membership

★ ☆ ☆ ★

JOIN TODAY!

MEN AND WOMEN, OVER THE AGE OF 16 ARE INVITED TO

WHITE, GENTILE, PROTESTANT AMERICANS Are Eligible For Membership

★ ☆ ☆ ★

JOIN TODAY!

MEN AND WOMEN, OVER THE AGE OF 16 ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE RANKS OF LOYAL AMERICANS WHO ARE NOW FIGHTING THE VICIOUS INROADS OF COMMUNISM ON THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

★ ☆ ☆ ★

GET IN TODAY AND HELP!

CALL FOR COMPLETE INFORMATION

Original Southern Klans, Inc.

809-811 Talbotton Avenue

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE 3-8636

A. E. Pate, Executive Secretary

PROCLAMATION — 2—

(continued from page 1)

America than any other organization in the United States and that it must not, and will not, shirk that responsibility; and

Whereas, it appears that the principles of Klaneraft must be promulgated among the white peoples of America to save the individual, the home, the church, the school, and the government of America,

Now, therefore, IT IS ORDERED THAT THE ORIGINAL KLANS RIDE AGAIN! and that they shoulder the responsibility of preserving the democratic way of life through lawful and orderly means; that it prepare to face the enemy from without and within and militantly resist the attempt to turn the United States of America into the United Soviet States of America; that it bend its mighty effort to maintain the democratic forms and substance of our country.

To that end, the Klans are dedicated to the following aims:

1. The militant defense of Protestant Americanism.

2. The unending opposition to forces which advocate blending of the white race with any other race.

3. The maintenance of the Southern white man's position of political superiority.

4. Preventing political dominance of any inferior minority group.

5. Just and equal laws and law enforcement, removal of the causes of lynching and mob rule, the maintenance of all

KLAN UNMASKED

COLUMBUS, Ga., June 29, 1948.—The first official act of the newly-incorporated ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS, Inc. was to ban the use of the traditional Klan mask, according to Alton E. Pate, Executive Secretary of the Original Southern Klans group. The new Klans group, were granted a charter by Judge T. Hicks Fort, Judge of Muscogee County Superior Court here today.

The incorporators of the new corporation were named as Pate, A. L. Hill, and T. L. Colwell, all of Columbus, Ga. The incorporators stated that an undisclosed number of existing Klans, all pledged to preserve the Southern way of life for the South, were members of the parent corporation.

In a prepared statement, Pate stated that the Klans affiliated with the new corporation; have no connection with any existing group or association of a similar nature, but that the new group consists of old Klans which wished to return to the original aims and purposes of the Klans of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, founder of the Original Klan.

The new Klans, Pate stated, will use no masks nor demonstrate in any way except such as are permitted by local laws and ordinances. The Klans will tolerate no rowdyism among its membership, nor will any acts of terrorism be permitted. The objectives of the Klans will be achieved by the use of the ballot and the social sanctions directed against those

AN UNKNOWN ADMIRER

Dallas, Georgia

June 30, 1948

Mr. Alton E. Pate,

Columbus, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Noticing that you have organized a new Klan, I wish to state a few things. In the first place, I have it on what I consider good authority that the original Klan was sold out for four million dollars. The Klan at that time had a large number lecturing against Catholicism. One of the lecturers, one who did not quit from orders at the top, states this as a fact. Anyhow, the lecturers were all called in. And so far as I can see, the present Klan headed by Dr. Samtel Green, is still owned by the Catholics. It is doubtless kept alive to keep down a real Klan.

I have never been a member of the Klan. While I was in sympathy with its purposes, I have thought all the while that it was badly handled. Trying to correct the moral conduct of the country, which was maybe good in intention, is an impossibility. Too many mistakes can be made to give the order a bad odor. On the other hand, a wise strategy committee could accomplish in a tactful way much more good. A research force who can and should collect indisputable

it is these underground organizations which fight your Klan the hardest and seek to bring your organization into disrepute.

I would not favor whipping and punishing of people by the Klan, but a lively interest in seeing that officials do their duty. But I do think that researchers should seek out and verify the names of persons throughout the country who are responsible for the underhand methods being used. A list should be made of them and their addresses so that a well organized Klan can be ready to do fast and quick work in the event something is started in the way of war by these undergrounders. In other words, the Klan should ever be ready with an organized force to defend the rights of the public and defend quickly and successfully before they can bring their forces into play.

As many as two should remain constantly on the grounds about Washington who will report every trend or adverse activity to the Klan membership. They should know who are being admitted into this country, their race and membership. There is an abundance for a Klan to do of real service, a counter force against the large lobby maintained at Washington who seek to run the government and all of the states. They are at the root of putting the Negro on a level with the white, they need their votes.

KLANAGRAPHS

A stiff rebuke to Klansman Number 1-2-633 for his fond wish in Klavern the other night that since a certain Columbus newspaper editor, who used to be known as "Boozy" down Miami way, had gotten his civil right desire in the matter of throwing out restrictive deeds covenants involving races, that the biggest, blackest neighbor immediately move right in beside "Boozy".

Now, Now! Number [illegible] what has that poor bl[illegible] that you would wish [illegible] ful a fate on him!

A reprimand to you.

• • • •

July 4th will see seven completely new Klans chartered by the ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS. A [illegible] of Independence Day, [illegible]

• • • •

It is not true, as told by Rastus Brown's gal that he is head of the Klan because he is a wizard under the sheet.

$1.00 ORDER ☐

America into the United Soviet States of America; that it bend its mighty effort to maintain the democratic forms and substance of our country.

To that end, the Klans are dedicated to the following aims:

1. The militant defense of Protestant Americanism.

2. The unending opposition to forces which advocate blending of the white race with any other race.

3. The maintenance of the Southern white man's position of political superiority.

4. Preventing political dominance of any inferior minority group.

5. Just and equal laws and law enforcement, removal of the causes of lynching and mob rule, the maintenance of all American rights, protection of American workers and farmers, the restriction of immigration, the expulsion from America of foreign propagandists seeking to subvert democratic principles, and militant upholding of the law and militant assistance to law enforcement officers.

6. Better schools, churches, recreational facilities, and housing facilities for minority groups in the South under strictly segregated conditions.

7. Unceasing vigilance in teaching the principles of Christian Americanism to minority groups of the South.

8. Militant opposition to the teachings of the Communistic party which embody the advocacy of "sexual equality" under the guise of "social equality."

Let these things be done. Let them be done by free, white Americans! Let them begin today! The hour is late and the danger near!

BY ORDER OF
THE GRAND WIZARD
OF THE KLANS

Alton E. Pate, Adjutant.

A. E. Pate
809-811 Talbotton Ave.
Columbus, Ga.

I want to join the Klan; send me some literature or send some one to see me.

_____
Name

_____
Address

...ize for the South, were members of the parent corporation.

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The new Klans, Pate stated, will use no masks nor demonstrate in any way except such as are permitted by local laws and ordinances. The Klans will tolerate no rowdyism among its membership, nor will any acts of terrorism be permitted. The activities of the Klans will be confined to the use of the ballot and the social sanctions directed against those who seek to destroy the Southern way.

Pate stated that the membership will use education and counter-propaganda against the forces of Communism which seek to dominate the South by the use of minority groups as the balance of power.

Secretary Pate, who is also Adjutant of the national order, said that the new corporation is designed as a "profit organization" only because that was the one point of law on which the charter of the last incorporated Klan was revoked and that the designation of the corporation as a "profit organization" simply means that it will be operated for the common profit of all America, and that its stockholders expect to realize no return on the money they have placed in escrow as an investment in the American future.

The corporation, he added, will make its tax returns as any other private organization. Nothing, he said, will be secret in the work of the Klans except its membership.

The membership of the New Klans organization will operate two charities, one a hospital for tubercular children, and an alcoholics hospital for the reclamation of persons of all creeds, races and faiths who are afflicted with that dread ailment. The Klans have chosen these two charities, he said, because no adequate facilities for them now exists.

Pate declined to state the number of Klans affiliated with the new corporation and he refused to name the national officers who are elected by vote of the Klans. "Each man's membership is his own secret,: he said, "And only he is authorized to reveal it."

The new corporation opened offices today at 809-811 Talbotton Road in Columbus and Pate said these offices would be used temporarily as national headquarters.

The first issue of the "THE KLANSMAN", house organ of the Klans will come off the presses this week, Pate said.

Radio programs and short movies are in process of preparation, the secretary stated. The new Klans will avoid political affiliations but will keep sharp scrutiny on office-seekers who attempt to manipulate the votes of minority groups to their detriment.

...olicism. One of the lecturers, one who did not quit from orders at the top, states this as a fact. Anyhow, the lecturers were all called in. And so far as I can see, the present Klan headed by Dr. Samtel Green, is still owned by the Catholics. It is doubtless kept alive to keep down a real Klan.

I have never been a member of the Klan. While I was in sympathy with its purposes, I have thought all the while that it was badly handled. Trying to correct the moral conduct of the country, which was maybe good in intention, is an impossibility. Too many mistakes can be made to give the order a bad odor. On the other hand, a wise strategy committee could accomplish in a tactful way much more good. A reserve force who can and should collect indisputable facts and expose the cliques who are seeking to undermine the U. S. Constitution and keeping secrets, which would otherwise operate to our hurt, exposed. Bring them all out into the light. This could be of inestimable value.

There is in both the Catholic and Jewish organizations underground forces which are stealing American business. A sound policy to fight intelligently these underground forces and keeping their thievish methods from operating is a goal worthy of a Klan. And ...

...ered in the way of war by these undergrounders. In other words, the Klan should ever be ready with an organized force to defend the rights of the public and defend quickly and successfully before they can bring their forces into play.

As many as two should remain constantly on the grounds about Washington who will report every trend or adverse activity to the Klan membership. They should know who are being admitted into this country, their race and membership. There is an abundance for a Klan to do of real service, a counter force against the large lobby maintained at Washington who seek to run the government and all of the states. They are at the back of putting the Negro on a level with the white, they need their votes.

Let us hope that yours will be a patriotic organization and that the funds will be used to preserve our Constitution.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

P. S. Since I do not want publicity, I will not sign my name. My only purpose is to help you get off in the right direction.

GRAND WIZARD'S COMMENT: If you had written our statement of policy, it could not have coincided more exactly with things as we see them. We intend to turn the pitiless light of publicity on these people..

Why not come on in and join the fight?

...what has that poor ... that you would wish ... ful a fate on him?

A reprimand to you.

• • • •

July 4th will see seven completely new Klans chartered by the ORIGINAL SOUTHERN KLANS. A ... of Independence Day, ...

• • •

It is not true, as told by Rastus Brown's gal that he is head of the Klan because he is a wizard under the sheet.

PLEASE ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION TO —

The KLANSMAN 12 issues $1.00

Inclosed: CHECK ☐ CASH ☐ MONEY ORDER ☐

NAME

ADDRESS

A. E. Pate,
809-811 Talbotton Ave.
Columbus, Georgia

I am interested in getting a KLAN started in my town or county. Send someone to see me. He can contact me at the address below.

_____
Name

_____
Address

_____
Occupation

(From white press. Alabama omitted) KKK

7/24/49 List of laws

PATTERN OF VIOLENCE

(From April 1, 1949 ----)

to July 24, 1949

HOOKER, Ga., April 2 — Seven Negroes, while in costody of the sheriff, were seized and flogged by a mob in Ku Klux Klan regalia. The sheriff, 3 deputies, and a private citizen were indicted by a grand jury on May 11 for "assault and battery" on the Negroes and for failing to suppress mob violence.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 3 — A white fireman, abducted by four masked men, was beaten after a gunny sack had been placed over his head. Taken into the woods, he was stripped of all his clothing, tied to a tree, and given 25 lashes. His abductors told him he had not been "treating his family with respect."

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 5 — Five unmasked white men entered the home of a white railway worker and beat him severely with a pistol. The victim said that his attackers gave no reason for the beating, which was the 16th in a series of beatings in the Chattanooga area. 8 white men and 8 Negroes have been beaten and terrorized.

NASHVILLE, TENN., April 6 — 15-foot cross burned near the site of a proposed Negro housing unit.

GASTONIA, North Carolina, April 26 — Dormant in this locality for two decades, Klan burned cross on lawn of anti-Klan newspaper editor who had exposed and condemned resurgence of Klan activities.

ATLANTA, Ga., May 1 — An anonymous telephone warning and a burning cross marked "KKK" at his front door, threatened a City Councilman the night before he introduced an anti-mask ordinance in Atlanta City Council.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn, May 5 — A Baptist minister, who had openly admitted membership in the Ku Klux Klan, was re-elected pastor of his church, despite protests from some of his congregation. In a prepared statement for the press, the minister said: "I wish to state publicly that I am a member of the Klan. I believe in the principles of the organization. The Klan is for God and country, and as a minister of the Gospel I find nothing inconsistent with my membership therein and my work in the vineyard of the Lord."

ORANGEBURG, S.C., May 5 — Dr. Samual Green, Grand Dragon of the Klan, addressed approximately 900 hooded Klansmen following a cross-burning outside city limits. Later, a 148-car motorcade sped through town ignoring traffic signals.

DOLLY POND, Tenn., May 7 — Fifteen or twenty armed and masked men, believed to be Klansmen, terrorized the community for an hour or more. Six white persons, two of them minors, were beaten with blackjacks, and a local resident was threatened in his home. The Hooded mob also staged a parade around the Dolly Pond church, firing their pistols into the air. Two men, accused of taking part in the terrorism, were indicted by a grand jury on June 29.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., May 7 — A group of unmasked men threatened a white mechanic in his home after accusing him of "drinking". Although ill, the mechanic was armed with a pistol, and the men did not molest him.

Cross 10/2 SAC Birmingham Today

COLUMBIA, S.C., May 8 — 76-year old Negro farmer seized by 15 white men, stripped and beaten. One of the unmasked attackers was reported to have said: "We white folks are going to run this state."

CLINTON, Tenn., May 12 — Crosses burned before homes of 2 white lawyers. Note found by one cross wared "You had better get out of town", and was signed "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan".

WARNER ROBINS, Ga., May 12 — Ku Klux Klan mile-long parade passed through; among the 50-odd cars and 400 reported participants were three floats and two school buses.

JUPITER, Fla., May 14 — Second cross within a week burned near newly dedicated Negro beach.

LAFAYETTE, Ga., May 16 — Some 20 men in KKK costume held a noose around the neck of a white war veteran and horsewhipped him. Taken from his home and family at night, ~~xxxxx~~ victim says he was accused by nightriders of drunkenness and failure to support his family. He reported a similar assault on a friend in a neighboring community.

MACON, Ga., May 17 — White man sentenced to life imprisonment in connection with slaying of two Negroes last March.

SOPERTON, Ga., May 21 — The Mayor of Soperton ripped the masked off three men who had frightened several women by wandering around the streets in Klan regalia. The men were arrested, but charges of disorderly conduct against them were dismissed in Recorder's Court for lack of evidence. Grand Dragon Green accused the Mayor of violating the "Civil Rights" of the three men by unmasking them.

CLARKSVILLE, Va., May 24 --Revival of Klan "gangsterism" reported with unsolved beating of young Negro.

IRWINTON, Ga., May 30 — The first lynching of 1949 took place when Caleb Hill, 28-year-old Negro, was ~~xxxx~~taken from the jail by two or more white men and shot to death. Hill had been arrested after a fight in a Negro cafe and allegedly had fired at the sheriff. The sheriff was absent from the jail when Hill was abducted and had left the keys to the jail on a table in a downstairs room. Two white men, suspected of the lynching, were freed by the grand jury on grounds of "insufficient evidence". This marked the 26th unsolved lynching of Negroes in Georgia since 1930.

ATLANTA, Ga., May 30 -- An estimated 50 to 100 white persons gathered in front of Negro homes in a "white" area and ordered them to "get out". There were reports of threatened violence.

MACON, Ga., June 3 -- Federal grand jury indicted a deputy sheriff and 7 other residents of Harris County in connection with the year-old beating of a Negro. According to the indictment, the Negro was arrested by the sheriff, and then turned over to the others, who beat him with an axe handle to repay a grudge.

GASTONIA, N. C., June 5 — Newly organized Klan chapter interrupted services in two churches, as robed members marked resurgence of movement in N. C.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 6 — Police reported the kidnapping and beating of an unidentified Negro boy by five white youths. Bystanders were quoted as saying that the Negro was beaten and then forced into a car bearing Georgia license plates.

MARION, N.C., June 10 and June 17 — The Governor was asked to investigate beatings of two union organizers. Police allegedly witnessed one of the beatings and were accused of "cynical complicity" in a "reign of terror" against union activity.

HOUSTON, Miss, June 12 — A deputy sheriff reported that he had outwitted a mob of armed men who gathered at the jail to seize a Negro rape suspect. The deputy told the mob that he had a number of suspects but "did not have the guilty one". Later the prisoner was secretly moved to a safer jail.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., June 13 — Six law officers went on trial for the beating of a Negro prisoner.

STONE MOUNTAIN, Ga., June 14 — The Ku Klux Klan staged a ceremony at which more than 100 new members were initiated.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 17 — It was reported that the Hamilton County Grand Jury was investigating the police department and the attorney general's office for suspected Ku Klux Klan activity by policemen.

CHESNEE, S.C., June 26 -- A six-foot cross was burned in a white neighborhood on the outskirts of Chesnee. A crudely printed sign, found nearby, stated: "The KKK came today. And we are here to stay." A witness was reported to have seen three men plant the burning cross.

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., July 2 — White man, accused of shooting a Negro woman, was saved by police from an angry Negro mob.

HOUSTON, MISS., July 9 — Two white men were jailed for the fatal beating of a Negro. The Negro was killed with an auto jack because he was "hogging the road" with his wagon.

MILLEDGEVILLE, Ga., July 12 — A Milledgeville grocer and the Baldwin County Coroner were indicted for the shootings of two Negro women, allegedly in an argument over a debt collection.

MILLEDGEVILLE, Ga., July 12 — A white man was held in the severe beating and subsequent death of a 65-year-old Negro man.

DUBLIN, Ga., July 13 - Motorcade of hooded Klansmen.

ORANGEBURG, S.C., July 16 — Crosses were burned in front of a private residence and a dance hall; nobody reported seeing the cross-burners. One victim applied for a gun permit.

COLUMBIA, Tenn., July 16 — Beating reported of a man and woman by a "hooded group" in the Pulaski Pike section 5 miles from Columbia.

GROVELAND, Fla., July 16 — Four Negroes were accused of beating a white man and kidnapping and assaulting his wife. After three of the Negroes had been apprehended and placed in an undisclosed jail, a mob of 100 armed white men approached the jail and demanded the prisoners. The sheriff told them that the prisoners had been moved and, after an hour of talking, convinned the mob that it should leave. The following evening the mob returned and fired several shots into the Negro section. There were no casualties, since almost all of Grovelands 400 Negroes had been moved out of town for safekeeping. The National

Guard was called out to maintain order in the town.

SOPERTON, Ga., July 17 — About 150 robed and hooded Klansmen paraded through town in a 40-car caravan, burning a cross in the middle of town. Several of the cars had their license plates either removed or covered.

GROVELAND, Fla., July 17 -- A group of 20 cars passed through town, tossing into the streets pamphlets entitled "Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan".

GROVELAND, Fla., July 18 — A mob of armed white men burned down three Negro homes, whose occupants had fled town earlier. The same evening, the sheriff dispersed with tear gas bombs a mob of about 50 men riding through Stuckey's Still, a Negro community near Groveland. National Guardsmen were called out for the second night in a row to protect the Negro section of Groveland.

GROVELAND, Fla., July 21 — National Guardsmen seized a man and confiscated his pistol after he had been observed cruising near a Negro settlement at nearby Clermont. He was later released. Guards were still posted around the Negro sections of Groveland.

GROVELAND, Fla., July 21 — A special grand jury indicted three Negroes for rape. The indictment made no mention of a fourth Negro who allegedly participated in the crime.

POLK CITY, Fla., July 21 — A cross was burned by a group of unidentified men in the yard of a Negro elementary school in Polk City, where the fourth Negro suspect in the Groveland case was thought to be hiding out.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 22 — Grand Dragon Green denied allegations of two attorneys that they had been threatened by the Klan and that one had been shot at and had a cross burned on his lawn on July 14. The attorneys had previously asked the courts to enjoin "Dr. Samuel Green, doing business as the Ku Klux Klan", from threatening a client.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., July 22 — Dynamite damaged the porch of a Negro home recently purchased from a white family.

GROWING PUBLIC SENTIMENT AGAINST THE KU KLUX KLAN

Louisville, Ky. March 14, 1949. Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, Executive Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, "recently" urged pastors to refuse to accept donations from Klansmen, stating that "the bringing of such bribes into the church ought to be openly resented and refused by Christian people."

Thomson, Ga. April. Upon the formation of a klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, a group of leading citizens met and made a public statement urging citizens to "think very seriously" before joining the Klan. "Our law-making, judicial, and enforcement agencies, both local and otherwise, are men chosen by us, either directly or indirectly. They need the full cooperation of every loyal citizen toward giving us better government, better courts, and better law enforcement. But, in our opinion, we do not need an organization which operates in concealment, and which takes unto itself the powers of the courts and law enforcement officers. Such usurpation of power is destructive of our democratic way of life. It would be wrong and undemocratic if practiced openly — practiced in concealment it becomes cowardly as well."

Chattanooga, Tenn. April 6, 1949. Commissioner Hyatt stated that he will recommend to the City Commission the dismissal of any policeman or fireman found to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan, declaring that "membership in the Klan is prima facie evidence that the member at times stands for lawlessness instead of the law and order which he has sworn to uphold."

Chattanooga, Tenn., April 7, 1949. Criminal Judge Raulston Schoolfield, charging the grand jury to investigate mob violence in Chattanooga, stated:

> "What right has any man or group of men to declare themselves the jury, the judge, the sheriff, and the executioner? For every grievance we have, there is a court in which to seek redress.....
>
> "This is one of the most cowardly forms of law violation. The fact that we allow things like these to go on is a disgrace. We here in the South have a right to run our own affairs and we resent too much Government control. The people who claim they have a right to pass Federal laws have a perfectly sound argument when they say we are not protecting our citizens....
>
> "I suggest these crimes, particularly mob violence, be investigated long and diligently. It is an important matter to this court. It bids for disrespect of the law. If a mob...goes unpunished, others will have utter contempt for the law.
>
> "...I urge you closely to investigate these things. They are momentous matters not only to Hamilton County Chattanooga but the entire United States. The court will not tolerate such activities."

Trenton, Ga., April 12. Superior Court Judge J. H. Paschall told the grand jury investigation of Klan activities:

> "When any band of masked men assumes to take the law into its own hands, and under the cover of darkness goes out and administers

punishment to anybody, that is striking at the foundations of our form of government -- un-American and contrary to the principles of freedom and the right to trial by jury that we have been taught to believe in and do believe in."

Columbus, Ga., April 19, 1949 The Georgia Baptist Sunday School Convention condemned hooded organizations and the effort anywhere in the world to agitate racial or religious prejudice.

Atlanta, Ga. May 2. City Council passed an ordinance banning the wearing of masks on the Atlanta streets.

Chattanooga, Tenn., May 16, 1949 Criminal Judge Raulston Schoolfield again denounces mob violence in a charge to the grand jury investigating activities of masked mobs in and near Chattanooga:

> "We have been hearing a lot lately about the Ku Klux Klan, or what purports to be the Klan -- it doesn't matter what it is. It is a violation of the law to go masked.
> We sometimes have a distorted idea of what our duties are as citizens, but if there was ever a time or place for the Klan, that day is ended.
> There is no occasion, rhyme, reason, or excuse for such activities. If you believe in law and order, then these people have no right or place in our community.
> To allow such acts to go unpunished is a badge of dishonor on every one of us. I particularly call your attention to these* laws because violation of them violates the very basis of our society. These acts of violence by hooded mobsters undermine the very principles of free government."

* The Tennessee "anti-Klan" statute forbids going masked. A masked person performing an assault with a deadly weapon may be sentenced to death in the electric chair upon conviction. The simple act of going masked in public carries a penalty of up to 11 months, 29 days in the county jail and a fine of from $100 to $500.
Must prove intent under this law however.

Augusta, Ga., June 8, 1949 Augusta City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting the wearing of masks in public places.

Atlanta, Ga., June 14, 1949 Judge J.M.C. Townsend of the Georgia Court of Appeals, speaking before the Atlanta Civitan Club, condemned the Ku Klux Klan for its threat to American freedom. Citing specific recent cases of Klan violence throughout Georgia and neighboring states, Judge Townsend stated that "hooded mobsters" have become self-appointed judges, jurors and executioners, and as such, are threatening our basic rights. The judge declared that there is no place in America for "religious hatred and intolerance, for preachments which cause one group to rise up against another."

Macon, Ga., June 17, 1949 A resolution deploring police action by hooded and masked groups adopted by the Georgia Baptist Training Union Assembly at the end of its one-week session at Mercer University.

Washington, D.C., June 26, 1949 Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill, in a radio broadcast here, urged the Southern States to pass laws unmasking the Ku Klux Klan.

Moultrie, Ga., July 11, 1949 Moultrie City Council passed ordinance prohibiting the wearing of masks except by special written permission granted upon receipt of a written request stating the purpose, route, and other particulars of the parade.

Areas which have passed anti-mask ordinances:

State of Tenn.
State of Alabama
Albany, Ga. (7-10-49)
Atlanta, Georgia
Augusta, Georgia
Macon, Georgia
Valdosta, Georgia
Columbus, Georgia
Wrightsville, Georgia
Swainsboro, Georgia
Gainesville, Georgia
Moultrie, Georgia

Knoxville, Tennessee - anti mask + anti cross burning
Nashville, Tenn.
Tallahassee, Florida
Bartow, Flordia
Miami, Florida
Miami Beach, Florida
South Miami, Florida
Miami Shores, Florida
Coral Gables, Florida
Atlantic Beach, Florida
Auburn, Ala. (7/14/49)

~~According to press reports Chattanooga, Tenn. has also passed an anti-mask ordinance.~~

Statement by Ga. Press Association against mob (Klan) violence -- 1949 Meeting (June '49 ?)

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anti-mask ordinances - cont.

Cedartown, Ga.
Iron City, Ga.
Morristown, Tenn. (source: ADL)
Charlotte, N.C. - 12/14/49 (anti-mask + hood)
Raleigh, N.C. - 3 Jan 50 (anti-mask)
Opelika, Ala. - 2-7-50 (anti-parade)
State of S.C. (Feb. 1950) - anti-mask
Clayton, Ga. - 6 April 1950

Tarpon Springs, Fla. (mask + cross-burning)
West Miami, Fla.
Columbia, S.C.

OFFICIAL UNCONCERN

Nashville, Tenn., July 5. Governor Browning stated that he had not "seen anything that makes it look like the situation is especially out of hand in Tennessee" and reiterated his earlier opinion that local law enforcement authorities must handle Klan violence.

Atlanta, Georgia, July 21 Governor Talmadge told two visiting German editors he didn't believe the Ku Klux Klan's membership is large enough to be significant. Talmadge further told the visiting editors he knew of no acts of violence being committed in Georgia by the present-day Klan. He said that he will enforce the State laws in event anyone or any organization violates them.

Statement by Alex Boone, Editor of ~~two~~ Wilkinson County (Irwinton, Ga.) ~~Newspaper~~, at Ga. Press Assoc. 1949 Meeting — defended Klan.

This report prepared + circulated by Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Summer 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

There has been so much confusing news of Klan activity in recent weeks that the following summarization should be helpful.

There is no organization in operation today known as the Ku Klux Klan. There are no less than five different Klan groups operating in the South today. Here they are:

A. The Association of Georgia Klans, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. This organization is probably the closest to being the direct lineal descendant of the old Klan of Col. Simmons, Hiran Evans and Jim Colescott. The late Dr. Samuel Green was Imperial Wizard of this group. Its membership is mostly in Georgia but it has affiliates in a number of other states, including South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and one or two in Alabama. Recently it has been engaged in a vigorous drive to start new chapters in North Carolina.

This Klan is the most "respectable" and powerful of all the groups. Its main strength lies in the fact that it serves a definite political purpose in Georgia where, because of the County Unit System, the rural vote swings the state elections. Klan groups in farm counties can exert tremendous pressure in frightening from the polls Negroes and liberal whites who might be for the opposition candidate.

Between elections, some of the boys get restless and that is when you read about morality floggings and cross burnings.

It is too early as yet to gauge the effect of the death of Dr. Green. Suffice it to say that Green was a somewhat restraining influence on Klan hoodlums and strove to make the Klan as "respectable as the Masons, the Knights of Columbus and B'nai B'rith."

Samuel W. Roper has just succeeded Dr. Green at an annual salary of $10,000 a year. In his first press interview he promised to carry on Dr. Green's policies and expansion program. Significantly, Roper for many years was a member of the Atlanta police force and under the late Eugene Talmadge headed the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. He resigned the state position to which he was appointed by Governor Herman Talmadge to accept the Imperial Wizardship.

B. The Original Southern Klans, Inc., of Columbus, Ga. This organization was started well over a year ago by Parson Jack Johnston and Fred New, following an argument over dues-splitting with

Dr. Green. It never achieved important strength and our latest report is that it is withering pretty badly, with both leaders having resigned because of "ill health." This organization openly expoused anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism as well as anti-Negroism.

C. Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, of Tallahassee and Jacksonville, Fla. This is a very active group which sprang to the fore in the last year. It is led by Bill Hendrix who calls himself adjutant acting for the emperor Samuel II, and the imperial wizard, who remain anonymous. This Klan has held many demonstrations, including recent parades in Tallahassee and Iron City Ga., with the resultant gun battle in the latter community. This Klan also played a prominent part in the near riots in the Groveland, Fla., area. This Klan has tied up with all sorts of disreputable elements including the Rev. A. C. Shuler of Jacksonville and River Junction, Fla. Rev. Shuler is the brother of Evangelist Bob Shuler of California, who for years has been a notorious anti-Semite. Some two years ago you may recall that Shuler invited the now defunct Columbians to worship in his church in Jacksonville and present "their side of the story."

This organization publishes a newspaper called the Southern Gospel, which contains not only the usual anti-Negro diatribes but also such statements as:

> "All over this country there are front organizations trying to tear down the American system. Most of them are headed by a bunch of kike Jews who are tearing down this country and replacing our form of government with one of their own -- plainly speaking, Communism. Down in Miami, Fla., at this date, they have formed a citizens committee to contact decent businessmen for money to help tear down the American system."

This same issue also quotes the notorious Ben Franklin forgery about the Jews and, in addition, two columns are devoted to a vicious attack on Cardinal Spellman and the Roman Catholic church.

D. The Federated Ku Klux Klans, Inc., of Alabama, with headquarters in Birmingham and Bessemer, Ala. This group also has been in the news quite a bit of late. Its leader, William Hugh Morris of Birmingham, at this writing sits rather forlornly in jail in contempt of court because of failing to have produced Klan records when called upon to do so. This Klan group was responsible for the recent mass outbreak of floggings in the area just west of Birmingham. Public indignation, plus the passage of legislation by the State of Alabama, have halted this type of activity, according to latest reports, and reduced the membership of this group.

The Federated Ku Klux Klans, Inc., of Alabama also publishes a newspaper called Uxtra. This paper, not only defends Klanism in Alabama but just as vigorously attacks Roman Catholicism and the "whiskey trust." No mention at all is made in its pages of any other minority groups.

E. The Ku Klux Klans of America, with headquarters in Montgomery, Ala. This group has just been organized. At its head is Rev. Lycurgus Spinks, of Thomasville, Ala., who in 1946 was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Mississippi. Although Rev. Spinks claims the fantastic number of 265,000 members, it is to be doubted, as this new group apparently has little power, prestige or membership at this point. One indication of Spinks' power -- or lack of it -- is the fact that only a few days prior to the formation of this group, he advertised a monster Klan parade and rally in Pell City, Ala., and only 58 Klansmen showed up.

Since Dr. Green's death there has been much speculation as to whether his passing would result in a coalition of all these Klan splinters or cause further divisions. The formation of Spinks' group is the first indication we have had that the drift may be going in the latter direction. The possibility of a coalition, however, is a serious threat and bears careful watching.

* * *

Anti-Klan Legislation -- On both a state and local level the rising threat of terrorist groups is being met by legislation,

On a state level, the State of Alabama passed an Anti-Mask Bill.

On a local level, the following cities have passed anti-Klan legislation to date:

Atlanta, Ga.	Swainsboro, Ga.	Miami, Fla.
Albany, Ga.	Gainesville, Ga.	Miami Beach, Fla.
Augusta, Ga.	Iron City, Ga.	Miami Shores, Fla.
Macon, Ga.	Moultrie, Ga.	Coral Gables, Fla.
Valdosta, Ga.	Knoxville, Tenn.	South Miami, Fla.
Columbus, Ga.	Nashville, Tenn.	Atlantic Beach, Fla.
Wrightsville, Ga.	Tallahassee, Fla.	Tarpon Springs, Fla.
		Bartow, Fla.

* * * *

Report No. L-5
June 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, March 15, 1959 at Thomas Jefferson High School Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia.

I would like to make it known at the beginning that the views I will present today are my own--not those, for example, of the General Electric Company or the Virginia Manufacturers Association. I am speaking as a member of the Advisory Board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I was glad to accept the opportunity to talk to you today because I feel strong personal concern about the school situation. I was also glad to accept the opportunity because I am convinced that businessmen, like myself, should stand up and be heard... In my opinion, the manager of a modern business organization has ever-widening responsibilities to his community, his state, and his nation. This includes responsibility in educational affairs, as business, education, and the community come to a greater realization of their mutual concerns...

Let's first look at the size of public education in Virginia. Truly, it is a mammoth undertaking, and its importance to the economic life of the Commonwealth is obvious when we note that the present book value of school property in Virginia is $576 million, and the total expenditure for public education in Virginia in 1957 was nearly $200 million. In addition, public schools are a very effective institution in our economic life. The results of expenditures for public education were summarized this way by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's extensive study of a few years ago. This study established the fact that educated people:

> "produce more goods, earn more money, buy and consume more goods, read more magazines and newspapers, are more active in civic and national affairs, enjoy a higher standard of living--and, in general, contribute more to the economy than those who are not so well educated."

This study also found that education must precede economic growth--it does not come after it.

Business Climate and Education Climate

A strong system of public education is very important among those factors

Report No. L-6
July 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.*

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were conducted publicly for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement, are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were away from Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former

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*This report has been read and approved for accuracy by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.

member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to get teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony. But in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "....Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants....a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish,

and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students -- two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District schools."

At one point in the committee hearings Rep. Williams asked the then Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen: "Do you think, Dr. Hansen, that integration in the District of Columbia schools has been carried on smoothly and without incident?"

Dr. Hansen replied: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

A few months later Dr. Hansen wrote a comprehensive report, giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified. Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th (1954) issue of the U. S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U. S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by

tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases. ---It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. ---I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgment came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen---."

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter, Larry Weekley, to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Arthur Storey ---whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation ---as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the now famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2 -- against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 per cent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro sixth grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington sixth graders have achieved a 6.7 median -- against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the forgoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1956) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. 35¢

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested:

References - continued

Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D. C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (3 pages).

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards.

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by a professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

Report No. L-7
July 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GOVERNOR ALMOND (VIRGINIA) ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. at the commencement exercises of the Warren County Educational Foundation, June 9, 1959.

(Note: Gov. Almond included in his address a sharp criticism of the Supreme Court and a review of his long fight to prevent public school desegregation in Virginia. It is not desired to give a misleading impression of Gov. Almond's attitude, but to invite attention to his eloquent plea for the continued operation of public schools.)

. . .

The time for hurling the firebrands of criticism, charges and countercharges and recriminations has passed. The time has arrived to take stock, not of theory and indulgence in wishful thinking, but in actual conditions and realities, and the laborious and soundest procedures within the limits of our genius to devise for the present and future welfare of Virginia.

We must not allow the welfare of our children and the future of our state to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pang of frustration, the demon of hate, and threat of political purge, appeal to base passions and prejudices, and the stirring of emotions productive of violence and disorder.

It is your sacred responsibility and mine, the responsibility of those whom you elect to positions of high trust, to face the issues squarely and honestly, and to dedicate every energy and talent to a constructive resolution consistent with honor and under the aegis of law.

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no curse more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency.

The only sure prevention of any integration anywhere in Virginia is the total abolition of every public school everywhere in Virginia. If this is what they advocate,

the people of Virginia should now be told with complete clarity and frankness.

I tell you now that we cannot secede from the Union; we cannot overthrow the Federal Government, and we cannot reverse a final decree of a federal court.

I tell you now that the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Governor, any board, agency or person, any power which it does not itself possess.

I further tell you, notwithstanding the claims of some, that the General Assembly cannot under the pretense of invoking the police power take over and operate the public school system and thereby negate the final decree of a federal court. People who permit themselves to be fooled by such delusions deserve to be fooled.

. . .

In consideration of the abandonment of public schools, we should bear in mind that enrolled in the public schools of Virginia are approximately 800,000 children. There are only 112 sectarian schools, 12 of which are integrated, with a total enrollment of 26,610. There are 110 nonsectarian schools, one of which is integrated, with a total enrollment of 10,325. Private schools--both sectarian and nonsectarian--accommodate only 36,935 as compared with 800,000 in public schools. This points up the magnitude of the problem of accommodating children denied access to public schools.

. . .

The issues revolving around public education will confront the next session of the General Assembly. I have taken my stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL ODUM (FLORIDA) ON THE FINANCIAL COMPLICATIONS OF CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Asst. Attorney-General Ralph E. Odum before the Independent Bankers of Florida, at Tampa, February 23, 1959.

(Note: Mr. Odum included in his address a number of opinions which the SRC would regard as plainly mistaken. Again, it is not intended to give a false impression of an official's public position, but to emphasize certain incontestable facts which his speech clarifies.)

To me it seems clear that the one sure way of insuring a public school system in Florida which might in time be operated on a compulsory attendance basis and which is owned, controlled and operated by the federal government is for Florida to abolish its public schools.

Second, I do not think it practical to abolish our public school system for financial reasons.

The liquidation of Florida public school property and its bonded indebtedness would be, in a way, one of the largest bankruptcy proceedings in history, involving well over a billion and a quarter dollars.

Mr. Lee Young, Assistant in School Finance, State Department of Education, has estimated the actual fair market value of public school property in this state to be well in excess of one billion dollars. Considering the fact that most school buildings have only a limited use for any purpose other than education without extensive remodeling, the sale of these holdings would present extraordinary problems unless it could be accomplished gradually over a period of years.

The federal courts have already ruled that public school buildings may not be leased to segregated private schools. Although the question has not been legally tested, I believe that the buildings could be sold under state law at their fair value on a time payment basis. This would, of course, contemplate that title to the property would pass and the school board accept a mortgage to secure the deferred payments. It would also contemplate that the sales were not a method of circumvention of federal court orders but were bona fide sales of school property which was no longer needed for school purposes.

In addition to the liquidation of over a billion dollars worth of property, we would also be faced with the retirement of bonded indebtedness of $232,852,899.00 which we now owe for school buildings. Our state courts would have to enforce the payment of the principal and accrued interest on these bonds, regardless of the reluctance of the taxpayer to continue paying taxes for benefits which no longer existed.

In addition to school bonds, our Florida county school boards owe Florida banks $2,413,180.00 on short term notes for money borrowed for capital outlay.

In addition to these notes, our school boards owe local banks an undetermined but considerable amount on short term loans for operating expenses. No record of these loans is

required to be kept in Tallahassee, so it would be necessary to check each county board to ascertain the amount of this type of indebtedness.

Of the 282 banks in Florida, most have invested heavily in Florida school bonds and revenue certificates.

Picking at random 15 banks of all sizes in different parts of the state, I found that all but one of them had invested in Florida school bonds. The percentage of their total investment in securities which is invested in Florida school bonds varied from 0 to 14%, or an average of 4% for all 15 banks. The total in dollars for the 15 banks amounted to $4,559,000.00. If the pattern set by these 15 banks can be projected as a guide even on the most conservative estimate our 282 Florida banks must now be holding at least 80 million dollars of Florida school securities.

A default of these bonds, although ultimately remedied by litigation, might in the interim strain the earning capacity of many of our smaller independent banks who form the financial mainstay for most Florida communities.

All this with the abrupt termination of employment of 33,029 teachers and several thousand other public school employees such as administrative assistants, bus drivers, clerks and lunch room personnel; the cancellation of school expenditures for operating expenses totalling $216,804,957. a year; plus the dislocation of 899,000 pupils with no schools to attend, might easily create an economic and social catastrophe in this state.

. . .

Resist Dupo-KKK

ADL
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
[illegible] Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016
[illegible] Hill 9-[illegible]00
Press Representative
N. C. Belth

Anti-Defamation League Press Room
Waldorf Astoria Hotel
ELdorado 5-3000

For Release Saturday, A.M., Jan. 28

Ku Klux Klan strength in the South has jumped to 50,000 -- a rise of 30,000 members in the past year -- and is still going strong, according to research findings made public today (Friday) by Dore Schary, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The League report attributed the upsurge to "a return of drop-outs," to Klan capitalization on "a climate of fear" stemming from violence in and around Negro ghettoes, and to "political decisions" such as education issues in Virginia and the nomination of Lurleen Wallace for governor of Alabama and Lester Maddox for governor of Georgia.

Mr. Schary revealed the findings before ADL national commissioners convened at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, January 27 through January 30, for the League's 54th annual meeting.

Mr. Schary said "the most alarming growth" in Klan membership took place in Virginia, which had an increase of 750%, in Georgia, where it increased 175% and in Alabama, 100%, since the beginning of last summer. Klan leaders, he continued, consider the elections of Mrs. Wallace and Maddox as signals that both states are "welcome

havens" for the KKK.

In Virginia, according to the report, recruitment efforts centered around the Prince Edward County situation -- a Supreme Court decision ordered County commissioners to personally repay public funds which they dispersed to private schools rather than open and integrate the public schools.

Mr. Schary said the Klan had an estimated membership of 20,000 in February and March, 1966. The upsurge, he declared, began at the beginning of April when the Klan decided that the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings on the organization would have no significant impact and members who had dropped out returned to the fold.

By the beginning of summer, he said, strength had increased by 10,000, another 20,000 has been added in the past seven months, and recruitment continues unabated.

Describing Klan strength as "a barometer of uneasiness" about the race issue, Mr. Schary said there is "a growing hard core" of individuals who refuse to accept Negroes into the mainstream of American life.

The League study shows that KKK membership remains preponderantly affiliated with the United Klans of America, which is the prime recipient of the overall Klan growth. Led by Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton from headquarters in Alabama, the group has grown from an estimated 20,550 at the beginning of summer to current membership of 40,550. The National Association of Knights of the Ku Klux Kl-

headed by chairman James R. Venable from headquarters in Georgia, has 6,780 members and independent Klan groups nearly 3,000 -- representing slight increases in both groups.

The League gave the following state-by-state breakdown of the United Klans of America:

GEORGIA: 11,000 members in 89 Klaverns against 4,000 members last summer. Calvin F. Craig is Grand Dragon.

ALABAMA: 10,000 members in 37 Klaverns against 5,000 members last summer. Grand Dragon is James Spears, a Baptist minister.

VIRGINIA: 4,000 members in 100 Klaverns against 500 members last summer. Marshall Robert Kornegay is Grand Dragon. Southside Virginia has become a Klan stronghold and a source of increasing worry to much of the state.

NORTH CAROLINA: 8,500 members in 143 Klavens against 6,000 members last summer. James Robert Jones is Grand Dragon. An outstanding organizer, he has recruited throughout the state without cessation.

FLORIDA: 1,500 members in 12 Klaverns against 800 last summer. Boyd Hamby is Grand Dragon.

LOUISIANA: 1,250 members in 13 Klaverns against 1,000 last summer. Jack Helms is Grand Dragon, spends much of his time traveling in other states with the Imperial Wizard, has activated only three additional Klaverns in his own state in the past seven months.

SOUTH CAROLINA: 1,150 members in 25 Klaverns against 1,000 last summer. Robert E. Scoggin is Grand Dragon. There has been little Klan activity in the state.

TENNESSEE: 1,100 members in 9 Klaverns against 1,000 last summer. Raymond R. Anderson is Grand Dragon. Internal problems appear to have been straightened out with the affiliation of the Dixie Klans into the United Klans of America.

ARKANSAS: 600 members in 8 Klaverns against 300 last summer. George A. McNeely is Grand Dragon. Considerable recruiting efforts were made when James Johnson, an avowed segregationist, won the Democratic nomination for the governorship. This slowed when Johnson was defeated and there is now a "wait and see" attitude.

MISSISSIPPI: 500 members in 26 Klaverns, representing no rise. There is no Grand Dragon. The state has been handled directly by Shelton since he fired Edward L. McDaniel. For the past eight months there has been internal Klan strife and very little recruiting.

MARYLAND: 450 members in 15 Klaverns against 150 last summer. Vernon Naimaster is Grand Dragon. Recruiting activity centered around the open housing issue in the governor's race and the fact that CORE used Baltimore as a "target city" last summer.

TEXAS: 400 members in 4 Klaverns against 300 members last summer. Jack Cannon is Grand Dragon. The operation has not completely recovered from internal difficulties and changes of personnel during the past year.

"Since the Klan appeals to the most vehement prejudices of the most frustrated segment of the population," Mr. Schary said, "it naturally attracts those individuals with a predilection to violence.

20 - Ku Klux Klan

AN ORDINANCE

Proposed draft of an ordinance to prohibit the wearing of masks in the City of_____, where such masks wholly or partially conceal the identity of the wearers; providing for certain exceptions; providing penalties for violations hereof; providing that this ordinance shall become effective immediately upon passage; and for other purposes.

****

WHEREAS, the unrestricted wearing of masks which conceal the identity of the wearer is a hindrance to the maintenance of order and the effective detection of crime, it is deemed necessary that this ordinance be adopted as an emergency measure to take effect immediately upon passage;

Therefore, be it ordained by the commission of the city of_____:

Section 1

That it shall be unlawful for any person to appear upon a public street or in a public place within the City of_____while such person is wearing a mask which wholly or partially conceals his identity.

Section 2

That it shall be unlawful for any person to enter any building or premises of another in the City of_____while wearing a mask which wholly or partially conceals his identity or, having entered, to then wear such a mask, unless such person has secured the prior consent of the owner and all the tenants of such building or premises.

Section 3

That this ordinance shall not be applicable: (1) to persons attending, by invitation, private fancy-dress parties where masks are removed during the parties; nor (2) to children under fourteen years of age wearing costumes at Halloween; nor (3) to persons wearing Santa Claus costumes at Christmas or during the four weeks next preceding: nor (4) to legally constituted persons in the duly authorized performance of governmental functions.

Section 4

That any person violating this ordinance shall, upon conviction before the Recorder of said city, be punished, for each offense, by a fine not exceeding $250 or ninety (90) days confinement, either or both, in the discretion of the Recorder.

Section 5

That this ordinance shall be effective immediately upon passage.

See corresp. files under:
"22 - Li - misc - Lines, Rev. Stiles B."

B. H. Jones - Tallladega College 17- Intercultural Educ

FORWORD

The resource unit presented herein is only incidentally a unit on inter-cultural relations. It was made sufficiently flexible, however, to permit of use and adaptation in other situations. Persons who are planning a unit on intercultural or inter-ethnic relations will, I think, find the attached bibliography of some value. While the bibliography necessarily deals primarily with Negroes, there are included certain items which bear on some aspects of the whole problem of inter-cultural relations.

The question of where to place the study of the Negro in our schools itself poses certain problems which, though not difficult, do serve to reflect some of the confusion in our thinking about him. Properly speaking, the study of the American Negro has no place in a unit on inter-cultural relations. The term Inter-cultural relations in educational parlance presupposes the joint existence of dual cultures within the same geographic or social area and implies that the interplay between these cultures is a proper subject for study in the secondary school. The Negro does Not fit in here at all. The culture of the Negro is the culture of the dominant long-settled Anglo-Saxon as that culture has been modified by the additions of other groups. This does not mean that the Negro has not contributed to American culture. Rather does it mean that he gave so ultimately of his own as to retain little that is distinctive. One of the most nearly complete fusions of cultures in human history is represented in the history of the Negro and his original culture in this country. The Negro has so completely absorbed the American culture that there are today few, if any, genuine traces of his African ancestry, That the Negro, broadly speaking, has a cultural history is quite true but the American Negro has been cut off from that history for so long that were he to return to Africa today he would be a stranger in the birthplace of his more remote ancestors. The friction between Negroes and whites does not stem from any inter-play between two cultural groups. It is, instead, the result of an intra-cultural struggle within the American nation. It is a struggle between

our dominant ideas seeking to find implementation infact and our regional mores which have spread and are designed to prevent the fruition of our ideal.

Yet the term "minority" applies to the Negro only in its numerical sense. He is an integral part of American life - a long-time contributor to American history: one of the colonizing group, for he arrived in 1619 and has been here continously since. He differs, therefore, from most other numerical minorities in American He has grown in number not by any great immigration but by the normal process of reproducing his kind, whereas every other numerical minority has grown through the admission of more members of that group.

ANTI KLAN LAWS PASSED

STATES

Alabama, Anti-Mask
Georgia, Anti-Mask, Anti-Crossburning
Florida, Anti-Mask
South Carolina, Anti-Mask, Anti-Crossburning
Virginia, Anti-Mask, Anti-Crossburning

ALABAMA

Cities

Auburn, anti-mask

GEORGIA

Cities

Albany, anti-mask
Atlanta, anti-mask
Eatonton, anti-mask
Macon, anti-mask
Valdosta, anti-mask
Columbus, anti-mask, anti-cross burning
Wrightsville, anti-mask
Swainsboro, anti-mask
Gainesville, anti-mask
Iron City, anti-mask
Cedartown, anti-mask
Moultrie, anti-mask
Augusta, anti-mask
Claxton, anti-mask

TENNESSEE

Cities

Knoxville, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Nashville, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Morristown, anti-mask, anti-crossburning

FLORIDA

Cities

Tallahassee, anti-mask
Bartow, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Jacksonville, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Hialeah, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
West Palm Beach, anti-mask, anti-crossburning

FLORIDA (following)

Orlando, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Hollywood, " "
Miami, " "
Miami Beach, " "
Miami Shores, " "
Coral Gables, " "
South Miami, " "
Atlantic Beach, " "
Tarpon Springs, " "
West Miami, " "
"

NORTH CAROLINA

Cities

Winston-Salem, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Charlotte, anti-mask
Raleigh, "
Tarboro "
Whiteville, "
Greensboro, "
Wilmington , anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Reidsville, anti-mask
Hickory, "
Fayetteville, "
Hendersonville, "

SOUTH CAROLINA

Cities

Columbia, anti-mask
Greenville, anti-mask

VIRGINIA

Cities

Suffolk, anti-crossburning
Newport News, anti-mask

3/21/52

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

KKK

Anti-Klan legislation--municipal; Safety, Security and the South says that cities in the South have anti-mask legislaion or rules (41)

[redacted]

Georgia

Mar. 1949--Columbus
May.1949--Atlanta
July,1949--Moultire
Aug.,1949--Iron City
Aug.,1949--Albany
Oct.,1949--Cedartown
Apr.,1950--Claxton

See Birmingham Valdosta, Macon Augusta (Press 1-14-50)

Florida

Feb.1949--Tallahassee
Feb.1949--Miami
July,1949--Atlantic Beach
Aug.1949--Tarpon Springs
Oct.1950Ruling that anti-mask and anti-cross burning city rules are legal
Feb.1951--Jax KKK asks for city anti-~~mxkx~~ mask law

North Carolina

Dec.1949--Charlotte
Jan.1950--Farboro
Jan.1950--Raleigh

Alabama

Feb.1950--Opelika
July,1949--Auburn

Tenn

Knoxville, 1949
Nashville, 1949

KKK

Anti-Klan legislation--states

[redacted]

Alabama

Anti-mask law passed by state legislature--1st in South passed by a state .(June, 1949) Bill passage preceeded by use of governor s emergency powers to control mob violence

Texas

Anti-lynch law adopted July, 1949.

Georgia

Anti-mask law passed July, 1951

Oct.1951--Discussion of proposed mob-violence bill which would give the State Patrol authority over mob violence in municipalities

South Carolina

Anti-mask law passed April, 1951

Florida

Anti-mask bill passed July, 1951

NC had one dating back to 1869

Tenn - law of 1869 invoked

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . No. 1

Ar. Sec. Hum.
R + R Rel.

Racial Fires Are Burning

EDITOR'S NOTE — Is America in this turbulent summer, plummeting headlong toward permanent racial discord? What are the true dimensions of the integration struggle? Here, in the first of a series of Associated Press reports on the deepening crisis, is a close look at what Secretary of State Rusk calls "the worst domestic crisis since 1865."

By SID MOODY
Associated Press Writer

When, how, where did it happen?

Perhaps on the day in Birmingham when a hand reached for the hose nozzle. Maybe somewhere else, on a different day. But now, suddenly, racial crisis is here, a giant shadow darkening the national scene.

For years the nation has said racial solution would take time, lots of it. But somehow, swiftly, the sands ran out. The time is now.

Time for decision in the corridors of Congress and the town council of Cambridge, Md., in the school yard and the factory. In Harlem and Chicago and Danville, Va. and Greenwood, Miss., at the hamburger stand where the Negroes are kneeling, in the suburban development where the colored family moved in up the street. In the policy meetings of the great political parties and in the minds of all Americans face to face, finally, with their own personal decision: Where DO I stand on the racial question?

Associated Press Wirephoto

NEW YORK SCENE TYPICAL OF RISING PRESSURE OF DEMANDS BY U.S. NEGROES
Pickets Protesting Racial Discrimination Shown as They Rushed Barricade

THE SOUTHERNER — Any white man anywhere — holding to the status quo shakes his head over the Negro crime rate, his school record, over what might happen should the Negro majorities of the South get the vote. But these questions raise another: How determined must the stand-patter be in the face of a now grimly determined Negro?

"Fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city," said President Kennedy. Secretary of State Dean Rusk calls it the worst domestic crisis since 1865. As the world watches the world writhes.

The crisis has left blood in the streets. But that is not new. What is new is its gathering speed and spread.

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poses of the bill is to give him an avenue into the courts."

And if the bill is defeated and the avenue becomes a dead end leaving the Negro once again parading outside the lunch counter, what then?

"Then, in effect, Congress will have said we'd rather offer the Negro dogs, hoses and nightsticks rather than his inherent rights," said Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro psychologist and professor at New York University. "To this the Negro has to say no. If he said yes, he'd be confirming the myth of his own inferiority.

"THE NEGRO is asking not to change society but to be included in it — to have the franchise, equal education, removal of arbitrary barriers in the purchase of homes, in public accommodations. He's really asking America to stop being hypocritical, to fulfill the promise of the Constitution. From where I sit, these are pretty modest goals. No one should have to die for these things. The Negro can't be intimidated out of demanding them."

This determination, too, is new. It has been growing since World War II when the Negro saw the world and fought to make it safe for a democracy he felt was denied him at home. It was spurred by the postwar emergence of the black and yellow nations, the 1954 Supreme Court school decision. There was the 1957 Montgomery bus boycott that began when a Negro woman wouldn't give up her seat to a white and ended with the Negroes realizing for the first time the power of stubborn persistence. The young freedom riders of 1961 who risked harm and even death stirred the Negro further.

YET FOR ALL his new militancy the Negro in many instances has shown disciplined restraint. Splashed with ketchup or kicked in the shins, he has as often as not turned the other cheek.

"For 300 years the Negro has been accustomed to injustice," said Clark. "What you're seeing now is the result. Never in his past could the American Negro improve his situation by mob action because he would have been annihilated. The Indian

he doesn't know what the Negro wants."

HE WANTS JOBS: In Detroit where he is 20 per cent of the population but 60 per cent of the unemployed; for his young, almost half of whom in the 16-21-age group are jobless; across the nation where his unemployment rate has been triple that of the whites.

"For the Negro," said Young, "there has been no recession. He's in a depression."

Yet the Negro is faced with a growing automation that has need for greater schooling and training than he has had.

"It would be different if he had this," said a veteran craft union official in Washington. "There's no prejudice in skill. But you can't put an unqualified man in a skilled job. The unions would be cutting their throats if they lowered job standards. Why some of our pipefitters are installing on atomic reactors valves no bigger than your fists that cost $35,000."

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When the whites move out, sometimes the Negro moves in. Block-busting begins. Other white neighborhoods remain so. But what pressures build up in the Negro who gets his education, who can afford the white homes but can't cross the unwritten color lines around the Harlems of the North?

"The Negro from the South comes North and he finds the signs are down and no one is going to say 'Nigger' but then he finds things are really the same," said Young. "He's hurt

ing crisis. At home, on the job, in the subway, at the polling booth.

IF THERE IS no foreseeing the future, there is a looking glass that strikingly mirrors the painful route to stalemate and its tragic cost. It is the attractive Chesapeake Bay town of Cambridge, Md. where, across a thoroughfare ironically named Race Street, both sides of America's racial equation glower at each other.

Crisis at Cambridge didn't start the night last June the white stores in the Negro section were burned or the white men were shot by an unknown gunman. In fact of all the towns on the old eastern shore of Maryland, Cambridge probably would have been the last to pick as a trouble spot. It was making progress—Negroes on the school board and town council, schools being integrated (only five grades to go in the grammar school), athletic games integrated, mixed church Lenten services. Why, Cambridge was one of Maryland's first towns to hire Negro policemen.

Then, in January 1961, some out-of-towners from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee picketed a tavern where the oystermen and crab fishermen hang out. There was a scuffle. Demands from the demonstrators to desegregate restaurants in town met with a request for time from the council. Nothing doing.

"TRY TO UNDERSTAND," said a Marylander. "A funny little Negro comes in and says you shape up in three days or else. If you're the mayor, what would you do?"

The rift widened. Local Negroes formed their own committee and become increasingly militant in their demands for complete integration of the schools, restaurants and equal job opportunities in the new factories that an aggressive group of businessmen was attracting.

"We would have moved to a solution," said Maurice Rimpo, editor of The Cambridge Banner, the daily newspaper. "Maybe we needed some pressure. What town doesn't? But the demonstration at the Choptank Inn broke the back of moderation."

The restaurant, nearly broke from loss of white business, resegregated.

The whites lost confidence in the Negro leadership, headed by Mrs. Gloria Richardson whom they accused of just shaking her head "no-no-no" when compromise was suggested. Last May the biracial committee disbanded, demonstrations persisted. Then came the June nights of arson and shooting.

WHITE WOMEN driving to pick up their maids in the Negro section were stoned. White men were pulled from their cars and pummelled. On June 14 the National Guard moved into the vacuum between the races. Order was restored at bayonet point and the town council agreed to desegregate the restaurants and consider a Negro housing program. The restaurant plan is subject to approval by the voters where there is a heavy white majority. The Negroes resumed demonstrations as soon as the Guard pulled out July 8 and two nights later Cambridge assuaged its agony with gunfire.

Why did this happen?

"No one realized what this would turn into," said one Cambridge businessman. "If we were a community where a Negro was hit on the head every time he put his foot in the door, we might have moved faster. But we were making progress. When the Negroes got unruly, the whites had to prove they were men, too."

MACE BLAMES hoodlums on both sides for the violence. Another man close to the Cambridge tragedy thinks it happened because "there were damn few people with any guts." People willing to lead, to say the unpopular, to keep trying.

It was all of these. Pride, hoodlums, go-slow Uncle Toms and impetuous youths, a 4-1 unemployment ratio black to white, old time traditions, a feeling of you'll-get-your-dessert, just-don't push-me, passions outspeeding efforts to find agreement.

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AS AN EXAMPLE the Urban League points out that there has been no violence in the Southern cities where it has organized biracial committees. The attorney general's office points out that since government officials began rounds of talks with business leaders in May there has been some desegregation in 146 cities of more than 10,000 population in 14 Southern and border states. It hopes passage of Kennedy's civil rights bill will ease pressure.

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, on the other hand, feels the bill would violate the "rights of man" and would "reap a bloody harvest" from aroused whites fighting blacks.

Violence if it passes, violence if it doesn't. That's the point the crisis may have reached.

"NO ONE PRETENDS this bill is going to deal with every valid grievance," said one of the young men in the attorney general's office. "But at the moment the Negro has no way to protest but to go into the streets. One of the major pur-

inferiority.

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But "Uncle Tom" has become a nasty epithet now to many Negroes and, a century after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro is impatient.

THIS BEWILDERS, angers, the South.

"Why," said a surprised white man in Cambridge when he saw an old Negro acquaintance of his marching with young demonstrators outside a restaurant, "just last week I gave him a cord of wood."

The Negro in the South today wants not wood but the vote, to eat in the same restaurant as the white, sleep in the same hostelry. The white Southerner, who claims to know the Negro best, blames the unrest on outside agitation and certainly there is much of this.

"But that's one of the myths the last months have dispelled —that the Negro would be fine if the outside agitators would only leave him alone," said Clark. "No one can claim now

need for greater schooling and training than he has had.

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THAT'S THE dilemma for the North, white and black. What's going to happen now?

"If you look at Kennedy's bill," said Young, "none of it affects the North. It talks about voting and public accommodations but you still have all those Negroes out on the street because of automation, in the ghettos because they can't buy houses.

"The Negro of the Harlems of this country, he knows you're not going to transform a functional illiterate into a skilled workman overnight. But he wants some tangible evidence of change."

There are people on both sides trying to see that he gets it. Governors, union leaders, civic groups, educators, the Urban Leagues, NAACPs, congressmen.

But the ultimate solution will not be a paragraph in the law books. It will come from the aggregate of all Americans in how they react to the deepen-

white stores in the Negro section were burned or the white men were shot by an unknown gunman. In fact of all the towns on the old eastern shore of Maryland, Cambridge probably would have been the last to pick as a trouble spot. It was making progress—Negroes on the school board and town council, schools being integrated (only five grades to go in the grammar school), athletic games integrated, mixed church Lenten services. Why, Cambridge was one of Maryland's first towns to hire Negro policemen.

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In other towns perhaps a middle ground could have been found. But the whites of Cambridge are proud, willing to eat with Negroes in a New York restaurant, but not to be pushed into doing it at home. The Negroes felt integration was a right.

"AT THE YACHT CLUB or in their homes, the whites are charming people," said one out-of-towner. "But they know that 100 years ago their forebears owned these people."

Yet the younger Negroes out of work, impatient, weren't willing to accept gradualness. "They felt the Uncle Toms and old aunties weren't working fast enough," said State Atty. C. Burnham Mace.

Nonetheless a biracial committee persuaded four of the better restaurants to start serving Negroes. One of them lost most of its white trade. When Negroes sat down, uninvited, at a table where white people were seated, townspeople said it was a shocking breach of manners.

section were stoned. White men were pulled from their cars and pummelled. On June 14 the National Guard moved into the vacuum between the races. Order was restored at bayonet point and the town council agreed to desegregate the restaurants and consider a Negro housing program. The restaurant plan is subject to approval by the voters where there is a heavy white majority. The Negroes resumed demonstrations as soon as the Guard pulled out July 8 and two nights later Cambridge assuaged its agony with gunfire.

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Such tinder is present in varying degrees in thousands of Cambridges across the United States. In Cambridge it produced a fire. If it can there, why not anywhere else?

Maybe because Americans will have patience enough to determine that the nation can do better than bayonets in the street. For all its damage—business off as much as 25 per cent and a deep hatred that may take years to dispel — Cambridge's experience has succeeded in convincing other eastern shore towns to desegregate. They did it without incident.

BUT CAMBRIDGE set another example. It proved, said a state official, that violence can work. If you push hard enough come what may, you might get a restaurant integrated.

But the cost to Cambridge has been severe. Multiplied nationally it could be catastrophic.

Yet the national Negro leaders are not blindly militant. Mrs. Richardson, for all her head - shaking determination, recognizes the new dawn for the Negro will not be tomorrow. But, say his leaders, the Negro

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insists on what Young called "tangible evidence of change."

Perhaps the nation is today where Cambridge was six months ago. What the Negro wanted was clear. What he was going to get or how was not so certain.

NEGRO LEADERS feel there is time and it is working for them. The Kennedy bill would help bank the fires, they feel. Its defeat, says Morsell, might bring violence but he sees a deeper, more damaging reaction: a general withdrawal and isolation from the mainstream of American life.

Clark sees checks in the Negro character itself that could keep the racial crisis from going over the brink. For one thing, the Negro's centuries as a slave have contitioned him against violence as a recourse.

Furthermore, he has a distaste for extremism, said Clark.

"Through his history the Negro has had to be flexible to survive. The rigidities of communism, of Black Muslimism, are incompatible to the imperative flexibility of the Negro. When the Communists came out in the '30s for self-determination in the Black Belt, they were really advocating segregation against the whites. The Negro doesn't want this. He's flirted with causes—Graveyism, Liberia, Muslimism — but these have not been his main thrust, which is to be an American."

HE MIGHT LIKE to hear Malcolm X give it to the white man, but, said Morsell, "for 150 years the Negro has believed in his ultimate acceptance into the national organism. Even during slavery few Negroes wanted to go back to Africa."

"The Negro has been here twice as long as the Kennedys," said Clark. "He is not an alien person in our midst. This is what the segregationist doesn't see."

And perhaps the Negro's deep regard for the only country he knows will be a bridge over which he will meet the white man half way.

For it must surely be a sign of hope that when Medgar Evers' embittered, outraged friends gathered the night after he was murdered, they didn't close the meeting with a call to arms or an oath of revenge.

They sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

R & R Rel.

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 2

Racial Unrest: A Time Bomb With Fuse Lit

Editor's Note: Will current racial strife in America be limited to sporadic outbreaks or are we, in this turbulent summer of 1963, on the verge of major domestic violence? Here, in the second installment of a special series on the deepening integration crisis, is an on-the-spot survey of major friction spots.

By BERNARD GAVZER
Associated Press Writer

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson has warned that "a time bomb ticks" in America's streets this turbulent summer of 1963.

The bomb is the explosive crisis which already has flared in sporadic violence in Danville, Va., Cambridge, Md., and New York as Negroes and whites have clashed on the issue of full racial equality now.

Overhanging these and other outbreaks are the haunting questions: Will the bomb go off? When? How? Where?

Interviews with and reports from top level white and Negro officials in federal, state and municipal governments, with civic, social and religious leaders and with citizens in the street, point to one conclusion:

There is grave danger of major racial violence as America searches for a solution to the deepening integration crises.

IF SUCH chaos comes, the consensus is:

1. It may very likely—but not necessarily—occur in a Northern big city.

2. It may stem from rigid police action—or from some minor incident blown out of proportion by rumor.

Viewing the state of affairs today, the National Urban League's Board of Trustees reports:

"Hundreds of thousands of (Northern) Negro citizens—struggling beneath the mounting burden of automation, over-crowding and subtle discrimination—are reaching the breaking point."

Dr. Gardner Taylor, Negro pastor of Brooklyn's Concord Baptist Church, warns:

"Miscalculation of the moment of truth which is upon us could plunge New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles into a crimson carnage and a bloodbath unparalleled in the history of the nation."

ONE OF THE worst years in the history of U.S. race relations was 1919. There were seven major riots that year—the three worst occurring in Chicago (38 killed, 537 wounded and injured), Washington, D.C. (6 killed, scores hurt), and Phillips County, Ark. (30 killed, hundreds hurt).

Can such riots come again?

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro professor at City College of New York, answers:

"If white America refuses to grant rights to Negro citizens and continues to withhold them, I suppose white America will try killing Negroes. If white America is prepared to see Negroes being killed and killed and killed, then this will happen, but it won't stop anything because you simply cannot kill everyone."

In Chicago, veteran labor leader Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers—a union which has been integrated for decades—says:

"My feeling is that the discontent still is below the boiling point, but I wouldn't bet a thin dime on when it boils over. Our organizers throughout the country are surprised that it hasn't boiled over."

IF THE time bomb should go off, where is it likely to explode?

Some, including Dr. Richard Wade, professor of urban history at the University of Chicago, think it may occur in the South.

Wade cites a long history of deference on the part of the Negro, who is in many Southern regions unskilled, uneducated and has little organization.

Others believe the explosion is more likely to occur in the North where there is job discrimination, de facto segregation in housing, de facto school segregation and social discrimination.

Speaking of the onslaughts to personal dignity endured by the Negro in the North, a Negro public relations man notes:

"I sit in my air conditioned office all day and I see nicely dressed people and I look down on Sixth Avenue and I almost forget about color. And then at 5:30 I get downstairs and it hits me in the face. I can't get a cab because everybody thinks I want to go up to Harlem."

IN CHICAGO, Alvin Prejean, deputy director of the Urban League, insists all the ingredients for explosion are to be found in Chicago, among other Northern cities.

"Negroes are pushing and whites are pushing back," he says. "People here used to talk about those poor people down in Birmingham. Now they are talking about here. We need better teachers, better jobs, better housing just to catch up with whites."

Earl Brown, Manhattan's Negro deputy borough president and former magazine writer who with Louis E. Martin, now a member of the Democratic National Committee, predicted the 1943 Detroit race riot (34 dead, 700 injured), says it is the discovery of obtaining dignity which contributes to the Negro militancy.

"This is the Negro doing something for himself," Brown says. "He's learning something about dignity. He may have to lose some blood, but he's found that that's the road to freedom, not just winning a peace."

Martin, former editor-publisher of Detroit's Negro newspaper, the Michigan Chronicle, says:

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AS IN ANY social movement, there is confusion. Leaders struggle for power positions, goals depend upon who's defining them, control of the masses evaporates.

James Meredith gets booed at an NAACP convention in Chicago, for example. At the same convention, Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National (Negro) Baptist Convention, is booed for 9 minutes, supposedly because he backed President Kennedy's call for a moratorium on demonstrations.

On leaving the speaker's platform, Rev. Jackson was pinned against it by some 50 persons who kept crying, "Kill him! Kill him!"

The mood for action is all-pervading. Its beat is sounded by Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr., president of Howard University:

"We are sick of evasions, weary of excuses, fed up with promises and want action now, liberty now, equality now."

C. Summer Stone Jr., editor of the Washington (D.C.) Afro-American, says, "There is a new Negro out there somewhere. For the first time, I'd say, everybody is involved. All Negroes, except for some Uncle Toms, are prepared to be involved."

THERE IS concern that the one thing which might lead to trouble would be a mass nonviolent march on Washington.

Such a march was decided upon in New York recently at a top level strategy meeting involving the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Martin Luther King Jr., the Urban League's Whitney Young, CORE's James Farmer, the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's John Lewis and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council.

The march is set for Aug. 28. It was decided upon even though the Kennedy administration has voiced vigorous determination to get a strong civil rights bill through Congress. Negro leaders feel there will be a filibuster and that a march would show lawmakers the degree of Negro unity and determination.

While there may be argument about the length of the fuse or whether it will be ignited, the authorities who must plan for any eventuality have done so in many areas. It is clear the federal government is committed to back decisions of courts and policies of the administration with armed troops.

"If there is runaway rioting—I hope there won't be—then the Negro can't help but lose," says Lee Blackwell, editor of the Chicago Defender.

"We represent only 10 per cent of the population. We couldn't win. I don't think it will happen that way because the Negro is realistic about being outnumbered. I do think there will be some blood.

"You can't have a revolution—even a peaceful one—without some casualties."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Naked Basis of Crisis.

R&R Rel.

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 3

'Negroes . . . Just Are Not Ready Yet'

EDITOR'S NOTE: What is the naked basis of the white man's resistance to integration of the Negro in America? Here is a hard look at the core of the problem, often hidden behind polite reasons and rationalizations. This is a third of a special series of articles comprehensively surveying both sides of the argument in today's racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

MACON COUNTY, Ala., July 30 (AP)—It is not uncommon in the South to hear a white segregationist say that, by and large, he likes the Negro.

He sees no inconsistency between having an affection for Negroes and at the same time defending a system that denies them full equality. "The Negroes as a whole just aren't ready yet," he says. "It's not their fault, but that's the way it is at this point."

A key point in his reasoning is that the great majority of Negroes are like children and that, for the time being, they must be treated as such.

A COMPOSITE of many conversations with the thoughtful type of segregationist goes pretty much like this:

"When I was a kid, my best friend was a colored boy. We played together, fished together, slept side by side on hunting trips. I was in and out of his house every day and he was in mine, eating from the same kitchen table.

"After we grew up, I paid his hospital bills and loaned him money when he needed it. I went to the weddings and funerals in his family and he came to ours. On Saturday night, when he got into trouble with the law, who went to the jail at 2 a.m. and bailed him out? I did."

It was a comfortable, harmonious relationship, he says. And even today, while racial strife rises toward the danger point in many places, you can still see this relationship between individual Negroes and whites in the South.

HERE IS A cotton plantation, deep in Alabama.

It is about 10 miles from the nearest community, the nearest sheriff or policeman. In the county, Negroes outnumber the whites, 5 to 1.

Yet the doors of the planter's home are never locked. And when he has to travel, he tells the Negro foreman, "I'll be away a few days. You look after things around here."

At night, the foreman listens to the dogs. If he hears a peculiar note in their barking, he will go outside to investigate. He is proud of being "in charge."

DRIVING INTO the plantation, you see a softball game in a field near the planter's house. Three of his children, including a girl, are playing with the children of the Negro "hoe hands."

In the sun-drenched afternoon, the oldest boy goes fishing with two Negro boys. He brings the sandwiches.

Meanwhile, the oldest girl goes horseback riding, deep in the woods. She is alone. Her parents say they never worry about her, that she is perfectly safe.

Some miles away, in a corner of the plantation, an aged Negro woman sits, rocking, on the porch. She is the widow of a "hoe hand" who worked here many years. The house is hers as long as she lives. The planter asks if she is all right. "Gettin' along jes' fine," she says.

Associated Press Wirephoto

YOUNG GIRL PLAYS WITH FAMILY COOK
She Tries to Teach Woman to Ride Bicycle

A LITTLE scene takes place in the cotton fields. As the Negroes stop work for their mid-day meal, the planter slips a dollar bill into a woman's hand. He tells a man, "Drive her to the store."

You ask what this is about.

For some reason, she brought no food to the fields that morning. "Maybe she hasn't got any money," the planter says, "or maybe she just plain forgot. But I sure can't see her go without eating."

In the winter, when the fields are bare, he finds other work on the plantation for his "hoe hands." They have to eat in the winter, too.

It all adds up to a unique segment of the racial story.

The integrationist, however, calls this "Uncle Tom-ism." And the militant Negro says it is "paternalism," archaic, degrading the Negro, numbing his effort to develop himself.

Let's look further.

THE PLANTER frequently works in the fields beside the "hoe hands." The relationship appears completely comfortable. Little jokes—in language largely unintelligible to a Yankee—pass between them. They agree that the cotton looks good.

"Way I figure," says the Negro foreman, "the better the boss does, the better we do." There will be a bonus for them at Christmas.

He has been on this plantation 24 years, another man for 17, several others for from 8 to 10 years.

The foreman once went to Florida and worked for a year. He came back. Some of the others went north for jobs. They came back, too. All of them have been to school, three, five, six years.

You see television antennae on the Negro houses. The foreman says he saw pictures of the disturbances at Birmingham and elsewhere, North and South. What did he think?

"WELL," HE SAYS, "they is sorry colored folks and they is sorry white folks everywhere, and I wish they'd both jes' leave us alone."

Whether this is the attitude, generally, of the Negro field workers in Macon County is difficult to say. Even the whites there, who consider themselves on close personal terms with their Negroes, say they don't know what the "hoe hands" are thinking, as the clash and clatter of racial trouble comes nearer.

Not all segregationists, of course, profess to like Negroes.

THERE IS the bigot, ridden with fear and hatred of the Negro, and clutching his prejudices. He is the night-rider, shooting indiscriminately into Negro homes, dumping garbage on the front porch of white integrationists.

To anyone who pleads for reason and good will in the struggle over civil rights, he scrawls a "hate letter." It is misspelled, ungrammatical, frequently obscene, dripping venom.

"That type of white man," says a Southern newspaper woman, "is at the bottom of the scale and he knows it. The only thing that separates him from an equally poor, uneducated Negro is the color of his skin. He has to look down on somebody so he looks down on the Negro."

BUT WHAT about the segregationist who says he has a genuine affection for his Negro friends? How does he square this with the fact of injustice and inequality?

He begins with a basic premise, a conviction that underlies most of his attitudes—that, by and large, the Negro has not yet reached a stage of development where he is "ready" for full equality.

"No race on earth ever made so much progress in 100 years as the Negroes have made," he says. "But they did it with the guidance of the white man and they still need our guidance."

Flowing from that comes his opposition to integrated schools.

"THE NEGRO doesn't have the same capacity for learning," he says. "Moreover, his home invironment is seldom conducive to study. So why should my children be held back to his pace? They're both better off in schools where they can advance at their own pace."

The segregationist also says that Negro children frequently come to school unbathed and wearing dirty clothes. He says they come from homes with a high rate of illegitimacy and adds, "I don't wany my kids sitting next to kids who talk openly about what they have seen at home."

For similar reasons, he doesn't want his wife and daughter to sit next to a Negro in a movie theater or a lunch counter, use the same fitting rooms in a store, or the same rest rooms.

Does he really believe the Negro's ultimate goal is to "marry your daughter?" Yes, he does. He's convinced of it.

As to the Negro's right to vote, one segregationist said, "There's no reason why their best people shouldn't vote, those who are educated, literate, and able to make a judgment on candidates and issues. But there aren't many with these qualifications."

SO IT GOES, consistently, over point after point—the assertion that the Negro's level of development is not yet at a stage where he is "ready" for full equality. "What he is asking," segregationists say, "is the rights without the responsibilities."

I once asked a Southern newspaper editor, a segregationist, to itemize the five or six principal reasons why so many Southerners believe in segregation. On the back of an envelope, he set down the various points. Leading his list was one word:

"Habit."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Church's Role.

IN ARIZONA, WHERE MEN ARE COOKS

PHOENIX, Ariz., July 30 (AP)—Joseph Meeker is out to prove that boys know how to use the stove as well as the ice box.

The 13-year-old Phoenix lad has entered a contest with six girls in the Maricopa County junior cooking championships.

your number spell a message.—(c1963.)

AFL. Jour. 7/31/63

THE DEEPENING CRISIS, NO. 4

U.S. Churches Taking Action For Integration

By GEORGE W. CORNELL
Associated Press Writer

The picture in the Sunday school lesson showed a group of babies in a clinic, two of them Negroes. Another picture showed three children at play, one a Negro. The story discussion said:

"God loves white children, yellow children, brown children. Dorothy's hands are very pale. Her hair is golden. Ben's hands are brown. His eyes are black. Do you think God loves Dorothy better because her hands are white?

"No, indeed not—it would be sad indeed if we all looked alike."

MOST AMERICAN religious bodies, in their official pronouncements and educational materials, have long stressed the equal worth of all human beings, whatever their color—that all were created by God and precious to Him.

At the same time, however, the churches have often been described as the most racially segregated major institutions in the nation's life.

"The shame of Sunday morning," goes an oft-used phrase of self-reproach in church circles. And another: "The most segregated hour of the week is at 11 a.m. on Sunday."

Since church congregations harbor intimate personal relationships among whole families — adults, youths and children — it has been maintained that once Negro and white mingle fully there, racial barriers will collapse elsewhere.

IN THAT SENSE, the local church becomes a testing ground —a point of decision — for the whole community pattern.

Churches have long been rallying points for pro-integration activity in many instances, and some Southern ministers have been roughed up for their parts in it.

On the other hand, the churches themselves in their local compositions have remained predominantly one-color units, even though the number of integrated parishes has been increasing rapidly of late.

This is the lump in the throat of the churches—the acknowledged gap between their official pleas, and their on-the-spot conditions.

WITH THE racial crisis flaming and with Negroes demanding equity with new vehemence and immediacy, church strategy generally has undergone an extraordinary change in the last few months.

It has switched from talk, to action.

"It amounts to a new posture toward methodology," says Rev. Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, a sociologist-clergyman consultant to the racial and cultural relations department of the National Council of Churches.

"After years of repentance and appeals for racial reconciliation, the churches have now begun a course of social intervention at the first level."

THIS MEANS official backing for direct action challenging segregation on the local scene.

As expressed by the national council, which includes 33 Protestant and Orthodox dominations with 40 million members, the method calls for personal "involvement in every phase of the struggle for justice including negotiations and demonstration."

A new interdenominational "Commission on Religion and Race" was formed in June, to implement the task.

Steps were under way to form adopted a similar policy. The denomination this spring appropriated a half-million dollars to support direct-action programs for integration. The Disciples of Christ also made a special allocation for this purpose.

Roman Catholicism was a forerunner in integration action. In 1947, Joseph Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis, desegregated parochial schools there, despite lay resistance. Catholic Bishop Vincent S. Waters did the same in the Diocese of Raleigh, N.C., in 1953, ahead of the court decision.

He got shoved about in the process, but stuck to his rule. "Segregation is a product of darkness and the time has come to end it," he said.

MUCH OF the reinforced church activity was geared for an interfaith approach.

That aspect got its big push last January at the historic and unprecedented "National Conference on Religion and Race" in Chicago, the first time leading Protestant, Jewish and Roman Catholic bodies had joined in tackling the problem.

"Racism is our most serious domestic evil," the conference declared. "We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed."

Permanent machinery was set up for continuing interfaith operations, with a local network organized in Atlanta, Detroit, New Orleans, Miami, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Antonio, Little Rock, San Francisco and elsewhere.

AMONG the nation's Negroes, about 10 million belong to separate all-Negro Protestant denominations — Baptist and Methodist. About 500,000 are Roman Catholics and another 500,000 belong to predominately white Protestant bodies, although they are chiefly in one-color congregations.

At the national level, in most denominations, and in inter-denominational bodies, Negroes have considerable representation.

But the pattern rarely is reflected on the local scene—in the overwhelming white suburban congregations, and in de facto segregated city neighborhoods, North and South.

In 1946, nearly a decade before the Supreme Court decision, the Federal Council of Churches, an interdenominational precursor of the national council, declared that "segregation is a denial of our Christian faith."

A famed Southern Baptist evangelist, Billy Graham, set an early example in his crusades, here and abroad. "We will not hold a segregated meeting anywhere in the world," he announced.

AFTER the Supreme Court decision, every major denomination, including the strongest church body in the South, the Southern Baptist Convention, endorsed the desegregation order.

In many cases, groups of Southern pastors, in the midst of racial tension, have issued manifestos calling for equal treatment of the Negro. Some pastors have lost their posts as a result of their stand.

A survey in 1958 showed four out of five Southern Protestant pastors favored integration, whether saying so publicly or not. Others, however, strongly support segregation.

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Steps were under way to form local arms in communities in all regions to check congregational practices, to support and join in demonstrations, to press for civil rights legislation, and to organize "corps of prison chaplains" to discourage police mistreatment of demonstrators.

The new punch in the church stand has showed up in many ways. The United Church of Christ (a merger including Congregationalists) at its general synod in Denver this summer shaped a potent financial weapon.

It moved to make loans for new church construction contingent on nondiscrimination in building work, and on a commitment to an interracial policy by congregational leaders.

UNITED Presbyterians have nominations — Baptist and Methodist. About 500,000 are Roman Catholics and another 500,000 belong to predominately white Protestant bodies, although they are chiefly in one-color congregations.

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A survey in 1958 showed four out of five Southern Protestant pastors favored integration, whether saying so publicly or not. Others, however, strongly support segregation.

AMONG those Southern preachers who support segregation, some maintain that the idea of interracial mixing is Communist-inspired. Some also argue that the Bible teaches segregation.

On the other hand, pro-integrationist ministers cite many Biblical passages in support of all men's equality before God.

Are local pastors addressing themselves to the issue? An official of the Southern Baptist Convention told me:

"As a rule, I don't think they are. Some are beginning to speak plainly and forthrightly. Unfortunately, we're late, just awfully late."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Political Effects.

Rr R Rel

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 5

Voting Is New Negro Symbol Of Citizenship

By RELMAN MORIN

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Aug. 1 (AP)—The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA), a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form. Slowly, studying it line by line, she fills in the form. A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says, the papers are in order. He tells her where, and on which days, she can file a real application. If it is accepted, she will be a registered voter.

A REPORTER questioned her. She says, simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, as a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

THE DRIVE moves through many channels.

The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Or they station themselves in municipal buildings. A Negro comes in for, say, a driver's license. They ask whether he is registered. If not, they try to persuade him to do so.

ANOTHER DEVICE is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

SPEAKING of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum.

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The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "Voter Education Project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

IN TENNESSEE'S Haywood and Fayette counties, a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Ala., had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341. In the city of Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 per month, he said.

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

COMPARABLE figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one—many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely-spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle, a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

". . . 18 affiants, more than half of whom had college or advanced degrees, were rejected for such inconsequential, formal, technical mistakes."

HE ORDERED the board to register 64 Negroes and to give priority attention to 400 applicants on the waiting list.

Similarly, in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said:

"In one county, Negroes have been required to copy and interpret long, archaic sections of the state constitution, and then have been rejected for omissions of punctuation. Whites, meanwhile have been asked to copy such simply provisions as, 'There shall be no imprisonment for debt.' "

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, ascribed the small number of registered Negroes in his state to other causes. In a copyrighted interview with "U.S. News and World Report," he said:

"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

AS TO LITERACY qualifications and registering, he said:

"They have to be able to read and understand and interpret a section of the constitution of the state of Mississippi. We don't believe in having ignorant people elect our officials."

As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South?

There have been indications already—although it is difficult to say with certainty—that the Negro vote tipped the balance in certain elections. Some residents of Birmingham, Ala., for example, say Negro ballots ousted T. Eugene (Bull) Connor from the city government. Others are not so sure.

IN ANY CASE, the thousands of new Negro voters can be expected today to go to the man with "moderate" views on segregation and against the candidate running on a program of strict "white supremacy." In a close election, this could spell the difference.

In Tuskegee, Ala., Negro leaders say they already outnumber the whites in registered voters. Thus, theoretically, they could elect a mayor and an entire city government. But William P. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association, says:

"We would discourage an all-Negro slate. We don't want Negro domination and we have preached that for years.

"We just want to vote for the best qualified man."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Economic Effects.

Atl. Jour 8/2/63

Friday, August 2, 1963

Exploited Negro Must Pay 'Race Tax'

By TOM HENSHAW
Associated Press Writer

One day in June, 1962, a real estate broker dropped in at a home in a town far out on Long Island.

Were the owners interested in selling their home? They were not.

They should be, the broker advised, because soon it would have no value. The reason: Negroes were living in the neighborhood.

The owners, who are white, still were not interested, so the broker left his business card in case they changed their minds. He went next door to pay a similar call.

The broker's enterprise was nipped in midspiel when the New York Department of State lifted his license for "Blockbusting," which New York considers to be "against the public interest."

Blockbusting, or inducing the panic sale of property at a loss when Negroes move into a white neighborhood, is only one of many ways in which individuals can profit from racial segregation and discrimination, a facet of the economics of prejudice.

THERE ARE other ways in which the Negro is exploited—not necessarily because he is black but because being black has placed him in a vulernable social, cultural, economic position.

Exploitation in housing has been the subject of numerous inquiries in Northern metropolitan areas. Substandard housing reaps enormous profits for landlords through a variety of techniques: Reducing large units into many small ones, charging high rents on the basis of persons occupying the quarters, drastically reducing services and upkeep.

Even in such things as the purchase of food, Negroes contend they have paid a double premium: Higher prices and lower quality. A large chain recently was accused of having different price structures in New York in stores dealing with predominantly white customers and those with Negro and Puerto Rican Customers.

The Negro customers paid more for the same goods, according to a survey by New York's East River Democratic Club. The company attributed the situation to "local store management error."

ONE OF THE major complaints of Northern Negroes is that they have been short changed in job opportunities. While no man may directly profit from such a system, in a sense the white worker profits in reduced competition for his job. It is in the struggle for jobs that the North has witnessed some of its worst violence.

In New York, Philadelphia and other Northern cities, the Negro has been demonstrating in demand of jobs. CORE has been particularly active, and heads have been cracked as pickets blocked movement of supply vehicles or sought to keep workers from going on the job. Construction at various sites was halted by pickets.

It is almost axiomatic in the Negro community — and a major irritant in these days of deepening crisis — that Negroes pay more for less. Reginald A. Johnson, associate director for housing of the National Urban League, calls it "the race tax."

Since the business of profiteering in race is a shadowy operation, there are no good estimates of its profits. But a self proclaimed blockbuster, for example, wrote under an assumed name in a national magazine (Saturday Evening Post) and said in effect:

"If you can't make $100,000 a year, you're loafing."

UNDER IDEAL conditions, blockbusting works like this:

Elm Street is all-white. The houses are not new; perhaps they're a bit over the hill. A few blocks away, there is an all - Negro neighborhood. The whites of Elm Street are extremely conscious of its existence.

One day, a white family moves away from Elm Street. A real estate speculator, scenting an opportunity, sells the house to a Negro family. The Negroes move in. Then the speculator really goes to work.

He contacts Brown, another white Elm Street home owner. He reminds Brown, who probably doesn't need reminding, of his Negro neighbors, adding with a knowing look, "and you know what they do to property values."

The speculator offers to buy the house. Brown agrees to sell. He sets the price at $12,500. The speculator laughs. With Negroes in the neighborhood and more certain to move in, he says, he couldn't get more than $10,000 for it. Brown sells at $10,000.

Then the house is offered to Smith, a Negro. The price is $15,000. It's inflated and Smith knows it, but the house and the neighborhood are better than those usually available to Negroes. Smith buys at $15,000.

THE SPECULATOR takes his $5,000 gross profit and moves on to the next house, the next block, the next town. The profit, of course, knows no race—$2,500 came from the white; $2,500 from the Negro.

Blockbusting is the most spectacular way in which unscrupulous people reap a financial windfall from the fact that one race often is uncomfortable in the presence of another. But all methods have a common denominator: The Negro is a captive market.

"The white person can escape," says Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. "The Negro can't."

Unspectacular but steady profits are made, Negro leaders say, in the so-called Negro ghettos of the North—Harlem in New York City, the South Side of Chicago, Fillmore Street in San Francisco.

Ghetto landlords, most of them white but some Negro, are able to make money without spending much.

"They don't have to worry about improving the property," says Dr. Warren Banner of the Urban League. "The Negro isn't going to move. Where would he go? The owners just milk the property and forget it."

SOME OWNERS keep their property in repair. A noticeable number don't.

Last spring, inspectors discovered 91 violations of the health code in a Harlem tenement. They included rat infestation, disrepair, accumulated refuse and inadequate heat. The landlord lived in the suburbs.

Race profits also are made on the money market. Some channels for obtaining money are closed to the Negroes, particularly in mortgage loans.

"The money we lend is not our own," says a Chicago banker. "We must invest it in sound paper. Negroes just have a tough time meeting our mortgage standards."

"When a person applies for a loan," says Banner, "the bank looks at his job and his collateral. It relates this information to its experience with people in similar situations.

"Negroes are most likely to have marginal jobs with less security. Generally speaking, the neighborhoods into which Negroes are permitted to move are the neighborhoods no one else wants. The House is not worth much as collateral."

THE SPECULATOR, of course, is always willing to step in to help—for a price.

Banner cites as an example the case of a Negro who had a chance to buy a house at its market price of $17,000 and wound up paying $21,000 through a speculator when the bank turned down his loan. Not only that, but he found himself paying simultaneous installments on loans of $10,000 and $6,000.

"The load is more than he can handle," says Banner. "The house is old because that is usually the only type they will sell to a Negro. He has no money left for repairs. He has to rent out rooms to make ends meet."

Young believes the financial exploitation of Negroes begins with the fact of segregation; the inability of the Negro to move around within the whole community.

NEXT IN SUNDAY'S ATLANTA JOURNAL AND CONSTITUTION: How It All Began.

Ak. Jvc 8/4/63

THE DEEPENING CRISIS—NO. 7

Here's How It All Began

EDITOR'S NOTE — The struggle for integration of the races in America started quietly. But a historical perspective reveals its inexorable progress to this critical summer of sporadic violence, frustration and discord — a forward march of events predestined to occur from the moment the first slave ship dropped anchor in the free world.

By JULES LOH
Associated Press Writer

There was nothing very complicated about it at the beginning.

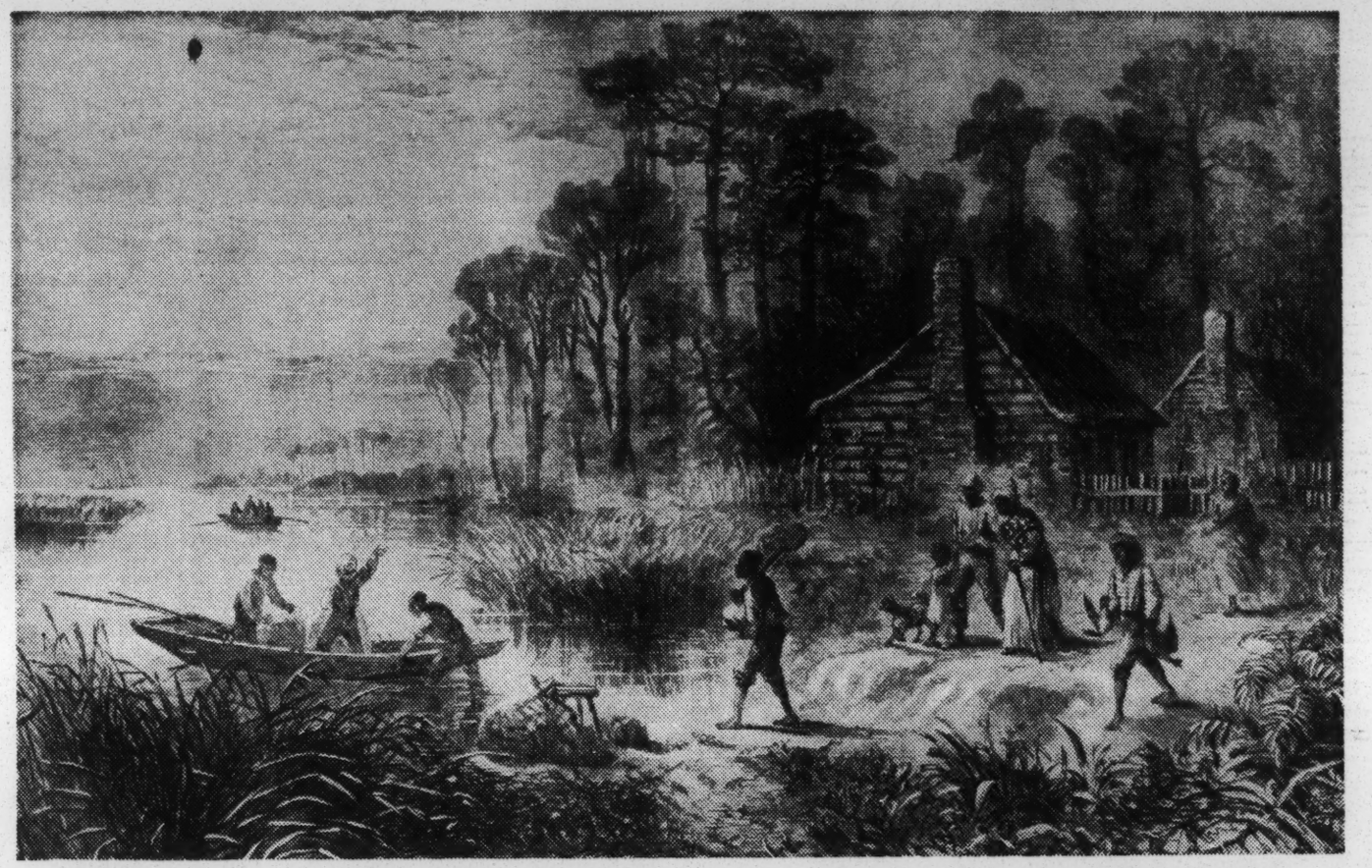
A Dutch ship dropped anchor in the harbor at Jamestown, Va., one sweaty August day and its captain, named Jope, rowed ashore and told tobacco man John Rolfe and some of the others that he had a cargo of "20 negars" which he wished to swap for food.

The Negroes probably had been captured as pirate booty on the high seas from some Spanish vessel for they had names like Isabella, Pedro and Antonio, though the language they spoke surely wasn't Spanish.

Where they came from really didn't matter much to the colonists. After all, many were indentured servants themselves. In fact just a few months earlier a boatload of 90 "young maidens" had arrived from Europe to become wives of the first 90 bachelors who would go the price of 20 pounds of tobacco per maiden.

THE YEAR was 1619. In some respects it is as profound a date in American history as the following year, 1620, when the Mayflower arrived.

However wide the chasm of racial separation was to become during the succeeding 3½ centuries, not a single segment of the fabric of American life would go untouched by the black thread introduced into the nation's social and cultural



NEGRO SLAVES LEAVING THEIR QUARTERS AFTER EMANCIPATION WAS PROCLAIMED
This Sketch From Harper's Weekly of 1864 Caught Negroes at Time of Rising Hope

guess, had been forcibly exported and another 30 to 40 million had died before they could be sold.

It wasn't the custom of slavery — an institution as old as Moses — but the commercialization of it that had such melancholy results.

Historically slaves were merely unfortunate folks who happened to have been captured in battle or maybe went bankrupt. It could happen to anybody. Race certainly wasn't a factor and there was no stigma of basic inferiority attached to their lot.

Portugal, for example, had elaborate codes developed over the centuries which made slavery far from a hopeless plight. Families could not be split up;

trained tutor named Eli Whitney spent a few idle days in 1792 at the home of the Widow Green in Savannah and noticed how frustratingly tedious was the job of extracting seeds from the tenacious fibers in a boll of short staple upland cotton.

His invention of the cotton gin moved slavery from convenient luxury to economic necessity as small farms became huge plantations. By 1850 three-fourths of the world's cotton was being supplied by the Gulf states and planters felt the economy of the entire Southland depended on slave labor. To a great many in the cotton kingdom it appeared obvious that slavery was a positive good, and practicing it was simply following the natural order of things.

a bad deal and sold her to someone else for a $50 profit.

As the Negro's legal status sank lower and lower so did his human status. He became the butt of ridicule, the subject of caricature by comics who discovered burnt cork. Most famous of all the antebellum blackface minstrels was Daddy Dan Rice who toured the country for years performing a thigh-slapping song and dance number titled "Jump, Jim Crow!"

THE NEGROES had songs of their own, generally regarded as quaint. They had words like "Go Down, Moses, 'Way Down in Egypt Land, and Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go," and "Nobody Knows the

nence, persuaded Congress to buy some territory in Africa which later became the independent state of Liberia. Only about 6,000 American Negroes chose to move there, however. The latest and perhaps the most colorful back-to-Africa advocate was Marcus Manassen Garvey, a Jamaican Negro educated in London who came to New York in 1917 wearing a purple and gold uniform and three-cornered hat. He wound up in the Atlanta penitentiary for using the mail to defraud.

From the beginning most Negro leaders have denounced emigration ideas. During the Liberian movement a speaker at a Negro rally in Hartford cried, "Why should we leave this land so dearly bought by the blood

THE YEAR was 1619. In some respects it is as profound a date in American history as the following year, 1620, when the Mayflower arrived.

However wide the chasm of racial separation was to become during the succeeding 3½ centuries, not a single segment of the fabric of American life would go untouched by the black thread introduced into the nation's social and cultural loom that day at Jamestown.

Harper's Ferry, Little Rock, Bloody Kansas, Birmingham—what generation has not known racial violence? Dred Scott, Medgar Evers, Theodore Bilbo, Marcus Garvey, John Brown—how many names has "the Negro question" thrust into national prominence? Lynch law, Mr. Interlocutor, freedom rides, underground railroad, jazz, Ku Klux Klan, sit-ins, eeny meeny miney moe catch a nigger by the toe — what man, woman or child in all the land can say he has escaped the influence of the Negro in his midst?

THE PEOPLE of Jamestown could have suspected none of this; their part in the emerging drama was innocent enough.

The 20 Negroes melded quite nicely into their established system of servitude whereby a man could be sold, or sell himself, for a certain duration. After working or buying off his bondage he was as free, white or black, as any other man. For four decades Negroes lived in Virginia on a basis of equality, accumulating land, voting in assemblies. One Negro even bought a white servant. There was no inferiority attached to skin color. That came later.

The significance of their arrival in 1619 was that it marked the first contact between the American colonies and the Atlantic slave trade.

It was perhaps inevitable that America should be caught up in the trade. For nearly four centuries beginning about 1500, slave ships flying Portuguese, Dutch, English and, finally, American flags competed for favor on the African coast

THEY STACKED their human cargo like cordwood in the fetid holds and in the two-foot space 'tween decks and headed for the thriving markets in the new world. Each day during the 10-week voyage they could count on having to toss a few dead ones over the side. Mutinies were frequent; suicides commonplace.

Most of the slaves imported in America came from the Guinea coast, the Gold Coast, Gambia and Senegal; some kidnapped by whites, most captured by corrupt African chieftains and traded for rum and guns. In 1736 Col. William Byrd of Virginia said in a letter to the Earl of Egmont, "They import so many Negroes hither that I fear this colony will some time or other be confirmed by the name of New Guinea." By the time Col. Byrd's children were grown the Virginia population was estimated at 300,000 whites and 200,000 slaves.

WHEN THE TRADE finally petered out more than 15 million Africans, a conservative

Historically slaves were merely unfortunate folks who happened to have been captured in battle or maybe went bankrupt. It could happen to anybody. Race certainly wasn't a factor and there was no stigma of basic inferiority attached to their lot.

Portugal, for example, had elaborate codes developed over the centuries which made slavery far from a hopeless plight. Families could not be split up; masters were forbidden to injure slaves; slaves could testify in court, even against their owners, and so forth.

IN AMERICA, on the other hand, there were no slave codes. Moreover, only Negroes were slaves. Thus, unlike the attitudes which developed in other countries of the Western hemisphere where the slave ships docked, slavery in the United States gradually came to be regarded as the natural condition of the black man and his color therefore a mark of intrinsic inferiority.

As it became necessary from time to time for American law to define a slave he was described variously as "a chattel" or "real estate" or finally, in the opinion of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the 1856 Dred Scott decision, merely an "article of merchandise."

Legally, slaves were incapable of matrimony, which meant they could have children but not families. In 1838 slave dealer Benjamin Davis of Hamburg, S.C., advertised that his current stock "consists of . . . several small boys without their mothers."

THE LAW FORBADE a slave to learn to read or write, to leave the premises without a pass or to assemble with fellow slaves without a white person present to overhear any insurrection plots. He — or she — couldn't testify in any litigation involving a white person.

It took decades, however, for the idea of black inferiority finally to mature. Perhaps it never would have had not a Yale

moved slavery from convenient luxury to economic necessity as small farms became huge plantations. By 1850 three-fourths of the world's cotton was being supplied by the Gulf states and planters felt the economy of the entire Southland depended on slave labor. To a great many in the cotton kingdom it appeared obvious that slavery was a positive good, and practicing it was simply following the natural order of things.

"OUR NEW government," explained Alexander Stephens of Georgia the day he was named vice president of the Confederacy, "is based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth . . . that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery — subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition."

Stephens acknowledged that "this truth has been slow in the process of its development," but once the process was complete there could no longer be any such thing as a literally free Negro.

An owner could, of course, free a slave, though in some cases it required consent of the legislature or a $1,000 bond to insure his good behavior. But he still remained the prisoner of his skin.

Most of the slave laws continued to apply to him. In some states he couldn't possess firearms, poison, dogs or whisky. Others had deadlines for him to get out of the state or be sold back into slavery—Virginia one year; North Carolina 90 days; Tennessee immediately.

SOME NEGROES, for lack of security, returned to slavery voluntarily. A rare few managed their freedom quite well. In Louisiana a free Negro named Cyprian Ricard owned nearly 100 slaves, and North Carolina freedman Thomas Day hired white help in his cabinet shop. A free Negro shoemaker in South Carolina earned enough to buy his wife from her owner for $700. Later he decided it was

blackface minstrels was Daddy Dan Rice who toured the country for years performing a thigh-slapping song and dance number titled "Jump, Jim Crow!"

THE NEGROES had songs of their own, generally regarded as quaint. They had words like "Go Down, Moses, 'Way Down in Egypt Land, and Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go," and "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and "Oh, Mary, Don't You Weep, Don't You Moan. . . ."

From Socrates to Lincoln, wherever slavery has existed there have been voices to oppose it.

SLAVEOWNER Thomas Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, wrote a blistering indictment of George III for his part in the slave trade but the 167 words were stricken out.

Concerning slavery Jefferson later wrote "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever," and predicted that slavery would be the "rock upon which the old Union would split." Patrick Henry, another slaveowner, said, "I will not, I cannot, justify it." Neither man anticipated the cotton gin and both thought slavery would gradually fade away.

Benjamin Franklin wasn't that patient. He joined the Abolitionist Society and became its president. George Washington set his slaves free on his deathbed; John Adams refused to own them at all.

Through the years another scheme has attracted intermittent interest as a solution to the Negro's plight: emigration to Africa.

AS EARLY AS 1812 a Negro sea captain, Paul Cuffee, tried unsuccessfully to establish an African colony for American Negroes. In 1820 the American Colonization Society, backed by John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay and others of similar promi-

Garvey, a Jamaican Negro educated in London who came to New York in 1917 wearing a purple and gold uniform and three-cornered hat. He wound up in the Atlanta penitentiary for using the mail to defraud.

From the beginning most Negro leaders have denounced emigration ideas. During the Liberian movement a speaker at a Negro rally in Hartford cried, "Why should we leave this land so dearly bought by the blood, groans and tears of our fathers?"

THE AUDIENCE nodded, perhaps recalling that during the Revolutionary War (when all the colonies practiced slavery except Pennsylvania where the Quakers held it to be an evil deserving of excommunication) there were enough Negoes in the Continental Army's ranks that the British had a barracks doggerel which went:

The Rebel clowns, oh
what a sight,
So awkward is their figure.
Yonder stands a pious
wight,
And here and there
a nigger.

American abolitionists scored their first major victory in 1808 when Congress declared the slave trade illegal. The act did not stop the trade — an estimated 250,000 more Negroes were smuggled in — but it did increase the hazard and slaves became far more valuable. George Washington paid $500 for a slave, but in 1853 a No. 1 male fetched $1,250 on the New Orleans market and by 1860 the price was $1,800. When civil war came fewer than 5 per cent of the South's 8 million people were slaveowners.

After the Missouri Compromise struck a tenuous sectional balance in 1820 between 12 slave and 12 free states, the abolitionist movement began to develop with the fervor of politics and the zeal of religion. In 20 years' time the American Anti-Slavery Society counted 250,000 members in 15 states and published 25 journals, and it was but one group among several.

IN MANY RESPECTS the various organizations were prototypes of the civil rights groups in today's headlines; change the dates on some of the handbills and history would seem to be repeating itself.

William Lloyd Garrison, one of the most militant of the abolitionists, advocated moral persuasion and passive resistance. "Perhaps blood will flow," he once told a friend, "but not through any counsel of mine." John Brown took an opposite stance, holding that "slavery is a state of war." In a third camp were Arthur Tappan, James Birney, Gerrit Smith and others who believed in political action and in 1840 helped organize the Liberal Party.

Abolitionist literature flooded the mails.

IN THE SOUTH it was contraband and in 1835 a mob sacked the Charleston post office and burned all the propaganda they could find. In Alabama a grand jury indicted

Turn to Page 3E

NIGERIAN NATIVES HOLD UP REMINDERS OF SLAVE TRADE
Chains Were Used to Shackle Captured Natives in Africa

DEEPENING CRISIS

Continued From Page 1B.

Ransom Williams of New York in absentia for mailing his newspaper into the state. In Kentucky Cassius M. Clay kept a loaded cannon at the door of his Lexington office where he published The True American. In Alton, Ill., Editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, three of his presses already thrown in the river, tried to defend the fourth and was shot to death by a mob. In Brunswick, Maine, a mother of six, Harriet Beecher Stowe, took time off from her housework to write a book, more a tract than a novel, which sold 300,000 copies within a year and immortalized such names as Uncle Tom, Simon Legree and Topsy.

Emotions were high, tempers hot. On Capitol Hill Congressman Brooks of South Carolina lit into Senator Sumner of Massachusetts with his cane. There was no middle ground. When war came few were surprised.

If Appomattox solved some problems, it left many more in its bloody wake.

THE SOUTH was in ruins and disorganized former slaves wandered idly about the wreckage. Only one in 10 could read or write. For many, attainment of their ideal was the beginning of their disillusionment. Now able to own property, few were equipped to manage it. But with federal bayonets to protect them at the polls and carpetbaggers to show them how to vote, they became a powerful political force.

Soon the state legislatures of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi had majorities of Negro members, most of whom learned the rudiments of reading and writing after they were elected. Many of them engaged in what one conservative historian refers to "a saturnalis of corrupt expenditure" and the demoralized South added further economic woes to its misery. There were any number of occasions for the hatred engendered by war to flame again.

Negro rule in the South was such an obvious failure that few Northern states were willing to apply the same reconstruction plans to their own areas. Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Ohio and Michigan, for example, refused the Negro the right to vote.

WHEN PRESIDENT Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South in 1877 white reaction was swift, and in the light of what had happened, predictable.

Legal barriers began to be erected against the Negro, such as the "Grandfather Clause" invented by Louisiana in 1898 which denied a ballot to anyone whose grandfather hadn't voted prior to 1867. Private organizations were formed to restore "the Southern way of life" — the KKK, the White Brotherhood, Pale Faces, Knights of the White Camellia.

Lines of segregation were drawn, and they were unmistakable. When Homer Plessy, a Negro, was removed from a white railroad coach in 1896 and took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court the idea of "separate but equal" became the law of the land.

Over the years the Negro began to protest.

As the protests grew louder, the Jim Crow signs began to fall. More important to the Negro, so did the Jim Crow laws. In the history of the colored man in America, the year 1954, when "separate but equal" was stricken from the law, was as significant as the year "involuntary servitude" was outlawed. Recent events surely prove this.

No one can know when the next turning point will be, what shape it will take. But a glance at how we got where we are, a look ahead at the ever-deepening crisis as America's ears are being assailed as never before, and the suspicion is that it couldn't be far off.

R+R Rel.

The Deepening Crisis . . . No. 8

NEGROES' ULTMATE GOAL: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL

By TOM HENSHAW
Associated Press Writer

When Roy Wilkins was a boy in St. Louis, the doctrine of separate but equal facilities for Negroes stood unchallenged as the law of the land. No one cared.

The eminent Negro, Booker T. Washington, counseled his people to work hard, get an education and, above all, do nothing to upset the delicate balance of peace between races.

There was no National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; there was no National Urban League; there were no sit-ins, no freedom rides. Civil rights made scarcely a political ripple.

That was 60 years ago; 40 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and the 14th Amendment which provided equal protection of the law to all citizens of the United States.

THE OTHER day, Roy Wilkins, now 61, executive secretary of the NAACP and a leader in the current Negro civil rights drive, reminisced a bit and looked into the future.

"Things are happening in my lifetime now that I thought I would never live to see," he said with a slight shake of his head. "I've seen goals that I dreamed of as a young man suddenly attained.

"Several years ago, Cincinnati, one of our largest cities, had a Negro vice mayor; last fall Massachusetts elected a Negro attorney general; Connecticut elected a Negro treasurer.

"When I was growing up in St. Louis and rooting for the Cardinals, I always hoped for it and worked for it but I could never visualize a Hank Aaron or a Willie Mays or a Jackie Robinson."

ONLY 25 YEARS ago, high hopes of Negroes reloved around an anti-lynching measure that failed to pass Congress. Now, some see the ultimate goal in sight.

What is the ultimate goal?

"The ultimate goal is simply equal opportunity for all," says Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

"There will never be perfect equality—but there should not be an artificial barrier standing between a man and his potential.

"The millenium will have arrived when we see nothing unusual in a Negro occupying a high place in life; when we see Negroes in all situations and it is not a novelty."

Henry Lee Moon of the NAACP sees the ultimate Negro goal as the Negro and white man standing side by side as average people.

"A Negro should not have to be a Ralph Bunche or a Robert Weaver in order to take his rightful place in society," Moon said.

"THE BIG battle is to lower barriers," says Wilkins.

"It's quite important to remember that the chief target is not private or personal prejudice —which may never be eliminated—the chief target is prejudice in public life that influences opportunity and rights.

"It is our concern that private prejudice does not become public policy."

"The goal is simply equal opportunities," says Jackie Robinson, the first Negro to play major league baseball and now a member of baseball's Hall of Fame.

"Look, there will be prejudice as long as people exist. There's prejudice in every group of people; even among members of the same family.

"There's prejudice on baseball teams—but it doesn't keep them from playing ball together. They've found that they can't win unless they play together."

ROBINSON is one Negro who may be considered to have it made, to have reached his ultimate goal. In addition to his baseball fame, he's vice president of a restaurant chain and lives with his family in a fashionable suburb in Connecticut.

Still, whenever he has the chance, he lends his name and presence to the Negro cause.

"Sure, I have quite a lot," he says. "And I also have three kids. You can't save much money nowadays. I couldn't leave them much. What is going to happen to them? What opportunity will they have?

"Until the Negro in the deepest South has it made, I have to keep fighting."

MOST NEGROES measure progress toward the ultimate goal in four fields — education, politics, employment and housing. Education and politics, say Negro leaders, are moving fast; employment and housing are dragging their feet.

"The freedom to live where you want when you are able is moving very slowly," says the NAACP's Moon. "The country is even more ghettoized now than it was at the turn of the century.

"A large number of Negroes have moved into the cities but they have only expanded the ghettos. They haven't broken them up. Most Northern cities with their big ghettos are more segregated than the South."

"The area of employment will always lag behind the others," Robinson says.

"A Negro doesn't have the same opportunity to learn a skill. If he applies for a job and can't pass the requirements in skill, the employer — and remember he's a businessman — says:

" 'Sorry. I'm in business. I have competitors. I have to compete with them. I can't hire you just because you're a Negro. My business would suffer.' "

THE NAACP's Wilkins feels that the ultimate goals will be achieved "within our generation."

In fact, he's so sure that he's starting to look beyond the goal of opportunity.

"There will be a lot of work to do in the Negro community after the barriers are down," he says. "The competition in the white world is fierce. And it has nothing to do with color prejudice. A Negro won't be able to hide behind the excuse:

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"We (the NAACP) are going to have to give him some guidance, some comfort, some encouragement to help him toward excellence.

"I don't entertain many fears that the Negro cannot compete in the white world. The good ones have already been sharpened by the extra competition of prejudice.

"If you unshackle the Negro, you'll find there are the weak ones, there are the fast buck guys, there are the con-men. But there are also the solid, Sunday - go - to - meeting people and even geniuses.

"All the Negro wants is to be let loose. Eventually he will shake down and find his place —his rightful place."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The New Militants.

The Deepening Crisis . . . No. 9

Action Muffles Negro Voices

Editor's Note: A new Negro militancy is apparent in this turbulent summer as voices of responsible moderates are drowned out by radicals who preach an inflammatory approach to racial equality. Here is a closeup of the militant Negro movement.

By JUNIUS GRIFFIN

NEW YORK, Aug. 5 (AP)—Voices of moderation in both Northern and Southern Negro communities are muffled today.

In vogue is a Negro militancy, conceived in frustration and impatience.

Radical organizations preaching inflammatory tactics have emerged in the ghettos where most Northern Negroes live.

In the South, the militant leadership seeks to organize largely undisciplined would-be followers into concerted action.

If the moderate Negro in the South or North speaks out against demonstrations that might result in violence, he often is branded an "Uncle Tom" and a coward. For a Negro to express a moderate view on any civil rights issue is to risk his reputation and maybe his personal safety.

AN EXAMPLE of the radical's vehemence was evident when James H. Meredith and Rev. J. H. Jackson, president of the Baptist Convention, ventured to counsel a conservative course at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago.

Meredith, who risked his life and the safety of his family to establish the right of a Negro to attend the University of Mississippi, was attacked by a youthful wing of the NAACP with such a bitterness that he publicly admitted, "I wept my first tears since I was a child."

Jackson, who heads the largest Negro religious organization in the nation, was booed and narrowly escaped injury before being escorted from the Chicago convention.

Sam Riley, Chicago chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, resigned his post, saying "I'm sick of sit-ins and picket lines."

Riley's resignation came in protest against what he termed the "ultramilitant tactics of the kids" in the organization. "I prefer to plan and negotiate," Riley said.

IT WAS MILITANT civil rights demonstrations in Cambridge, Md., during June and July that split the Eastern Shore town and then brought it back together when violent racial conflict threatened.

The Cambridge demonstrations caused President Kennedy to comment:

"I am concerned about these demonstrations. I think they go beyond information, beyond protest, and they get into a very bad situation where you get violence, and I think the cause of advancing equal opportunities only loses. So I have warned against demonstrations which could lead to bloodshed and I warn now against them."

The President added, however, "You just can't tell people, 'don't protest' — but on the other hand, 'We're not going to let you come into a store or restaurant.' "

"The way to make the problem go away," the President said, ". . . is to provide for redress of grievances."

A militancy similar to that in Cambridge moved north to Brooklyn where Negro ministers gathered their congregations from the ghettos of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, described as a "wasteland in the heart of New demonstrations and advocating that "Negro leaders negotiate their grievances with the city fathers."

The influence of the radicals is apparent in the concentrated attack on the "the Big Four" action groups for equal rights. This attack is led by radical organizations such as the Black Muslims and a variety of African Nationalist associations.

These organizations have attracted larger gatherings on Harlem street corners on occasion than the combined forces of the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The success of radical elements in Negro communities is due partly to their ability to identify with grass-roots elements.

DR. MARTIN Luther King Jr., at a recent public appearance in Harlem, was greeted with a barrage of eggs from unidentified Negroes before he entered a church. The leader of a nationalist group blamed the incident on "Communists."

King and leaders of the other "Big Four" groups constantly are referred to as "Uncle Toms" by the radical leadership in Harlem.

One radical explains the popularity of the extremist movement this way:

"We give the forgotten man a dignity that the NAACP, CORE and the other groups deny him. We let him know that he is just as important as the middleclass Negro who wants to ignore his presence in the community.

"The curse of many years of segregation has left him an almost hopeless cripple, a cripple that cannot be cured or rehabilitated even if we were to acquire his complete civil rights overnight. Most of these people will be looking for a handout for the rest of their lives."

THE RADICAL leader adds:

"The individual Negro who fits this description is bitter and ready to fight somebody. If he wants to fight, he might as well join an organization that will guide him in the right direction."

For the African Nationalist, the "right direction" is back to Africa.

Most Negro leaders do not share the idea that Negroes will support organizations that preach a "back to Africa" movement.

But some NAACP officials acknowledged that the nationalists are a thorn in the side for conservative leaders.

NAACP membership is around 4,000 in Harlem, a community of more than a half million Negroes. Most of the members merely pay dues and carry membership cards, but do not attend meetings.

Dissatisfaction with the "Big Four" civil rights organizations is obvious in Harlem.

Who leads the community and pulls the strings?

Who could channel the "new Negro militancy" into a concerted action?

CONGRESSMAN Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., is the spiritual and political king of a large element of the "black burgeois."

Powell exercises control from the pulpit of Abyssinian Baptist Church, the Harlem Democratic Club and a variety of civic organizations of which he is sponsor.

The Harlem Democrat attacks the presence of white men in positions of authority in the "Big Four" civil rights organizations and recently has been vocal in his support of Malcolm X, Harlem's Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm X attracts thousands with tirades against the white man. But Negroes more often than not leave his rallies without noise and get the publicity while the NAACP furnishes the manpower and pays the bills. A good many things have not been made known to our membership. They have come to believe that we are standing on the sidelines working up legal cases while everybody else is participating in nonviolent direct action. We don't like to have people talking about us as if we were old and sitting in the corner knitting."

WHITNEY YOUNG JR., Urban League director, said: "I do not see why I should have to go to jail to prove my leadership."

His organization, though conservative in its approach, seeks civil rights progress through biracial consultation and cooperation.

James Farmer, CORE's national director, said his organization is the "nonviolent Marines of the civil rights struggle."

"It's going to be a long hot summer," Farmer said. "Spontaneous demonstrations are going to be a problem. Our job is to channelize them constructively."

To a great extent, the frictions among these major groups offer no real threat to Negro solidarity on fundamental aims.

Young said: "We are sympathetic to the methods of the other . . . organizations. There are temporary misunderstandings and overlapping, but that's to be expected."

Next in the Atlanta Journal: World Prospective.

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The militant Negro ministers vowed to lead their entire congregations to jail, if necessary, in pressing their demand for more jobs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans on publicly financed construction projects.

IN SAVANNAH, where National Guardsmen were summoned to quell racial demonstrations, Dr. William Payne, president of Savannah State College for Negroes, refused to make public statements on the situation. The city's Negro community branded him an "Uncle Tom." (Dr. Payne died July 26 after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage.)

In Charlotte, where the city government has made strides on the civil rights front, a leading Negro physician, Dr. Emery L. Rann, became an "Uncle Tom" for suggesting the end of racial

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Malcolm X attracts thousands with tirades against the white man. But Negroes more often than not leave his rallies without having found solutions to their problems.

A young Negro leaving a Muslim rally commented:

"I dig this cat. But I am not about to become a Black Muslim. I've never been to Africa and don't want to go. I don't care for his religion. What I need is a job so I can make some bread (money)."

His problem is shared by many. About 13 per cent of Harlem's labor force is unemployed. This represents more than twice the percentage for the City of New York at large.

Asked if he had sought employment through the Urban League and other organizations, the young man replied:

"I don't even know where their offices are."

AT LEAST 50 others on Harlem street corners, in pool rooms, taverns and restaurants did not know where the NAACP, CORE or Urban League offices are. Many volunteered, "I don't know and I don't care."

Told of this condition, Paul Zuber, a Harlem lawyer who recently retired from active civil rights work, said, "The only solution to this crucial problem is for all four civil rights organizations to unite and present a solid front."

He readily admitted this is an unpopular view, but said, "The real problem is the refusal of these organizations to actively recruit in the Negro community. The partially suppressed feuds between the organizations tend to make them unpopular and conceal their commendable work for civil rights."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, said recently, "The other organizations furnish the

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THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 10

Foreign Envoys Get Bitter Taste

By MAX HARRELSON
Associated Press Writer

Few events in the United States have commanded such wide attention abroad as the developing crisis over integration.

The impact of the violent and dramatic conflicts at Little Rock, Oxford, Birmingham, Cambridge, Savannah, Philadelphia and New York City, has been tremendous.

U.S. policy makers acknowledge they are concerned over possible repercussions in the nonwhite nations of Asia and Africa.

How much damage, they ask, have recent events done to the U.S. image as a champion of human rights? Have these events had any discernible effect on the relations between the United States and other countries?

U.S. officials disagree on the extent of the damage, but influential leaders such as Secretary of State Dean Rusk and U.N. Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson believe the United States definitely is being hurt abroad by the racial conflict.

THE SITUATION is complicated by several factors likely to make some countries more sensitive to U.S. events:

—The independence explosion which has brought to the world scene in the past decade a large contingent of new nations whose people had been under the white man's rule for generations. In many cases there were strong racial resentments.

The personal experience of many Asian and African visitors, especially diplomats, who came face to face with racial discrimination in the United States and were left with a bitter taste. Rusk reported scores of such incidents in the past two years.

—The preoccupation of the African and Asian countries with the apartheid (racial segregation) policies of South Africa. This not only makes them more conscious of the developments in the United States, but renders it difficult for the United States to form its own independent policies on South Africa and related world problems.

—Communist efforts to exploit the U.S. racial problem with the aim of discrediting the United States in the eyes of Asians and Africans.

RUSK told a congressional committee recently that the Communists regard racial discrimination "as one of their most valuable assets." He warned that unless Congress acts to remove discriminatory practices "hostile propaganda might be expected to hurt us more than it has hurt us until now."

Stevenson says he finds U.N. diplomats generally tolerant and understanding, but even they have been "shocked by what they have seen and heard in recent months."

Even more serious, he believes, is the "false impression" created abroad about the attitude of the bulk of the American people and the official policy of the government. This must be corrected as promptly as possible, he says.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, American Negro who is an under-

exploiting U.S. racial tensions: (1) Racism is inevitable under American capitalism; (2) inaction by the government is tantamount to the support of the "racists"; (3) racial incidents have exposed the "hypocrisy" of U.S. claims to world leadership, and (4) the attitude toward Negroes in the United States is indicative of the attitude toward colored peoples everywhere.

In the United Nations a few weeks ago, Soviet delegate Platon D. Morozov told a committee the "unbridled racism" in the United States has proved there is "no moral basis" to claims that the United States is the defender of human rights in the world. This theme has been stressed in the Soviet press.

There is no evidence so far that the Soviet campaign has driven a wedge between the United States and other friendly countries or that any are ready to follow Soviet suggestions that the United Nations should get out of the United States because of racial discrimination.

THIS IDEA was brought up by the Russians two years ago after African delegations received a scurrilous, unsigned letter threatening their safety. Some Africans were angered by the letter, but Stevenson soothed them by denouncing the senders and stating that the FBI was making a thorough inquiry.

Discrimination in housing and restaurants, however, continues to cause ill-feeling both in Washington and New York where large numbers of nonwhite diplomats are concentrated. One African diplomat, Ambassador Gershon B. O. Collier of Sierra Leone, put it this way:

"Your American Negroes understand this kind of prejudice and are used to it. We are not."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: What It's Like to Be a Negro in America Today.

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Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, American Negro who is an undersecretary of the United Nations, says "repression" of the Negro has hurt the United States "because the basic image of the United States is that of a democratic nation leading the cause of world freedom."

DURING THE SUMMIT meeting of African leaders in Addis Ababa, the U.S. racial crisis was widely discussed. Milton Obote, prime minister of Uganda, said: "The key to the successful projection of the United States image in Africa lies more in a solution of the Negro problem than in foreign aid."

The Ethiopian Herald was more critical. It referred to the U.S. government's "half-hearted willingness" to act against discrimination and said:

"The United States is campaigning on a free world slogan and is condemning the racist government of South Africa while practicing its own version of apartheid. What happened in Birmingham . . . showed the United States in its true light."

No African leader has sought publicly to put the United States in the category with South Africa, which has been haled before the United Nations repeatedly because of its official policy of racial segregation.

The London Daily Telegraph pointed out the distinction. In the United States, it said, "the law is on the black man's side," while "the inferiority of the black man was written into the Constitution of the South African Union."

RUSK says the Communists have used four main themes in

8/8/63 Leave on my desk

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 11

Where Did Racial Hate Begin?

By JUNIUS GRIFFIN
Associated Press Writer

"We are not something from Porgy and Bess . . . we want to share equally with our white brothers—yes, brothers."

These are the words of Herbert Fielding, businessman and a leader of the Negro community of Charleston, S.C.

An official in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fielding prides himself on being a moderate. But he sums up the temptation to violence, to express old angers that many American Negroes feel in this summer of crisis.

"The Negro is mad," he says, "not angry, but mad and filled with a hate he has nourished for almost a lifetime."

THE FEELING is echoed in the North as a Negro youth suddenly snatches a white woman's handbag and flings it into the street.

"I did it because I hate white people," he explains.

You hear the word "hate" again and again as Negroes, packed into the ghettos of Harlem and Washington try to articulate their feelings. In Savannah and Charleston you hear it once more.

In Columbia, S.C., a Negro talks of his "intense dislike" of the white man.

In Charlotte, N.C., a Negro says simply: "We dislike the white man, but he's doing better."

North and South, animosity is a palpable thing. In the South because the Negro feels the weight of "Jim Crow" laws, written and unwritten; in the North because he faces discrimination when he wants to get a job or live in certain neighborhoods.

WHERE DID IT all begin . . . and where will it end?

Hosea Williams, 37, militant head of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters in Savannah, said:

"We Negroes weren't born hating the white man. We have cultivated this hatred and nourished it for years hoping that one day he would make us ashamed of ourselves. But he hasn't . . . he has given us pride . . . pride to protest and if necessary to tell him to go to hell if he doesn't allow us full and equal opportunities."

Williams said that he once worked for the NAACP.

"But, I became too hot for them, or rather too radical. I don't believe in tomorrow. I want equal rights for my people now. If necessary, I intend to die in Georgia fighting for what I believe is right and to leave my children an honorable legacy," he said.

In Charleston, NAACP official Fielding delights in talking about the historical beauty of the city and its traditions.

"The white man's great failing here is that he doesn't know that his Negro neighbors are same clubs, live in the same neighborhoods, or even speak to each other.

E. Cedric Hart, publisher and editor of South Carolina's only Negro newspaper, said this intra-racial color problem hinders the solving of the larger racial conflict.

"My attitudes are those of a militant person," Hart said, "but I refuse to use my newspaper as a militant mouthpiece for the NAACP and disgruntled persons in the Negro community until they unite for a common good and stop bickering among themselves."

Charlotte, N.C., has eased racial barriers in hotels, restaurants, schools and recreational facilities, but still is plagued with racial problems in hospitals and in job opportunities.

Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, a Charlotte dentist and ordained Presbyterian minister, says:

"I served in World War II and the Korean war, and I have no intention of stopping my people's fight for equal rights. We want those rights now, not gradually . . . but now."

Dr. Emory L. Rann, a Charlotte physician and leading Negro moderate, has spoken against racial demonstrations.

"Our demonstrations have simply outgrown their usefulness," Dr. Rann said. "It is now time we started negotiating with the City Council. I don't see what good we can now derive from an ugly incident which could occur during a demonstration."

Dr. Rann stands almost alone in Charlotte's Negro community.

In addition to the division between militant and moderates in the Negro movement for racial integration there also is a split between what Negroes call "ceremonial leaders" and others who are close to the pulse of America's Negro masses.

CEREMONIAL LEADERS are described by the Negroes as those who stay away from the underprivileged within their own race and who have lost contact with the Negro people as a whole.

S. Summer Stone Jr., editor of Washington's Afro American, declares:

"We need leaders who will continue to meet this problem head on—courageous and valiant fighters for racial equality in America."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: A Southerner's Viewpoint.

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In Charleston, NAACP official Fielding delights in talking about the historical beauty of the city and its traditions.

"The white man's great failing here is that he doesn't know that his Negro neighbors are just as prideful, stubborn, and sensitive about this great city as they are."

SPEAKING OF the deeping racial crisis, Fielding said:

"We are at the bottom, the end of the rope. The only way the Negro can go is up. And if we must fight to get there, both races will wear the battle scars for generations to come.

"From where I view the racial situation, I see us emerging with a victory. And I see the white man going down in defeat. With just a little sincere effort on the white man's part we can both leave the battle scene in victory, knowing that we have solved a century-old problem through mutual effort."

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, NAACP state field secretary, foresees a long and bitter fight ahead for Negroes in Charleston and other parts of South Carolina.

"If the white man had any sincere desire about ending this problem, he would take down the barriers of segregation and allow responsible Negro leaders to concentrate on preparing the poor and impoverished Negro for the role he is to play in our new society," Newman said.

"We no longer ask the Negro masses not to hate," Newman added, "we tell him that, if he must hate, he should try to show a little mercy. This is a harsh but realistic view."

IN COLUMBIA, Dr. Howard E. Wright, president of Allen University, an all-Negro school, said "the task of helping our students to face the realities of our times is just as important as sending them out into the world with an academic education.

"The racial tempo here is such that any incident in a downtown restaurant or store can cause our students to drop their books and take to the streets.

"It's too bad that I can't join them. I can't tell them that everything will work itself out. This would be a lie."

Negroes in Columbia and Charleston live in a caste system within their own race.

Negroes who have light complexions are disdainful of their darker brothers, so much so that often they do not worship in the same churches, frequent the

R & R Rel.

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 12

Reaction of The South

By RELMAN MORIN
Associated Press Staff Writer

For some 70 years after Reconstruction, every Southerner was born into a segregated society.

He breathed segregation. It was his way of life, deeply rooted in his consciousness. Moreover, it was clothed in legality. In 1896, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" was tested, and the Supreme Court held it to be constitutional.

Some may have felt twinges of conscience, even so.

In "The South and the Southerner," Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, has written:

"The more sensitive Southerner often is self-embarrassed by a realization that he has accepted unquestioningly some aspect of his community life which he rejects. . . . But nonetheless, he is a part of what he has met, and been. And the past, in tales of his grandparents, his great-aunts and uncles, has been in his ears from birth."

IN 1954, another Supreme Court reversed the earlier ruling. It held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The ruling, to be sure, did not come as a complete surprise. Southern lawyers and politicians had taken note of a series of court orders that put individual Negroes in some Southern schools. But the man on the street was not prepared for integration.

Overnight, in effect, he was told that he must now do a mental about-face, change his attitudes and abandon beliefs he had always held.

Even where the effort was made—and nobody can say how many Southerners made it—this was no easy task.

Nearly 10 years have passed.

TODAY IN THE SOUTH, racial barriers are going down. Not only schools but other public facilities and business establishments are being desegregated. What are the feelings of the Southerner as he sees the old patters of life crumbling around him?

There is no one answer. Reactions range all the way from implacable opposition to quiet acceptance.

At one end of the spectrum are men like Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi, fiercely defending the old order. A legion of Southerners applaud them.

At the other are men like Hodding Carter, editor of The Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, McGill, and others who are less well known for their opposition to segregation. Carter and McGill receive bales of letters. Some are favorable, more are abusive.

BETWEEN THE TWO poles of thought, you find these figures—

There is the Southerner who opposes integration, but believes in law and order. Reluctantly, he says the courts must be obeyed.

There is the person who says, "We were all getting along fine until outsiders came in and stirred up the Negroes. If the outsiders would go away, the Negroes would be perfectly happy again."

This is akin to the vague, amorphous hope that, somehow, the racial problem will vanish of itself, or that it can be swept under the rug.

Then there is the man who says that, since the Supreme Court reversed itself once on segregation, it may do so again sometime. He wants the 1954 ruling tested, again and again.

FOR YEARS the South has been working aggressively to attract new industries. The businesman knows — possibly from experience—that violence will discourage the drive for Northern industry. So, although segregationists, some advocate an accommodation with Negro demands.

The situation for the Southern college student often is similar to the businessman's. It may gall him to see Negroes on the campus. But graduation is more important to him and he doesn't want to jeopardize that.

Something like this was expressed at Little Rock in 1957.

Soon after the Negro students were entered in Central High School, I asked a girl how she and the other students felt about being integrated. "I don't think most of us care very much," she replied. "There are a few creeps and show-offs who say they'll make trouble until the Negroes leave. But most of us are just ignoring them."

SOME THOUGHTFUL, sincere persons in the South are deeply troubled, wrestling with conscience. Here are two—

A divinity student, in a letter, candidly acknowledges that he had been strongly prejudiced against Negroes. After he began studying for the clergy, he concluded that he could not reconcile his prejudice with his religion. "I had to do some rethinking," the letter says. "It was very difficult but I believe I can say now that I have freed myself from those prejudices."

A Southern woman comments on racial disturbances in a nearby city and says:

"When the troubles started, I tried to imagine myself in the position of a Negro. I tried to see things from his point of view. Frankly, it was a shock. But it still seems to me that if I were a Negro, it would be better to try to elevate my own race, not lose myself in another race."

THIS DOVETAILS WITH the position of Southerners who deny any prejudice toward the Negro but say, "Race-mixing is not the answer to the problem. For both races, it is better to develop separately."

One man said he is convinced that "idleness" is causing the Negro unrest, North and South. (Negro unemployment, nationally, is more than double the figure for the whites.) He said, "I've lived all my life with Negroes and I know that when they're idle they tend to get in trouble. Give them something to do and you won't have all this trouble."

In Tuskegee, Ala., Negro leaders say there are enough registered Negro voters now to elect Negroes to public office in the community. How are the whites reacting to this fact?

"We don't know what to expect," said a city councilman, "what to look forward to."

ATLANTA HAS GONE further than most Southern cities in desegregating. A waitress in an upper bracket restaurant says she has seen only one "incident." Two white couples left in the middle of dinner, when Negroes were seated at an adjoining table. How does she feel about waiting on Negroes? "I don't mind," she says. "The kind who come in here are just like anyone else."

However, placard-carrying segregationists picket some Atlanta restaurants that have integrated. This is a painful example of the situation confronting Southern businessmen. They get it in the neck from both sides.

Finally, the Southerner is watching with the keenest interest as Negro demonstrations spread to the North.

"Now the Yankees are getting a taste of the problem," he says. "They're going to see that finding a solution isn't as simple as they thought."

NEXT IN SUNDAY'S ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION —Where do we go now?

THE DEEPENING CRISIS--NO. 13

AVR Rel

Where Do We Go Now?

EDITOR'S NOTE—Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 (AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

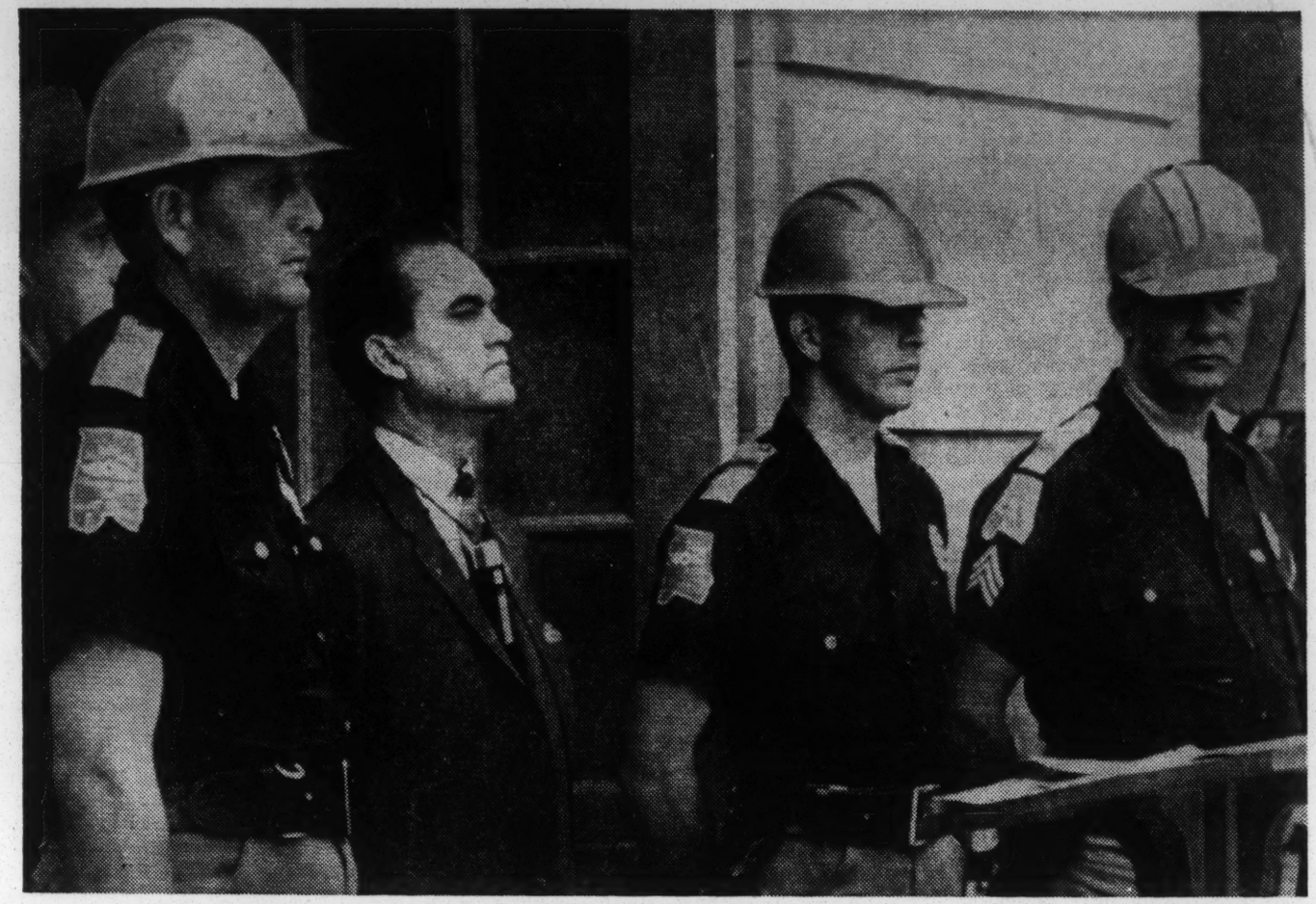
"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We Shall Overcome" is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as nonviolent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow or where or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle



Associated Press Wirephoto

GOV. GEORGE WALLACE STANDS IN DOORWAY OF UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
In Tuscaloosa, Governor Is Flanked by State Policemen; His Prepared Speech on Stand

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus.

lion Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

MANY TACTICS have been used to discourage Negroes from registering—gerrymandering, intimidation, widely spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the South, Ochs said.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other Northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "Integration Not Intimidation."

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white

seen through the window from the sidewalk.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century

ship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

BUT CAN THE Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Vilence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in Southern and border states.

A CLIMATIC point of this stage was Little Rock. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of Reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms. ever, the barriers remained.

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Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

TODAY, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 Southern and border saates and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about 8 per cent of the school-age total.

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery. They won.

They boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

"Selective buying" has put Southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

ALONG WITH the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field —voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5.04 million Negroes in the Southern and border states. About one fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

MANY TACTICS have been used to discourage Negroes from registering—gerrymandering, intimidation, widely spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms and in meeting the technicalities.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

IN ALL probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor — the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

Then came another catalyst —Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"BIRMINGHAM engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

ic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the South, Ochs said.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other Northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "Integration Not Intimidation."

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white unemployment. Labor unions have been accused of discriminating against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects, and even in restaurants.

In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and stayed for days in a "sit-in." They staged another in the city hall.

ANOTHER RECENT development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They are the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "SNICK," National Urban League, National Council of Negro Women and Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

Distinctly separate from these groups are the Black Muslims. They demand not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lies in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the Muslims hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

IN THE VAST, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again. One Southern newspaper publisher called such a meeting in his own plant — and deliberately placed the conference table where it could be the sidewalk.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. **WHILE THE** Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime and school drop-outs. Is this why 75 per cent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

She says she never has had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A SIMILAR position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper Hobukei Mainichi said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail and Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

Today, the Negro drive is for fully equal opportunity, for everything America offers every citizen.

1939

Race?

What the Scientists Say

Compiled by Caroline Singer

Approved by

Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole
Dr. Ralph Linton
Dr. Harry L. Shapiro

Manifestations of racial, or religious, intolerance have many causes, among them the snobbishness which impels some people to degrade others in order to elevate themselves, and abnormalities which—familiar to doctors and psychologists — drive certain unfortunates to seek pleasure from petty cruelties. Ignorance is, however, the common cause of racial, or religious, intolerance. And Knowledge is, therefore, the major cure. Knowledge is also a bulwark of Democracy since the ignorant — even the well-meaning ignorant — are easy prey for rabble-rousers, themselves ignorant, unscrupulous or tragically abnormal. With this in mind, and also the fact that, owing to misinformation, or lack of information, many genuinely unprejudiced persons innocently employ the language of intolerance, this small handbook of terms has been compiled. It is authoritative in so far as the statements — concerning language, culture and race — have been approved by:

Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole,
Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Dr. Ralph Linton,
Sterling Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

Dr. Harry L. Shapiro,
Chairman, Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History

There is no ARYAN
race!

There is no SEMITIC
race!

There is no HEBREW
race!

There is no JEWISH
race!

There is no "PURE"
race!

There is no "SUPERIOR"
race!

ARYAN

When you employ this term you refer not to a race of human beings but only to a family, or group, of languages to which the major European languages belong.

The Aryan language was spoken by a pre-historic people who spread over India and Europe. Their origin is unknown. But there are those who believe that they may have originally inhabited the steppes of southern Russia.

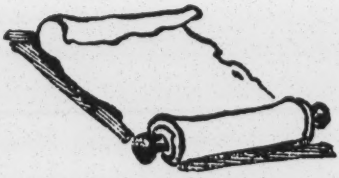
Whether the Aryan language was their own, whether it was acquired by them from earlier peoples whom they conquered, or whether it was acquired by them from conquerors is not known.

But, apparently these people were not all blondes. For in their folktales, surviving in the literature of India, they sometimes described themselves as dark-eyed and dark-haired. The unwritten language of the Moslem Kurds, inhabiting the Turkish highlands, belongs to the

Aryan language group as do English and also Yiddish, the latter a modern dialect spoken by thousands of Jews. Therefore, a Kurdish-speaking Moslem and a Yiddish-speaking Jew are exactly as "Aryan"—in language — as any person speaking English or German.

SEMITIC

When you employ this term you refer not to a race of human beings but only to a family, or group, of languages to which Arabic, as well as Hebrew, belongs.



HEBREW

When you employ this term you refer not to a race of human beings but only to a language which belongs, like Arabic, to the Semitic language group.

In Old Testament times Hebrew was the official language of the Jewish religion as, centuries later, Latin became the official language of the

Roman Catholic Christian church, and Arabic became the official language of the Moslem religion. However, all Jews did not speak Hebrew. For this reason the main sources of the Bible have been Greek manuscripts. However, in time, the official Hebrew language of the Jewish religion became the common language of Jews in Palestine. And, for this reason, Jews became known as "Hebrews."

But, today, few Jews speak Hebrew, as few Roman Catholics speak Latin, and few Greek Catholics speak liturgical Greek. And an Arabic-speaking Arab is — in language —precisely as "Semitic" as any Hebrew-speaking Jew.

JEWISH

When you employ this term you do not refer to a race but to a religion, or to something which pertains to that religion whose founders were the first to worship Jehova in a land of idolators, and whose moral precepts are a cornerstone of Christianity.

Every religion exercises social and cultural influences. So widespread have been the influences of Christianity that whole nations are known as "Christian" nations, and a part of the world is called the "Christian West," as another part is called the "Moslem East." In the Moslem

East the Christian religion continues to exercise a social and cultural influence over groups, such as the Armenian groups. These groups are subject to non-Christian social and cultural influences. But their members are broadly termed "Christian," although all do not necessarily belong to any Christian religious sect.

Like other religions, the Jewish religion continues to exercise a social and cultural influence upon groups of persons whose position in non-Jewish lands is identical with that of Christian groups in the Moslem East. These groups are subject to non-Jewish social and cultural influences. But members of these groups are broadly termed "Jewish," although all do not necessarily belong to any Jewish religious sect.

In the year 70 A.D. the Jewish people were driven out of Palestine by Roman persecution and by the final destruction of Jerusalem. Since then they have been scattered throughout non-Jewish lands.

Christianity is preponderantly a religion of love. Nevertheless, past persecutions of Jews in Christian lands have been as unwarranted and savage — and un-Christian — as persecutions of Christians, (as well as Jews) in the Moslem East, as, for instance, the massacres of Christians in Moslem Turkey in very recent times.

Throughout history the Jewish population has been depleted during periods of persecution. Nevertheless, during periods of peace, Jewish groups have been increased

by conversions, and by marriages between Jews and members of other religious groups. However, the members of Jewish religious sects—scattered throughout the world—do not number more than 13,000,000 at the present time.

Religious freedom is, meanwhile, a sacred principle of American Democracy. When this ceases to be true intellectual freedom and Democracy—which perishes when religious and intellectual freedoms perish—will be no more. An American's religious convictions or religious influences upon the social and cultural aspects of an American's personal life, are a personal affair.

Therefore it is absurd to classify Americans according to their religious beliefs or some religion's cultural influence upon their personal lives. However, if such a silly procedure is followed, no individual or group should be singled out. All Americans must be similarly classified.

RACE

When you employ this term you are referring not to nationality or culture or religion, but only to *biological heredity* and *physical type*.

Scientists commonly divide the whole of mankind into three great stocks: Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid. But it is not always possible to place particular groups in these basic categories. The Abyssinians are, for example, Caucasoid in their facial features, but Negroid in skin color. Within each of the three human stocks there are various races which have developed particular physical characteristics as the result of natural selection and inbreeding. Thus, among the races of Caucasoid stock, there is the Alpine race (round-headed, brown-haired, short and stocky) as well as the Nordic race (long-headed, fair and tall) and the Armenoid race (with short, high heads, big noses and dark hair and eyes).

These races were developed in *remote* times when the various *tribes*

lived in comparative *isolation*. However, since the dawn of history members of various races have been meeting and mingling. Therefore, it is almost impossible to find an individual of *pure* race anywhere in the world today. Due to the greater freedom of movement, groups living in regions of high civilization tend to be more mixed racially than those living in backward regions. Consequently the peoples of Europe and America are the most racially mixed of all.

New races, or breeds, may come into being whenever peoples move into a new environment, live together and interbreed for generations. And, among anthropologists, there are some who contend that something of the sort may be happening in America. This opinion is based upon the fact that children of immigrants are often found to differ greatly in physical type from their parents and consequently appear to be moving toward the development of an American race within the Caucasoid stock. If this be so, then the term "American" is not merely a national and cultural term. It is becoming a racial term as well.

There is no evidence that the intellectual capacities of any one race are superior to those of any other. Each race has its quota of individuals of low-grade intelligence, as well as its quota of brilliant minds, while the bulk of its members fall between the two extremes. The *apparent*

differences in the capacities of various races are due to differences in training. When members of different races receive the *same* training

they show themselves to be very much the same in brain power.

The Jewish people do not constitute a race in any sense of the word. The overwhelming majority belong to the Caucasoid stock. However, they have never enjoyed the centuries of settled living in a single region which is required for the development of a distinct race! The original Jewish group was wholly a *religious* group. It drew converts from *all* of the races then living in the Near East. The big, high-bridged nose of the Near East was an Armenoid racial trait, characteristic of Hittites and ancient Greeks as well as of some Jews. The hooked nose was characteristic of certain groups within the Mediterranean race. Therefore, types often considered as "Jewish" are *still common among non-Jews in the region from which the Jews originally came.* Driven from one country to another for centuries, the Jews have long since lost any racial distinctions which they may once have possessed. In Europe

and America they consequently reveal as much variation in physical type as do the gentile populations among whom they dwell.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the term "race" — so often loosely applied — should be left entirely to scientists, and that ideas of "racial purity" and "racial superiority" should be dismissed as balderdash.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

—Declaration of Independence.

Article I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

—Bill of Rights,
Constitution of the United States.

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The Negro and The Social Graces

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN
President Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia, N. C.

Address on "Wings Over Jordan" Program
Columbia Broadcasting System
March 10, 1940

COMMISSION ON
INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro and The Social Graces

I have chosen to speak to you this morning on a subject which is very near to my soul, "The Negro and the Social Graces." By social graces I do not mean an attitude of cheap servility, assumed for the purpose of currying favor. I mean simply doing the courteous thing and making a pleasing appearance — the practice of everyday good manners so generally lacking nowadays in the conduct of the average young person, regardless of race.

My message for the most part is to that group of young Negroes from high schools and colleges whose education is above the average; for unfortunately many of these are inclined to associate all forms of politeness, fine manners, and social graces with the slavery time performances of the maid and the butler, and to discard anything which they feel might have come out of those days in which their ancestors were slaves. They forget that even in those days many Negroes were schooled in the "correct thing," and that "what they were not taught they caught," in the way of social demeanor.

One needs only to read any book, fiction or fact, associated with the life of Negroes in the households previous to 1865 to see that it was the Negro butler and maid who actually taught the social graces to the children of the aristocracy of the Southern white group; everything from learning how to curtsy to the art of walking with charm and grace across the ballroom floor. The canons of the social graces were learned by those slaves or servants as religiously as their masters learned the catechism.

Fortunate also are those whose parents, immediately after the Civil War, came under the wise and gentle tutelage of the flower of the white race that came from the North and Middle West, built private schools, became their instructors, and were their patterns for intellectual, moral and social behavior. They taught our mothers and grandmothers the dignity of self-reverence and self-restraint. They taught our fathers—through example and precept—the proper attitude toward their women and what was expected of them in the new freedom which was theirs. These cultured Christian men and women gave to the students of that day "Open Sesame" to the best culture that the world knew.

It is perfectly natural that we want to forget much that was associated with slavery and its aftermath; at the same time it is very necessary that we pay attention to some of the things gained by our foreparents through intimate association with an aristocracy schooled in the finer things of life. Well may we add to our modern culture and educational efficiency some of the fine manners of those bygone days.

After all, the success of the American Negro depends upon his contacts with other races who, through the years, have had greater advantages of learning the proper approach to life and its problems. The little courtesies, the gentle voice, correct grooming; a knowledge of when to sit, when to stand; how to open and close a door; the correct attitude toward persons in authority; good manners in public places, such as railroad stations, moving picture houses, and other places where we are constantly under observation—the acquisition of these graces will go a long way in securing that recognition of ability needed to cope with human society, and will remove some of the commonest objections to our presence in large numbers.

Alas, in our day good manners for both races are almost outmoded. In many instances we have lost the art of fine living. The Negro, with all his handicaps, has now the opportunity of his life to develop anew the art of fine manners as one of the means by

---

The author of this address was born in North Carolina, but early moved with her parents to Cambridge, Massachusetts. While a schoolgirl there, she won the friendship of Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, former President of Wellesley College, through whom she was privileged to know the Eliots, Cabots, Lowells, and other distinguished people. Educated for the teaching profession, she returned to North Carolina in 1901 and, without funds, started a private school which, in honor of her friend, she named Palmer Memorial Institute. With the help of friends North and South, this has grown into a well-appointed and important junior college.

After twenty-five years of teaching, Mrs. Brown took a year's leave of absence and won the bachelor's degree at Wellesley. She has also received two honorary degrees. She feels that it has been a peculiar privilege to live both North and South and to win friends among the choice spirits of both sections.—Editor.

which he may climb the ladder of success. The white race, having reached such heights of culture in their civilization, ofttimes feel that they can afford to go back to earlier stages of barbarism, to sweatshirt grooming, to hilarious party and dance performances. Unfortunately many of our Negro youth are wont to follow this as a proper way of life. But in order for the Negro to get even half the recognition which he may deserve, he must be even more gracious than others, more cultured, more considerate, more observant of little courtesies and social finesse if he would gain a decent place in the sun.

Let us take time, therefore, to be gracious, to be thoughtful, to be kind, using the social graces as one means of turning the wheels of progress with greater velocity on the upward road to equal opportunity and justice for all.

—●—

Additional copies of this address, ten cents per dozen, sixty cents per hundred, postpaid.

COMMISSION ON
INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

30-Race + Race Differences

The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1944, **65**, 161-175.

AN EXPERIMENTAL AND CRITICAL STUDY OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF NEGRO AND WHITE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN*

Minneapolis Public Schools

FRED BROWN

A. INTRODUCTION

The urgent need for additional manpower in war industries has probably done more to focus attention upon the potentialities of the Negro than has been accomplished by legions of psychological and sociological research workers. Whatever else it may ultimately accomplish, total war has compelled us to utilize the human components of our society in the most immediately practical manner. We are slowly thrusting aside academic considerations, prejudices, and socio-economic barriers in our efforts to utilize human capacities and resources wherever they are needed. Deeply-rooted and unconsciously buttressed beliefs in the innate superiority and inferiority of peoples are just beginning to yield to the stubborn attrition of brute facts. The grudging admission of small groups of Negroes to some flight-training schools, machine shops, and other jealously white-monopolized fields may, in time, bring about a revision of many of our fallacious conceptions of Negro intelligence and stability. From the point-of-view of scientific research, studies of Negro intelligence leave one with the feeling that investigators have been measuring the *effects* of a certain culture upon the mental-test performance of individuals who are characterized by a heavily pigmented skin rather than the possible correlation between skin pigmentation and intelligence. Conditions affecting test scores have not been rigorously controlled in most of these studies, especially so basic a factor as socio-economic status. This variable is an especially difficult one to control because of the restrictions placed upon Negro employment in all but the lowest occupational levels. It is very likely therefore that the manner in which Negroes are distributed among the various occupational levels may reflect lack of opportunity for diversity of occupational choice rather than limitations in general intelligence and specific aptitudes. If this assumption is correct we may not be entirely justified in assuming that White occupational classification scales

*Received in the Editorial Office on December 28, 1942.

permit the same conclusions with regard to the Negro's socio-economic status and intelligence as they do for the White population. Furthermore, even though we assume that dining car waiters, for example, represent persons of relatively good social and economic position among Negroes and that the White equivalent in terms of prestige and income would be roughly equivalent to the semi-skilled occupational class (Group V), we ought not to be surprised if the children of these waiters fail to score as well on tests of intelligence as do White children of comparable socio-economic status. A theoretical resemblance between two social groups in terms of socio-economic status as indicated by ratings based upon occupational rating scales does not necessarily demonstrate a real equivalence in cultural drive, motivation, and aspirational level.[1] If we discovered that Negro children of semi-skilled fathers obtained mean *IQ*'s which were similar to those obtained by White children of similar socio-economic level this might point to the truth-value of the Negro occupational designation. Such an occurrence might also be interpreted as a confutation of the presumed intellectual inferiority of the Negro school child. If, on the other hand, such a group of Negro children scored either above or below the mean for Whites we must assume that the nominal socio-economic rating assigned this group was probably erroneous and/or that other factors must be taken into consideration in dealing with this problem. The problem of socio-economic status as it affects the Negro remains stubbornly insoluble so far as an accurate equating of groups is concerned as long as occupational opportunities are not the same for both Whites and Negroes. In this study we have compared the test scores of Negro and White kindergarten children in an effort to determine how they compare at a young age when both groups are relatively unaffected by factors resulting from racial and cultural differences.

B. The Negro Community

Negroes in Minneapolis are a small group comprising less than one per cent of the total population. Their presence has never led to class riots. Their residences are more or less involuntarily segregated in certain sections of the city by the pressure of public opinion. Their living conditions are

[1]This may be particularly true for the Negro professional and semi-professional groups where assumed equivalence with Whites is apt to be fallacious. For the Negro in general it may be said that improvement in socio-economic status is often saltatory and does not reflect a family history of intellectual traditions. This would seem to be especially true for the professional class.

characteristic of those found in other large cities. Here illiteracy among Negroes is relatively small, since 1.7 per cent of the Minneapolis Negro population over 10 years of age is illiterate and 16.3 per cent of the Negro population of the United States over 10 years of age is illiterate. Even this low rate of illiteracy among Minneapolis Negroes would be lower were it not for the older people, since 44.5 per cent of Negro illiterates are over 65 years of age. Also, 55.3 per cent of the males are found in domestic and personal service and 83.0 per cent of females belong in this category. "The remaining male Negroes are porters, janitors, waiters, barbers, laborers, and unskilled workers in manufacturing industries and in street and railroad construction. A very small percentage of the Negroes are doing clerical and professional work" (22). Also, 74.5 per cent were born in other states, with Missouri, Kentucky, Kansas, Tennessee, Iowa, and Texas contributing their contingents in that order.

C. Subjects

Three hundred forty-one native White, second generation kindergarten children of Scandinavian extraction were compared with 91 Negro children attending the Kindergartens of the Minneapolis Public Schools. The mean chronological age of the White subjects was 69.51 months, σ 3.93. The mean Negro age was 69.15 months, σ 3.47. The critical ratio was 0.48, indicating that both groups were equated for chronological age. The White group consisted of 137 males and 204 females. There were 50 Negro males and 41 females. The selection and distribution of our White subjects was based upon the percentage of gainfully employed adults in Minneapolis classified according to the Goodenough-Anderson Scale of Occupations (1930 census data) (10, 13). A comparison of occupational levels within each group by means of the *t*-test showed a general tendency for extreme levels to be more highly differentiated than adjacent levels. A marked relationship between level of occupation and level of intelligence was also noted. As a further check an analysis of variance was made to determine whether the variation among occupational levels was greater for White males alone and White males and females combined than the variation within individual occupational levels. This was found to be the case without exception. A test for homogeneity of variance (to determine whether the variances within levels were true estimates of the total variance for each group) showed homogeneity of variances within levels. Hence the significance of the variance ratios were found to be attributable to the differences among

the means of individual levels (4). This rigorous treatment of the White data provided us with a reliable yardstick for the determination of the approximate socio-economic status of our colored subjects. A study of paternal occupations among the colored group showed that 63.7 per cent were listed as janitors, porters, waiters, laborers, and *WPA* workers; 14.5 per cent were listed as tailor, statistician, postal clerk, grocer, mail clerk, mechanic, engineer (janitor?), draftsman, stenographer, and clergyman; while 21.8 per cent were unlisted. But we may assume, upon the basis of Minneapolis Negro occupational samplings and the fact that school records generally contain certain data on the non-transient professional and semi-professional classes, that many fathers in this group probably fall into the semi- and un-skilled categories. Homogeneity of variance among the Negro (1.299, $p<5$) indicated that they came from the same population. Variance between Negro and White subjects was also found to be homogeneous.

D. Procedure

All children were given individual Stanford-Binet tests, Form *L*, by their kindergarten teachers. These teachers were trained to administer and score the tests as part of the Minneapolis Kindergarten Binet Testing Program. Hilden (14) obtained a correlation of .89 with a probable error of estimate of 4.7 *IQ* points upon retesting 274 teacher-tested children after a lapse of one year. Brown (6) re-tested 201 such children after a mean interval of 2.62 years and found a correlation of .86 with a probable error of estimate of 5.6 points. These results agree with retest findings of other investigators and demonstrate that highly trained and certificated teacher-testers at the kindergarten level are able to administer a reliable Binet test to their pupils. Details of the project have been published elsewhere (3, 4, 5, 6).

E. Results

1. *IQ*

The mean *IQ* of the White children ($N=341$) was 107.06, σ 13.1. The mean *IQ* for the total Negro group ($N=91$) was 100.78, σ 12.9. The critical ratio (*Diff.*/σ *diff.* was 4.13, indicating with certainty that the difference between means was not due to chance. It is interesting to note that there is virtually no difference in the sigmas of the two groups and that these sigmas agree with those reported by Terman and Merrill for this age group (25).

2. *Sex Differences*

Table 1 shows that Negro males make somewhat higher scores than do

TABLE 1

SEX DIFFERENCES IN STANFORD-BINET IQ'S OF NEGRO AND WHITE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

	N	*M*	σ	*M*1 - *M*2	D/σ diff
Negro males	*50*	*103.02*	*11.91*		
a. vs. Negro females	41	98.0	13.55	5.0	1.85
b. vs. White males	137	106.8	12.52	3.8	2.27
c. vs. White females	204	107.2	12.85	4.2	2.80
Negro females	*41*	*98.0*	*13.55*		
a. vs. White females	204	107.2	12.85	9.2	6.97
b. vs. White males	137	106.8	12.52	8.8	4.88
White males	*137*	*106.8*	*12.52*		
a. vs. White females	204	107.2	12.85	0.4	.01

Negro females but the difference is not statistically significant. White females are superior to Negro males whereas White males tend to score higher than Negro males, the significance of the difference being somewhat doubtful. Both White males and females are definitely superior to Negro females. Whether this results from the factor of rapport between Negro girls and White female examiners remains to be determined. There is no sex difference in intelligence between White males and White females.

3. *Socio-Economic Status*

The correct interpretation of Negro socio-economic status is, as we have stated before, a difficult task because of the inequalities in occupational opportunities. It would appear to be methodologically feasible however to compare a social group of vaguely defined socio-economic status (such as the Negro) with another group sharing the same culture and separated into experimentally determined occupational levels (such as our White group.) While we most emphatically point out that this technique does not establish the absolute socio-economic identity of the colored group in terms of the social and cultural implications of such status in our culture, it should nevertheless enable us to surmise the *probable* position of our Negro group in terms of at least one variable, namely intelligence. Inasmuch as the relationship between socio-economic status and intelligence is a positive one for employed white adults we might assume that the same relationship holds for the colored group and that comparisons of mean *IQ*'s of one group with the other may give us a knowledge of the true socio-economic level of

the colored group. This approach, while theoretically defensible, can be entirely valid only in those instances where the vaguely defined group is not hampered in its social and economic adjustments. In the case of the Negro, because of restrictions operating to limit social and economic mobility, any such generalization can be made only with reservations, even though most of the Negro children used in this study come from parents who are engaged in what would be regarded among those for whom color is no bar, as semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. We do not know whether Negroes who are so classified would be capable of attaining a higher position on the socio-economic scale in a free society or whether the positions they actually occupy represent endowment-limited ceilings.

The data in Table 2 show that the variances are homogeneous, demonstrating that our subjects come from the same population. The difference between the variances of Negro males and Group VII White males is significant, but since the difference between the means is not statistically significant a more rigorous treatment of the data in this region was not indicated. We have only computed variances in those cases where the number of subjects was small. It should be pointed out that the critical ratio of 2.26 between Negro females and Group VII White females is not statistically significant since the t-test revealed a p of $> .05$.

The comparison of mean Negro *IQ*'s with White groups broken down into separate occupational levels brings out some interesting and provocative findings. Table 2 shows that Negro males are inferior to White males of professional and semi-professional paternity at the kindergarten level. It is highly significant that *our Negro subjects are not inferior in tested intelligence to Whites in Group III (Clerical, retail business, and skilled trades!)* The slight but statistically insignificant difference at this level vanishes almost entirely at levels below this point. In view of the fact that a majority of our Negro subjects have fathers who may be classed as semi- and unskilled workers this is all the more significant, as it may suggest the fallacy of using White occupational norms for Negro workers. Our studies with White subjects (4) reveal no such results.

Negro females make significantly lower scores than White females at every level except VI and VII. The colored subjects as a whole are similar in socio-economic status to White semi- and unskilled labor classes. As this is what we might be led to anticipate solely upon the basis of Negro occupational listings (noting however that the low female scores are responsible for the total group results) we are justified in making the follow-

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF NEGRO MALES AND FEMALES WITH WHITE MALES AND FEMALES OF KNOWN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (MINNESOTA OCCUPATIONAL SCALE)

	N	*M*	σ	*M*1 - *M*2	*F* ratio (Variances)	*CR*
Negro males	*50*	*103.0*	*11.91*			
a) vs. White males I	14	114.6	12.45	11.4	1.154 p>5	3.62
b) vs. White males II	16	115.0	8.94	13.8	1.698 p>5	5.36
c) vs. White males III	25	107.7	13.24	4.5		1.53
d) vs. White males V	60	104.5	12.20	1.3		0.64
e) vs. White males VI	7	101.8	10.88	1.4	1.048 p>5	0.32
f) vs. White males VII	15	101.2	8.12	2.0	4.897 p<1	0.81
Negro females	*41*	*98.0*	*13.55*			
a) vs. White females I	11	109.0	11.33	11.0	1.331 p>5	2.97
b) vs. White females II	17	113.7	16.97	15.7	1.628 p>5	3.65
c) vs. White females III	57	110.2	11.32	12.2		5.82
d) vs. White females V	86	106.2	11.25	8.2		4.35
e) vs. White females VI	18	96.5	15.64	1.5		0.37
f) vs. White females VII	15	105.4	11.35	7.4	1.360 p>5	2.26
Total negro	*91*	*100.0*	*12.91*			
a) vs. Total White I	25	112.1	12.30	11.3		4.03
b) vs. Total White II	33	114.4	13.03	13.6		5.15
c) vs. Total White III	82	109.4	12.42	8.6		4.52
d) vs. Total White V	146	105.5	11.68	4.6		2.78
e) vs. Total White VI	25	98.0	14.66	2.8	1.329 p>5	0.86
f) vs. Total White VII	23	105.7	10.58	4.9		1.88

ing assertion: *Negro children at the kindergarten level in the Minneapolis Public Schools are not inferior to White children of nominally similar socio-economic status in general intellectual capacity as measured by the Stanford-Binet Scale, Form L. Negro males compare favorably with White males of higher socio-economic status than their own.*

Previous Studies

Our findings differ from those reported in the literature on the intelligence of young Negro children. Koch and Simmons (16) tested seven year old Negro children on the Myers Pantomime and Detroit First Grade tests and found that 78 per cent of the Whites surpassed the Negro median. Graham (12) compared the scores of Negro children in Atlanta, Georgia, with national norms on th Otis Group Intelligence Scale. Differences between Negroes and Whites ranged from 3.10 to 9.09 points from ages 8 to 11 inclusive, favoring the Whites. The difference between 7-year-olds was only .35 points. Differences favoring Whites on the Advanced Examination (10 to 14 years) ranged from 11.01 to 25.00 points. Sunne (24) compared 110 White with 32 Negro children, using the Terman and Yerkes-Bridges Revisions of the Binet tests. The mean *IQ* of the White group at age 6 was 100. The mean Negro *IQ* was 95. Strachan (23) compared 7,474 White and 298 Negro children. The median *IQ* of the White kindergarten children was 105.7 and of the Negro 96.79; and 44.61 per cent of his Negro children fell into the 56-95 *IQ* range as compared with only 20.12 per cent of the Whites. Klineberg (15) administered the Stanford-Binet Scale (1916 revision) to Negro children whose parents had migrated from the south and who had lived in the north from one to over four years. The average *IQ* of migrants of less than one year of residence was 81.4; one to two years, 84.2; two to three years, 84.5; three to four years, 85.5; over four years, 87.4. New York born Negro children earned an average *IQ* of 87.3.

Sunne (24) found that 7-year-old Whites obtained a mean *IQ* of 96 as contrasted with 88 for Negroes. At age 8 the White mean was 93, Negro 88; age 9, 93 for Whites, 85 for Negroes; at age 10 the average White *IQ* had dropped to 90, the Negro *IQ* to 79. Garth, Lovelady, and Smith (7) tested 2,006 Negro children in Dallas and Oklahoma in Grades IV to IX on the Otis Classification and obtained an average *IQ* of 77.9. Peterson and Harrelson (20) used the Pressey, Otis, Haggerty, and Myers tests with groups of from 32 to 734 Negro children. They claim to have obtained a

relatively higher type Negro than White, but the findings revealed an average Negro *IQ* of 75 and 80.83 per cent of Whites were more efficient than the median of Negro ability. Only 15 to 18 per cent of the Negroes reached the median for Whites. Garth and Whatley (9) found a median *IQ* of 75 for 1200 Negro children on the National Intelligence Test. McGraw (19) administered the Buhler "Babytests" to Southern Negro and White infants with the result that White infants proved superior to Negroes (as they also did according to height and weight norms.) Bruce (7) examined 521 White and 432 Negro children in the rural South. The average Kuhlmann-Anderson group test *IQ* for White children (mean *CA* 9-6 years) was 88.10. Mean for Negroes (mean *CA* 9-9 years) 71.80. On the 1916 revision of the Stanford-Binet scale White children (N=87) obtained an average *IQ* of 90.07, σ 15.66. The Negro subjects (N=72) obtained an average *IQ* of 76.33, σ 14.22. The Grace Arthur Performance battery, using the same N's, resulted in an average *IQ* of 94.21, σ 22.11 for Whites, 77.10, σ 14.08 for Negroes. Critical Ratios for these differences were all above 5.00. Boynton (1) concludes ". . . most studies point so definitely to the superiority of the average White over the average Negro that it would seem justifiable to assume this condition to exist, at least until such time as definite *objective* confutations can be brought forth by objectors to this Hypothesis."

Discussion

It does not suffice to show that the average *IQ* of Negro children is lower than that of Whites. If we reject the myth of superior and inferior races we must probe deeper into the causes for these rather consistently observed differences. It is imperative that we ascertain whether such differences are attributable to nature or nurture. In doing so we have no intention of discrediting previous investigations, weak as many of these have been methodologically, but in these times the psychological research worker who is interested in social issues must frequently advance beyond his refined statistical techniques and inquire into the qualitative factors which may be responsible for his results. It is these very factors which are often disregarded by those who make use of scientific data in order to bolster reactionary prejudices.

Our findings have already shown that Negro children, residing in a community wherein the literacy level is higher than that found for Negroes in the United States, make higher score on the Stanford-Binet Scale than

is customary for children of this group elsewhere. We have shown that these children are as intelligent as Whites of approximately the same occupational level and we have pointed out the well-known fact that the Negro is grossly hampered in his choice of occupations. Sunne's findings (24) show a drop in the Negro *IQ* from 95 at age 6 to 79 at age 10. Bruce (7) asserts "From 6 through 12 years of age, the Negroes show no greater decline in *IQ* than the Whites." When we consider the initially low *IQ*'s of her subjects and the stultifying environment in which they live this is not to be wondered at. Our own experience with Negro children in the Minneapolis Public Schools indicates that such children make progressively poorer test scores as they grow older until the average *IQ* for Negroes at the sixth and seventh grades approaches the scores mentioned by other investigators. School principals in Negro districts have told the writer that Negro children seem to grow duller as they grow older. It might be assumed therefore that mental development in the case of the Negro reaches its maximum at a relatively early age. Such a hypothesis would be more tenable if he shared the social and economic advantages of the White. This he obviously does not do. We are forced to search for another explanation which will rest upon the objectively verifiable facts of the Negro's social and economic milieu and which will also possess psychological validity.

Gordon (11) tested English Canal-boat children and found that 76 older children earned an average *IQ* of 69.6 whereas younger children tested at the average for English children. He found a correlation of —.755 between intelligence and chronological age. This finding, interestingly enough, did not lead him to the conclusion that Canal-boat children are innately inferior or reached maximal mental development much earlier than did land-based children. Instead, these results were advanced in support of the theory that intelligence deteriorates in the absence of external stimulation.

Given equal opportunity to attend public schools in the North and therefore exposed to educational stimulation (unlike Gordon's subjects), why has the Negro school child failed to reflect this advantage and why does his *IQ* seemingly deteriorate? If we point out that he almost always resides in the poorest sections of our cities and that his schooling in many cases is not comparable in quality to that of White children we would expect him to score at approximately the same level as do Whites in his neigborhood. The average *IQ* for Minneapolis Kindergarten children is 107.7 (2). The average *IQ* for White children in a Negro neighborhood and in the same school wherein most of our subjects were tested is 104. A comparison of

percentiles for Negro and White children in the same school reveals that the Negro *IQ* lies in the 27th percentile whereas the White average in the same school lies at the 35th percentile. Nevertheless these scores are more alike than would be the case if we compared these Whites with Whites elsewhere in the city.

The theory which we wish to advance in this paper involves emotional factors in the life-development of the Negro which are not encountered in other cultural groups in America. We have suggested in a previous paper (2) that the variabilities of the *IQ* at various age-levels from two years to post-adolescence follows a rather consistent pattern not due to chance. From two to six years the standard deviations of the *IQ* gradually decline until the lowest variability (12.5) occurs at age 6. Beyond this point the variabilities gradually grow larger until a maximum is again attained at the adolescent period. We have interpreted this phenomenon to mean that home training up to this age involves inhibitions and restraints imposed from above in an effort to divert aggression and hostility into socially conventional patterns of behavior. When the child enters school he is exposed to social and intellectual stimuli which encourages differentiation. This phase of the process is reflected in increasing variabilities. Since the standard deviation of the Negro *IQ* in our group is almost identical with that of the total White group and Terman's standardization population (σ 12.91 and σ 12.30) we may assume that this process of conformity patterning is very similar for both groups. We must ask whether increasing differentiation after the age of six years characterizes Negro development, since we assume that such changes in variability are culturally determined. If opportunities and incentives for differentiation are withheld from the Negro child, is it not likely that this process of differentiation fails to occur to the same degree as for Whites? This problem lends itself to experimental verification. What looks like deterioration of the Negro *IQ* may in reality be a hemming-in of intellectual development and/or efficiency which strongly suggests the operation of a constrictive factor in Negro intellectual development. It is our theory that such a process of constriction or "pinching off" takes place and accounts for much of the Negro's personality and intellectual development. This would lead to a studious regard for outward forms of behavior characterized by set conformity to White norms, an inhibition of spontaneity in verbal behavior, and sharp reduction in the level of aspiration. Such patterns of behavior have their counterpart in frustration experiments carried out with animals.

There are a number of cogent considerations which lend support to such a theory. The Negro attempts to adapt himself to a dominant culture corporation in which he holds very little stock and has a proportionately small voice in determining policies (the Poll-tax situation illustrates this dramatically). His level of aspiration is adjusted to his opportunities and there is little motivation for superior performance which will only lead to severe frustration later in life. The Negro child realizes (consciously or unconsciously) that his vertical mobility is more restricted than is that of almost any other group in this country. In the Southern states he is expected to assume an attitude of submissiveness toward Whites. Signs of aspiration higher than that tacitly permitted him by Whites is construed as arrogance and presumption. If he should strive for White status he is almost certain to encounter bitter disappointment which is likely to lead to neurotic symptom formation.[2] Lemkau, Teitz, and Cooper (17) made a Mental Hygiene study of 3337 cases in the Eastern Health District of Baltimore, supplementing their findings with National Health Survey material. They state:

> In the "nervous" and psychoneurotic groups, Negroes furnish but 15 and 14 per cent of the cases respectively. The proportion in the small cases with neurotic traits corresponds almost exactly to the representation of the Negro race in the total population of 20 years of age and over, which is 21.5 per cent. This distribution pattern, a disproportionally small percentage of Negroes, is seen to prevail in most of the diagnostic subgroups among the psychoneuroses.

Upon the basis of an "index of case finding" they further conclude ". . . Our lower rate for adult neurotics among Negroes corresponds to the actual facts." This probably arises out of his sharp goal-reduction and would appear to offer further support to the theory of a constriction mechanism which enables the Negro to attune himself to a culture which creates a frustration trap by ostensibly offering freedom of opportunity for all peoples regardless of race or creed, but at the same time prohibits the Negro from implementing these concepts operationally.

Intelligence tests (whether individual or group tests) presuppose a certain degree of articulateness on the part of the examinee. We believe that the Negroes inhibit verbalizations among Whites as one of the overt manifestations of the constriction process. Klineberg (15) has said that the

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[2]The author has in his files the case of a Negro adolescent who developed paranoid tendencies as a result of severe status conflict.

Negro's language equipment is poor. He cites no experimental evidence in support of this statement, but if we accept it at its face value it would be necessary to point out that a sharp distinction must be made between language facility as measured by White test standards (which, upon the basis of intelligence test results would necessarily be low) and language as a vehicle for the expression of attitudes. Since language reveals attitudes, and forbidden attitudes may attract hostility and/or aggression from the dominant Whites, discretion outweighs valor in the development of language habits. Limiting one's self to "yea" and "nay" reduces threats to personal security while it concomitantly leads to linguistic atrophy through disuse. The effects of this verbal inhibition, as the need for it increases with more life experience, upon measured intelligence needs no further elaboration. That it is very likely a logical explanation of *IQ* deterioration must also be given careful consideration.

Summary

Three hundred forty-one native White, second generation kindergarten children were compared for intelligence with 91 colored kindergarten children of the same chronological age. All children were given the Stanford-Binet Scale, Form *L*. Socio-economic status of the White subjects was accurately determined and rigorously analyzed by the analysis of variance method. Socio-economic status of the Negro subjects was carefully scrutinized and interpreted in terms of the community pattern for the Negro. Methodological assumptions underlying a comparison of White and Negro subjects at each of six occupational levels were discussed. The following results were presented:

1. The mean White *IQ* was 107.06 as compared with a mean Negro *IQ* of 100.78. The variances were particularly identical.
2. Negro males make somewhat higher scores than females, but the difference is not statistically significant.
3. White females are superior to Negro males, but the evidence does not clearly demonstrate White male superiority over Negro males. Both White males and females are superior to Negro females.
4. Variances for White and Negro *IQ*'s are homogeneous at all occupational levels, indicating that the subjects come from the same population.
5. Comparison of intelligence at various occupational levels reveals that Negro males are not inferior in tested intelligence to White subjects in Group III (Clerical, retail business, and skilled trades.)

6. Negro females score lower than White females at all occupational levels except VI and VII.

7. The total Negro group resembles the White semi- and unskilled labor class.

A theory of developmental constriction based upon clearly defined cultural factors in the life of the Negro is advanced as an explanation of the apparent deterioration of intelligence among Negro children with increase in age. This theory seems to account for the consistently lower *IQ*'s of Negroes in comparison with Whites without assuming racial inferiority.

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The Georgia Observer

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GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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Chairman—R. L. RUSSELL, Griffin *Vice-Chairman*—RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Atlanta

Vol. III JULY-AUGUST, 1942 Nos. 7 & 8

Tommyrot

In the heathenish rage with which Eugene Talmadge is trying to prejudice the voters of Georgia into returning him to the Governorship of that State, he has now picked out the Rosenwald Foundation for his vitriol condemning its labors and services for the education of the Negroes of the South as an intention to bring about social equality with the two races.

Those who know the facts about the fine offices of the Rosenwald foundation are quite sure of the designs of this enterprise and long ago became convinced against all such piffle and twaddle that this benefaction had nothing in mind save that of giving the unattended and long-outcast Negroes of the South a better chance for a better education.

It has been co-operative with the entire South's own educational leaders in this constructive enterprise, sent its money down here to be spent by them and without restriction or reservation save that it should be used for the ends for which it was bequeathed.

To undertake to create the impression in Georgia or in any other part of the South that the Rosenwald foundation is a racial Fifth Columnist in its ulterior purposes is the sheerest sort of tommyrot.—*Charlotte Observer*, August 20.

BLAKE—

The morning after the night before,
'Twas surely a glorious dawn,
Because there were times in the night before
When it seemed that our cause was gone;
Thursday morning, the tenth of September
Is a morning I'll always divinely remember,
For just as the dawn began to break
After a night of din,
We knew without doubt that the fight was won
As victory's tide swept in;
Thursday morning, the tenth of September
Is a morning I'll always divinely remember.

—*Atlanta Journal.*

Odum Brands Race Issue As Political Dodo

By the Associated Press

Dr. Howard W. Odum, president of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, said Saturday he believed the result of the gubernatorial campaign in Georgia and the recent senatorial campaign in South Carolina "shows clearly that the race issue no longer has its old-time political appeal."

In a statement issued through the commission office here, Dr. Odum, who is director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, asserted the elections "will contribute definitely to the unity and welfare of the (Southern) region."

Dr. Odum's statement:

"The outcome of the gubernatorial contest in Georgia last Wednesday shows clearly that the race issue no longer has its old-time political appeal. Relied upon by the governor as his chief asset in a hard fight for re-election, this issue was repudiated by an overwhelming vote for the opponent who had denounced its injection into the campaign as insincere and dangerous.

"The result of the recent senatorial race in South Carolina bears testimony to the same effect. Politicians may well take notice and hereafter pitch their appeals on a higher plane.

"These results and the trend they indicate will greatly encourage the constructive leadership of both races in the South and will contribute definitely to the unity and welfare of the region. The Negro may reasonably expect increasing sympathy and co-operation as the great heart of the South follows its judgment in a continued program of unity and progress."—*Atlanta Journal*, Sept. 13.

BLAKE—

The Old Home Counties

The sweetest news above the rest,
Please shout it long and loud—
Old Fulton and DeKalb came through
To make us very proud;
The old home counties thundered out
In tones that were emphatic,
They did the job to make us feel
Quite happy and ecstatic.

—*Atlanta Journal.*

A BOLT FROM THE BLACK

—*Atlanta Journal.*

September 1 the University System of Georgia lost its accredited rating with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

SCHOOLS ARE SAVED; DEMOCRACY RESTORED

"Victory and salvation!"—those words typify the thoughts that today run through the minds of every loyal Georgian and every student of the Georgia schools. For today, unofficial reports give Ellis Arnall a close, but decisive, victory over Eugene Talmadge. From the students' viewpoint, Arnall's win spells for us not only victory, but also salvation—the salvation of our schools.

Perhaps one of the most important results of the Arnall victory is that the reputation of our state and of its voters has been redeemed in the eyes of the nation. The people of these United States, looking on conditions in Georgia, came to regard the foul treatment our people and institutions suffered under Governor Talmadge as nothing less than a serious threat to democracy. Now that Arnall has been elected, Americans the country over feel much more at ease. Knowing that democracy has been restored here at home, we can now concentrate our efforts in our war for "*Democracy, forever!*"—*The Technique*—Georgia School of Technology.

THE STUDENTS

OF GEORGIA

ASK THE CITIZENS

OF THEIR STATE

TO REMEMBER

THIS DAY

FOR TODAY,

AS A RESULT

OF THE POLICIES

OF ONE MAN,

GEORGIA'S PROUD

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

STANDS DISCREDITED

September 1st, 1942

—*Atlanta Journal.*

Every time a vicious demagogue is repudiated and cast out the whole country gains by the process as well as the community which executes the judgment. Therefore all the rest of us are in Georgia's debt for what the great majority of its voters did to Eugene Talmadge. —*New Orleans Item.*

Eugene Talmadge was not exclusively Georgia's shame or Georgia's responsibility. In office he represented a species that is a blight on the good name of Democracy in the South. But Georgia did not need the aid and counsel of outlanders in curing her political affliction. This she has done, surely and intelligently, with the sharp instrument of the ballot.—*Asheville Citizen.*

Democracy Wins

The results of Wednesday's Democratic White Primary, which nominated Ellis Arnall as Chief Executive of Georgia is an unmistakable repudiation of dictatorship in governmental affairs of the state.

The vote means, that of itself alone, the "White Supremacy" cry does not possess the alluring appeal it once held for the rural masses of the southland. Judge Blease in South Carolina found out too late that it was no longer sufficient to win election to office. Other states in the south are gradually beginning to examine more seriously their candidate whose only appeal is race-hate and prejudice.

In a very real sense, we hope it means the end of incitement of race against race in the state, and the beginning of a conscientious attempt to administer the laws of the state to the interests of all groups, and the dawn of a new era of "good feelings" among the whites and blacks, so vital to our mutual progress and happiness in this time of national peril.

We would have liked to help vote for the return of good government to the state in this election. And indeed, responsible Negro leaders had considered seriously the matter of voting in this election. But viewing the far-reaching issues in the campaign and the high probability that such a course would play into the hands of the enemies of good government, this course was abandoned. Nevertheless, we know and sincerely hope that all honest believers in democracy know that Negroes should not be expected to be content to fight and die to save democracy for our beloved land, without having an opportunity to share some of the fruits of this struggle.

The enfranchisement of the Negro people in the White Primaries is the only solution which can ultimately silence the race issue in politics. Without a voice or a vote, the Negro people, about 40 per cent of the population, have been used as a sort of club to whip the whites into believing that Negro domination is the paramount challenge to their safety and security.

The campaign has ended now. It has been long and disheartening. It has engendered much suspicion and fear needlessly between the unthinking whites and blacks of the state. It has done some very real harm to our Negro war morale. But, in spite of these, it is highly important that all memories of the past be forgotten and that we set our eyes upon the real objective of this Nation, winning the war. All other considerations should be subordinated to this objective.

We congratulate Governor-Elect Ellis Arnall and wish for him an honest, fearless but sane administration, which is liberal enough to embrace the interests and welfare of Negroes, as well as other citizens of Georgia.

—*Atlanta Daily World,* September 11.

ELLIS ARNALL GIVES RECOGNITION TO GEORGIA WOMEN

To name all leaders and groups who have borne a telling part in this gloriously ended campaign would make a list columns long. None wrought more faithfully than the educators, the teachers and the student rank and file who mustered to the defense of our University System and the previous human values it embodied.—*Atlanta Journal*, September 10.

Georgia has full reason to be proud of the conduct of its newspapers during the tempestuous political campaign which has come to so happy a close. The press, daily and weekly, discharged its obligation to the public in a manner that was impressive and, without doubt, effective.—*Journal*, Sept. 15.

In an interview given in Washington September 19, Ellis Arnall added another group of Georgians to those mentioned by the *Atlanta Journal*. According to the Associated Press, he gave "full credit for his victory" not only "to the youth" but also to "the women" of the State. The women, especially of the Methodist church, began a clear-cut campaign of education on the anti-Christian undemocratic issue of race in political campaigns. They passed resolutions condemning the injection of the Negro into the campaign. In their societies they discussed the effect of this issue on the Nation's status in the war for the preservation of Democracy. They saw themselves voting as citizens of the Christian world.

Their work to preserve Democracy was not published in the newspapers. They carried on their weekly and monthly meetings where they came together, as their mothers and grandmothers before them had come, to plan on advancing the Kingdom of God. They saw in the political issue of race a dangerous obstacle to the fulfillment of this plan which they must remove. And they did their part at home, quietly and without thinking of individual credit or acclaim. "Ever body in our society voted," wrote one woman, "and from the resulz we know we done good."

To the everlasting credit of Ellis Arnall he has given public recognition of his and Georgia's and the country's debt to the women of Georgia.

Great News From Georgia!

This is positively great news from Georgia —this word of the defeat of Gene Talmadge.

Getting rid of Talmadge as governor in itself is a very fine thing, a blessing for the people of our neighbor state which will be shared, in some measure, by all of the people of the South. But his defeat carries a significance and a reassurance that go far beyond Talmadge himself. For it is a repudiation of many dangerous and destructive policies, methods and tendencies in government.

—*Birmingham Age-Herald.*

Achievement!

—*Atlanta Journal*, Sept. 11.

September 9 the citizens of Georgia remembered.

Well Done, Georgia

Congratulations on the result of Wednesday's Democratic primary go, first of all, to the people of Georgia. They have proved by their ballots that they can be depended upon for sound judgment and patriotic action when vital issues challenge and great opportunities call. They have not only vindicated the good name of their commonwealth, but also have forged a way to its quickened progress and prosperity. They have said to the world, Georgia stands for justice, for freedom, for enlightenment, for good will, for true Americanism.—*Atlanta Journal.*

A Southerner Learns About Race

by
Brewton Berry

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A SOUTHERNER LEARNS ABOUT RACE

BREWTON BERRY

LET no one call me radical. I was born and bred in the Deep South, of a long line of Colonial Dames, D.A.R.'s, U.D.C.'s, and unreconstructed rebels. At a very tender age I acquired strong prejudices against Republicans, New Englanders, and the tariff. Even earlier, though, I had learned the orthodox racial creed of the South and had mastered the complicated code of interracial etiquette. I knew which race was superior and which had been foreordained to hew the wood and draw the water. It was perfectly obvious to me that Negroes were naturally lazy, musical, and incompetent. I knew "instinctively" how to deal with them. I addressed them as "Auntie," "Mammy," and "Daddy," but never as "Mister," "Mistress," or "Miss." They cut my hair and rubbed on the tonic but did not shake my hand. They prepared my food and served it to me but never sat at a table with me. They called only at our back door and occupied the rear seats of the bus. They had their own churches and schools. To me this all seemed entirely rational and proper.

Habits thus acquired are not easily discarded. Even now it is only righteous indignation that makes me vote Republican; and when kind words about New England slip through my lips, I take secret pride in my magnanimity. Yes, and to this day I never pass a Sherman monument without thumbing my nose at it.

As for the interracial mores, I must confess that I am conventional—at least, ostensibly. I dance only with Nordics, Alpines, Mediterraneans, and mixtures of these three. And I have no doubt that the man my daughter marries, whatever be his intellectual and moral qualifications, will have the acceptable amount of pigment in his epidermis.

My prejudices, however, do not lead to violence. Lynching I condemn; the persecution of Jews I deplore; and recent immigrants and their children, I know full well, are not one whit more iniquitous than the Founding Fathers. Ku Klux Klans, Coughlins, and Winrods get no support from me.

But I am no reformer. The role of the crusader has never won me over. I admire martyrs and am often tempted to envy them their bliss; but I doubt that I shall ever emulate them. When in Rome I try to do as the Romans; and I appreciate similar efforts on their part. This attitude I attribute to the study of anthropology, but the cause may be glandular. I don't know. Call me conservative, Tory, reactionary, or what you will. But not radical.

Creeds and etiquette, however, are quite different things. Toward the latter my policy is usually one of conformity, but toward the former I am disposed to be critical and rebellious. Before I had graduated from short pants I had played havoc with the Apostles' Creed, much to the consternation of aunts, uncles, and parents. My faith in the racial creed remained unshaken much longer, until college professors, books,

and several years' residence abroad combined to make me skeptical. As a consequence, in place of the racial creed acquired in my youth, I now hold to a new one:

First, our popular orthodox ideas about race are no better than superstitions. They were born, not of cool, scientific thinking, but were smuggled into our heritage to justify exploitation, to protect privilege, to arouse nationalism, or to cover ignorance.

Second, there are no fundamental differences between the various races.

And third, there is no such thing as a race in the first place.

Allow me, by way of novelty, to discuss these points in reverse order.

First, then, races are fictions—the modern counterparts of witches, ghosts, and goblins—existing only in our minds, although we commonly treat them as though they were real, objective entities. But, you are probably saying, do we not see them with our eyes? Does not everyone know to which race he belongs? Well, so did our ancestors actually see witches and ghosts, and there were many who even confessed that they were witches. The five senses are by no means infallible.

This belief that races are real things is betrayed in the questions one frequently hears. How many races are there? To which race do the Polynesians belong? To which the Hindus? As well to ask, How many slices are there in a pie? Two, four, six; it all depends. Or this, On which shelf of a bookcase should one put *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*? The assignment of people to races, like the carving of a pie or the cataloging of books, is an arbitrary affair, depending on the whim of the carver, the criteria chosen, the purpose of the classification.

The fact of the matter is that no two people are exactly alike. We differ in a great variety of ways. There are Republicans and Democrats; monogamists and polygamists; theists, atheists, and agnostics; liberals, radicals, and conservatives; idiots and geniuses. We are tall, short, fat, and skinny. Some are musical, some not. Noses are straight, concave, convex, and sinuous. Some have thick lips, some thin. Some have a good deal of pigment in the skin, others less.

Now some of these differences are obviously hereditary, others acquired, and many hard to determine. Also, some of them seem important, while others are incidental. Except for our prejudices, we should probably agree that such things as intelligence, health, and temperament are important differences, but that it matters not whether the nose is straight or aquiline, whether the hair is curly or wavy. But suppose the hair is kinky? Suppose the nose is broad and flat? Very important indeed, as far as the status of the individual is concerned; more important even than intelligence and temperament. Quite so; but only because we have arbitrarily attached social significance to these biological trivia.

The word race involves some of these differences. But not all of them. At least, it shouldn't. Yet we commonly hear almost any kind of group designated a race. There is the Anglo-Saxon race, the Slavic race, the French, the Latin, the Aryan, the Jewish, Irish, Gypsy, and Teutonic. Now these names represent quite different kinds of aggregates of people; but the elusive word race, which means almost anything, fits them all. Thus, in popular use, the word seems to refer to a group of people having anything at all in common, hereditary or acquired, biological or social. And a word that becomes so promiscuous needs to be punished—perhaps even ostracized.

If we keep it, however—and we probably shall—we should restrict its use to

large groups of people who have in common, more or less, certain hereditary, non-adaptive, physical features. That would rule out as criteria of race such things as language, religion, politics, and nationality. But what about height, weight, baldness, and epilepsy? We had better rule them out too; for, although they are somewhat hereditary, they would give us too much trouble and we have troubles enough as it is. That leaves as criteria such things as head-form, the eyes, the shape of the nose, the color of the skin, the thickness of the lips, the type of hair.

Now if Nature had not jumbled our precious criteria, the problem of constructing racial pigeon-holes would not be so difficult. But Nature is impish, and she has accordingly put curly hair on the chocolate-skinned Australian, wavy hair on the black Veddha, and abundant hair on the slant-eyed Ainu. She has blessed the Nordic with the accolade of dolichocephaly, and then, Puck-like, turned around and given it to the Negro.

But that is only half of the story. What about the value of these criteria? Which is most important? Which next? If one is to classify anything, one must be consistent and not flit from one criterion to another. That is easier said than done, when one is dealing with races. Which is most important? Skin color, hair, the nose, or the skull? To be perfectly honest about it, none of them is important. They are all secondary. But we must decide which of these empty things is least empty. We must arrange them in some order—empty, emptier, emptiest.

That is precisely what the scientists have never been able to do; and for that reason hardly two of them agree as to the number and composition of the races. Thus one scholar makes an elaborate classification of twenty-nine races; another tells us there are six; Huxley gives us four; Kroeber, three; Goldenweiser, five; and Boas inclines to two, while his colleague, Linton, says there are twelve or fifteen. Even my dullest students sometimes note this apparent contradiction.

There is no such thing as a race. Perhaps I should now qualify that sweeping statement. I wish, just for a moment, that I could speak the language of philosophy. What I want to say is that races are not the kind of things that people think they are. They are not entities, but arbitrary, man-made categories. In matters of metaphysics I confess I am naive. In my innocence I take it that some things, such as the Empire State Building, are very, very real; that the Democratic Party and the Methodist Church are also real, although there is a difference; but that such things as introverts, liberals, extroverts, and morons are subjective, descriptive categories. We have constructed these pigeon-holes to suit our purposes. Races belong to this last type of reality. We have made them ourselves, for one reason or another; and in the making of them we have used the convenient but inconsequential fact that people have different kinds of hair, eyes, and complexions.

The second article of my faith is that there are no important differences between these arbitrary groups that we call races; that is, no innate differences in intelligence, temperament, physiology, artistic abilities, and the like.

Popular opinion, of course, holds that races and nationalities do by nature differ greatly. Englishmen are taciturn, Negroes musical, Italians volatile, Russians phlegmatic, Chinese passive, Hindus mystical, Jews aggressive, Indians stolid, and Irishmen witty.

Most of these impressionistic characterizations can be dismissed as so much piffle. When one comes to know the members of another race, group, or nation, one realizes the inadequacy of such generaliza-

tions. I used to believe that Scotchmen were rough, jolly, and thrifty—a nation of Harry Lauders. But after living among them for a while, I am at a loss to find any adjective that is applicable. My Scottish acquaintances run the whole gamut of personality types—from topers to teetotalers, from prigs to profligates, from sapheads to scholars. Such truth as there is in these broad characterizations of people can be adequately explained in terms of their culture, without resorting to such myths as "the national mind" or "the soul qualities of the race."

In this scientific age we insist that our prejudices be fortified with facts and figures, and we have accordingly produced a mass of data to prove we are the chosen people. The arguments usually run along these lines: (1) some races have larger brains than others; (2) some produce more geniuses than others; (3) history and cultural achievements prove the superiority of certain races; and (4) intelligence tests clinch the debate for our side.

Now if these arguments are valid, they prove also that men are superior to women. Their brains are larger, they have given us more geniuses, and historically they have achieved more. As much as I should like, however, to believe that the male is God's chosen sex, I must confess that these reasons leave me unconvinced. About all they prove is that the men have written more books.

In the matter of race, then, bear in mind that we have made the tests, using the paraphernalia of our culture; we have decided who the geniuses are; and we have set up the criteria for judging backwardness and progressiveness, invariably choosing those things in which we excel. Not only that, but we have insisted that the decision be made at this very moment, when we seem to be in the lead. Now in poker, if one persists in stacking the cards and quitting the game when he is in the lead, he deserves to be shot. In debate should the standards of sportsmanship be lower?

Anyone familiar with history knows that culture has a way of arising, accumulating, and spreading over the world with a complete and serene indifference to such matters as skin color and nose width. Our own civilization is a patchwork of elements gathered from every corner of the earth and handed down from the remote past. Most of us are only passive carriers of the culture we have inherited; it is the rare individual who makes any contribution to the social heritage. It is as absurd, therefore, for Americans or Englishmen or Caucasians to use their culture as evidence for their superiority as for Barbara Hutton to insist that the size of her bank roll proves her a financial genius.

The third doctrine of my creed concerns the *function* of our racial superstition, which, I maintain, is chiefly masquerade, camouflage, and rationalization.

One must admit, however, that, fiction though it be, it has done its job well. Hitler himself has said, "I know perfectly well—just as well as these tremendously clever intellectuals—that there is no such thing as race. But I, as a politician, need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed to be abolished; and for this purpose the conception of race serves me well." And Mussolini, echoing these sentiments, said, "Race is a feeling, not a reality; ninety-five per cent, at least, is a feeling."

A glance at the history of the word "race" will throw some light upon its function. Its actual origin is disputed by etymologists; but it did enter the western European languages late, coming into the English from the French in the 16th century, and into the German in the 18th. Originally the word was used to denote the descendants of a single person as, for

example, the race of Abraham. In short, race was a word associated with the institution of the family. Now the family is one of man's oldest institutions, and a great deal of sentiment and loyalty has grown up around it. Nations, on the contrary, are very recent, not so firmly planted in our social heritage. The racial myth accordingly represents the effort to transfer to the nation the feeling and loyalty long associated with the family.

Human groups are not like herds of cattle or flocks of birds, which are held together by their gregarious instinct. People must be united by more subtle bonds—common language, a common body of traditions, symbols such as flags and kings, and perhaps best of all a common enemy. With all of these, however, it is no easy task to mold a mass of human beings into a single body. Small wonder, then, that the race myth—the superstition that a great nation of people is really one big family, with a common ancestor, with the same blood in their veins—small wonder that such an idea, coming just at the time when nationalism was arising, should be taken up so eagerly.

Not only did the race fiction fit beautifully into the budding nationalism of the period, but it was equally useful in another connection. Europeans, at the time, were going abroad conquering native peoples, robbing, slaughtering, and enslaving them. They were not satisfied merely to accept their dominance as a fact and let it go at that. From the very first they sought to rationalize and justify their conduct. Thus the Spanish had their apologists, who conveniently discovered that the Indians were really not human beings at all, but were another "race," descended from some pair other than Adam and Eve. There were other good "reasons" for enslavement, too —theological, Biblical, and pseudo-scientific. And these spread rapidly from one European nation to another, for something was desperately needed to soothe the white man's conscience.

Race has been a useful tool, not only in bolstering nationalism and in justifying our sins, but in covering our ignorance as well. Note how often in music, art, and literature, when one is at a loss to account for some strange effect, the vague myth of race is resorted to. A biographer, for example, concludes that President Roosevelt's stubbornness is due to the Dutch blood in his veins; a critic informs us that the peculiar qualities of Tschaikovsky's music are the manifestations of his Russian race; and a military expert explains the bombing of Honolulu as a consequence of the "strong strain of Malay blood in the Japanese race." And thus the authorities would have us credit them with keen biological insight.

Indeed, no other character in fiction has played so many roles, and with such perfection.

It has not been my purpose here to criticize, or to overthrow, our social structure. As a sociologist, I realize how deep-rooted are the institutions and mores of a people, and how difficult it is to try to alter them. I know, too, the futility of simple and sentimental panaceas.

The answer I do not know. I even doubt such problems have "solutions," as problems do in mathematics.

We do not "solve" racial problems—we move in directions. And there are only two alternatives. One leads to persecution, hatred, and bestiality. The other is the one I believe we Americans have slowly but hesitantly trod—the path of acceptance, co-operation, and democracy.

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30-Race + Race Differences

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WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW ABOUT RACE

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We are, in this discussion, going to focus upon race and problems of race purely from a biological angle. The approach may be illustrated by an experience the writer had some dozen years ago. In 1930–31 it was his privilege to study in the Galton Laboratory of Applied Eugenics at London University. On the first day, as he ascended the stairs to a second-floor classroom, he saw on the landing-wall in front of him a huge illustration, an enlargement of a cartoon that had appeared in *Punch*. Two English country gentlemen were standing beside a blue-ribbon bull, and one gentleman said to the other, "We know about breeds in animals, but what about ourselves?" The theme of this discussion is, then: What about breeds in our biological selves? We shall discuss these selves not in individual, but in group terms. In a very real sense what we do not know about human biological groupings may become positive knowledge if it outlines future avenues of research. If we recognize a darkness we also recognize a need for light.

The *first* "don't" is simply this: we are not sure—at least we do not agree—what actually constitutes a biological race in man. In 1871 Charles Darwin, in "The Descent of Man," expressed the problems of racial classification quite clearly:

> Every naturalist who has had the misfortune to undertake the description of a group of highly varying organisms, has encountered cases . . . precisely like that of Man, and if of a cautious disposition he will end by uniting all the forms which graduate into one another, under a single species; for he will say to himself that he has no right to give names to objects which he can not define.

Darwin represents one extreme: there is but one race, the *human race*. One may study the literature on human racial classification and go to the other extreme, wherein no less than 150 species, each with sub-races, are postulated.

In 1735 Linnaeus, the great Swedish naturalist, gave Man the scientific name he to-day still bears—*Homo sapiens* (the "wise man"). Let us analyze ourselves biologically: an expanded cerebral cortex that makes of us a reasoning animal; a protracted period of infancy and childhood that enables us to be a learning animal; a facial skeleton reduced in size so that we have a physiognomy instead of a snout; a forelimb that is freed from locomotion so that a forepaw has become a hand; a spinal column, viscera, a pelvic girdle, and a hind limb, that are reasonably well adapted to an upright posture and bipedal locomotion. In this general morphological pattern all mankind is truly one: one genus, one species. In all important and major bodily details we are one—in brain, in peripheral nerves, in heart, in blood and blood vessels, in all

viscera, in muscles, and in skeletal architecture.

But there do exist differences which are, as it were, superimposed upon this basic ground-plan. There are differences in skin color, in eye color, in hair color and hair texture, in head shape, in nose and lip shape, and even in limb proportions. These differences are obvious, they are external, and we have recognized them for thousands of years. On the basis of skin color, principally, we subdivide *Homo sapiens* into three major groups: White, Yellow, Black. Scientifically we may designate these as *H. s. caucasoideus, H. s. mongoloideus, H. s. negroideus,* respectively.[1] Each of these groups—in practice we often call them "stocks"—is a sub-species, and each has certain distinctive morphological features which, taken singly, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but which, taken in combination or complex, do tend to set the groups apart. Actually, this same general conclusion applies to sub-species in lower forms as well.

So far, so good. Now let us observe one of these stocks—the Caucasoids—in greater detail. Within this sub-species, in Europe, there are groups which, originally on a geographical basis, precipitate out as more or less recognizable entities: Northwest, Central, Southwest, Northeast, Southeast. To these types—and we here use a simplified terminology—have been applied the names Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean, Baltic and Dinaric, respectively. They fall into place in our scheme as follows:

H. s.	*caucasoideus*	*nordicus*
" "	"	*alpinus*
" "	"	*mediterraneus*
" "	"	*balticus*[2]
" "	"	*dinaricus*[2]

In this stock break-down we come, finally, to the groups that the anthropologist generally terms race; they are, in taxonomic fact, sub-sub-species, or varieties. Do they exist to-day? The answer must be a qualified affirmative; that there may be local, isolated, probably highly inbred groups of Alpines, for example, in certain Swiss valleys. Similarly there may be small regional groups of the five Caucasoid varieties we have named. But there are no peoples or nations in Europe who are pure Nordics, pure Alpines, or pure anything else. In substance, there are *no pure races:* there are only populations in which two or more varieties are intermixed, and that intermixture began before the dawn of European history. Therefore, what we term races in Man are poorly defined, because they are not—as in races in lower forms—homogeneous; they are intermixed, hybridized, diffused. That is why one man says "no races," the other "many races." The first is appalled at the difficulty of disentangling intermingled varieties; the second holds that secondary or composite groups warrant racial status.

The problem of mixture above mentioned—of hybridization so that "racial purity" is non-existent—renders it impossible to ascribe genetic homogeneity to the races we have set up. Suppose we took ten persons classed as Nordics (five males, five females), and ten persons classed as Mediterraneans (five males, five females) and bred within each group: we could not guarantee, and we would not expect, that the offspring would be all Nordics and all Mediterraneans, respectively. In the Nordic × Nordic we might get some short, brunet, long-heads; in the Mediterranean × Mediterranean we might get some tall, blond, long-heads. About all we might reasonably expect is that the Nordic offspring would tend more to tall blondness, and the Mediterranean offspring to brunet shortness. In other words, the groups we call races are genetically heterogeneous; they include genes that are gen-

[1] Some anthropologists feel that these merit specific ranking.

[2] There is reason to believe that these were originally variant combinations of the three preceding, basic types.

eralized, and that are also shared more or less equally by one another.

Actually, how have we in practice set up a racial classification? The first method is that of *somatological inspection:* we look at a group and find that, on the average, they are short, slender, dark-complexioned, long-headed, wavy-haired, and their habitat is circum-Mediterranean; thus *H. s. caucasoideus mediterraneus* comes into being (Italians, Spanish, southern French, etc.). The second method is by *biometric analysis.* Here a certain portion of an entire group —a random sample—is measured and described precisely. If mathematical investigation shows that this sample (and hence the group) is statistically homogeneous and significantly different from all other groups, then the group under consideration is termed a race. "A biometrician's concept of race in man is derived primarily from the statistical study of samples. . . . His methods are essentially descriptive and they do not presuppose any particular theory of individual or racial heredity."[3] The end result of both of these methods is the *l'homme moyen,* or type, the hypothetical individual who represents the averages of all the individuals in the group (e.g., John Bull, Alphonse, Hans, Uncle Sam are caricatured types of an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, an American).

In summary, our *first* "don't" recognizes that the groups we call human races are, taxonomically, sub-sub-species. As in all lower forms the differences which set these races apart—at such a taxonomic level—are not clear-cut and precisely defined. As far as Man is concerned, we focus upon a relatively few apparently stable characters and then accept them as having a definitive and diagnostic value. In doing this, however, we do not diverge radically from accepted zoological princples at sub-sub-specific levels for lower animal forms generally. At species level distinctions are quite clear; below that they are dim in the haze of variability.

The *second* "don't" is found in the fact that we are uncertain how stocks and races arose, i.e., when in human evolution they appeared and the mechanism involved in their emergence. We are pretty well satisfied that Man, as a primitive hominid, probably arose some five million years ago, more or less, as the result of a divergence from a generalized anthropoid form which gave rise to Man and the Anthropoids as we to-day know them. But that accounts for Man as Man—how about the White Man? The Yellow? The Black? Well, we are not really sure. There are suggestive finds, but nothing more. The first White Man may possibly be seen in Galley Hill man, resident in England some 400,000 years ago; the first Yellow Man is suggested by Weidenreich to date to Sinanthropus, the man of Peking, China, of about a million years ago; the first Black Man may date to Rhodesian man in Africa, 100,000(?) years ago—certainly he was present in southern Europe at Grimaldi, some 25,000 years ago. We repeat, we are not sure of the import of these finds in terms of the time-appearance of stocks. Two things must be borne in mind: first, the finds are random and inconclusive because we do not have sufficient numbers to know range of variation; second, the characters commonly diagnostic of stock or race are those of soft parts not preserved in the fossil record.

If stocks, or sub-species, be of doubtful origin, how about races, or varieties? Here we are more in the dark than ever. We can answer only that Mediterranean-type crania are found well defined by the opening of the Neolithic, about 10,000–15,000 years ago; Nordic-type crania are reported in the Swedish Neolithic. The time element in stock and race emergence is approximate, nothing more.

Now that we have considered when they arose, let us take up how they arose.

[3] G. M. Morant, in "Race and Culture," p. 24, 1934. Royal Anthropol. Inst., London.

One of the most intriguing theories is that of Sir Arthur Keith,[4] who feels that the endocrines may have played a role: "The transformation of man and ape . . . is determined by a common growth-controlling mechanism which is residual in a system of small but complex glandular organs." As Keith surveys the role of the pituitary in acromegaly, the thyroid in achondroplasia, the adrenals in pigmentation, the gonads in secondary sex characters, he sees analogies with certain statural, osteologic, cranio-facial, skin conditions in the stocks of mankind; e.g., the big-boned, rugged-skulled Caucasoid shows a possible pituitary dominance; the flat-faced Mongoloid shows a possible thyroid dominance; the dark-skinned Negroid shows a possible adrenal dominance.[5] Keith offers these endocrine associations more as suggestions than as absolute statements. They undoubtedly exist as factors, but to-day we recognize the endocrines as so complex, so interrelated, that any statement of uniglandular dominance must be taken with tremendous reserve. The exact role of the endocrines in human evolution and in the appearance of stocks and of races is in the realm of conjecture.

In our present knowledge of human evolution we assume that sometime, somewhere, there existed a generalized protohuman or hominid species that had, potentially at least, all of the morphological characters found to-day in all of mankind. This species must have been genetically fairly homogeneous, though probably inherently variable.

From this species there arose through mutation, recombination, selection, migration and isolation, the stocks and races as we now recognize them.

The *third* "don't" resides in the inadequacy of our knowledge concerning heredity in Man. Specifically, we do not know the precise mechanism whereby traits diagnostic of stock and race are transmitted.

One of the most obvious methods employed by the physical anthropologist in studying human heredity is to analyze the effects of race mixture.[6] Here it is assumed that the traits that "show up" or persist in a cross are "dominant." For example, when a long-head is crossed with a broad- or short-head it is apparently the broadness or shortness that dominates; similarly, nasal breadth dominates over nasal narrowness, lip thickness over lip thinness, and so on. But all this is not genotypic (genetic constitution) it is phenotypic (physical appearance). We do not know the exact genetic pattern involved; we know, for the most part, only what the end-result "looks like." Moreover, we are observing the operation of only a dozen or so pairs of thousands of pairs of genes in Man. It is this dozen or so for hair, eyes, nose, lips, skin, and a few other traits, that we rely upon for stock and racial diagnosis; all the others are presumably constant for all groups.

Strandskov has given us an excellent summary of known gene distribution in Man.[7] Color blindness is a sex-linked recessive, with gene (*cb*) on the X-chromosome; color blindness is present when normal color vision (*Cb*) absent. Ability to taste the chemical phenyl thiocarbamide is an autosomal recessive with (*T*) for tasting, (*t*) for non-tasting. In the A–B blood groups we find inheritance by triple allelomorphs, as follows:

Blood group	*Gene combination*
AB	I^A I^B
A	I^A I^A or I^Ai
B	I^B I^B or I^Bi
O	ii

[4] Keith, A., "The differentiation of Mankind into racial types." *Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.*, pp. 443–53. Wash., D. C. 1921.

[5] About 1775 John Hunter concluded that the original skin color of Man was black, and in 1921 Keith reaffirmed that statement.

[6] T. W. Todd, "Entrenched Negro physical features." *Human Biology*, 1 (1): 57–69. 1929; W. M. Krogman, "The inheritance of non-pathological physical traits in Man." *Eugenical News* 21 (6): 139–146. Nov.–Dec., 1936.

[7] H. H. Strandskov, "The distribution of human genes," Sci. Mon., 52: 203–215, March, 1941; "The genetics of human population," *Am. Nat.*, 76: 156–164, 1942.

In the M–N blood groups we find the following:

Blood group	*Gene combination*
MM	A^m A^m
MN	A^m A^n
NN	A^n A^n

Biologically the knowledge of these few genetic patterns is important because the mechanism is identical for all human beings; the inherited traits cut straight across stock and race; e.g., *all* blood groups and their genes are found in Whites, Yellows and Blacks, though in varying percentage combinations. It is possible that these combinations may have some value in racial distinction, just as does skin color, etc., but as far as transfusibility is concerned (allowing for blood groups) all human blood is alike.[8]

We are certain that physical characters diagnostic of race and stock are hereditary: they arose genetically, via mutations and subsequent isolation; they have been perpetuated genetically in varying combinations. We know, for example, that there is an average of "one mutation for every 50,000 individuals per generation" (Strandskov), and that most of these mutations are of indifferent or even negative survival value. The few that are positive are transmitted and over a long period of time have entered into complexes and combinations which differ from stock to stock, and within stocks from sub-type to sub-type, from variety to variety. We are slowly but surely learning the genetics of Mankind in terms of his many physical-type variants.

A *fourth* "don't" is really a corollary of the third, namely, we realize that discrete traits have a hereditary basis, but we are still not sure which of these traits are relatively stable and which are easily modifiable, so that the first set is useful in classification, the second extremely limited in use.

In studying problems of racial analysis Hooton[9] has outlined three categories of physical traits in Man: those that are non-adaptive, those that possess an acquired stability, and those that are easily modified. We may summarize these three categories as follows:

There are certain features which appear to act as heritable entities, either as unit characters or with multiple factors. These comprise in general hair-color and eye-color, form of hair, eye-fold, nose, lips, ear, incisor teeth and vertebral border of scapula, head breadth, face length, chin prominence and prognathism, and limb proportions, including intra-membral, inter-membral and trunk-limb ratios. These physical characters are non-adaptive, stable, fixed, and may quite reasonably form the basis of the assessment of racial distinctions. Furthermore, certain combinations of these traits, varying within natural boundaries, result in the establishment of subgroups within each major classification.

We come now to several traits which have in the course of time been functionally modified and by selection have become more or less stabilized; at least their variability is of intra-racial rather than inter-racial magnitude. Here we may include skin color, shape, size, and proportion of the malars and the palatal arch, head height and brain volume, and possibly certain calcaneo-gastrocnemic relationships. The list is small and its import uncertain; the farther we go in our study of individual growth patterns and their probable relation to presumed racial criteria the more we must allow for modifiability. It may be that the stability is spurious, merely a transitory phase in the creation of an ultimate pattern dictated by constitutional vicissitudes.

Finally, there are a number of bodily features so directly susceptible to health, diet and food habits, climatic factors, gait, exercise, occupation and other miscellaneous influences as to render them useless as racial criteria. Here must be mentioned height, weight, thoracic dimensions and proportions, nasal proportions, facial width, proportions of forearm and hand, relationship of vertebral column and pelvic girdle, and shaft proportions of femur and tibia.

It may be finally emphasized that we must, in problems of racial interpretation, pay general attention to the sum total of all bodily traits, but specific and critical attention to the non-adaptive bodily characters, for these are transmitted regardless of the multifarious and complex extraneous factors of the environment. All things equal, it is not one, not two, but the

[8] It is implied in the phrases "blood-relation" or "blood will tell" that somehow blood is a carrier of familial relationship. The blood group is itself inherited, but blood, per se, is not a vehicle of genetic transmission.

[9] E. A. Hooton, "Methods of racial analysis." *Science*, 53: 75–81. 1926.

majority or all of the traits, in unique combination, which really constitute racial or group differences. But until we know more of the heredity of the several traits, of the effect of the growth-pattern upon these traits, we can not truly assess them in terms of non-adaptivity, acquired stability, or modifiability.[10]

For the last thirty years we have had reason to doubt the stability of certain morphological features, as in the cephalic index studies of Boas and his students, wherein significant generational differences were observed when foreign-born parents and American-born Jews and Sicilians were studied. In recent years Shapiro[11] has suggested that instability is characteristic of a majority of Man's physical racial traits. He studied three generations: (1) "sedentes," native parents born and still resident in Japan; (2) Japanese-born (of these parents) who migrated to Hawaii in their late 'teens; (3) Hawaiian-born children of these immigrants. The anthropometric battery comprised twenty-eight measurements with twenty-one derived indices and twenty-two observations. When the first two generations were compared it was found that they differed significantly in all traits measured and observed as follows: male, 72.4 per cent.; female, 67.9 per cent. As between the second and third generations the corresponding differences were 55.2 per cent. and 42.9 per cent., respectively. These differences are progressive from sedentes, to immigrants, to Hawaiian-born, but whereas between sedentes and immigrants disproportionate changes occur, between immigrants and Hawaiian-born proportionate changes are the rule. The progression is apparently a real one, relatively unaffected by age-changes or changes in occupational status. The causes of the changes are twofold: the immigrants probably constituted a subgroup of the sedentes population from which they were drawn; the new environment (of Hawaii) provided a stimulus toward change and some inbreeding intensified the variant exemplified by the immigrants. But the changes are, of course, limited in extent—the Japanese in Hawaii, as long as they marry within their own group, will always be Japanese; biologically they will not, can not, become Hawaiians, even though there might be some environmental convergence.

We now regard human races as much more plastic than we formerly did. But our concept of plasticity is basically a genetic one. There are a multitude of genes which encompass the entire range of human physical characters. Plasticity resides principally in recombinations of these characters. Recently Mills[12] has shown that there is another phase to this plasticity, an environment (diatetic) aspect. He found that vitamin B requirements (thiamin, pantothenic acid, and pyroxidene at least) are much higher in the tropic than in a temperate zone, and that growth and development are inhibited by inadequate B intake under tropical living conditions. Here is an example where growth-pattern and hence adult configuration (taken as a racial criterion) is modifiable by the food environment. We are just beginning to learn how a temperate-zone White man may possibly adjust to a subtropical or tropical habitat, but for one fact we know there are 100 questions that are still to be answered.

The *fifth* "don't" is found in the functional aspects of Man: we know little about the physiology of race-types. We have studied racial metabolism, pulse-rate, respiration-rate, and so on, but these analyses are not so much tests of race-groups *per se* as reflections of conditions under which they live. There is no reason, really, to assume difference in kind, rather only differences in degree. If we relate body-type to body-function then distinct group differences can not be

[10] W. M. Krogman, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145.

[11] H. L. Shapiro (with F. S. Hulse), "Migration and environment." Oxford U. Press, N. Y. 1939.

[12] C. A. Mills, "Climatic effects on growth and development, with particular reference to the effects of tropical residence." *Amer. Anthropol.*, 44: 1–13. 1942.

expected, for body-type cuts across stock- and race-lines.[13]

There is another phase of the functional problem which requires classification, viz., so-called "racial immunities" and "racial susceptibilities." For example, the peoples of North Europe are said to be prone to whooping cough, resistant to goiter and cretinism; the peoples of Central Europe fall prey to goiter and cretinism, but withstand pulmonary diseases; the American Negro succumbs to tuberculosis, diseases of heart, lungs and kidneys, and more successfully combats malaria, yellow fever, measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria.[14] Are these really *racial* differences? Probably not. The answer is more likely to be found in problems of relative isolation and exposure, and most certainly in considerations of socio-economic standards. There are, so far as we know, no genetico-racial biological differences in the organs which will conduce to, or inhibit, organic breakdown under the onslaught of disease. The problem, however, is still one to be explored.

The *sixth* and final "don't" is that we do not know of any characteristics, either biological or psychological, that in a given race-cross are superior or inferior. On the biological side there may be one exception, viz., the sickle-shaped erythrocyte which is an autosomal dominant trait (Si) found only among Negroes, to the extent of 4 per cent.

Much is being made these days of "race superiority" and "race inferiority." In words of one syllable *there is no such thing.*[15] One hears of the woodsman who, on a crowded city street, heard a cricket; he can be matched by the mechanic who in the turmoil of a machine-shop hears a bearing-knock in an engine four rows removed. Again, there is the savage whose keen eye sees vast distances or detects a faintly-trodden blade of grass; he can be matched by the scientist who under the microscope sees a new world in a drop of water. The ear and eye are common human possessions as far as morphology is concerned—it is the degree of their training that differs. This type of reasoning can be applied to any phase of Man's activities: how he learns and how much he learns is dependent upon his cerebrum and upon the cultural framework within which he learns; the cerebrum is the constant factor, the cultural framework, the variable. The same holds true for "intelligence," however it may be defined and assessed. We repeat that biological superiority and inferiority in the stocks and races of man do not exist, and that biologically there is no valid bar to stock- and race-mixture. The first generation hybrids are not biologically inferior—it is Society and not Nature that stamps the brand of undesirability.

In recent years German anthropologists have, as we know, advanced preposterous claims of Nordic or "Aryan" superiority (*Das Herrenvolk*). Such claims have no basis in fact. They have also claimed that widespread race-crossing ("race bastardization") will have a dysgenic effect ("gene chaos"), leading to various bodily abnormalities and asymmetries. This, too, is far more fanciful than real, though Fleming,[16] an English anthropologist, has found some slight evidence of dento-facial disharmonies in Negro-White hybrids crossed with Negro-Chinese and Chinese-White hybrids. But this evidence is not conclusive, for there is no guarantee that growth inadequacies rather than genes

[13] F. Weidenreich, "Rasse und Körperbau." Springer, Berlin, 1927.

[14] A. Hrdlička, "Immunity as the chief task of future medicine." *Lit. Digest.* Dec. 9, 1933 (see p. 14); see also J. H. Lewis, "The biology of the Negro." U. of Chicago Press. 1942.

[15] Otto Klineberg, "Race differences." Harpers, N. Y. 1935. W. M. Krogman, "Is there a physical basis for race superiority?" Sci. Mon., 51: 428–434, 1940; M. F. Ashley Montagu, "Problems and methods relating to the study of race. *Psychiatry,* 3 (4): 493–506. 1940.

[16] R. M. Fleming, "Physical heredity in human hybrids." *Annals Eugen.,* 9: 55–81. 1939.

are to blame, i.e., that malnourishment has not modified a genetic pattern. As matters now stand the crossing between sub-species or stocks is socially so unacceptable that only lower social strata are involved. It is precisely here that environmental impact and modification—in terms of insufficient and incorrect foods, improper hygiene, health hazards—are at their maximum. We have no adequate basis, therefore, for a true assessment and interpretation of the solely biological effects of stock-crossing. As far as we know the genetics of stocks and races, we need not, *a priori,* expect any biological maladjustment.

This discussion has been pretty much on the negative side—a sort of "hit parade" of scientific uncertainty with respect to race biology: we are not agreed what a race is, we are not sure when and how races arose; we do not know the precise hereditary mechanism in race; we are not sure which physical traits in race are stable, which modifiable: we do not know physiological and immunological features of race-groups; we can not assess race in terms of superiority and inferiority. In very truth we know little about the bio-genetical aspects of race.

Despite the foregoing avowal of inadequate knowledge we venture to present a definition of race that is sufficiently generalized to include the variables of physical type, heredity, environment and habitat:

> A race is a sub-group of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characters, of genetic origin; this combination serves, in varying degree, to distinguish the sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind, and the combination is transmitted in descent, providing all conditions which originally gave rise to the definite combination remain relatively unaltered; as a rule the sub-group inhabits, or did inhabit, a more or less restricted geographical region.

Certainly the physical anthropologist is not so dogmatic about the clarity of distinction between racial groups as he once was. Indeed, there are those who would deny the existence of human races, and who advocate dropping the term entirely. If the term *race* is purely genetic, and if we do not know the genetic make-up (the genotype) of a presumed race-group, then it follows that we can not define the group genetically, and therefore it does not exist as a homogeneous genetic entity. This argument, as the present writer sees it, while biological on the face of it, stems more from a cultural misinterpretation of the term ("racism"), wherein race and nationalism are confused, than from considerations of presumedly diagnostic morphological characters.

There do exist certain groups which may be put into categories; i.e., there are groups which tend to precipitate out when defined by a certain physical trait-complex. The trouble resides in the fact that the trait-complex has been too rigidly defined, with too little allowance made for variability. The physical anthropologist freely admits that his classification has been based on the phenotype—the few external features used in diagnosis. We are prepared to reclassify upon the basis of the genotype—the basic genetic constituency. In both instances we will have groups called *races*: in the first instance—the present-day method—groups are classified by *what they look like* physically; in the second instance—the emerging bio-genetic method—groups will be classified by *what they are* genetically.

The term race as we use it today is a recognition that group differences do in fact exist. It does not imply, scientifically and biologically, a homogeneity such as demanded by geneticists. When our knowledge of human heredity enables us to classify the peoples of the world genotypically we will gladly accept that classification—we will substitute it for the one we now have. Until then, and with full and complete recognition of all of its many inadequacies, we will use the system at hand.

4/17/44

An account of an interesting project of social agency publicity people. It seems to me suggestive for other groups who influence public opinion through news about their own program.

Grace T. Hamilton

PAGES FROM A WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK

THE SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY COUNCIL OF CHICAGO VS. RACE PREJUDICE

. . . The title tells all. With no attempt to smooth down rough edges or make a pretty job of it, we have lifted these pages bodily from the notebook in which our secretary writes the record of the Social Work Publicity Council. . . . In these notices of meetings, minutes of meetings, papers read at meetings and summaries of discussion you will find the story of our attempt - in the fall and winter of 1943-44 - to come to grips with America's No.1 problem. You will see where we failed to do some of the things we tried to do, and how much progress we made toward doing something quite different.

October 1, 1943

It all started up at Audrey Hayden's apartment, with the SWPC executive committee sitting on the floor, eating popcorn and drinking coca cola. Warren Thompson was reporting for the program committee. In the minutes of that occasion we find him proposing: "an early fall meeting which would try to answer the question of what we could do, as social work interpreters, to improve race relations in Chicago. It was the program committee's idea that this question might be answered by two speakers: a psychiatrist or psychologist might show us why we behave as we do and suggest the best approach to the problems our behavior creates; and a second speaker might suggest practical ways in which we can carry out this approach in our bulletins, pamphlets, news releases, radio programs and other media of publicity."

How neat and complete that sounds! And how perfectly impossible. Looking back over the road we have travelled it is hard to believe that we found so much courage in the "pause that refreshes." But we give you our word there was nothing but coke at that party.

Almost immediately, it became plain to the program committee that two speakers were one too many - as you will see by this invitation to our first meeting:

October 25, 1943

To the
Members and Friends of the
Social Work Publicity Council

WHAT CAN OUR PUBLICITY DO ABOUT RACE PREJUDICE?

Perhaps it hasn't occurred to most of us that we ought to do anything about it. Perhaps we have never thought of our bulletins, letters, and annual reports, our newspaper releases, pamphlets and photographs, as serving any wider or deeper purpose than to tell the stories of our individual agencies. Well,our program committee sees this differently. Can we really change public opinion, they ask. And if we can, have we no responsibility to speak - as individual agencies - for the whole body of social work, which draws no line of race or creed or color? And if we have, how shall we go about it?

In the hope of an answer to these questions they have secured

Dr. Mandel Sherman, M.D., Ph.D.,
Professor of Educational Psychology and
Director of the Orthogenic School, University of Chicago

As guest speaker for our first fall meeting. Itwill be held in Carson Pirie Scott's Georgian Room, at 12:15 on Tuesday, November 2. Luncheon will be one dollar, not including tax and tip.

Dr.Sherman,whose most recent book is Basic Problems of Human Behavior, will help us to get at the roots of race prejudice. Mr. H. B. Law, Director of Public Relations for the Chicago Urban League, will open the discussion that will follow Dr. Sherman's talk. Please come and take part in it!

Secretary

P.S. Be sure to bring your prejudices.
P.P.S. Open meeting! Everyone welcome.

More about Dr. Sherman later. On November 15 Warren Thompson called a meeting of the program committee to decide where we should go from here. You can judge how much was accomplished by another call, mailed on

November 19, 1943

To: Members of the Program Committee, SWPC

At our meeting on November 15 (as those of us who were present know only too well) we covered a great deal of ground without getting anywhere.

As the attached report indicates, we found we had a tiger by the tail.

However, our heads - though bloody - are unbowed.

Warren has called another meeting of the Program Committee for Monday, November 29. The place is the same: Carson Pirie's Tea Room, on the Bridge. The time is 12:15.

Please try to come. And before coming, please read this report with care. You know what we hope to get out of this: a formula as simple as the little patterns that we use for persuasive speeches.

With this second invitation to the program committee we enclosed the following:

INTERIM REPORT ON

The Psychological Approach to Race Prejudice
Based on the minutes of two meetings and a
great deal of contemplation, consultation and frustration

At the first 1943 fall meeting of the Social Work Publicity Council, 96 representatives of 62 social agencies met on November 2 in Carson Pirie's Georgian Room to consider the subject: How Can Our Publicity Affect Race Prejudice? As guest speaker they had secured Dr. Mandel Sherman, Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Chicago and author of Basic Problems of Human Behavior.

In her introduction of the speaker Barbara Abel, SWPC chairman, admitted that we had chosen a large subject for this first meeting and quoted a YWCA motto: "The difficult we do at once; the impossible may take a little time." She explained that we were not declaring war on race prejudice, because war had already been declared and we were all enlisted. The purpose of this meeting, she said, was rather to consider the strategy of our attack; and since all our scouts had brought back word that Dr. Sherman was the best possible consultant we could have in such planning, we were very lucky to have him with us.

Dr. Sherman politely declined to serve as our strategic consultant, doubting if he could be of any help to us in the role and quoting P. G. Wodehouse, who once dedicated one of his books "to my wife, without whose help, love and advice this

book would have been published in half the time." He agreed, however, to give us a psychologist's viewpoint on prejudice, and did it so well that his audience found the noon hour much too short. In fact, as Miss Abel brought out in her acknowledgment of his help, it was pretty generally realized that in choosing the subject for this meeting we had attempted more than could possibly be tackled in one session and that we were confronted by one of those situations in which "the impossible might take a little time."

During the following discussion Mr. Foster, of the Chicago Urban League, suggested that this might be the first of several meetings devoted to the same subject: and Mr. Thompson agreed to call the program committee together at an early date to consider Mr. Foster's suggestion.

In preparation for this meeting (which Mr. Thompson proceeded to call for Monday, November 15) the secretary was asked to write up her notes on Dr. Sherman's talk for the program committee's use. Realizing her inadequacy in this highly specialized field, she asked the speaker if he would be willing to read and correct them. He consented. The notes were written and mailed to him with a list of questions on points at which the committee felt that further enlightenment would be helpful. His reply came just in time for the November 15 meeting, at which Warren Thompson, Helen Baker, Alice Donahue, Dorothy Gray and Jeannette Townsend sat down with Mrs. Baker's notes and Dr. Sherman's comments and additions, to try and decide where we should go from here.

Very little progress was made at this November 15 meeting, but several conclusions were reached:

1. The subject is so broad and so charged with emotion that we were doubtful of our capacity to deal with it. But -

2. It is so important - especially in this war crisis - that we dared not ignore it. (Besides, we hated to admit that we had tackled something which was too big for us).

3. However, it seemed to those present that it might be possible to work out a fairly simple formula which would help us, in our publicity, to use the correct psychological approach in dealing with race prejudice; and

4. As a first step, Mrs. Baker was asked to incorporate Dr. Sherman's comments in her original notes and to have these mimeographed for the use of the program committee.

5. When this point had been reached, there was general agreement that it would be better to go no further until a full meeting could be held, since several members who could make valuable contributions were unable to be present at this one.

Your secretary has accordingly revised her outline to include the suggestions made in Dr. Sherman's letter. Corrected and amended, it reads as follows:

Summary statement: Prejudices are attitudes. Attitudes are emotionally toned, originate in emotions, are emotionally expressed, cannot be changed by intellectual education but can only be influenced by an emotional approach.

We are often misled into thinking that education changes prejudices because intelligent and educated people are better than uneducated people in concealing their attitudes.

Psychologists have made studies of the prejudices of school children, in both public and progressive private schools. In class room discussions, the pupils of the progressive schools showed much more liberal and tolerant attitudes than those attending public schools, where little attempt had been made to eliminate race prejudice through intellectual education. After school hours, on the playground, there was practically no difference between the actions of these two groups.

I. Attitudes originate in:

1. Direct imitation. Children accept the prejudices of their parents, teachers, etc.

2. Insecurities or fears. Without fear, there is no attitude. A group of students were asked to express an opinion as to whether a distant tribe of Indians should wear red or blue blankets. The uniform response was that it made no difference. They had no attitude on this question because they had nothing to fear from these far-away Indians.

3. Emotional crises experienced.

II. Attitudes are never neutral.

1. So don't try to "educate people into neutrality."

2. When dealing with the emotions, you cannot hope to achieve an "open mind" which sees both sides of a question.

3. Unless we openly support the liberal side we are - at least latently - supporting the Fascist side.

III. To change or modify attitudes, we should:

1. Create an opportunity for imitation ("set a good example") though this is more difficult with adults than with children, and is always difficult in a society in which "definite hierarchies have been established. Furthermore, the relationship between classes or groups is usually so remote that there is little opportunity for the expression of attitudes for imitative purposes." However, giving "examples" to people may shame some into behaving in a desirable way.

2. Introduce an emotional core of fear or insecurity.

3. Create a problem which results in a crisis.

4. Use propaganda (always heavily weighted with emotion).

IV. Most strong attitudes will be aggressive. To deal with aggressions we should:

1. Channelize them. Provide new outlets. (Men do this when they attend prize fights) If a group of people who are expressing their aggressions by racial intolerance can be interested in political disputes, or in general social disputes which transcend racial or nationalistic lines, they will be able to associate themselves with persons against whom they might otherwise have prejudices. While this may not be a permanent way of channelizing attitudes constructively, it nevertheless functions very well in our society.

2. Remove frustrations which cause them (change social environment).

3. Discover common motives or goals which will appeal to egocentric desires. "We cannot expect the day laborer and the rich industrialist to have common goals. Their interests and directions are usually disparate." But many common goals can be developed, providing that you don't let people know that you are trying to remove their prejudices! When working with two groups, a dominant and a minority group, the best way is to discover the problems and frustrations of the dominant majority and to interest the minority in working for the elimination of those problems. The same rule holds true for individuals. It is always more difficult to channelize the aggressions of the dominant group or person than the other.

4. Offer immediate, personal rewards. In a Russian nursery school where an effort was being made to teach cooperation, the children were given such heavy blocks that one child, alone, couldn't lift them. Their only chance for fun lay in lifting the blocks together.

V. Women have stronger aggressions than men.

1. Because they have fewer ways of expressing them. (10,000 people attended public hanging. 75% of them were women. Many carried children.)

2. So (in our propaganda) we should give women more channels for their aggressions than we give men.

VI. The strongest attitudes revolve around social problems and around controversy. So in selecting material for propaganda, do not choose non-controversial material. (Example: the mental equality of races is generally accepted. Therefore, do not try to eliminate race prejudice by producing evidence of mental equality.)

VII. How far will either our prejudices or our tolerance lead us? Where will we stop? The answer is that we will stop just before our conduct deviates from majority behavior. When under stress, minority behavior may produce prejudice; whereas in normal conditions deviation from majority behavior may produce tolerance.

But when the program committee sat down with that Interim Report on November 29 they took one look at the psychological approach and simply turned their backs on it. From that day to this, no one has even suggested trying to find a "simple formula" for putting Dr. Sherman's precepts into practice. Instead, we did a complete right-about-face, as the following letters to our delegate members will show:

December 9, 1943

To All the Members of the
Social Work Publicity Council:

We hope you haven't forgotten that meeting on November 2 at which Dr. Mandel Sherman spoke on "What We Can Do About Race Prejudice." If you were there, we know you haven't! And if you were there, you will remember Mr. Foster's suggestion that we had only opened up the subject, and that we might well spend more time on it - a feeling we all shared.

Well, your program committee has held two strenuous sessions, trying to decide where we should go from here. First we sat down with the notes on Dr. Sherman's talk and tried to work out a simple formula for a sound psychological approach to race prejudice. But the subject was too big for us. Besides, we ran up against:

1. Our limitations. As publicity people, we are not a policy forming group. Many of the agencies by which we are employed are not crusading for social action, but doing other useful and constructive work. And yet we were very conscious of

2. Our shortcomings. Even in social service, where there is (presumably) no line of race, color or creed, we realized that there are quotas in camps, preferences in employment, and many other instances of something very like discrimination.

But it still seemed to us that within our limitations and in spite of our shortcomings, there are things we as publicity people can do to improve race relations. We decided to hold another meeting in January to face this situation. The date is not yet set, but we need your help in planning this meeting. Will you please send us, before the first of January, whatever information you have along these lines:

1. Any instances of racial or religious prejudice that you may have met with in a social agency. I have mentioned camp quotas and employment policies. You may know of others. We don't want this meeting to turn into a free-for-

all criticism of social agencies, and will not mention any by name, but it seems important to get a fair picture of where we, ourselves, stand.

2. Examples of discriminations that have been removed, or prejudices overcome. For instance: a summer camp which didn't take any Negro girls, in the past, now admits them. A social agency which employed both white and Negro girls on its staff moved to a southern city and found the Negro girls' desks all lined up on one side of the aisle. Since the building refused to change the desks, some of the white girls moved over to that side. If policies have been changed or broadened, tell us why and how it was done.

3. Similar examples of discrimination outside a social agency - that is, among the clients, contributors, or public with which the agency works - and the solutions found, if any.

Our plan for the January meeting is to cite a number of such instances, and invite discussion about the best possible ways to meet them, without identifying agencies. Unless, of course, you wish to point with pride to some outstanding achievement in improving race relations. There will be no glamorous outside speaker to inspire (or confuse) us. This will be strictly a workshop session. Some of our own folks have studied Dr. Sherman's advice and may try to help us apply it to these problems, but the whole thing will be kept right in the family.

Your program committee has high hopes for this meeting - but it will be just as good, or bad, as you make it. If you can take the time, right in the middle of the Christmas rush, to dictate or jot down a few examples from your own experience, we are sure it will be well worthwhile. You need not sign your letter or identify your agency if you would rather not. But please use the enclosed envelope so that it will come to my personal attention.

Hopefully yours,

Secretary

January 5, 1944

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

To members and friends of the
Social Work Publicity Council:

With extra-special thanks to those who answered the program committee's plea for help in collecting material for that January meeting! We were enormously pleased to get so many replies, and such thoughtful ones. There will be plenty to talk about.

So let's. The date is Monday, January 17.
The subject: Well, What Can We Do About Race Prejudice?
The place: Carson Pirie's Georgian Room - 8th floor.
The time: 12:15 sharp.
The price (alas) a dollar.
And here's the usual card.

Yours for fewer and smaller* prejudices -

Secretary

*Or perhaps, in deference to Dr. Sherman, I should say "latent or dormant."

And that brings us to January 17, 1944, when 65 people turned out for our "workshop session" at which Warren Thompson read the following paper:

On November 2, as many of you will remember, we met in this room to hear Dr. Mandel Sherman talk to the text: "How can our publicity affect race prejudice?" At least, that was the text we had given him. A better title for his talk might have been "Race prejudice as a psychologist sees it." It was a stimulating, disturbing, and challenging experience. But it didn't answer the question: "What can we, in our publicity, do about it?" When the program committee sat down with an outline of Dr. Sherman's Talk, and tried to apply it to definite cases, we simply couldn't make it fit. After two exhausting sessions we finally decided that no outside speaker, however brilliant and authoritative, could answer that question for us.

And that is all we are going to say about Dr. Sherman - except this: Your secretary took rather complete notes of his talk, which he has been good enough to correct and amplify. We had this outline mimeographed for the program committee's use, and there are six extra copies. If you missed that first meeting, or would like to refresh your minds on what was said, you may have these, while they last, for ten cents each. If more than six people want them, just leave your name and address and ten cents with Mrs. Baker and she will have additional copies mimeographed for you.

So here we are - with our question still unanswered; for the program committee finally decided that if there is any answer it must be in the minds and hearts of the people right in this room. You have all had our letter of December 9, asking for material for this meeting. Twelve of you have replied to it. Those responses had one thing in common: only one of them mentioned publicity as having any relationship to the problem! Perhaps you depended on the meeting to bring that out. We hope so. For that's what we are going to try to do. After all, this is the Social Work Publicity Council!

We saw two possible ways of conducting this workshop: The first was to bring out the problems, one at a time, and discuss each one separately. The other was

to summarize all the material contained in your letters, raising questions as we went along but not answering them until all the problems were brought out. We chose this second plan because we were afraid we would never get through if we chose the first one and because we thought questions might be raised by some of the earlier problems which someone else would have answered later on if we had just saved our breath. But as you listen to the summary of this material and to the questions which you are to answer during the discussion, please keep these facts in mind:

First: There are two schools of thought on the relationship between race prejudice and publicity. Many responsible leaders of minority groups feel that the less said about it the better. They think publicity - especially broadside publicity addressed indiscriminately to the general public - merely stirs up latent or dormant prejudice and does more harm than good. Another school of thought believes that the public should have all the facts - let the chips fall where they may!

Second: But there are many kinds of publicity, and many audiences. Personal conversation is publicity, and we all know that gossip and rumor travel far and fast. A talk to a staff or board meeting, a dramatic skit, a paragraph in your bulletin or a timely song written to a popular tune may be just as good publicity as a feature story in a newspaper or a radio broadcast. Sometimes better.

So as you listen to these problems and questions, please ask yourself: first, is this a situation where <u>any</u> kind of publicity would be helpful - or is it a situation where actions will speak better than words? And if you think that writing or talking about it might be advisable, what kind of written or spoken words would you advise - and to whom should they be written or spoken?

Almost all of these letters began by emphasizing the fact that (whatever Dr. Sherman may say is or is not possible) great progress <u>has</u> been made in overcoming race prejudice and the discrimination to which it leads. One member of the program committee (who signs himself "At heart a Pollyanna") wrote five eloquent pages pleading for perspective and reminding us that, since Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Navy accepts Negro enlistments; that Negro athletes are no longer singled out for acclaim because they are Negroes but are judged by their personal ability; that Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation from the DAR because of their attitude toward Marian Anderson won widespread applause; that there was much public resentment over the Selfridge Field court martials because the court did not seem to take a sufficiently serious view of the shooting of a Negro private; that the Saturday Evening Post has recently published two articles about successful Negroes - and that none of these things could have happened (or, at least <u>did</u> happen) twenty or thirty years ago. Our self-styled Pollyanna believes that this progress will continue if it is not interrupted by violence, if white and Negro people will stand up together in defense of the Negro's rights and if (aye, here's the rub) we do <u>not</u> give publicity to such advances as the employment of Negroes on street car lines. And yet in another part of his paper he says that the Navy's change of heart is "due to the pressure of public opinion." This seeming inconsistency

in his point of view raises our first question:

Q1: How was this public opinion formed, if not by publicity? If prejudice would be increased by publicity about the new policy of the surface lines, why didn't it work that way when the Navy's change of heart was publicized? Parents of white boys are, presumably, as deeply interested in these things as passengers on street cars. Or is the fear (shades of Dr. Sherman) that inspires prejudice against our new street car conductors due to the belief that Negroes may be moving into jobs which white men want? There would be no economic "core of insecurity" behind the prejudice against Negroes in the Navy. In this case the only fear would be fear of lost prestige. When prejudice is based on economic fear, is no publicity better than any publicity?

In addition to this overall summary of general improvement in human relationships, we had a number of more specific "progress reports." Here is a statement that describes a changed attitude on the part of an advisory committee responsible for the policies that guided a project in the foster home placement of convalescent children:

"When the project was established, a definite percentage quota for Negro admissions was arbitrarily set. However, when the need for extending service to Negro convalescent children became increasingly apparent, the committee abandoned the quota system and encouraged the extension of service to Negroes in the fullest possible way. The committee has gone one step further in saying that if it became necessary for the project to serve all Negro convalescent children, it would attempt to do so. Certainly this indicates a vital growth in the thinking of a service group which started out by arbitrarily discriminating and is now using all the resources of the project to serve Negro children on a basis of need, although the number of Negroes in convalescent homes considerably exceeds the number of white children, most of the time.

"One problem that has arisen in the project is the chronic shortage of Negro foster homes, which are always at a premium. Occasionally the suggestion has been made that we use white homes for Negro children. The problems here are obvious: community attitudes as Negroes visit in white neighborhoods, hesitancy on the part of white foster parents to serve Negro children, etc. But using such homes, if they could be found, would mean increasing service to Negro children.

"A thought-provoking comment came to us recently from a competent prospective Negro foster mother who explained that she and a number of her acquaintances would be glad to offer foster home care to our children if only they had the necessary space. This woman was saying to us, in effect, 'If you find some place to which I can move and have enough space to care for children, I will be glad to serve you.'"

This letter brings up a whole flock of questions, from which we will select two:

Q2: Has the changed attitude of the advisory committee been used as material for publicity - or might it be? And if so, how?

Q3: What can we all do - in our bulletins, letters, house organs or newspaper releases to improve this housing situation?

One letter points out that the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare shows no racial discrimination in staff appointments or in the treatment of clients, including care in the Cook County Hospital and the Oak Forest Infirmary, as well as at Camp Reinberg. We note this in passing - but with no undue elation. A public welfare agency in a northern city could scarcely do less. But we also note with pleasure that the Board of Cook County Commissioners has consistently publicized this policy in its annual report, which is illustrated with photographs of Negro and white children playing and eating together at Camp Reinberg, Negro triplets at the County Hospital, and so on. And - speaking of pictures - do you remember this Hull House Year Book which uses such fine photographs of interracial activities? (Show clippings from CPW and Hull House year book.) But coming back to staff appointments at CPW - we ask:

Q4: Is the public kept informed of the non-discriminatory personnel policies of its County Bureau of Public Welfare? Could this be done by giving stories - and pictures - of Negro staff members employed in new and important positions to the newspapers?

Another correspondent voices the anxiety shared by many thoughtful people over racial discrimination in the Chicago Public Schools. "I am told," she writes, "that Sexton School, between 60th and 63rd on South Park, operated on one shift until two years ago when this was mainly a white area. Now that the area is almost totally Negro, the school operates on two shifts." And here we pause to inquire:

Q5: Have social agencies any publicity channels through which they can help to stop the dangerous drift in public education toward an intolerable Jim Crow system? Or does this problem "fall outside our area of competence?"

Here are two more success stories:

1. "The University of Chicago Elementary School has this year allowed admittance to several Negro children in the lower grades. This came about through the efforts of two mothers who were social workers and had children in the schools. They worked for a year, making contacts with every mother who had a child in school and won this privilege for the Negro children by vote."

2. "About two years ago, when our agency took on several Negro clerical workers, the building objected strenuously and went so far as to request the executive secretary to fire them as they could not be permitted in the washrooms and halls of the building. After many conferences on the subject, during which our executive secretary stood firm, the building changed its attitude and we note with delight that there are now several other offices in the building employing Negro girls. As far as the harmony within our own staff is concerned, we are happy to say that it could hardly be improved upon.

We have, at the present time, four Negro girls on our clerical staff who tell us that conditions couldn't be better. This situation, however, is enhanced by their own personalities and very great feeling of cooperation and the successful way in which they execute their particular jobs."

These are two fine examples of what we mean by word-of-mouth publicity. Do you agree that no other technique would have succeeded so well? Another example of the power of the spoken word came in a letter from the Junior League which spoke of the intense interest felt by their new members when Horace Cayton spoke on racial problems during the provisional training course. This raises another question:

Q6: Are these talks to the provisional group written up in the Junior League bulletin - if any? Could Mr. Cayton's message have been given wider circulation through the use of any other publicity techniques?

One member writes:

"As you know, USO is a cooperative effort on the part of the six organizations which include three faiths, and when I say a cooperative effort that is exactly what it has been. Although we do have separate clubs for Negroes, these are in most cases requested by the Negro men and women themselves. Negroes in all sections of the country, save the south, are welcome in any USO operation.

"In many instances you will find several USO units operated by the Jewish Welfare Board alone or by the Jewish Welfare Board in cooperation with a non-Jewish organization. There are no restrictions whatsoever as to who may or may not participate in USO activities.

"There are many instances where USO has done more in a community for Negroes than for the whites stationed there. For example in Baraboo, Wisconsin - a small town offering little in the way of recreation - USO saw to it that adequate facilities were provided for the Negro troops located there. The number of white men USO felt did not justify opening another unit.

"Also in the case of another community having no Negro residents, USO transported every weekend all last year busloads of Negro girls from Detroit to help the Negro men have the type of entertainment they like."

That's splendid, of course. But how well is it publicized? We happen to know of one perfectly grand interracial party given in a Chicago USO which seemed, to a representative of one Chicago newspaper, excellent material for a column. But the USO asked her not to write it, for reasons that were not, to her, entirely clear.

Q7: Was she right, or was the USO wise in suppressing this story?

The Boys' Court Service of the Church Federation of Chicago says:

"Since 1929 we have been interested in the colored boys appearing in the Boys' Court. Since 1938, we have had a colored worker on our staff. He was responsible for the supervision of all the colored boys referred to this agency. The number never exceeded 40 or 50 and was at times less than 25. Until the first part of this year, however, this worker supervised only colored boys. Within the past year, due to pressures of caseload as well as to a desire to come to grips with this problem of race relations, white boys were also assigned to this worker for supervision. Since we felt it desirable that colored boys be supervised by a colored worker, the number of white boys assigned to him probably did not exceed 10. We have found the experiment successful.

"In addition, this worker also spends two mornings a week in court representing this agency, receiving both white and colored boys referred by the court. This involves public relations in the court as well as with the families of the boys referred. This aspect of the work has also been successful. Favorable comments have been made about having a colored worker represent the agency."

Q8: Are we right in thinking that this is one of the situations where actions should be allowed to speak for themselves, and that the less publicity given to boys brought into court - whatever their color - the better?

But the success of the Negro case worker in dealing with white boys reminds us of several problems suggested in another letter. It comes from a school of social work and deals with the placement of Negro students for field work in both public and private agencies. There is a division of opinion among the students themselves as to the advisability of their handling white clients. There have been instances where certain districts felt that the preferences of the clients should be given first consideration; there have been situations where the client-worker relationship was so important that it seemed wiser not to experiment with interracial innovations; one public agency preferred not even to raise the question, but assigned clients to students without regard to race; and there was one instance of a white southern gentleman who "seemed somewhat taken aback" when he was assigned to a Negro case worker but was completely won over by her competent handling of his difficult situation.

Is there a case worker in the house? These client-case worker relationships are delicate ground where publicitors may well fear to tread. But we might venture to suggest - in very small voices - that in two of these cases (that of the Negro worker and southern white man, and the Negro worker who proved so successful with white boys) we have material which should somehow be shared with other workers in other agencies who face the same perplexities. Perhaps they could be written up for The Family or some other inner-circle publication; perhaps they could be discussed at staff meetings or by groups of students. Perhaps these things are already being done, and the letters merely neglected to mention it!

We received one sad little story of a nursery school in a settlement on the border between white and Negro neighborhoods. Colored children are not accepted.

Q9: Can publicity be helpful here? If so, what kind? To whom?

And one very hopeful story of Negro and white parents successfully brought together in a neighborhood discussion group because the white mothers heard that Negro mothers were interested and asked to have them included.

Q10: And what do you, as public relations experts advise an agency to do when the restaurant in the building where it is located refuses to serve a Negro board member? The writer of this letter would welcome your suggestions.

Our Girl Scouts recommend:

1. That training courses and all meetings should be held in places open without restriction to everyone.

2. Mixed camping, rallies and other meetings for the 7-18 age groups.

3. Dropping the word "Negro" when identifying a particular Girl Scout.

They cite the following encouraging incidents:

1. The election, by democratic process, of a Negro girl to represent an entire district at a city-wide meeting;

2. The election by the Scout leadership group (numbering some 200) of a Negro member to serve as president of the leaders association of the South East District.

And they look forward to the addition of a Negro staff member who will work under the same staff standards and personnel policies that apply to every person employed by the agency.

They see "a constant two-way need for more education and interpretation" of such objectives and accomplishments.

Q11. Has publicity helped to produce these accomplishments? Can it help to reach these objectives?

Our Boy Scouts tell us:

"Our national policy is that Scouting should be for all boys, and in Chicago we try to follow such procedure. Many of our troops, packs and ships are mixed, and we have a good number of units composed totally of Negro boys.

"Every religion and both races are represented on every Council policy forming committee, a point often overlooked by other agencies.

"Our camping policy has Negro boys using every weekend camp on the same basis as every other unit. Douglas district has its own summer camp in the Owasippe chain, just as the other districts do.

"So much for Scouting" this letter continues, "but in my association with some Negroes the question of membership in many agencies is opened. As one fellow asked, "Why do I have to go all the way to Wabash Avenue to attend the - - -?" of course, he knows the policy of the agency, but can't understand it.

Q12: Again - has publicity helped here? If so, how? If not, why?

Our YWCA admits Negroes to all program activities except the privilege of living in all YWCA residences. Health education classes are now open to them at the Loop, West Side and South Side Center. All education workshop classes are open to everyone. The Service Department receives applications from Negroes in Employment, Room Registry and Case Work. All YWCA clubs operate through the centers. Negro clubs of Business Girls, Industrial Girls and Girl Reserves are affiliated with the South Parkway Center, but are represented on the city-wide inter-club councils. Negroes hold office on these bodies, serve on committees, and take part according to their abilities, talents, interests and brains.

Camp Sagawau for teen-age girls has always been an interracial camp. There is a "quota system" at Sagawau, based (ideally) on the proportion of Negro and white membership in the Girl Reserves, which is one to three. But in practice it has been found to work out as a happier experience if there are 10 to 12 Negro girls in a camp of 50. However, it has run as high as 50 percent without any strain or stress.

There is more objection from parents than from girls to interracial camping. But last year only one parent cancelled a reservation on learning that it was an interracial camp. There is hardly any trouble on this score among the girls themselves.

Forest Beach Camp (for business girls) has accepted Negro girls for the past two years. There were eight last summer as against two the year before. They all had a happy time. "Camp furnishes such a normal situation for better understanding between races," the YWCA reports, "that is unfortunate that we still have so few Negro girls enrolled. For example, the injustice of racial discrimination in restaurants came home more forcibly than it would through any amount of preaching, to the girls who came to us and asked, 'We want to have a reunion in town for the gang that was in our cabin. Do you know any place we can go for dinner where they won't object to Dora's being a Negro?'"

We saved the YWCA for the last because it was our one shining example of an agency which seemed to feel that publicity had some part to play in progress toward good race relations. Discussion was the technique employed when the health education facilities in other centers than South Parkway were opened, one by one, to Negro girls. Good, frank, heart-searching honest talk about what it means to call yourself a "Christian" organization. Discussion is now going on about the policy of admitting Negro girls to YWCA residences. But written words, as well as spoken words, are used. When Forest Beach Camp decided to invite Negro campers, practically one whole issue of the Tower of B'Abel, YWCA monthly bulletin, was devoted to this new adventure in race relations. These pictures of camp life at Sagawau tell their own story of interracial fellowship. And here are two paragraphs from recent

issues of the Tower which show how written words can play their part:

South Side Bus Line "How does one go about creating interracial goodwill? Can the Mayor's Committee do it, or the Governor's Committee, or the Fair Employment Practice Commission? A lot of fine organizations including the YWCA, wish they knew the answer. We tackle it every day, in one form or another, consciously or unconsciously. Sometimes we have a hunch that our unconscious efforts are best! In a fellowship like the YWCA we can, thank goodness, forget that we're doing 'interracial cooperation' and just act natural! That's how it was with three Public Affairs Committee members, one white and two Negro, who after the last committee meeting caught the same South Side bus for home. They sat together, and immediately started to hold an animated post-mortem of the meeting. At 39th Street the two Negro members got off, with a friendly chorus of good-byes. The white member felt a tap on her shoulder and turned to face a woman sitting behind her. "Pardon me," said the woman, "but are you a school teacher?"

"No, I'm not, why do you ask?" asked our surprised P.A. member.

"Well, I saw you talking to those two Negro women and I wondered why."

"No special reason, I guess," smiled the P.A. "except that we happen to be friends."

The woman looked puzzled. "Oh, I see. You mean you're just creating goodwill?"

"Why no, I - - " began our P.A., but the woman interrupted quickly,

"Don't misunderstand me. I don't see any harm in it. In fact, it's probably a good thing. But I just wondered. Do you belong to some group?"

"Oh, lots of groups!" admitted the P.A. - - and just then came 54th Street and she had to dash for the door!

"MAY I HELP YOU?" "Query to a State Street shopper: If one day as you leaned wearily against the hosiery counter and tried to catch the cagey eye of an overworked saleswoman - if at that moment of frustration and desperation a young Negro saleswoman stepped up and said 'May I help you?' - - how would you feel about it? Would you resent, or would you rejoice?

"Well, you may get a chance to decide. The Women's Division of the Urban League is setting in motion a united appeal to State Street department stores to start employing a few capable and well qualified young Negro women as salesgirls. The YWCA is one of many civic organizations to endorse the project. The reasons seem rather obvious. There's the matter of democracy, for instance, which promises all people a chance to work at the tasks for which they are fitted. There's the matter of the current labor shortage, acutely felt by the stores themselves who are in an unprecedented fashion appealing for women workers, full time or part time, young or old, experienced or inexperienced, married or single, and it would almost seem,

dead or alive. There's the matter of experience which has tested Negroes out in many new fields of work and found them highly satisfactory.

"If you think that this movement has in it elements of fairness, common sense, patriotism and public service than you can help it along by simply letting department store officials know how you feel about it. They are terribly afraid of you, as a consumer. They tremble and grow pale and mutter. 'The customers won't stand for it!' Well, you're a customer, and if you will not only stand for it but welcome it, you'd better say so! You may be sure that the people who won't stand for it will say so. They will write vehement letters of protest to store managers and to the State Street Council; they will enclose bitter notes when they pay their bills. Well, the other kind of people can write other kinds of notes, stating their own sincere convictions, and expressing sympathy with commendation of any courageous step the stores may take. How about it?"

The January issue of the News Letter of the Council of Social Agencies also carried an item about this project of the Woman's Committee of the Urban League. If every one of our bulletins mentioned it we could make a sizeable dent in public opinion.

In addition to the progress and problems brought out in these letters, we have had two suggestions. One called our attention to the power of words in building good public relations. The writer illustrated her point by reminding us how the use of such words as "injun" or "Squaw" can color the reader's thinking about Indians. There is a world of difference, she feels, between "Negro child" and "colored child." One has racial dignity. The other implies inferiority. We hope you notice how carefully we have followed her advice in this paper! She suggested that Dr. Hayakawa, author of Language in Action is a fine speaker and might bring interest and value to this group.

It was also suggested that someone from the Round Table of Christians and Jews might be asked to take part in this meeting. But since we had promised you no glamorous outsiders, we lay those two ideas in the lap of your program committee for future consideration.

Before we begin answering these questions, the program committee would like me to voice its heartfelt thanks to those of you who took the time and thought, right in the middle of the Christmas rush, to send in material for this meeting. We think you must have been listening to the Christmas message of good will to men. It gives us reason to hope that, together, we may find the answer to a final question which really includes all of these. We found this in the Woman's Press for September, 1943, in an article called Keys to a New World, by Abbie Graham:

Patient research and American ingenuity have duplicated or improved on scarce natural products . . . "The chemists are finding the molecular keys to a new world of physical astonishments.

"But I doubt sometimes that human beings will be able to qualify for living in that world . . .

"The chemists did not seek rare substances for the building of the new Chemical Order but used the ordinary materials about them - water, salt, air and hydrocarbons . . . By such discoveries have they helped to solve the problems of shortages in essential materials.

"We must make similar strides in solving the shortage problem in the spiritual area of human relationships. We have a shortage now in many essentials: good will, cooperativeness, magnanimity, basic trust in men and nations, belief that good is stronger than evil, that truth will win over lies and deceit, that love is more satisfactory than hatred. Can we tackle this problem of spiritual shortages with the openmindedness, the intelligence, the ingenuity and patience of the scientist, and can we work at great speed in every community in every family, every human relationship? Can we redesign human conduct, even as they have redesigned the molecule?

" . . . We can see the need of rubber for tank tires, of gas for airplane engines. . . . But do we see the spreading poison of racial misunderstanding in America?"

* * *

Of course, no one really expected the discussion which followed that paper on January 17 to provide answers for all those questions in the span of a noon meeting. In fact, some of them were inserted just to make us think, without hope of an immediate answer. However, we did get very good discussion on one or two points; and on February 7 the program committee met again to tackle the questions which there had been no time to discuss at the larger meeting. Instead of giving you a verbatim record of everything said at these two meetings, the secretary was instructed to summarize both discussions, condense and reword the questions, and wind up this paper with some highly tentative answers, which would represent our majority thinking. This summary, which was finally put into words on March 1, 1944, represents 5 months of fairly consistent effort on the part of the Chicago SWPC to answer to the one broad question with which we started: "What can we do, as social work interpreters, to improve race relations in Chicago." We know that it is far from complete and we realize how right our chairman was in warning us that "the impossible may take a little time." But we are convinced that this experience has been good for us, and want to share it with everyone who is as anxious as we are to help in the solution of "America's No. 1 problem." So here are our

CONCLUSIONS:

Q1: Are there times - particularly if we are dealing with prejudice based on economic fear - when no publicity is better than any publicity?

A1: Generally speaking, No. If we could control all the publicity on both sides of the question, there might be times when it would be better not to pub-

licize certain tensions or issues. But in a democracy, (in which we believe) this is impossible. We will never get a blackout. The other side will always talk. So we must have answers - and we might as well get them out into the open before the opposition speaks its piece. However, we must be wise and wary. Timing is important. Now, for instance, it is easy to get people to admit that every man has a right to a job. Later, it may not be so easy. Focus is important. Aim your publicity at the man who is prejudiced, using arguments that will remove his fear. Inform yourself of everything that is being done to ensure jobs to demobilized veterans; of everything that organized labor is doing toward equality of opportunity. Remember that when there is a loose and huge labor market Negroes are often employed to reduce wages. Take the trouble to find news worthy stories which papers will be glad to print. Use pictures that create confidence and goodwill. (Examples mentioned in discussion were the pictures of a good looking, smiling Negro bus driver used in the Sun and a pretty Negro girl employed to read meters which made the Tribune.) Back up your arguments for the employment of Negroes with evidences of former success ("This is being done in such-an-such an establishment. I asked the manager how it worked, and he said everything was fine.") Remember that progress doesn't stay put, so talk now - while the talking is good. If we seize this opportunity, some of the gains we make will carry on.

Q2: What can we do to improve the housing situation?

A2: Get the facts from the Metropolitan Housing Council. Go and see for yourselves. Then tell the story however and whenever you can - in your bulletins, reports, talks and newspaper releases. Many people simply do not know how terrible these conditions are. Is the population density of one south side area greater than that of Calcutta? (One member of the program committee thought so.) Arm yourself with such ammunition, check its accuracy, and use all your skill to make people care about it. Report all violations of city ordinances to the Metropolitan Housing Council.

Q3: How can "success stories" like the good personnel practices of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, the change of heart on the part of the Advisory Committee for Foster Home Placement of Convalescent Children, the success of Negro case workers with white clients and the progress made by the Girl Scouts and the YWCA be used in our publicity?

A3: They are the best possible answers to people who say it can't be done. Some way or other, we should inform each other of these things, so that we may all be ready with such answers. (The News Letter of the Council of Social Agencies will be glad to use them.) Some of these examples of progress would have been excellent answers to Dr. Sherman, if they could have been brought out at our first meeting. And remember that publicity begins with public opinion among the staff and board members of our own agencies, where it is often more diversified than we think.

Q4: What can we do about "Jim Crow" trends in our community - in the schools, in housing, in restaurants, and so on?

A4: We can inform ourselves of them, use them as background material whenever we can, work against them as individuals and refer them to the community agencies set up to deal with them. The Round Table of Christians and Jews works very closely with the schools, and is anxious to overcome racial as well as religious prejudice. The Committee on Racial Equality is working hard against discrimination in public eating places. The Mayor's Commission on Racial Equality might be interested. There are laws that we ought to know about - city ordinances, state and federal laws. A suit against the Pullman Company was recently carried to the U.S. Supreme Court, where it won a favorable decision. Has anyone made a simple digest of local, state and federal law on racial discrimination - like the one that the Illinois Child Labor Committee has made of the laws governing the employment of children? If so, the Social Work Publicity Council would be glad to know about it. When somebody makes a good speech on community conditions before a social agency, (like the one that Horace Cayton made before the Junior League Provisional Course,) squeeze every bit of publicity juice out of it. Write it up in your bulletins, send releases to the papers, write letters to Vox Pop, tell your family, tell your friends. This is just "rootine" - as the murder stories say.

Q5: Was the USO justified in suppressing the newspaper story about the interracial party?

A5: In discussing this point at the delegate meeting on January 17, someone said it depended on whether the story was, or was not, news. It was then brought out that this incident occurred when This is the Army was playing in Chicago. One of our USO Clubs called Irving Berlin on the long distance telephone before the show arrived and offered to give a party for the cast. Mr. Berlin accepted with pleasure, provided the Negro members of the cast would be as welcome as the white boys. The USO hastily found the requisite number of Negro hostesses, invited an interracial group of sponsors, and put on a highly successful party. In the opinion of our meeting, that party was news. If you disagree, we shall be glad to know why.

Q6: What about giving publicity to the success of the Negro case worker with white boys in the Boys' Court?

A6: In our opinion this is an inner-circle story for case workers. We do not think anything would be gained by broadcasting it to the general public - not because of the racial angle, but because too much is already being broadcast and written, over the radio and in the newspapers, about juvenile delinquency.

Q7: What kind of publicity might have induced the day nursery on the borderline between white and Negro neighborhoods to accept colored children?

A7: This seems to us the perfect example of a case in which pooling experience might be helpful. If someone - perhaps a board member, or even one of the mothers intimately connected with this day nursery - knew what the University

of Chicago Elementary School had accomplished by calling on every mother who had a child in the school, and how happily the experiment was working out, the same kind of education-by-word-of-mouth might be tried.

Q8: How shall we write up these items in our agency bulletins?

A8: Read the two examples quoted in our paper from the Tower of B'Abel, and do your best!

Q9: What about pictures?

A9: Whenever possible, use photographs of Negro and white people working and playing together. The Council of Social Agencies has a small file of examples of such publicity, and would welcome additions.

Q10: How can we help to prevent violence when racial tension becomes unbearable?

A10: We believe that all these suggestions will help, if they are followed. And when we cannot prevent it we must try to understand its causes, and explain them without fear. It is a symptom of rapid change, which always meets stubborn resistance.

"You see me not while justice keeps its seat.
While right is on its throne I stand on guard -
Or go my way upon my myriad feet -
In peace I go, until my way is barred.

"A thousand years I'm silent, under wrong;
Then choose some outcast man to be my head,
From out the gutter I catch up a song,
And round me, when I rest, the land is red."

We hold no brief for violence. We know that it destroys many years of patient building. But violence is loose in the world today, and it may stike anywhere. It is also "later than we think." We must hope that it is not too late, and work together for justice and goodwill toward men.

Additional copies of this WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK may be purchased for 10 cents from the
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1944

The Challenge of Race

RACE AND HUMAN NATURE: AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW

By ROBERT REDFIELD

WORLD IMPLICATIONS OF RACE

By CHANNING H. TOBIAS

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These addresses were delivered at the Jubilee Meeting (1944) of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Chicago, Illinois.

RACE AND HUMAN NATURE: AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW

ROBERT REDFIELD

In the troubled affairs of men race is of consequence because of what men think and feel about it and not because of anything that race is of itself. This is the cardinal fact. There are physical differences, great and small, among men, and these differences enable the scientist to make a classification of mankind according to these differences. But we do not know that there are corresponding mental differences. If the small differences in brain anatomy as between Negroes and whites which some investigators have reported are in fact there, it does not follow that such differences represent inherent differences in intelligence. There may be such differences. We do not know that there are. There are reasons for doubting that there are. The biological composition of all populations is so varied that all kinds of personalities and abilities are found among them, and the statistically demonstrable physical differences that do exist are not known to constitute inherent limits on behavior. If there are important biologically determined differences in temperament or intelligence among racial groups, that fact is still to be established; in the meantime it is clearly important to take account of race as a social, a cultural, phenomenon.

A leading student of race declares that race "is purely a biological grouping. The term has its origin in biology and never should be used in any other sense. Racial characters are carried by the germ plasm, but language, religion and nationality are individually acquired." Let us not misunderstand these statements. They are true. They say what has to be said about race as seen by the biologist. They do not say what has to be said about race by the sociologist. It would indeed make for clarity if race should never be used except in a biological sense. But the term is popularly used to describe cultural and political and linguistic groups. This use is a fact too. The prejudices and other attitudes that attach to race are facts also. They are facts in the realm of culture. They are the facts of which account must be taken in understanding the place of race in human affairs. The people known as Jews differ so much in physical features from one another and resemble so much in physical features people who are not known as Jews that the anthropologist and the biologist tell us that the Jews are not a race. They are not. That is one fact. It is also a fact that people have conventional collective judgments

about people known as Jews and associate their beliefs about Jews with real or imagined physical characteristics of Jews. This is a fact too. It is a fact of such immense importance that it would be impossible justly to write the history of our western world without frequent reference to it. The Jews are not a race, but they constitute a group believed to be a race, and no amount of repetition of statements of the first fact will do away with the second and vastly more important fact.

Therefore, I say that understanding of the importance of race is to be found not in man's physical nature but in his human and social nature. What are the characteristics of that nature which give rise to the social consequences of race? In the first place it is human nature to feel oneself a member of a valued group set off from other groups of less value. In the clans of primitive society, in boys' gangs, social classes and modern nations we see the disposition of mankind to classify in accordance with the sentiments of loyalty to one's own kind and of disapproval or hatred of other kinds. We note further that the disposition to depreciate groups not one's own is in most cases selective in that one or a few other groups become special objects of depreciation or aggression. One such specification of the out-group sentiments is directed toward the people near one but who differ from one's own group only in small degree.

Referring to the feuding and ridicule between Spaniards and Portuguese, between English and Scotch, Freud observes that such sentiments represent "a convenient and relatively harmless form of satisfaction for aggressive tendencies through which cohesion amongst the members of a group is made easier." Freud then goes on to remark with fine irony that the Jewish people, scattered as they are, have rendered services which deserve recognition to the development of culture in the countries where they settled, but that it is unfortunate that not even all the pogroms and massacres of history have been sufficient to give a peaceful integration to Christian societies. For while upon certain groups fall only the aggressions of their neighbors, others become scapegoats to all the world. At least this has been the historic rôle of the Jew. We assure ourselves of the worthiness of our own people by declaring the unworthiness of other people. In aggression against others there is a basis for solidarity among ourselves. And when that solidarity or security is threatened there is in the need of the group to restore its security a special cause for the casting of blame upon some convenient group. If the group is already defined by tradition as a proper object of aggression, as in the case of the Jew, it is so much the easier to commit new aggression against them.

For men take the paths of least resistance in thinking and feeling,

as they do in walking through a wood, and these paths are those trodden by men who went before them. We do not, on the whole, make the effort to form our own independent judgments. We take over the judgments arrived at by others. We attach our sentiments to the customary objects of attachment. The extent to which this is true escapes us, attentive as we are to those few cases—our wives, children and chosen intimates—in which our own special and personal experiences play a large part in the organization of our sentiments. The truth is that to a great extent we rely, for the placing of our feelings and judgments, on the convenience of categories. It is an aspect of our nature that we see experiences, including people, as divided into classes. This way of behaving is useful, as any energy-saving device is useful. It saves effort to respond to categories rather than to individuals; there are far fewer of them. To have prejudices saves thought, and thought costs effort. Moreover, an established prejudice is motivated by the sentiments; it is ready to authorize action; it exhibits none of the hesitating which distinguishes reflective and critical thinking. The Nazis make a virtue of prejudice; they think, as they put it, "with their blood."

Before speaking of the plainness of race and its special authority, it is well to remark that race is not the only convenient basis upon which to classify mankind into our people, who are good, and other people, who aren't. Custom and culture are more nearly universal criteria for distinguishing the undervalued outsider from the overvalued insider. It is an anthropological commonplace that most tribes refer to other tribes by contemptuous epithets, and that each people tends to regard itself as the only really civilized group on earth.

Since the development of the world religions, religious differences have motivated as much cruelty and bloodshed as has race. Indeed, in many cases it is not possible always to declare the extent to which the out-group is defined in racial terms. Race, culture and religion enter into the definition of the Jew in varying and perplexing ways. Between the anti-Semite who thinks that Jews are born to be a slave-race and the anti-Semite who thinks the Jews smart but no smarter than others, have built up a dangerous international conspiracy and should be suppressed for that reason, there are differences, but they are not greatly important differences. It is today urged that Americans of Japanese ancestry should be locked up, or deprived of their citizenship, or sent to Japan, sometimes upon a racial argument and sometimes upon a cultural argument. "Show me a man with one drop of Japanese blood and I will show you a traitor," one United States Senator declared recently, but others content themselves with declaring that no person of Japanese origin can be a good American because all Japanese worship the Mikado and presumably anybody

born here of Japanese parents has taken over the custom, to his eternal perdition. The racial element in group prejudice is often unclear and mixed with other elements.

Nevertheless, in the prejudging of men by other men, race has a special and a double importance. In the first place, race—this obvious color of the skin, this unmistakable contour of the eyelid, this unchangeable thinness or thickness of the lip—makes easy and often certain the classifying of individuals in the accepted categories. The distinction between the faithful believer and the heretic or the infidel has been in some societies and at some times a social classification of prime importance, but then it has not been easy to tell the heretic from the nonheretic at a glance. One can, on the other hand, tell a Negro from a white person at a glance. At least it is true that you can tell the one from the other in such a large majority of the cases that the assigning individuals to accepted categories goes on easily and swiftly. The doubtful cases do make difficulty, as in the occasional individual who is socially a Negro although in appearance a white man, and in the small rural minorities in Delaware and elsewhere who, descended from a mixture of Indian, Negro and White, resist classification as either Negro or white. But these doubtful cases prove the strength of the categories, for other men and women in communities where such doubtful individuals or groups occur seem to demand a solution of the problem in the assignment of the doubtful case to the one racial category or the other.

The school system, the Jim Crow practices, the very customary logic of the American's mind, call for a resolution of such ambiguities. They should not be there; they upset the system; in this country every man must be either a white man or a Negro. In some societies the problem is met by the development of intermediate categories defining marginal groups. In our own society, so far as the Negro is concerned, the tendency has been to adhere to a simple system according to which the customary single drop of Negro blood is enough to make a man a member of the inferior category. Race, in the sense of a visible physical evidence of a biological difference, is here the single guide to the principal social category. In Bahia, Brazil, on the other hand, one drop of Negro blood is of no significance, and even a great many drops have only the effect of suggesting an inferior social position for that individual, a suggestion that can be overcome by education or personal success.

The emphasis upon race, in the sense of real or supposed difference in blood, as the prime basis for setting off the best people from the less good or the worst, is probably a fairly recent development in the history of man's inhumanity to man. It lends itself well to this human tendency to separate the superior sheep from the inferior

goats by virtue of the durable visibility which it gives to the members of the class. Race "works," as a mechanism of social categorization because the racial mark is there to stay. It can't be changed as can a Cockney accent or a pagan religion. The Nazis had a little trouble with the application of their racial doctrines to Jews and to Poles, the distinguishing visibility being low, so to speak; so they came to require these hunted helots to wear labels of one kind or another on their costumes. We do the same thing, in effect, when we accept the racial stereotypes in cartoon or moving picture. We, too, have our second-class citizens with second-class rights, and although these fellow-Americans are for the most part visibly brown in color, we reinforce the definition of their inferior position with a thousand practices and social gestures. A simple device is to label one door "For Negroes" and another door "For Whites." Segregation, imposed by the dominant, amounts to the imposition of stigmata of inferiority. These symbols of our collective prejudices emphasize and amplify the meaning given to the racial mark.

For many years scientists have looked for conclusive evidence that black men or yellow men are born different in intelligence or ability from white men, and today they still lack proof of such difference. Yet white men believe that such differences exist. They believe that black men or yellow men are inherently different or inferior in part because such a belief is an apparent justification for the prejudice they feel and the injustice they commit. To deceive our consciences we invert the truth. We say that we treat the Negro as inferior because he is inferior. The truth is that we think the Negro to be inferior because we treat him as inferior. It is the act that is the father of the thought. What really lies in the social order, for which we are responsible, we push off into the biological order, for which we are not responsible. What is in the biological nature of man is there to stay, and is none of our business. Science, a false science, becomes the mythology of the modern man. It must be true, so we think, that Negroes' skulls close early upon their brains, for we treat Negroes as if that were the case. It is not the case, and every competent student knows it to be untrue. Nor is it true that the Negro is necessarily handicapped by the fact that Africa is only a few generations behind him. If this were true, then it would be true that the descendants of Englishmen would be handicapped as compared with Greeks or Egyptians by the fact that barbarism is only a few generations behind them. A child of one skin color starts even with a child of any other skin color, if you let him. We don't let him, and we entertain a false biology which seems to justify us.

I will speak here of how the conceptions we entertain as to race, like the conceptions we entertain as to anything else, may work for

integration and high morale or for disintegration and low morale. If our ideas as to race are the same as those shared with others of our group, and are consistent with the other ideas of the group, then, for that group, ideas as to race will make for solidarity and confidence. I have spoken of the tendency of primitive tribes to regard themselves as true men and everybody else as something less than men. This works well enough in a state of society in which every people is more or less hostile to every other, in which each little group subsists on its own independent efforts, and in which no doctrine of universal brotherhood has appeared. In such a small society it is a source of strength to hate the enemy, and to believe oneself superior to the enemy. The enemy is all outside, and all one's own people are inside.

That is not the case today. Although we fight a national war, some of the enemy are inside the nation; some of our friends are in enemy countries. Today we need the help of half the world, or more, to live in the manner to which we are accustomed. Today we send our brothers to die in the name of principles of living which apply, in theory, to all men. So today an in-group sentiment defined in racial terms works for disintegration. Race prejudice and discrimination provides a categoric principle in conflict with other major categories by which we live. It is a great divisive fracture across the life of today. It is a sword we turn against ourselves.

Today the great divisions among men are the divisions into nations. More than any others, these divisions play the rôle played in primitive society by tribal groupings; more than any others, these divisions make for war. Yet it is no help to a people fighting a national war to entertain principles or to carry out practices of racial inequality. For the races against which we discriminate are within our nation. Racial inequality is a denial of national solidarity. It is a waste of resources and an act of social disintegration. A ship must be built; welders are needed; an available welder is not hired because his skin is black. In this way we not only waste the welder's labor, but also impair the moral strength of Americans. We deny the welder full solidarity with us, who fight beside him, and we deny ourselves full solidarity with him, who fights beside us. The bitterness that today grows in American Negroes is matched by the growing shame of white men. A people do not fight well who have bitterness and shame.

It is not even true to say that racial prejudice, directed against our present enemies, is a contribution to the fighting strength of America. We cannot hate our enemies as racially apart from us without applying the same prejudice to those who are not our enemies. Our prejudice against the Japanese has run from one extreme

to the other. When they defeated the Russians two-score years ago the Japanese enjoyed our high favor as a wonderful little people. Today they are the grinning ape-men, beast-like and treacherous. In so far as we now think of them as bad because racially different from us we find ourselves, by the same prejudice, condemning our fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry, the Oakland and Seattle high school boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were born in Japan, and denying them the right to enter our communities, to room in our lodging houses, to study in our schools. And on the other hand our long-standing prejudices against the Oriental kept us, until a few weeks ago, from granting the right of naturalization to our Chinese allies. Men fight as nations, and our nation is made up of all races. Therefore we cannot define our enemies in racial terms without injuring ourselves.

But the essential weakness that follows from racial inequality follows from the inconsistency between the ideals we profess and the racial discrimination we practice. A people that profess one way of life and act another is a people without integrity as such a man is a man without integrity. That is our case. We claim a leadership of the free peoples of the world, and we deny full freedom to some of our fellow citizens because of their race. We are the apostles of democracy, and public affairs are kept in the hands of a racial majority. We celebrate the Bill of Rights as a charter of liberty, and while we celebrate that document we deny some of these rights to fellow citizens because of race. In a well-integrated society the goals for living are consistent with the institutions and practices of the people. In our society, in large part because of the social consequences of race, we speak one way and act another.

On whose side are we fighting in this war? Do we propose to help in enforcing justice for disadvantaged racial minorities in other lands? If we cannot give justice to such minorities in our land, shall we then be able to do so abroad? On Christmas eve the President told us that the doctrine that the strong shall oppress the weak is the doctrine of our enemies. It is the doctrine and the practice of our enemies, but it is, to a significant extent, also the practice of ourselves. What becomes of the integrity of a people who deny, yet practice, a doctrine of their enemies? Can we assume responsibility for the enforcement of justice in Asia when we do not enforce it in Atlanta or Detroit? Shall we continue to send missionaries abroad to acquaint distant people with a religious and ethical doctrine in large measure belied by the missionaries' fellow citizens in the homeland?

For racial inequality contradicts major principles that we have embraced. The disintegrating effects of the social consequences of

race go far beyond the effect on the fighting strength of the nation. Even in a time of war when men fight by nations and plan the peace through alliances of nations, there is a tendency to modify the national alignments by alignments that are individual and moral. A German national is on our side if he hates Nazism and shares our principles. We know that many Italians do not share Mussolini's views and we treat Italians accordingly. We search for the signs of political democracy in Russia and we look into the face of China for the reflection of our own ideals. Though nationalism may long divide us, though wars may continue for many generations, nevertheless, we continue to grope for a moral order that will embrace the world. And across all these persistent, resurgent, ecumenical conceptions, across the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth and the conception of a democratic world-order, lies racial inequality.

To the anthropologist the rising acuteness of the conflict between world-embracing principles and racial discrimination is an aspect of a society in process of reorganization. It is the nature of human society for its conceptions and institutions to adjust themselves to one another. Over long periods of time consistency rather than inconsistency is the rule. Cultures and civilizations are such in so far as the ways of life which make them up form a coherent way of life. As Sumner said, there is a strain to consistency among the folkways. Two immediate circumstances make the present inconsistencies difficult to maintain. One is the making explicit of our ideals forced upon us by the war. We find ourselves declaring, very loudly, many faiths we aren't living up to. The other is the increasingly apparent interdependence of racial and minority problems throughout the world.

When the Tokio radio takes up our race riots and makes propaganda weapons out of them within a few hours after their occurrence, when a Marine in the Solomons writes home to California his indignation that his fellow Californians are organizing to keep all persons of Japanese origin forever away from the Pacific Coast, only to stimulate a demand by the organizers that the distributors of the letter be investigated as subversive, when State Department-invited visitors to the United States from a Latin American republic are Jim-Crowed in a southern state, when a thousand such occurrences take place and are made widely known—then it becomes clear that unless it adopts a stringent isolationism and a reactionary ethics, this country cannot reach an adjustment between its ideals and its practices without reference to the rest of the world. To achieve a new integrity, we must work out a race policy and practice that will make coherent sense to ourselves when we state it and that will command the confidence of other free peoples everywhere.

WORLD IMPLICATIONS OF RACE

CHANNING H. TOBIAS

Any plan for the future peace of the world that does not include race relationships as a major consideration is not only lacking in realism but destined to failure from the beginning. It is therefore encouraging to note that this Conference, composed of representatives of the principal mission boards of the Protestant churches of the United States and Canada, is giving such a conspicuous place on its program to this subject.

I suppose that about as good a way as any to begin what I have to say is to relate an incident that happened five months ago. I was at dinner with a party of friends at the home of a nationally known editor and publisher. In the party were a prominent public relations expert and a political leader of international fame. In the course of the discussion of the evening, which was on the American Negro race problem, the public relations expert said that he felt that Negroes should not run the risk of antagonizing white sentiment by insisting upon certain rights that white people were unwilling to accord to them, to which I made the following observation: "Mr. Blank, you seem to assume that the power of life and death that white people now hold over the colored peoples of the world will continue for all time to come. You may be right, and then again you may be wrong." Before the public relations expert could reply, the political leader said: "I can tell you exactly how long it will be—until the Far East becomes mechanized, no longer." This was just another way of saying that the one billion people of color, constituting two-thirds of the population of the earth, would endure the overlordship of white people only until they could acquire the implements that have given white men their power.

I am certainly not one who believes that world peace can be realized by having power wrested from one racial group and placed in the hands of another, nor do I go along with those who predict a forthcoming race conflict so colossal and universal as to threaten the existence of mankind on the earth. But I am absolutely certain that there will be trouble down the road if the victorious nations, following this war, insist upon holding unbroken the ring of white dominance that now encircles the darker peoples of the earth.

Unfortunately this seems to be the present intention of the leaders charged with the main responsibilities for the making of the peace. The great Winston Churchill, to whom we all pay tribute for keeping hope alive in the hearts of the people when Britain faced the darkest

hour of its history, leaves us in no doubt as to his position. He is confessedly an imperialist of the most pronounced Victorian rootage. The ink was hardly dry on the draft of the Atlantic Charter when he made his report to the House of Commons, and, when asked the question if he meant that the principles of the Charter should apply to India and the colonies, replied substantially as follows: "I have not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. We shall hold what we have."

He was consistent in saying this because previously he had said: "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for." Physically this has been accomplished, for Gandhi and Nehru are in prison. The closing of the Burma Road twice, the refusal to permit Chinese troops to defend the Burma Road, and the refusal of permission to China to develop its own air force present further evidence of a rather firm determination on the part of the imperialist members of the Allied Board of Strategy that the participation of weak or subject peoples in the war shall be kept on a basis that will get all possible help from them without raising foolish hopes of independence and freedom for themselves.

As I recall the published reports of the Cairo meeting of Churchill, Roosevelt and Chiang, the terms agreed upon referred exclusively to demands that would be made upon Japan. There were no references to the future status of Hongkong and French Indo-China, the presumption being that they would be returned to the nations that held sovereignty over them before the war. But even that presumption was not sufficient to satisfy the great elder statesman of the British Empire, General Smuts, who, in what he thought to be an off-the-record interview, expressed great dissatisfaction that Chiang Kai-shek should be brought into a conference on terms of equality with Churchill and Roosevelt, lest he interpret such courtesy to mean that China was to have a real voice in determining the future policies of the Far East. The position taken by General Smuts is in keeping with his African policy, for while his administration in South Africa has been considerate and humane, it has been paternalistic and devoid of encouragement to Africans to hope for self-rule at any time, to put it in the words of Mr. Churchill, "that it is reasonable or useful to foresee."

And now lest it appear that I am bearing down too heavily upon the British Empire, let us take a brief look at American foreign policy as it affects race relationships.

Three months before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, I saw at Kobe, Osaka and Yokohama barge load after barge load of American scrap iron tied up to the docks. The Americans who sold this scrap to the Japanese were not ignorant of the purposes

that would be served by it. They knew then and in all the months and years subequently, in which they continued until Pearl Harbor to sell this material to the Japanese, that it was being used to forge weapons and furnish ammunition for the destruction of the helpless people of China. No wonder we felt such humiliation after Pearl Harbor when we realized that the very bombs that snuffed out the lives of three thousand American boys contained material sold by Americans.

Ralph Magill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* was very apt in his comment on our humiliation when he headed an editorial describing it, "Old Stoves Come Home to Roost." The truth is that there had been previous demonstrations of our lack of respect for the people of the Orient that made it easy for our merchants to engage in traffic that led to destruction for the people of China and ultimately destruction of our own fighting forces. I refer to the Oriental Exclusion Laws and our refusal to risk our trade relationships with Japan by following the urgent insistence of the then Secretary of State and now Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, demanding that we protest against the annexation of Manchuria by Japan. Since Pearl Harbor we have not improved our relationships with the colored peoples of the world, for, in our handling of Japanese-Americans through first herding them into concentration camps regardless of whether they were aliens or citizens, and then establishing them in so-called relocation centers, while at the same time taking care not to accord similar treatment to enemy aliens of the white race, we have drawn a very pronounced racial line.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is in part the picture as I see it. I confess that the outlook seems dark and unpromising, but I have good reasons for believing that it is not hopeless. Before setting forth those reasons, however, I want us to have in the background of our thinking a quotation from Pearl Buck that I think reflects accurately the mind of the colored peoples of the world on the one question to which a solution must be found if there is to be a just and enduring peace. Says Miss Buck:

> We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and this whether Britain realizes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behavior is now impossible. It cannot exist. We must make clear our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual responsibility demanded of all to fulfill its conditions. Nor can we postpone such decision for democracy by saying, "Let's win this war first." We cannot even win this war without convincing our colored allies—who are most of our allies—that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and

exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will. We can of course utilize the force of this will if we have the wisdom. Nothing would so nerve our colored allies abroad to put forth their whole effort now as the conviction that white leaders mean what they say about democracy.

I have said that I believe that there is hope that the peoples of the world regardless of race or cultural background, and in spite of the difficulties described above, may live together in peace and mutual helpfulness. I hold steadfastly to that belief. But I am equally certain that Atlantic Charters, Declarations of Freedoms, Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo and Teheran Conferences alone will never lead to the realization of that hope. Blue prints alone, though backed and implemented by all the combined material resources of the allied nations, can not change deeply-rooted prejudices into mutual trust and good will. That is a spiritual task, and leadership and direction for such a task can only be provided by an institution that is spiritually motivated. That is why I pin my hope for future good will and peace among the races of mankind on the Christian church.

In all the reading I have done, and in all the secular conferences I have attended, I have found no such basic approach to the broad problems confronting the nations today as the following statement by the Dulles Commission on a just and durable peace sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches:

> The first and paramount task of the Christian churches remains that of bringing more persons to subject their lives to the will of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. For us he is the source of moral judgments on the issues of this war upon which the Federal Council of Churches has also spoken. Only if the Christian churches of this land build a spiritual foundation that is broad and deep will this nation pursue righteous policies. Only if spiritual revelation strike from our eyes the scales of hatred, hypocrisy, intolerance and greed, will we be competent to cope with the immensely difficult problems that confront us.

Bearing more directly on the question with which we are concerned tonight, the Dulles Commission gives a conspicuous place in its statement of guiding principles to the following:

> We believe that that government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed is the truest expression of the rights and dignity of man. This requires that we seek autonomy for all subject and colonial peoples. Until that shall be realized, the task of colonial government is no longer one of exclusive national concern. It must be recognized as a common responsibility of mankind, to be carried out in the interests of the colonial peoples by the most appropriate form of organization. This would, in many cases, make colonial government a task of international collaboration for the benefit of colonial peoples who would, themselves, have a voice in their government. As the agencies for the promotion of world-wide and economic security become effective, the moral, social and material welfare of colonial populations can be more fully realized.
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> We believe that the right of all men to pursue work of their own

choosing and to enjoy security from want and oppression is not limited by race, color or creed. The rights and liberties of racial and religious minorities in all lands should be recognized and safeguarded.

Coming finally to specific recommendations for political action in what is popularly known as "The Six Pillars of Peace," the Commission calls for the adoption of the following colonial policy:

The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

There is a ferment among peoples who are now subject to alien rule. That will make durable peace unattainable unless such peoples are satisfied that they can achieve self-rule without passive or active resistance to the now constituted authorities. We realize that autonomy, in certain cases, is not now desired, and in other cases is presently impractical. But judgments as to this tend to be warped, and certainly are suspect, when made by the governing power itself. There must be international agencies, which embrace persons free from the self-interest which comes from identification with the particular governing power, and which are charged with the duty to see that pledges of ultimate autonomy are honored, and that, in the meanwhile, there is no exploitation for alien ends.

Now in my concluding word let me say that I have hope for future peace and coöperation between the races of men not only on account of the example and teachings of Jesus, but because the work already done by the Christian church and its auxiliary agencies like the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations in all the nations of the earth, has demonstrated, and even in the midst of sundered ties continues to demonstrate its effectiveness in binding men together in love and service across racial lines.

In a hurried trip around the world, when of necessity my observations were more or less superficial, I talked with many persons and observed many organizations and institutions, with the result of heightened appreciation of what the Christian forces are accomplishing in the promotion of brotherhood across racial lines. There were of course individuals here and there who took on the manners and sometimes the practices of those who look down upon and exploit the ignorant and poverty-stricken masses, but these were rare exceptions. The average Christian worker with whom I came into contact demonstrated the kind of reverence for human personality that can be made the basis for a united attack on the great problem of social and spiritual reconstruction in the war-blighted areas around the world.

And now may I close by expressing the hope and the prayer that the work of this Conference may speed the day that the Psalmist spoke of when he prayed that "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindred of the nations shall worship before him."

1944

Materials — Suffrage, Ga

Return to S. R. C.

THE 1944 "WHITE PRIMARY" IN GEORGIA

(With Brief Accounts covering Other Southern States)

by

Margaret L. Fisher

This summary of events in the South, with particular emphasis on Georgia, was compiled from the Georgia press (especially the Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal), from findings obtained in conferences with groups and individuals, and from certain other reports which are mentioned from time to time. It is designed to give a chronological account of action and reaction following the United States Supreme Court decision on the Texas White Primary case: Smith vs. Allbright.

Introduction

When the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case, Smith vs. Allwright, was released, the forces of opposition were already hard at work in the South. A well-organized campaign to kill the New Deal and the threat it represents to 1) the big economic interests and 2) the "tradition" of the South had long been under way. In order to view the reaction to and the effect of the decision in proper perspective, it is necessary to take into account the ground work which has been skillfully laid in the South during the last several years.

In 1938 the famous "grass roots" convention was held in Macon, Georgia. It was planned and sponsored by the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, and purported to represent southern business men and farmers. Eugene Talmadge and other well-known "Democrats" participated. It is an accepted fact that the convention was financed by northern Republican millionaires to a large degree. In his column of July 17, 1944, Drew Pearson stated that these business magnates conceived the southern revolt, and that it was launched at the Macon convention.

Certainly one can follow the same interests and personalities through the following years right up to the collapse of the threatened revolt this fall. Talmadge, O'Daniel, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Senator Byrd, Harry Woodring, Jim Farley, and others have all been active in this anti-Roosevelt, anti-Fourth term, anti-New Deal movement. A significant little side-light: In September 1944 "Cotton Ed" Smith held a rally in

South Carolina at which time a new party was to be formed and plans were to be laid to "sweep the South and the Nation." The rally was attended by eight people!

During the last two years the South has experienced, and to a considerable degree resisted, certain developments: large numbers of Negro soldiers have been stationed in camps in the South; the resistance to segregation in military forces increased throughout the country; the poll tax fight had been intensified; equalization of teachers' salaries had become an issue; the FEPC threatened the entrenched system of cheap labor; union organization had made great headway -- the hold of the northern Republican-southern Democratic bosses seemed to be losing its grip.

So, the Supreme Court decision was seized upon, blown up, and "white supremacy" was crammed down the throats of southern white people. The threat of a political revolt as a result of the application of the Supreme Court decision grew rapidly. However, one after another the threats have fallen by the wayside: using the race issue in the Pepper-Hill campaign didn't work; southern rebels were forced to drop their fight for a "white" race plank at the Democratic National Convention; plots to defeat the will of the people through a revolt of the electoral college failed in the face of practical common sense.

Irrespective of the state of confusion and turmoil which was brought about in the South during this critical period, there have been many encouraging developments: a large number of leading daily and weekly newspapers have gone on record as favoring abolition of the poll tax by the states; several influential papers have taken a stand for Negro participation in the primaries - most of them since the primary

elections were held, it is true; an attempt by 38 men to start a secret would-be Klan organization in Atlanta was quickly stopped by violent editorial attack; the Klan itself reportedly has disbanded; and the number of southern white people who have been articulate in their support of a practical democracy, with particular reference to Negro participation in the franchise, is highly significant.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case was released to the press on April 3, 1944, and stated, among other things, that "the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the state, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the C onstitution. By the terms of the fifteenth amendment that right may not be abridged by any state on account of race. Under our Constitution the great privilege of choosing his rulers may not be denied a man by the state because of his color."

Throughout the South state officials and Democratic Party leaders exercised considerable caution in making immediate comment upon the decision. S ome party leaders are known to have made unofficial statements to the effect that the Negro has secured the vote under the decision, but that it would have been "political suicide" to have admitted it this year.

There follows a narrative digest of developments in Georgia as reported in the Atlanta press, together with a supplement covering other states to the extent that information was available in the Atlanta press.

Georgia and the Franchise

In January 1944, the Atlanta Chapter of NAACP opened the question of Negro participation in the Democratic Primary with a request to Governor Ellis Arnall that such steps as were necessary be taken to make sure that the pending soldier vote measure would extend the franchise to all members of the armed service, without regard to race. The NAACP stated that at that time Georgia had approximately 100,000 Negro men and women in the military service. Governor Arnall replied that "The State Democratic Executive Committee officials advise that, under the laws of this state and rules of the Democratic Executive Committee, Negroes, whether soldiers or civilians, are not permitted to participate in the white Democratic Primary." (Atlanta Journal 1/28/44).

Immediately following the release of the Supreme Court decision on the Texas case, J. Len Duckworth, chairman, Georgia State Democratic Committee, said that the Court's action in a Texas case "is not a decision affecting the Georgia primary, and I would say Negroes are not qualified to vote in the Democratic white primary of this state." Attorney General T. Grady Head of Georgia declined comment until such time as he was asked for an official ruling. Governor Ellis Arnall said he would not comment until "I read the decision." In Washington, Senator Walter F. George took the position that primaries should be regarded as private affairs of a voluntary association of groups of voters not subject to the control of the courts. He said that the United States Supreme Court decision seemed "essentially unrealistic and inevitably leads into a field into which the courts ought not to go." On April 4, 1944, Ralph Smith, Washington correspondent of the Atlanta Journal, headlined his column "Ruling is Meaningless in Primary, George Says. Senator Thinks Decision, However, May be First Step to Break Down Color Line." It might be mentioned here

that at the time of George's statement the entries had been closed and Talmadge was not opposing him for the Senate.

The following excerpts are taken from an editorial in the Atlanta Journal of April 4, 1944, entitled Theory Versus Condition: "Law can be declared, but respect for and observance of the law come only from public sentiment... the decision of the Supreme Court opening Democratic or white primaries to Negroes must rest on public opinion in those communities in which its application involves a political and social revolution... Negroes as a race were disqualified from voting in sections in which they predominated for practical reasons... It is difficult to see how the Supreme Court could have ruled other than it did. The question before it was one which it could consider only in the abstractions of justice and the Constitution. But, unfortunately, we in the South are faced by a condition, not a theory.... It is a matter in which time and education and the development of tolerance on the one hand and of civic responsibility on the other are required." The editorial recognized that disenfranchisement is a gross injustice to many individual Negroes, but stated that the consideration must be the greater good for the greater number.

The Atlanta Constitution editorial of April 5, 1944, on the subject stated that the decision of the United States Supreme Court cannot be ignored, and recommended that southern states should study the effect, examine codes, and set up adequate and fair regulations within the meaning of the court's decision. It called attention to the fact that Negroes vote in the primaries in North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and said that in view of the facts and conditions in those states it is possible that the problem "is not as serious as first appears." "It can be solved fairly and within the meaning of the decision."

The press reported that some leaders said that the Georgia Democratic Party may return to the convention method of picking candidates. Solicitor General Charles H. Garrett of Macon, Georgia, was reported as saying the decision sounds "the death knell of primaries and ... party politics." In an editorial in the Georgia Market Bulletin, published by the State Department of Agriculture, Tom Linder, Commissioner, urged southern states to withdraw from the Democratic convention and said that the New Deal is attempting to destroy the traditions of the South. Linder was denounced by the Atlanta Journal and the Bartow Herald for his use of a state publication. Congressman Welchel was reported as opposing the Texas decision, and the press stated that Georgia legal authorities were in disagreement on the applicability of the decision in Georgia.

C. A. Scott, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the NAACP in Atlanta said, "The Supreme Court decision is clear and clearcut... I expect to cast one (vote) in the primary July 4." A few days later Mr. Scott announced that Georgia Negroes would attempt to vote.

On April 6, Attorney General T. Grady Head ruled that no poll tax would apply to persons from 18 to 21 years of age. He stated that those who were 17 years old might register provided they would be 18 prior to the next general election. A few days later it was reported from Brunswick that 30 teen-age Negroes had registered in Glynn County, one group having been accompanied by a teacher.

The opening of a Negro voting school in Atlanta, to be sponsored by NAACP, was announced by C. A. Scott on April 30. Mr. Scott said that Georgia Negroes desired integration in the present Democratic Party, and that it was unlikely that they would seek representation on the state's delegation to the national Democratic convention, as in the case of the Progressive Democratic Party in South Carolina, because Georgia had not

moved to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision as South Carolina did. Church and civic leaders in various Negro communities began educational programs in citizenship, and the program of registration continued throughout the state. It was reported that one Negro paid back poll taxes for eleven years and another for nine.

The first public support of the Supreme Court decision from a group of white citizens was the published resolution of the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation, passed April 14, 1944, which called upon its "beloved state" to respect the letter, the implication, and the spirit of the Texas decision. On April 28, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, passed a similar resolution appealing to the people of the South to respect the "letter and the spirit of the Court's decision." Letters from "southern white women" and from men began to appear in the daily press urging that the rights and privileges of full citizenship be extended to Negroes. Many effective letters from Negroes were published. It is interesting to note that the number of letters favoring the action of the Court which were published in the Atlanta papers considerably exceeded the number in opposition.

On April 10, the Atlanta Constitution carried a special news story from Barnesville, Georgia, which stated that a movement was under way to ask the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of repealing all primary rules so as to "beat" the Supreme Court decision. About a week later it was reported that the Governor had refused to take such action upon the ground that the revised State Constitution (covered later) would take care of the needs of Georgia.

The first definite statement from Democratic officials reported in the press was carried in the Atlanta Constitution on May 7, 1944. Augusta officials were reported as having said that Negroes would not be permitted to vote because their names would not appear on the lists of eligible voters; that the registrar would be requestdd to furnish lists of white voters only.

In Columbus, Georgia, Negro leaders agreed to make only "a token effort" to vote. That agreement was publicized in the press on May 21, and received widespread approval from white officials. The leaders ~~[illegible]~~ chose the sheriff's race to make a test, and upon refusal of ballots planned to bring a suit in the state courts. Throughout the state there began to appear recommendations that Negroes in Georgia follow the "token vote" procedure.

On June 7, a subcommittee of the Democratic State Executive Committee ruled that the primary would be restricted to white voters and directed chairmen of county executive committees accordingly. The following day Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was quoted in the Atlanta Journal as hoping the action of the subcommittee "is only a temporary expedient and that the party will solve the problem right." Atlanta Negro Democrats immediately protested the action of the subcommittee and requested the full State Democratic Executive Committee to reverse the subcommittee ruling.

The educational program and registration campaign continued. The importance of quiet and orderly conduct was emphasized in church and other meetings. It was estimated by NAACP that 25,000 of Georgia's 1,300,000 Negroes were registered by the middle of June. Plans for

participation in the primary proceeded in orderly fashion, and statements were made that court action would be taken if Negroes were refused ballots.

Shortly before the State Democratic Executive Committee met, a group of Negro leaders in Atlanta called upon Mr. Duckworth, chairman, and other officials, and requested that the ruling of the subcommittee be reversed. Messrs. C. A. Scott and A. T. Walden were among the group. During the conference, it is reported by Mr. Walden that Democratic officials asked that an agreement be made for a "token vote." Mr. Walden stated that the group replied that such an arrangement would not be possible, inasmuch as the Negro leadership had already taken the position in the community that all registered Negroes should apply at their respective precincts and request the right to vote. ~~Xxxxxx~~ Mr. Walden stated positively that no agreement was made with the Democratic Executive Committee at this or any later time. (Interview September 22, 1944).

Meanwhile, support for Negro participation in the primary increased in letters to the press. The most notable statement was a letter written by Mrs. Dorothy C. Rainey, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, addressed to the full committee and delivered to the chairman. A copy of the letter was released to the press and was given national publicity. Mrs. Rainey made a strong plea that the Executive Committee respect the supreme law of the land, and asked that her letter be read to the committee.

Talk of a southern revolt in the electoral college increased, and on June 20 Governor Arnall requested the Democratic State Executive Committee to pledge Georgia electors to support the nominees of the Democratic party. Governor Arnall deplored the action of those who were trying to sabotage the party.

The State Democratic Executive Committee met on June 22, confirmed the ruling of the subcommittee that the primary would be restricted to white voters, and ruled that electors would be required to pledge party regularity. On the same date, the Calhoun Times, a county weekly edited by Mr. Roy McGinty, carried an editorial favoring the Negro vote. Mr. McGinty was an unopposed candidate for the State Legislature. It is reported that several hundred struck his name from the ballot as a result of his editorial stand.

The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs (Negro) met in Macon on June 26, with representatives from eleven clubs attending. The leadership urged all registered and otherwise qualified Negroes in Georgia to attempt to vote in the primary on July 4. The importance of maintaining order and avoiding any kind of trouble was emphasized.

The movement to persuade Negro leaders to agree to a "token vote" grew. Numbers of Georgia newspapers carried strong editorials favoring and urging such a procedure. Rumors and tensions increased.

On June 29, the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County met and passed a resolution recommending that the attempt of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary be restricted to officers and members of the executive committee of the club. "Be it also resolved that all Negro registered voters of the Democratic faith comply with the advice of theCitizens Democratic Club of Fulton County in this restricted vote attempt on July 4." The resolution was signed by C. A. Scott, Dr. R. A. Billings, Birdie Wallace, J. A. Batts, A. T. Walden, Rev. L. N. Terrill, J. A. Pierce, and C. A. Bacote. It is reported that the resolution was passed with only one dissenting vote. One of the signers has since stated that

the action was taken because of the greatly increased tension in both the white and Negro community, and because it was felt that a token vote effort would be the most expedient manner in which the groundwork could be laid for a court case. He stated emphatically that no agreement was made with the State Democratic Executive Committee; that the resolution was in the form of a recommendation; that the Citizens Club was not empowered to speak for the Negroes of Fulton County; and that no official contact was made with the State Democratic Committee with regard to any ~~[illegible]~~ token vote arrangement.

This action was given wide publicity in the press and the general impression was prevalent in the white community that Negroes in Fulton County had "agreed" to the token vote procedure. However, it might be noted that the Atlanta Constitution stated on July 1 that only a small group of Negroes would attempt to vote in Atlanta and Fulton County "if the recommendations of the Citizens Democratic Club are followed."

The following excerpts from the July 3 column of Dr. M. Ashley Jones, prominent retired minister in Atlanta, should be of record: "Their (Negroes') progress educationally and commercially is really unmatched in the story of races..."(taken out of paragraph which points out the needs for recognizing changes since reconstruction days.) "We cannot much longer continue to subject Negroes to 'taxation without representation' or draft them to jeopardize their lives in defense of a democracy which denies them the right of franchise." Dr. Jones' column is a regular Sunday feature carried on the editorial pages of the Atlanta Constitution.

On the same date there was carried in the Atlanta papers a petition signed by 138 white citizens of Georgia asking the State Democratic Executive Committee to permit Negro participation in the primary. The

statement was sent out by the Associated Press and received national coverage.

On either July 1 or 2, the Atlanta Journal stated that Mr. Neill Leach, secretary of the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee, had stated that that Committee would ask for the names of white registrants only when requesting official registration lists, and that Negroes would not be permitted to vote because box managers would not have their names on the lists of eligible voters.

Registration had closed on May 8. 7% of the Fulton County registration was Negro: 64,000 white; 5,000 Negro - approx.

The Attempted Negro vote in Georgia on July 4, 1944 -

Negro leaders were refused ballots at three precincts in Atlanta on July 4. The procedure was reported as follows: each citizen prepared a standard application for a ballot which he handed to an election official who in turn handed it to another official who informed the applicant that his name was not on the registration list, therefore he was not eligible for a ballot. The performance was orderly and "polite." One New York newspaper account stated that probably never in history had people been "robbed" of their rights with such courtesy!

At Precinct E in the 3rd Ward: Mr. A. T. Walden presented a receipt from the tax collector's office which certified he was qualified to vote in the general election on November 7 to S. L. Walker, election official (box manager), who passed it to Mrs. T. H. Leather, who compared the slip with the registration list and informed Mr. Walden that his name and address did not appear on the registration list. Other Negro citizens who attempted to vote in this group were: V. W. Hodges, assistant publisher of the Atlanta Daily World; Eugene H. Martin, insurance executive; C. A. Bacote, professor at

Atlanta University.

At Precinct G, Ward 4: G. A. Scott, publisher of the Atlanta Daily World; Henry F. Shorter, barber; and J. A. Batts, insurance executive, made a similar attempt to vote.

At Precinct H, Ward 4 another group whose names were not listed in the press made an effort to vote.

Others who attempted to vote were:

Cliff Mackay
John Hope, Jr.
Wallace Van Jackson
Ira DeA . Reid
Alfonso Elder
Warren Cochrane
Grace Towns Hamilton
Irene Harris
Rev. M. L. King
H. G. Edwards
G. R. Mitchell
V. O. Yancey.

George Towns

According to all available reports, substantially the same procedure was followed in each instance, and no Negroes were permitted to vote.

Very little information was available concerning other cities in Georgia. The token effort was made in Columbus.

Shortly after the primary, the press in the state took a much more positive stand on the Negro vote issue. The Calhoun Times on July 6 against editorialized affirmatively on the subject; the Macon News had previously and again supported the decision; on July 13 the Atlanta Journal outlined a four point program for the betterment of race relations in the South in which it recommended that measures be taken to open primary elections to Negroes.

A civil suit was filed in the United States District Court in Columbus, Georgia, brought in the name of Primus King, Negro minister and barber, and naming the eleven members of the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee as defendants, on August 24, 1944 (Atlanta Journal). The suit asks for $5,000 damages for the alleged violation of King's civil rights, and the petition claims that the committee violated Sections One and Two of Article I and the 14th, 15th, and 17th amendments to the Constitution of the United States. King stated that he is prepared to present evidence to prove that he believes in the tenets of the Democratic Party, and that he was denied the right to vote "solely because of race and color." Oscar D. Smith, attorney for King, said that the case was brought in behalf of a group of Negroes for the purpose of ascertaining the applicability of the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas case, and that the King case would be carried to the Supreme Court if necessary. J. E. Chapman, Jr., Chairman of the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee stated that the Committee would contest the suit.

On August 25, 1944, the following exchange of communications between the Governor and the Attorney General of Georgia took place:

Letter from Governor Ellis Arnall to Attorney General T. Grady Head, dated August 24, 1944, and reported in the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution, August 25, 1944:

"It is my belief that the holding in the so-called Texas primary election case is not applicable to primary elections in the state of Georgia because in Georgia the Democratic white primary is not specifically provided for by law nor are all the qualifications of voters determined by constitutional provision or statutory law. Under Georgia procedure, as I understand it, the party convention and committee promulgate the rules and regulations appertaining to the Democratic white primary and the qualifications provided for participation in the primary are to a great extent controlled by the party itself.

"The matter at issue in the Muscogee county suit is of great import and importance to the people of Georgia. Accordingly, I am directing you and the State Department of Law to offer your assistance to the Muscogee county Democratic executive committee, defendants in the said action, and you are directed to take all necessary and proper steps to uphold the rules and regulations of the Democratic party relating to primary regulations in this state."

Commenting on the Governor's letter, the Attorney General was quoted as having said:

"Yesterday when the Governor noticed in the press that a suit had been instituted in the Federal Court against the members of the Muscogee County Democratic Committee complaining of the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary, he wrote me that the matter at issue was of great importance to the people of Georgia.

"He directed the State Department of Law to appear as amicus curiae or in such capacity as it was possible to bring to the attention of the court that the exclusion, if any, was party action which did not offend the Constitution of the United States."

The Attorney General announced, so it was reported, that any action in the Muscogee County primary suit will be as a friend of the court. He pointed out that inasmuch as there is no state law regulating party primaries, he cannot become a party to actual litigation in the case.

It is known that the Department of Justice, through the FBI, has been conducting an investigation in Atlanta as a result of a complaint filed by A. T. Walden, Negro attorney. The Department was requested by Mr. Waldon to institute criminal proceedings. So far as is known, no civil suit has been filed in Atlanta.

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Meanwhile, a rift developed in the Republican ranks in Georgia in connection with Negro participation in party affairs. The Republicans in Georgia held their state convention on May 22nd and named two Negro delegates to the national convention. The Georgia meeting split into two groups when an all-white delegation withdrew because the District convention seated the Negro-white faction. The mixed group was later recognized and seated at the national convention on June 26.

A coalition was formed between the Anti-Roosevelt Democrats and the "lily-white" Republicans. The Anti--- Democrats had held a meeting in Atlanta on June 20 which was attended by seventy-five delegates from twenty-eight states. Talmadge was reported as forecasting a split in the Democratic Party if the national convention adopted a racial equality plank. On August 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that the coalition mentioned above had combined to get their electors on the general election ballot in Georgia; on August 20 it was reported that Secretary of State John B. Wilson had certified the joint slate of "lily-white" Republican and "Independent" Democratic electors for the general election ballot; the Republican group which had been recognized and seated at the national convention charged a conspiracy between former Governor Talmadge and Wilson, and filed an action in the Fulton County Superior Court; on September 9, the Republican National Chairman asked Governor Arnall to use his authority to see that the certification be changed and that Secretary of State Wilson certify the electors of the "regular" Republican organization. Arnall refused to interfere. On September 12, the Republican National Committee asked the Georgia Supreme Court to reverse the Fulton County Superior Court's ruling that Secretary of State Wilson was not required to place the names of the "regular Republican candidates for electors" on Georgia's ballot for the November general election. The appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court was originally placed on the calendar for argument on November 13 - one week after the general election. Later the date was changed to October 2. On October 6 it was reported that the Georgia Supreme Court had upheld the Secretary of State, and that the rebel-coalition electors would be placed on the official ballot.

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Revised Constitution for Georgia

Almost simultaneously with the release of the Supreme Court decision, public hearings began in Georgia in connection with the revision of the State Constitution. Two actions on the part of the commission have direct bearing upon the problem and require especial attention: 1) recommendations for uncontrolled primaries -- obviously designed to circumvent the Supreme Court decision on the Texas white primary case; and 2) refusal to recommend elimination of the poll tax requirement from the Constitution. A list of the membership of the Commission is included in this report for reference purposes:

Ellis Arnall, Chairman
Fred Hand, Pelham, speaker pro tem of the house of representatives, vice-chairman
E. E. Thrasher, Jr., state auditor, secretary
Roy V. Harris, Augusta, house speaker
A. H. Durden, Albany, house floor leader
Charles Gowen, Brunswick, house member
Jess Pope, Cairo, senator
Justice Warren Grice, Macon, of the state supreme court
Judge Hugh MacIntyre, Thomasville, of the court of appeals
Judge Tom Candler, Blairsville
Judge Will R. Smith, Nashville
J. W. Culpepper, Fayetteville, house member
R. E. L. Majors, Clarton, editor
Mrs. Leonard Haas, Atlanta
Hatton Lovejoy, LaGrange, attorney
Frank Foley, Columbus, attorney
J. V. Carmichael, Marietta, house member
David J. Arnold, Griffin, senator and President of the Georgia Bankers' Association
T. Grady Head, Ringgold, Attorney General
J. Roy McCracken, Louisville, editor
David S. Atkinson, Savannah, senator
Hamilton Holt, Macon

On April 11, 1944, the jurists on the commission recommended revamping the voting requirements because of the implications of the Texas decision. It was stated that elimination of present voting laws would enable the Legislature to draft new ones. Justice Warren Grice of

the Georgia Supreme Court stated that the Texas decision would affect primaries in Georgia under present laws. The commission voted to abolish the provision in the Georgia Constitution relating to party primaries, with Mrs. Leonard Haas, wife of a prominent Atlanta attorney, casting the lone dissenting vote. On April 16 the commission completed action to kill all reference to primary laws in the state constitution. In May the League of Women Voters vehemently protested the elimination of provisions regulating primaries. A few days later, on May 29, Governor Arnall was quoted in the press as saying, "I am against any regulation of primaries in the constitution or on the statute books of this state." As it now stands, the commission will recommend to the next session of the Legislature that the proposed revised constitution shall contain no provision to regulate primaries.

On the subject of the poll tax, on April 11 the commission voted to retain the poll tax as a requirement for voting in the revised Constitution. James Carmichael, a member of the commission, and Judge Edgar Watkins, a citizen who appeared before the commission, argued for abolition of the tax, pointing out that it encourages machine politics. Governor Arnall was reported as having remarked that no poll tax was required of persons from 18 to 21 years of age nor from men and women in the armed forces - "I wonder just who is left to pay poll taxes.... I have not made up my mind that it should be eliminated," said the Governor. Mrs. Haas and Mr. Carmichael cast the only votes to abolish the poll tax provision. (The "Grandfather" clause was eliminated.)

A growing sentiment could be noted in the the Georgia press for abolition of the poll tax by the next General Assembly; the Georgia State Industrial Union Council (CIO) urged repeal by the commission;

the League of Women Voters urged elimination of the poll tax provisions from the revised constitution, and the Atlanta Constitution on the following day, October 5, disagreed with the League's position, saying it was opposed to elimination of the tax "at this time." The Augusta Herald on September 17 recommended repeal of the tax as a requisite for voting by the next Georgia Legislature, and suggested retaining the tax for cost of education as in the cases of Louisiana, North Carolina, and Florida. Louis D. Newton, Atlanta minister, urged abolitition of the tax by the next session of the Legislature.

It will be recalled that during this period of time the poll tax issue had been before our national Senate with violent opposition to Federal action by southern representatives and the southern press. On April 21 the Atlanta Constitution carried an account which stated that Senator Russell was a member of an unofficial three-man committee planning strategy to fight the anti-poll tax measure in the Senate. Both Russell and George were later reported by the Atlanta Journal (September 3) as favoring abolition by the states, but opposing Federal "interference" on the states' rights issue. By and large the press of Georgia took that same position.

Almost without exception Georgia representatives and the Georgia press justified their opposition to any Federal action on the ground that abolition of the poll tax should be left to states -- and almost without exception they approved abolition by the states. Certainly it would seem that the time for state action is <u>now</u>.

As it now stands, the commission on revision of the constitution will recommend that the poll tax provisions be left in the constitution without change.

Some Miscellaneous Notes from the Atlanta papers:

April 7, 1944: Georgia led the nation in non-white net loss in population 1935-1940. Decreased net 30,801. (Constitution)

April 13, 1944: A proposal by State Senator David S. Atkinson that membership in the Georgia House of Representatives be based on population was supported only by Mrs. Maas and voted down by the commission to revise the constitution.

June 30, 1944: Journal editorial urges "all qualified electors" to vote on July 4, as state officials who will frame new state constitution will be elected, which makes necessary "full participation in the primary.... to the end that the greatest number of Georgians will have participated at least indirectly in the adoption of a new constitution."

July 2, 1944: Excerpt from Constitution editorial entitled Vote in Tuesday's Primary: "Our way of life and our form of government are based on the ballot box. Thousands of men are dying for that way of life and that form of government."

June 30, 1944: United States Court may try Negro's case on school salary. Samuel L. Davis seeks injunction to prevent the Atlanta Board of Education from continuing an alleged discrimination against him and other Negro teachers in pay scale, on the grounds that they are required to have the same qualifications as white teachers. (Journal)

July 13, 1944: Atlanta Board of Education denies charges that it has discriminated against Negro teachers on pay. Demands jury trial on charges. Says: "The Board is working out a method of classifying

teachers and a schedule of salaries to be paid teachers, which, in their judgment and discretion, will be fair, equitable, and just. All the teachers in the public schools of Atlanta, both white and colored, will be classified on the same basis, and each teacher, white or colored, will be paid according to his or her classification. Every teacher in the same classification will receive the same pay."

Statement signed by N. S. Cook, Devereaux McClatchey, Jr., Charles C. Rife, J. H. Sanders, D. M. Therrell, and J. Austin Dilbeck.

Other States

There follows a summary of news carried in the Atlanta papers on activities in other southern states.

Alabama

On April 4 Governor Chauncey Sparks said that the decision in the Texas case "by intimation at least leaves with the states the right to determine qualifications of voters." He further stated that the South can adapt itself to the decision by giving the right to vote to all qualified, whether white or black, and at the same time preserve "party integrity." State Senator Miller Bonner predicted that Alabama would hold its last white primary this year as a result of the Texas decision.

The Hill-Simpson senatorial campaign was at its height when the decision was released. In his column of April 4, Ralph Smith, Washington correspondent for the Atlanta Journal, declared that the fact that Justice Hugo Black voted with the majority in the Supreme Court decision would prove a handicap to Hill - despite Hill's opposition to Federal poll tax repeal and eradication of the color line. Certainly there was a sinister and methodical marshalling of discontents, fears and prejudices by Simpson. His billboards read: "Vote for James Simpson, a believer in Democratic principles, states' rights and white supremacy." He was supported by an inflammatory press and the big economic interests. The employment of Negro supervisors in FSA was attacked by State Senator Bruce Henderson in a speech made in Simpson's behalf, during which he charged that white women were doing clerical work for Negroes. Following up, Simpson warned that the next step would be the forced admission of Negroes to white schools by the United States Department of Education.

The campaign of race hatred became so violent that some of the Alabama press denounced Simpson and his group - notably the Birmingham News and the Anniston Star which latter charged that Simpson was attempting to "Talmadgeize" Alabama. Senator Tom Heflin of Alabama said in a speech in support of Hill's candidacy, ".... any man who raises the race issue in a political campaign is unfit to go to the United States Senate." At their convention on April 22, the Alabama Mine Workers, District 20, passed a resolution pledging support to full Negro participation in the franchise, and opposing Simpson.

Simpson began to ease off the race issue as condemnation became more pronounced.

Meanwhile, although Hill is regarded as progressive and a New Dealer, there were departures from liberalism on his part - described as being "in deference to the immovable attitudes of his constituency." At the height of the campaign, Hill's law firm volunteered its service to help convict Arthur Madison, Negro lawyer, who had been arrested on a charge of illegally representing other Negroes. Madison was alleged to have been assisting Montgomery Negroes in registering, and it was stated that he had been attempting to qualify Negro voters since December 1943 and that he intended to register 5,000 Negroes in Montgomery.

In commenting upon Senator Hill's victory, the nation's press commended the people of Alabama for voting against race haters. It was also noted that the Birmingham News added its voice of approval on the state's condemnation of Negro haiters.

The Negro Vote in Alabama

In Mobile, ten Negroes departed without voting when they were met at the polling place by the deputy sheriff and told by him that the primary was restricted to white electors. Two Negroes were

permitted to vote in Montgomery. Negroes voted as usual in Birmingham. (Atlanta Journal May 3, 1944 - no names given in the news story.)

It was brought out at a meeting of Attorneys General of southern states, held in Memphis, Tennessee, on September 5, that Alabama has four suits pending in connection with refusal to permit Negroes vote in the primary.

The Democratic Primary was held in Alabama on May 2, 1944.

Note: Governor Sparks spoke to the 26th annual convention of Alabama District Kiwanis International in Auburn, Alabama, on October 11th. He termed the poll tax a necessity, and attacked the War Department ruling which opened the post exchange at Maxwell Field to all. Most interesting was the following statement from his speech: "There is no such thing as equality socially, except such as is determined by the individual." (Atlanta Constitution 10/11/44)

Arkansas

In Washington, Representative Cathings, Democrat, Arkansas, warned the Democratic Party on April 19, ".... in its mad rush to gain the Negro vote.... it may lose the southern vote. The Chairman of the Arkansas Democratic State Committee, J. C. Barrett, had stated at the time the decision in the Texas primary case was released that he wished to study it before reaching a conclusion as to its applicability in Arkansas. Later he was reported as saying, "Election judges should allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary elections this summer, provided that they possess a poll tax receipt and otherwise appear qualified."

At the meeting of the southern Attorneys General in Memphis on September 5, Attorney General Guy E. Williams of Arkansas said that Arkansas laws are similar to Texas and that Negroes will vote there unless the Legislature "does something about it" in January. Williams charged that the Republican Party is causing race tension by catering to the Negro vote. He stated that there are five or six counties in Arkansas where the population is predominantly Negro. (According to the press reports, no one called his attention to the fact that there are nine such counties in North Carolina where Negroes participate in the Democratic primary.)

No record on the Arkansas vote in the primary was available in the Atlanta press. However, the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July 1944 issue, states that Negroes voted for the first time in the Democratic primary in Arkansas - no further details were given.

Florida

Immediately following the release of the decision, Democratic State Chairman Tom Conley said Democratic leaders would resist the efforts of Negroes to vote in the primary. Governor Spessard Holland declined to make any comment until after he had studied the decision.

At the time, Senator Pepper was in the midst of a bitter campaign to retain his seat in the Senate. The race issue was being raised with only slightly less violence than in the Hill-Simpson campaign in Alabama. Pepper faced four opponents. Although the Senator is recognized as one of the most ardent supporters of the New Deal and is conceded to be one the few progressive representatives from the South, he too spoke out against the Supreme Court decision. He was reported to have said that southerners will not "allow matters peculiar to us to be determined by those who do not know and understand our problems"... and "The south will allow nothing to impair white supremacy." He is reported to have stated further, "I think the Florida law is different from the Texas law on voting in primaries, and therefore the supreme court decision should not affect Democratic primaries in Florida. In Florida not the state but the Democratic party determines the qualifications of members of the party. If, however, there is any question about the form of our statute, it can be altered and the matter left exclusively in the hands of the party of determining who may vote in the Democratic primary. This can be done and the Democratic primaries kept white under the decision of the supreme court." (Atlanta Constitution, April ~~4~~ 5, 1944 - AP Miami April 4)

It should be noted that later in Pepper's campaign, while he continued to support "southern traditions", he stated publicly on

several occasions that dragging the race issue into a political campaign was neither necessary nor proper.

The Negro Vote in Florida

The Democratic Primary was held in Florida on May 2, 1944.

*In Tallahassee, eight Negroes voted unchallenged. A precinct official was quoted as saying: "They were duly registered as Democrats, and we had no alternative but to let them vote." It was also reported that one Negro had applied for a ballot at another precinct in Tallahassee, and had been asked by election officials to wait until they could get a legal ruling on her qualifications - she left without voting.

In Miami Negroes voted exclusively in the Republican primary.

* The Florida State Democratic Executive Committee had adopted a resolution restricting participation in the primary to white voters.

Louisiana

In speaking of the Texas decision, Governor Sam Jones was quoted as having said, "We've always handled that question.... and always will." The chairman of the Louisiana State Democratic Committee, John Fred Odum, was reported as declining to make a formal statement, saying, "It will require considerable study." In Washington, Senator John H. Overton said "We are not going to submit to Negroes voting in our elections." (Atlanta Journal April 3, 1944)

No records were available in the Atlanta press on the Negro vote in the Louisiana Democratic primary.

The State Democratic Committee made a requirement in September that Louisiana's electors pledge to support the Democratic Party nominees. Five of Louisiana's ten electors resigned.

Mississippi

"The Supreme Court or no one else can control a Democratic primary in Mississippi," said Herbert Holmes, Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee Chairman, as reported in the Atlanta Journal on April 3rd. Senator John E. Rankin was quoted as saying that he saw "one of his greatest fears realized" in the decision. The Mississippi Democratic Convention instructed its delegates to the national convention to support the party only if certain "requirements" were met; the Atlanta Journal on June 10th assailed the action as resorting to trickery which might deprive loyal Democrats of a voice in their government. The Mississippi delegation to the national convention joined in the attempted revolt.

On August 1 two representatives who wished to remain unidentified stated that it was their belief that some of Mississippi's electors would

bolt the party because the national convention had failed to satisfy the demands of the southern delegates. On September 28, the Atlanta Constitution reported that seven of Mississippi's nine Democratic electors had pledged only qualified support to party nominees. On November 1, 1944, Governor Thomas L. Bailey called a special session of the Mississippi Legislature to "consider legislation protecting the voting rights of Mississippi citizens in the selection of presidential electors.... (and)..... to force electors to vote for the party nominee of face disqualification."

No records in the Atlanta press with regard to the Negro vote in the Mississippi Democratic primary.

South Carolina

The Washington, D. C. Post on March 2nd denounced a resolution passed by the South Carolina House of Representatives which affirmed its belief in "white supremacy" as being "so close to the Hitlerian doctrine of Nordic or Aryan supremacy as to be indistinguishable from it." The resolution brought about immediate and heated protest: the Negro Citizens' Committee of South Carolina assailed the action on the part of the House, and asked in a public statement among other things that the electric chair in South Carolina be retained not for Negroes alone, but for all murderers alike when guilty; twenty white men and women in the state released to the press "A Statement on the Race Problem in South Carolina," in which they said "We do not believe that disenfranchisement of all Negroes in South Carolina can endure indefinitely, and we hope that a careful study of this problem may, in the end, result in a plan of suffrage for the State that will be to the better interests of both races..... The only white supremacy which is worthy of the name is that which exists because of virtue, not power. Good morale, to say nothing of religion or democracy, requires that there shall be drastic revision in our attitude toward our colored citizens."

Manifestly the situation in South Carolina at the time of the release of the Supreme Court decision was a tense one. The 1943 Legislature had acted to wipe out of the state code all party rules as of June 1, 1944 -- evidently foreseeing the implications of the Lonnie E. Smith case which was pending. On April 13, Governor Olin D. Johnson issued a proclamation calling a special session of the General Assembly to wipe from the code all laws pertaining to Democratic primary elections in order to "maintain white supremacy in South Carolina."

The Legislature convened on April 14, 1944. Governor Johnson addressed the body and called for white control. In speaking of Reconstruction days he was quoted as saying, "They left a stench in the nostrils of the people of South Carolina that will exist for generations!" More than 200 state code sections were removed from the statutes in hurried action in order to complete the work before the April 22 precinct meetings which would set the Democratic primary machinery in motion.

Under the uncontrolled system, the Democratic Party will continue to furnish its ballots at ~~general~~ primary elections, but without the sanction of state laws which had never provided for a state-printed ballot. An Associated Press story from Columbia, South Carolina, carried in the Atlanta Constitution on April 22 quoted Governor Johnson as saying that if the repeals "prove inadequate, we South Carolinians will use the necessary methods to retain white supremacy in our primaries."

Negro leaders in the state deplored the action of the Legislature and announced plans to hold a state Negro convention to form a South Carolina Colored Democratic Party to nominate candidates to the national convention. Subsequently the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina (Negro) was formed and did send delegates to the national convention. On April 21, one hundred doctors attending the Palmetto Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association's ~~22~~ 48th annual meeting endorsed the work of the Negro Citizens' Committee, and denounced the action of the South Carolina Legislature by resolution.

The feature article written by Tarleton Collier on the subject of the uncontrolled primary in South Carolina, carried in a number of southern newspapers on April 28, outlines the involvements clearly. The information contained in the article is of such value that it is included herein for the record:

South Carolina Tries to Get Around Negro Vote Decision -
written by Tarleton Collier, Columbia, South Carolina,
carried in the Atlanta Constitution April 28, 1944

"It goes without saying that other states of the South hellbent on keeping the Democratic primary strictly a white man's affair are watching intently the details and effects of South Carolina's formula for bypassing the supreme court decision that Negroes may not be barred from voting in primary elections.

"Consequently, there is no time like the present to tell them what they are in for if they would resort to the same action which the general assembly of this state, in special session to resolve the dilemma, has just completed. They may as well know that the experience will be dizzying and in spots embarrassing, the same as here, and the result very likely will be chaotic, with no certainty that it will stand the inevitable test, even at that.

"What the legislature did, in brief, was to take out of the state laws every discoverable reference, or intimation of reference, to primary elections; and thus to make the selection of Democratic nominees, who are elected all but automatically, a kind of town meeting process within private clubs of controllable membership.

"Everyone seems to agree that it's either this or an attempt to maintain the status quo by main strength and awkwardness, meaning intimidation, force or manipulated rules of registration -- or, a thought appalling particularly in areas of heavy or predominant Negro population, simply give up and let 'em vote.

"Primaries

"Fifty years or so ago, South Carolina began writing laws to regulate primary elections. These laws were necessary to stop the old evils of rule-or-ruin political conventions, in which might made right and special interests found a happy hunting ground. Today it is back where it started, the laws rooted out and the convention system or its equivalent in the offing.

"Some effects of the new arrangement are grotesque and a bit disconcerting. For one thing, the groups all over the land who have been crusading against that old southern custom, the poll tax as a qualification for voting, may find themselves with victory at last in their hands, a victory, as it were, by default.

"For it is obvious that if you insist on payment of a poll tax for voting in a primary election, you are recognising the legal existence of that election, and the idea in the south's present scramble to circumvent the supreme court is to avoid any and all such recognition, expressed or implied.

"True, different from the process in other southern states, South Carolina, in one of its numerous unique political customs, for some time has not insisted upon the poll tax as to primaries. Membership in the Democratic party has been the only qualification. You have to pay a poll tax there to vote in general elections, but nobody cares particularly about that, the fun having ended and the issue having been decided in the primary.

"The legislators gulped a bit when they found that in wiping out all primary elections laws, they had perforce to repeal the law against vote fraud, in that connection! The gulped, but they swallowed it. As between the danger of boodle and "letting 'em vote" they didn't hesitate.

The Ballots

"They found too, that where they had proudly passed at the recent regular session a bill permitting service men to vote, they had to undo that enthusiastically states' rights action pronto. You see, the fresh law had provided that the secretary of state was to send ballots to the men in uniform, and this was an official tie-up, making the government a party to the primary. In the hastily revised version, the service man who would vote as between "Cotton Ed" Smith and Olin Johnson must apply to the party official for his ballot.

"The ballots themselves provided another contretemps. Another of South Carolina's unique arrangements has been distribution of ballots not by state election officials but by the party organizations. There have been traditionally as many separate ballots as there were parties in the contest, and so a South Carolinian can't split or scratch his vote.

"But manifestly you can't keep this up, because if you recognize a party ballot in a general election, you have to accept legally and officially the action of the party primary which selected the nominees. And there you are again, face to face with the supreme court decision in the Texas case which says that a primary in which the established government has any part of a hand must be opened to all citizens and taxpayers, black or white.

"This one still has them bothered. Whether state or party provides the election ballots, there's a loophole for a suit.

"And South Carolina has plenty of warning that there will be suits, by Negroes and friends of Negroes' civil rights. A Negro Citizens' Committee here has announced that it has a war chest of $3,400 to fight the issue in the courts.

"The greatest irony of all, and a thing which has many an old-line Democrat red in the face, comes out of an announcement in a local Negro newspaper, the Lighthouse and Informer, that there will be a colored Democratic party, which will put its ticket in the field to resist the "lily-white" Democrats in election and in being seated at the national convention.

"Now for generations, good southern Democrats have been poking fun at the clash of "lily whites" and "black and tans" among Republicans. Now look who's talking about whom.

Confusion

"First and last the new arrangement leads to prospect of confusion of split delegations and disputed delegations, of convention rows even when none but white factions are involved -- and, naturally, the evolution of machines to resolve the disputes in favor of the right boys.

"All these are but the high spots of the problem involved in the desperate effort to "keep 'em from voting" in South Carolina. But you must have a rough idea by this time of what the other white supremacy states will encounter if they try the same strategy. The supreme court is hard to beat."

The statement of State Senator R. M. Jeffries, carried in the Atlanta Constitution of April 22, is an interesting side note. He charged that "Cotton Ed" Smith was responsible for the racial troubles in the state, and was quoted as saying, "Anyone continually making the addresses he (Smith) makes on the floor of the senate is enough to picture South Carolina and the people of the South as an uncivilized race that is depriving human beings of human rights .... the South must stop 'Negro baiting and Negro petting'."

Both Senator Maybank and Senator Smith had opposed the Supreme Court decision.

The 46 county Democratic conventions which were held in South Carolina on May 1st emphasized white supremacy, states' rights and anti-fourth term declarations. The Richland county convention received a request from the South Carolina Negro Citizens' Committee for full participation in Democratic party affairs - which was undoubtedly ignored or refused, although the papers do not report the action taken.

At the meeting of the South Carolina State Democratic convention on May 18, the New Deal was denounced for seeking to force racial equality upon the South. The convention resolved to uphold states' rights; oppose Federal anti-poll tax legislation, anti-lynching laws or interference with racial segregation. The body voted to send an uninstructed delegation to the national convention. It refused to recognize the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, which group announced that it would contest the seating of the "all-white"

delegation at Chicago. (The all-white delegation was seated by the national convention.) Senator Maybank was reported as saying that the white supremacy fight would be carried to the convention floor in Chicago.

There is no record of Negroes voting in the South Carolina Democratic Primary.

* The State convention also resolved to oppose "socialized medicine" and the FEPC.

Texas

According to a statement carried in the Atlanta Constitution on April 5, 1944, Governor Coke R. Stevenson said that Texas would ask for a rehearing of the Smith vs. Allwright case by the United States Supreme Court. (The Supreme Court rejected two requests for rehearing of the case on May 8.) Representative Nat Patton was quoted as saying, "Let the Negroes form their own primaries if they like." A press story on April 4 said that Mr. Patton had stated that he had faith in the great Democratic hordes of Texas to control their primaries and that Negroes would not vote in white primaries! Chairman George A. Butler of the Texas State Executive Committee was quoted as saying, "we'll find a way out of this." Senator W. Lee O'Daniel called the decision a "purely ~~political~~ political decision dictated by the political dynasty in Washington responsible for their appointment." He said further that the Constitution guarantees white people the right to organize into a party and hold primary elections.

The Democratic delegation in Texas split into two factions in June: a pro-Roosevelt group and an anti-Roosevelt group. The State Executive Committee refused to recognize the pro-Roosevelt group, and voted to send the anti-group to the national convention, their only instruction being to vote for the party nominees only upon the condition that "certain requirements" were met.

Both factions attended the national convention. Half of each group was recognized by the convention, whereupon the rebel anti-Roosevelt group withdrew.

The Negro Vote in Texas

Texas didnot "find a way out of this." Negroes voted in the Texas Democratic Primary for the first time. The primary was held on July 22. The State Democratic Executive Committee had left the decision as to whether or not they would receive ballots from Negroes up to local election officials. Indications were that, by and large, Negroes voted where they had paid poll taxes and registered, although the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July 1944 issue, prepared by Fisk University reported that some precinct chairmen in Texas prevented Negroes from registering.

At Silsbee in East Texas the Negro vote was reported heavier in proportion to the population than the white vote.

On September 23 the Texas Supreme Court directed Secretary of State Sidney Latham to certify the names of the pro-Roosevelt Democratic electors for printing on the general election ballot. No motion for rehearing was entertained.

The September 28 issue of the Atlanta Constitution reported that Texas voters would have a choice of two slates of Democratic electors because of two court decisions. Further information for clarification was not located.

Conclusion

All clear-thinking people have recognized the far-reaching implications of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case, Smith vs. Allbright. However, there has been wide spread confusion as to what is necessary or what will follow in order to translate the decision into action which will bring about unrestricted participation in primary elections. Three basic questions have been upper most in the minds of the advocates of freedom of the ballot: First, what is the applicability of the Texas decision to other states which have controlled primaries; secondly, what will be its effect in those states which have unregulated primaries (such as South Carolina); and thirdly, what action can be taken to expedite the matter and bring about the quickest possible observance of the Supreme Court ruling?

In an effort to find the answers to these three questions, contacts have been made with a number of lawyers and with the United States Department of Justice. The principal findings are set forth herein.

1. It is believed that the provisions set forth in the Supreme Court decision on the Texas white primary case apply to all elections where any type of state control is involved and that it will apply to the election of any public officials right down to municipal elections - school boards, etc. The decision is based upon the 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

2. It is impossible to tell just what action will be necessary in those states which have unregulated primaries. However, it is the concensus of opinion that it will be impossible for any state to completely divorce the primary from the general election. For example, how is a candidate's name to get on the general election ballot? Or, if there

is no official certification of names for a general election ballot, how willthe successful candidate be certified? How is registration to be controlled? The involvements are endless, and it is believed that at some point in the election process the state must come into the picture, in which event it is likely that it would be held that the state does in fact exercise some control which affects the primary. There is no doubt but that it will be necessary for court action to be taken in those states which have unregulated primaries, and it is likely that it will be necessary for a case to be heard by the Supreme Court before a precedent can be established.

Aside from the legal aspects of the problem, it is the opinion of many people that a review of history will prove that uncontrolled primaries will not last. They open wide the gates for all kinds of fraud, and present the outlaw groups with an unobstructed field. There seems little question but that a system of unregulated primaries would prove the death of the one party system in the South - and an end which might be welcomed, but probably by means which would be painful indeed.

3. There are two procedures which can be followed in bringing about Federal court action in order to bring about observance of this law. The first is by bringing a civil suit in the District Federal Court; the second is by filing a complaint with the Department of Justice and asking the Federal Government to bring about criminal prosecution. For future action, the civil suit process is considered advisable. In such cases, any qualified Negro who is refused a ballot brings a civil action against one or more state or party official on the ground that he was denied the right to vote solely on account of race or color. Such a suit involves damages. If a civil suit is

lost in the District court, it can be appealed to the Supreme Court. Such is not the case in criminal prosecutions which are brought by the Federal government.

We are informed that the Department of Justice received only thirteen complaints from Negroes in the entire South following the 1944 primary elections. If that were not delay known, there is no question but that it would be interpreted as indifference on the part of southern Negroes.

A course of action seems very clear: Throughout the South, qualified Negroes who were refused the vote should file civil suits. Care should be exercised that all legal technicalities with respect to qualification have been observed and that an orderly procedure was followed in requesting a ballot. Damages, over and above legal fees, should be kept at a low figure - sufficient to represent a large sum of money where numbers of cases are involved, but small enough to indicate that the complainant is interested in VOTING - not in making money. Expert legal advice should be had and will be difficult to obtain in certain areas. In certain places it would seem advisable for influential and liberal white citizens to ~~[illegible]~~ assist in persuading competent attorneys to handle such cases. This procedure should be followed in the next election. If Negroes are not permitted to take part in any public elections, which will undoubtedly happen in many places in the South, there should result a volume of civil suits.

The Department of Justice in Washington should be informed in writing by the complainant, or by his attorney, when such suits are filed.

Inasmuch as the FBI has been conducting an investigation in Atlanta preparatory to the bringing of a criminal action by the Federal

government, it may well be that civil suits should not be brought in this District court at this time. However, it would appear that action should be taken elsewhere by the bringing of civil suits where the legal requirements can be met.

The Department of Justice has been subject to a great deal of criticism because it has not acted on any of the complaints it has received. It should be pointed out that the Department has had very meager information upon which to proceed. Of the thirteen complaints received from the South, a number had to be disregarded because certain legal requirements had not been met. In other cases it is likely that investigations involving much time and care have been necessary. There is no question but that the Department of Justice is prepared to enforce the law when bona fide complaints are filed. If we are to learn lessons from the past, it would seem that in the future it would be well to secure expert legal advice and to follow through on the establishment of cases which are clear-cut and which will furnish the type of evidence which will allow for prompt action.

Building public opinion in support of any law is important. When the next and all following cases, civil or criminal, are brought in the South, every effort to secure a sympathetic press and widespread public support should be made.

The Problem of the Races

By
T. M. N. LEWIS

Before The Knoxville, Tenn., Torch Club

There is probably no subject which interests a human being more than himself. This includes everything with which he identifies himself, and extends to the whole human species to which he belongs.

During the many thousands of years since Homo sapiens began to apply his intelligence to the utilization of the earth's resources he has improved everything, including methods for fighting bigger and bloodier wars. Therein is civilization's greatest paradox.

The intense aggression which we have witnessed since 1914 can hardly be regarded as the evolutionary force which biologists and anthropologists call the survival of the fittest. No nation today is any more capable by reason of innate superior intellect or physical energy than any other nation. The United States makes more and better automobiles because of the local demand. Germany and Japan have shown great military efficiency because of a demand set in motion by militaristic leaders while other nations were devoting their efforts to developments of products and philosophies intended to increase the comfort and security of life.

Before the start of the present war the Nazi leaders prepared agenda which included a "master race" propaganda device that has proved to be as effective a weapon as those made of German steel. The Japs have employed a somewhat similar device in that they have emphasized that angle of their religion which makes them the cream of the world's human crop, on the basis that their Emperor is supposed to be the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess. This propaganda is, of course, based upon religious traditions, whereas the Nazi race propaganda is based upon very badly distorted anthropological facts. The tremendous success which the Nazi leaders have had in hoodwinking the German people into the belief that they are a master race has made the world population more race conscious than at any previous time, and this tendency can easily become a serious stumbling block to rational thinking on many critical postwar problems.

By race anthropologists we mean a large group of human beings who resemble one another in their physical appearance. It is not quite so simple a matter as the present-day breeds of domestic animals which are the result of artificial selection and inbreeding, but the process is essentially the same. Human races have acquired their special traits because in bygone days matings took place between persons living in the same locality, and isolation tended to perpetuate the physical characteristics present in the early groups. Scientists are not in complete agreement as to the extent of the influence of environment upon the development of physical characteristics, but that it has played some part has come to be accepted.

A nation, on the other hand, is a quite different thing from a race. Nations are political and social units which have come into being as the result of historical events. It is incorrect, therefore, to speak of a German race because the Germans who differ from one another in appearance, are composed of different racial stocks. The Germans are a nation. One also hears of the Jewish race; but the Jews are a religious sect and include people of a number of racial stocks.

When mention is made of the yellow race, most people think immediately of people having a yellow skin color. The term is very misleading, because those who employ the term "yellow race" have in mind one of the three grand divisions of the human family—the Mongoloid division—and this division includes a range of color varying from a pale cream to a rich

Java brown. The physical characteristics which really distinguish the Mongoloid peoples from those of the other two divisions, the white and black, are broad cheek bones, broad heads, straight black hair, little beard, and slanting eyes.

But, we must call attention to the fact that these characteristics are not invariably present. So, when we speak of the yellow race or division, we are really speaking of something which is rather indefinite. There are other people in the world who possess some of the same physical traits as the Mongoloids. For example, a broad-headed strain occurs in nearly all of the European populations. Most of the Indian tribes present in North America when the white man arrived were good Mongoloid types—broad heads, broad cheek bones, straight black hair, brown skin and little beard. But, they lacked the slanting eyes to a large extent. So we repeat, it is impossible to set up a standard classification into which the so-called Mongoloid or yellow peoples will fall. All humans are essentially alike beneath the skin, and outwardly the differences are extremely few.

From the standpoints of potential mental and physical ability, neither the white nor the yellow is superior to the other. Give the Chinese Mongoloids more and better food to supply greater physical and mental energy; give them the advantages of schools, introduce an industrial economy, and they will eventually be able to compete with the Euro-American civilization on an equal basis.

Now, let us examine the white or Caucasoid division. This division was first known as Caucasian because the people of the Caucasus region at one time were thought to be typical of that division. The geographical distribution of the Caucasoid division is world-wide. In color, the people range all the way from blonde to brunet, with skin color varying from white to as dark as some Negroes; the skull ranges from narrow to broad; cheek bones are generally narrow but may be broad; they are generally heavily bearded. Climate, environment and other natural forces have through thousands of years encouraged differences in this Caucasoid group. Certain peoples of northern Europe who have lived for centuries under less intense sunlight, tend toward tall, raw-boned statures and blonde complexions. They are long-headed, narrow-faced, and their noses are long and narrow. In attempting to classify human populations, anthropologists call them the Nordic race.

In Central Europe we find another Caucasoid group known as the Alpine race. They are broad-headed, of short, stocky stature, and brunet coloring. In southern Europe and around the Mediterranean Sea and to the eastward, including India, is the region of the predominance of another Caucasoid subdivision known as the Mediterranean race—a slender brunet people with narrow heads, narrow noses and wavy hair. But these three races, Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean, have become mixed and there is great variability in the physical features of white individuals, since the mixing process has been operative for thousands of years.

Now, is the Caucasoid group any more capable from a mental and physical standpoint than the Mongoloid group? Not if we apply the proper yardstick. The Caucasoid civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and India, and the Mongoloid civilization of China received their beginnings from the same sources. They built upon the same bases, and although they diverged in their separate developments, all represented high achievements. In many ways, the ancient civilization of China has endured with more continuity than the others. While Western European civilization found its leadership under successive peoples—after the Egyptians succumbed to the Roman conquest, and after the Romans fell before the barbarians of northern Europe—there is one outstanding feature of Western Europe civilization, namely, it has continually broadened the base on which it rests; that is to say, a greater proportion of the population of Western civ-

ilization participates in its achievements. That is the essential spirit of democracy and the source of its greatest strength, regardless of temporary setbacks.

Next, we have the third great division of Homo sapiens that we call the black or Negroid division. It takes in a variety of colors from high yellow to blue black. Other biological traits are narrow heads, kinky black hair, thick protruding lips, receding chin, narrow hips, broad nose and sparse beard. Pigmentation, of course, is the result of evolutionary development in a branch of mankind which has lived for thousands of years in a tropical climate. The heavy lips also appear to be the result of a gradual biological mutation, since the thin membrane of the lips when moist, aids in cooling the blood. The broad nose admits more oxygen to the lungs in a rarefied tropical atmosphere. Outside of those few outward differences the black division is entirely similar to the other two divisions.

The study of fossil man indicates that all three of these grand divisions of mankind probably came from a common ancestor. If we examine the earlier forms of man which resemble the anthropoid apes almost as much as they do modern man, we can discover no grounds for the conclusion that any one of the present divisions of mankind is any closer in appearance to the earliest ape-like man than any other division. The Negroid peoples have thick lips —the ape has thin lips like the Caucasoid. The Negroids and Mongoloids have little beard or body hair—apes have plenty, and so do the Caucasoids. The Negroids have kinky hair—the apes, Caucasoids, and the Mongoloids have straight hair, or occasionally curly or wavy among the Caucasoids.

Potentially, the Negroid peoples are capable of contributing as much toward human progress as either of the other two divisions. Science has been unable to demonstrate any innate inferiority or superiority between the three major divisions of human kind or between the subdivisions. The greater progress which the white division has made in arts and sciences must be attributed to historical accident. Such factors as race pride and prejudice, competition, and population minorities are responsible for the restricted role which the Negroid peoples have played in the pageant of civilization.

Now, what is it that gives rise to these occasional proclamations about racial superiority and inferiority? Sometimes proclaimed differences are prompted by political interests. Under the Nazi regime, scientific anthropological facts have not been taught in the schools, so it was a simple matter for Dr. Goebbels to hoodwink most of the German people into the belief that they stood out from the rest of the world as a master race. The official Nazi dogmas regarding race have served as tools of power politics in justifying interference with other countries.

The present racial distribution of mankind has come about as a result of history and can only be understood by delving into the past. An anthropological map of the world gives a fair impression of the way in which peoples are related, judging solely from evidence of physical appearances. On such a map we see that nearly all the differences between neighboring peoples are small, and at the same time a fairly gradual overlapping can be seen, passing from any point on the map to any other. In other words, physical relationships or similarities show continuous gradation throughout, with no abrupt divisions anywhere.

Now it is clear that an arrangement of this kind is entirely different from the arrangement of peoples by either *language* or *political* units. There would be no difficulty in finding examples of peoples who speak the same language, and at the same time represent several distinct races. The most salient example is the United States whose population is composed of people descended from inhabitants of all parts of Europe and other continents. Perhaps we do not consider our social and political systems perfect, but few, if any of us, would attribute the imperfections to the sources of our population. Thus, it is apparent the race, language

and political units represent different entities which should not be confused.

Conflicts take place between peoples who are in contact with each other. Neighboring nations have a tendency to go to war oftener than those separted by oceans because their interests clash oftener, notwithstanding the fact that racially they may be blood brothers, as the Germans and French, and the Chinese and the Japanese.

National pride, a praiseworthy sentiment when controlled by judgment, may, on occasion, become a destructive force when exaggerated. When it denies the essential brotherhood of all mankind and puts the special interests of a group in one generation above the considerations of peace and security of future generations of the world it should be viewed with suspicion. Distorted racial theories have been made the tool of national pride, and as we look back on history we realize how easy it is to send armies into the field for false ideals.

Recent events have made it evident that there can be no security unless continual precautions are taken to safeguard peace. The power of warlike propaganda has been fiercely demonstrated. To avoid such contingencies in the future, spreading the knowledge of the simpler anthropological truths might act as an antidote to attempts on the part of unscrupulous war lords to manipulate man's ever ready prejudices. There is no stronger defense available to us than education. The broad base upon which the democracy of Western civilization is built is the rights of the individual. But individuals cannot properly exercise these rights without education. Without a liberal education, they cannot judge the true from the false and are susceptible to unscrupulous leadership and pernicious propaganda. An international organization and police force must be backed by intelligent understanding in the nations.

Finally let me quote a statement made by Dr. E. G. Conklin of Princeton: "To the naturalist the differences between human races, subraces, families, and individuals are small indeed as compared with their manifold resemblances. Biology and the Bible agree that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men'. Our common traits and origin and fate, our common hopes and fears, joys and sorrows would call forth our common sympathy with all mankind, if it were not for the lessons of hate which have been cultivated and instilled by selfish and unscruplous persons and social groups. These racial antagonisms are not the results of inexorable nature nor of inherited instincts, but of deliberate education and cultivation."

9-46

BY-LINES

WHO IS A NEGRO?

By **HERBERT ASBURY**

(*Condensed from Collier's Magazine*)

An investigator accosted twenty Negroes, about equally divided among darkskins, brownskins and lightskins, at 126th Street and Seventh Avenue, in New York's Harlem. To each he put two questions:

1. Would you pass as a white man if you could?
2. Do you know of any Negroes who are passing or have passed as white?

Two of the twenty suggested that the investigator mind his own business. They were immediately dismissed as uncooperative. Of the remaining eighteen, all but two knew of Negroes who were living, or had lived, as whites. Eleven said that they would pass if they could. Significantly, however, each emphasized that it would not be because he considered the white man a superior being, but because of the obvious social and economic advantages to be gained. One, a very light-skinned man who resembled a South European more than a Negro, said:

"I pass, myself. Every day from nine to five I'm a white man. I've got a good job downtown; I do the work well, and I've had two raises. But I'd never have been hired if I had said I had Negro blood. When I applied, I gave my race as white and my nationality as Spanish, and neither statement has ever been questioned. I keep a little room in a white part of town, to bolster my story if necessary, but I seldom go there."

* * * *

Authorities now generally agree that between 15,000 and 30,000 persons classed as Negroes go over to the white side every year, although a few investigators have placed the annual migration as high as 200,000. And as Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, once said, "Large as is the number who cross the line, it is but a small percentage of those who might follow such an example but who do not."

These estimates are far from being mere guesswork. They are based on careful studies by experts of census reports, immigration records, vital statistics and information from other sources. These studies show very conclusively that approximately 20,000 Negroes disappear every year, and that their absence from the black population cannot be accounted otherwise than by passing.

Two of America's foremost social scientists, Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and the late Dr. Edward B. Reuter of the University of Iowa and Fisk University, have made extensive examinations of the census records and other data relating to mulattoes. They found an abnormally low ratio of mulatto men to mulatto women especially in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24. For example, the census of 1910 showed an excess of more than 85,000 mulatto females in the age group 20-44, a ratio of 79.9 males to each 100 females. No such careful studies have been made of later censuses, but most sociologists believe that they will show a corresponding excess of females.

Fewer Women Cross the Line

Since there are no biological or other reasons, both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reuter have attributed the excess of mulatto females to the fact that large numbers of mulattto men, particularly in the age group 20-44, cross the line, or at least have reported themselves to the census takers as white. Their theory is strengthened by the fact that the low ratio of mulatto men to mulatto women is particularly noticeable in the large cities of the North, where passing is easiest.

Another Middle Western investigator, after an extensive survey of census and other records, concluded that in the two decades from 1890 to 1910 the Negro race in this country lost approximately 600,000 persons, an average of about 30,000 a year. Since there has been scarcely any Negro emigration from the United States, he concluded that these 600,000 persons had gone over to the white side. In all investigations in which census reports are used, allowances have been made for the obvious fact that the authenticity of the information depends largely upon the judgment and care exercised by the census enumerator, especially in cases involving the definition of mulatto. For census purposes, a mulatto is a person having one half or less of Negro blood.

* * * *

Nearly every survey has reported that few Negro families have been found which didn't know of at least one instance of passing. Some families knew of dozens. And contrary to general belief, Negroes who attempt to pass are seldom exposed by other Negroes. When they are, it is usually because of personal enmity that has followed them across the line; or because having turned white, they try to prove their orthodoxy by turning violently anti-Negro. Walter White says he "could name some men in American public life of this type."

There are many degrees of passing, of which the most important are permanent passing and what the sociologists call segmental passing. In both, the cause is generally economic, the desire to hold jobs or have careers which are not open to Negroes. Sometimes, however, a person with colored blood will cross the line because of a white marriage or love affair.

But as a rule the opposite is true. Most Negro-white marriages are between Negro men and white women, and usually the wife follows the husband into the colored community. In many instances she claims to be a light-skinned Negro, hoping thereby to overcome the aversion with which the majority of Negroes appear to regard interracial marriage. This is by far the easiest of all forms of passing, even if the woman happens to be a golden blonde. Few whites, or Negroes either, for that matter, can imagine her saying she is a Negro if she isn't.

The light-skinned Negro who passes permanently cuts himself off completely from the colored world; he usually moves to another part of the country where he is unknown and begins an entirely new life. Sometimes he prepares

for the adventure by learning Spanish, French, Italian or Portuguese, or by cultivating an accent. He thus becomes a foreigner, and as everyone knows, a foreigner is apt to be any shade of color.

Biographies with Pages Missing

Some Negro authorities say that many Negroes who have passed return to the colored race after varying periods of months or years. In support of this statement they point to the fact that in the lives of a number of prominent Negroes there are gaps which biographers have been unable to fill. Some, of course, do return because they were not as successful as they had hoped to be, because the strain of living white was too great, because they simply didn't like white people en masse, or for other reasons. But no estimate can be made of the number who "come home," as the Negroes say. Probably it is very small.

In segmental passing, the white Negro leads two distinct lives, occupationally he is white, but in his social and family life he is a Negro. It is believed that a great majority of those who cross the line permanently are men; as a rule the economic drive is stronger in men than in women, and it is easier for a man to break with his family and friends. But about as many men as women appear to practice segmental passing.

* * * *

Segmental passing is beset with difficulties, for any person who tries to lead such a double life is necessarily under a considerable strain. In the first place, there is constant danger of recognition and possible exposure, for Negroes, especially light-skinned Negroes, do shop in the white stores and visit white offices. Too, friendships are formed with white fellow workers, and it becomes difficult to avoid social contacts after working hours.

* * * *

Thousands of light-skinned Negroes pass occasionally for various reasons. In the larger cities they visit the white restaurants, night clubs, beauty parlors and theaters. partly for the thrill of putting something over on the white folks, but mostly because they get better food, better service and better entertainment. In Chicago there is a group of half a dozen white Negroes, men and women, who dine regularly at the city's snootiest eating place. They spend freely and tip liberally, and always get the best tables.

* * * *

The same thing happens every night in some of New York's painfully swank places.

Many of the Negro leaders in the North are light-skinned, and on trips to the South they frequently pass as white in order to get Pullman tickets and good hotel accommodations. One prominent Negro says that on every Southern train there are always several Negroes riding comfortably in Pullmans and passing as white. In one Southern city recently, the ten best rooms in the town's leading hotel were occupied by white Negroes. Light-skinned Negroes often buy theater tickets for their darker friends who would find that the best seats had been sold if they went to the box office themselves.

In St. Louis and other cities some of the theaters employ spotters who are supposed to prevent this practice, for there is a widespread belief that one Negro can always identify another. Actually this is not true. Moreover, the legends of the blue shadow at the base of the nails, and the difference in the formation of legs and feet, are nonsense. It is true, of course, that some people are more expert than others in detecting racial characteristics, but if a person has one sixteenth or less Negro blood it is almost impossible, even with the most exact methods of anthropometry, to determine his ancestry.

Jim Crow Law in Reverse

Many white Negroes are compelled to pass in the South, at least temporarily, through the operations of the Jim Crow laws. It is not at all uncommon for a light-skinned Negro to be ordered out of the Jim Crow section of a railroad coach, bus or trolley car, and compelled to sit with the whites. A few years ago two friends, both from the North, met in a Southern city. One was a white man, the other a very light-skinned Negro. It was impossible for them to lunch or dine together without danger of embarrassment, so they went to the baseball game. The white man assumed that he would be permitted to sit with his friend in the Jim Crow stands, but he was not. So he went into the white section, and a few minutes later his Negro friend joined him.

"I was thrown out," said the Ngro. "After you'd gone, a cop came over and asked if I was a Negro, and when I said I was he said he didn't believe it. Then he called me a damned nigger-lover and told me to get over here where I belonged."

Two years later the white man had a letter from the Negro, who said he had finally gone over to the other side, and had started a business in a Middle Western city where he was unknown. He had married a white girl, and they were expecting a baby. He was greatly worried that the child might be black.

Actually, he had no cause whatever for anxiety, for modern genetics has effectually dispelled the black-baby bugaboo. Everyone has heard the story of the supposedly white couple which suddenly produced a coal-black infant; much heart-rendering fiction has been written around such a situation. This subject has been thoroughly investigated by many eminent American geneticists and anthropologists, among them Amram Scheinfeld, a well-known authority on heredity; Dr. Ernest A. Hooton, professor of Anthropology at Harvard University; and Dr. Edward M. East, also of Harvard, who, until his death in 1938, was one of the world's leading geneticists.

These scientists, and many other, agree that the tale of the white couple and the black baby has a fatal flaw; It could not possibly happen. If such a child should appear, there are three explanations: (1) a miracle; (2) as Dr. East has suggested, "a fracture of the Seventh Commandment", (3) both parents were really Negroes. Here is what, barring divine revocation of genetic laws, will result from unions of whites, Negroes and mixed-bloods:

1. If one of the partners to such a union is *pure white*, it is impossible for the child to be darker than the darker of its parents. The chances are very great that it will be lighter.

2. If both parents have Negro blood, whether they know it or not, there may be some accentuation of Negro characteristics in the child. But this is not likely, and in any case will be slight. If the parents have been able to pass for white, the child can probably do so too.

3. If both parents are mulattoes, quadroons or octoroons—the child may be darker than either. But in all likelihood it will not be black. Dr. Hooton has stated his opinion that "Negroid features seem to be attenuated, rather than intensified, by successive generations of inbreeding of mixed types . . . White features seem to gain upon Negroid features."

The problem of predicting the exact color shade or racial characterisics of any given child, whether born to whites or blacks, is greatly complicated by the fact that, as Dr. Hooton has pointed out, "no one can know his exact racial composition, no matter how he may search his pedigree."

* * * *

These processes of intermixture can clearly be seen at work in the United States. If the estimates of the number of Negroes who pass annually are even approximately correct, they mean that more than 2,000,000 persons with colored blood have crossed the line since the end of the Civil War. But these figures tell only a part of the story. A large majority of the Negroes who pass, marry white and raise white families, the members of which in turn seek white mates. Thus a constantly widening stream of colored blood is introduced into the white population. A great deal has also come into the white stream through Negro-white intermarriage, which is now legal in eighteen states, and even more through illicit Negro-white matings which have resulted in children.

Too Strict A Definition

It is now estimated that there are at least between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons in the United States, supposed to be white, who actually possess Negro blood. In reality, this is a very conservative estimate.

* * * *

Virtually every scholar who has studied the problem of racial relations has speculated upon what the mingling of races in the United States will mean in the future. Many believe that the Negro eventually will be absorbed, assuming that there is no further Negro immigration, and thus assist in the creation of a new American race which will be somewhat darker than the present white population. Dr. Edward M. East has predicted that the pure Negro will gradually die out.

* * * *

Supporters of the theory of utimate absorption point out that from an anthropological point of view, and in the social sense as well, the Negro has already been absorbed in Mexico, and that the process is well under way in Brazil and other countries. And it is a historical fact that during the 17th century large numbers of Negroes were absorbed by the white population of England, and that no trace of them remains. There seems to be ample evidence that some two thirds of the Negroes in the United States have been modified by white blood. Some anthropologists contend that less than ten per cent of American Negroes have no white blood.

Another school of anthropological thought believes that absorption may be delayed, or perhaps even prevented, by the operation of a caste system that has arisen among the Negroes of the United States.

Socially, and to some extent economically, the colored race in this country is divided into three classes—the darkskins, the brownskins, and the lightskins, with the lightskins at the top of the ladder. The tendency is to marry from the bottom up; that is the darkskin seeks a brownskin mate, the brownskin tries to marry into the lightskin caste, and the ideal marriage partner of the lightskin is a person lighter than himself. The darkskin is thus compelled to marry with his own caste oftener than any of the other groups. This may perpetuate a small core of more or less pure Negroes, which will remain to fulfill the curse of Noah.

Juvenile Suicide

By **NAOMI L. WITHERSPOON**

Life was such a big piece of candy
for a little boy,
Sugar-coated with so much artificial flavor
That it made him ill.
All he had left were a pain and an
empty wrapping,
And he didn't want either one.

"RESTLESS INDIA"

A second recent book in India, "Restless India", by Lawrence K. Rosinger is a short account of the forces and leaders at work in India today. More general than the Gandhi biography it was one of the Headlines series issued by the Foreign Policy Association as a service to its members. It was offered to the general public later because of its significance.

"Restless India" should be the reading choice of anyone anxious to get a general view of what is happening in India today. Although not at all detailed it is accurate and to the point and it was published at a time when India is in the world spotlight.

"Restless India" by Lawrence K. Rosinger; Henry Holt & Company; New York; 1946; $2.00.

"DEEP RIVER"

"Deep River" is an interpretation of Negro spirituals by Howard Thurman. An introductory chapter has been added to four addresses delivered at the Church for the Fellowship of all People in San Francisco where Dr. Thurman was co-pastor for two years.

Spirituals included here are "The Blind Man", "Heaven, Heaven", "A Balm In Gilead", and "Deep River". Dr. Thurman makes searching analyses of these songs and points to their significance in the life of the slaves and up to the present.

In discussing the spiritual "Heaven, Heaven" the author points out that: "It is one of the great spiritual problems of Christianity in America that it has tolerated such injustices as between Negroes and Caucasians, for instance, that in this area of human relations its moral imperative has been deeply weakened."

This brief book has much to recommend it and throws additional light on a subject which has been much discussed.

"Deep River" by Howard Thurman; The Eucalyptus Press; Mills College; California; 1946; $2.00.

10-11-47

Why I Remain A Negro

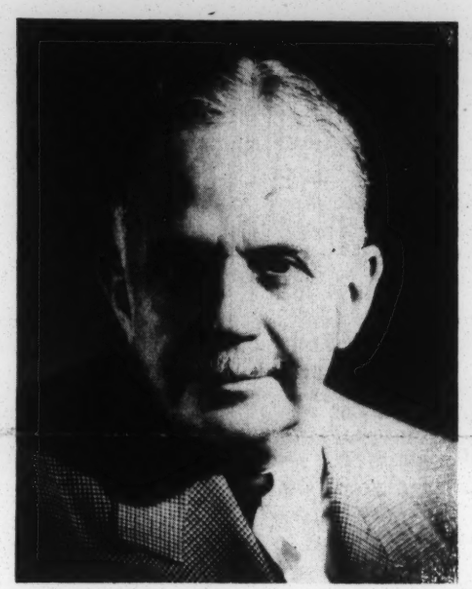
WALTER WHITE

THE SCENE was a New York duplex apartment. The people were liberals, economically as well as intellectually well off. They were discussing the race question. I had been invited to speak. One of the women, listening, seemed agitated by something I had said. She scribbled on a piece of paper and handed it to another woman, a woman whose skin was reddish brown, a woman who was probably colored. "Is Mr. White white or colored?" the message inquired. The other scribbled an answer and passed it back. "I am Mrs. White," the reply said. The white woman, reading it, became excited. Hastily she penciled a comment: "What a wonderful talk! This is the first time I've had the opportunity to hear him."

I am a Negro. My skin is white, my eyes are blue, my hair is blond. The traits of my race are nowhere visible upon me. Not long ago I stood one morning on a subway platform in Harlem. As the train came in I stepped back for safety. My heel came down upon the toe of the man behind me. I turned to apologize to him. He was a Negro, and his face as he stared at me was hard and full of the piled-up bitterness of a thousand lynchings and a million nights in shacks and tenements and "nigger towns." "Why don't you look where you're going?" he said sullenly. "You white folks are always trampling on colored people." Just then one of my friends came up and asked how the fight had gone in Washington—there was a filibuster against legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Negro on whose toes I had stepped listened, then spoke to me penitently.

"Are you Walter White of the NAACP? I'm sorry I spoke to you that way. I thought you were white."

I am not white. There is nothing within my mind and heart which tempts me to think I am. Yet I realize acutely that the only characteristic which matters to either the white or the colored race—the appearance of whiteness—is mine. White is the rejection of all color; black is the absorption of every shade. There is magic in a white skin; there is tragedy, loneliness, exile, in a black skin. Why then do I insist that I am a Negro, when nothing compels me to do so but myself?



For more than thirty years Walter White has devoted his life to the fight for Negro rights. During the wave of violence that followed the first World War his on-the-spot investigations of lynchings, frequently at great personal risk, focussed the attention of America on these hideous crimes. His book, "Rope and Faggot," published in 1929, is still the most revealing and authoritative document on lynching. Through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which he has served as Executive Secretary since 1931, he has worked unceasingly to convince Congress and the American people that Negro Americans must be granted the first class citizenship guaranteed them by the Constitution.

WHY did the white woman who listened to me speaking become flustered when the woman she chose for her question turned out to be my wife? What made her confused, bewildered, and incapable of direct and efficient communication? It was the enigma of a black man occupying a white body, the presentation in fact of a theory to which millions give lip service, never really believing it is so—that all men are brothers under the skin.

The lady's agitation was natural. Suppose the skin of every Negro in America were suddenly to turn white. What would happen to all the notions about Negroes, the idols on which are built race prejudice and race hatred? What would become of their presumed shiftlessness, their cowardice, their dishonesty, their stupidity, their body odor? Would they not merge with the shiftlessness, the cowardice, the dishonesty, the stupidity, and the body odor of the whites? Would they not then be subject to individual judgment in matters of abilities, energies, honesty, cleanliness, as are whites? How else *could* they be judged?

MANY Negroes are judged as whites. Every year approximately 12,000 white-skinned Negroes disappear—people whose absence cannot be explained by death or emigration. Nearly every one of the 14 million discernible Negroes in the United States knows at least one member of his race who is "passing"—the magic word which means that some Negroes can get by as whites, men and women who have decided that they will be happier and more successful if they flee from the proscription and humiliation which the American color line imposes on them. Often these emigrants achieve success in business, the professions, the arts and sciences. Many of them have married white people, lived happily with them, and produced families. Sometimes they tell their husbands or wives of their Negro blood, sometimes not. Who are they? Mostly people of no great importance, but some of them prominent figures, including a few members of Congress, certain writers, and several organizers of movements to "keep the Negroes and other minorities in their places." Some of the most vehement public haters of Negroes are themselves secretly Negroes.

They do not present openly the paradox of the color line. It is I, with my insistence, day after day, year in and year out, that I am a Negro, who provoke the reactions to which now I am accustomed: the sudden intake of breath, the bewildered expression of the face, the confusion of the eyes, the muddled fragmentary remarks—"But you do not look . . . I mean I

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My Remarkable Negro

would never have known . . . of course if you didn't want to admit . . ." Sometimes the eyes blink rapidly and the tongue, out of control, says, "Are you sure?"

I have tried to imagine what it is like to have me presented to a white person as a Negro, by supposing a Negro were suddenly to say to me, "I am white." But the reversal does not work, for whites can see no reason for a white man ever wanting to be black; there is only reason for a black man wanting to be white. That is the way whites think; that is the way their values are set up. It is the startling removal of the blackness which upsets people. Looking at me without knowing who I am, they disassociate me from all the characteristics of the Negro. Informed that I am a Negro they find it imposible suddenly to endow me with the skin, the odor, the dialect, the shuffle, the imbecile good nature. Instantly they are aware that these things are *not* part of me. Then they grope for the positive values of the race—genius at song, easy laughter, great strength, humility, manners. Alexander Percy said that the most polite people in the world are the American Negroes.

This shift to the virtues of the Negro is apt to be dangerous for me. Once a Southern lady, discovering my identity, entered into a long conversation with me, and suggested that I come to her home where we might enjoy a more intimate chat on race matters without being disturbed. She suggested a time. I said I would surely come, and that I would bring my wife, who would be equally interested in the discussion. The lady's attitude changed immediately. She did not break the date then, but later she telephoned and said that she would be unable to see us. What precisely she perceived in me of interest I do not know, but probably it was the sudden transformation of the faithful "darky" into a man covered with magic white skin which titillated her. Southern women have generally been more friendly toward the Negroes than Southern men—who are largely responsible for the chiaroscuro effects in the race—and she may have felt that in some way I represented her faith and efforts, rather than the infidelity of her ancestors. Or she may have thought, "Are you sure?"

I am sure. There can never be a doubt. I have seen Negroes, male and female, killed by mobs in the streets of Atlanta. I stood with my father, who was a mail carrier, and watched them die. The next night they came to the Negro section, perhaps five thousand of them. Our house was just outside the section, above Houston Street. It was a [illegible] in which my father and [illegible] a family of seven children. [illegible] resented our prosperity; so [illegible] did the Negroes. The Negroes resented our white skin, and the ethical standards which my parents maintained themselves and required of their children.

IN THE darkened house that night there were my mother and father, four of my sisters and myself. Never before had there been guns in our house, but that night, at the insistence of friends, we were armed. My father was a deeply religious man, opposed to physical violence. As we watched the mob go by, their faces weird in the light of the torches they carried—faces made grotesque and ugly by the hate which was twisting and distorting them—my father said, "Don't shoot until the first man puts his foot on the lawn; and then don't miss."

I heard a voice cry out, a voice which I knew belonged to the son of our neighborhood grocer: "Let's burn the house of the nigger mail carrier! It's too nice a house for a nigger to live in!"

In the flickering light the mob swayed, paused, and began to flow toward us. In that instant there opened up within me a great awareness; I knew then who I was. I was colored, a human being with an invisible pigmentation which marked me a person to be hunted, hanged, abused, discriminated against, kept in poverty and ignorance, in order that those whose skin was white would have readily at hand a proof of their superiority, a proof patent and inclusive, accessible to the moron and the idiot as well as to the wise man and the genius. No matter how low a white man fell, he could always be certain that he was superior to two-thirds of the world's population, for those two-thirds were not white.

It made no difference how intelligent or talented I and my millions of brothers were, or how virtuously we lived. A curse like that of Judas was upon us, a mark of degradation fashioned with heavenly authority. There were white men who said Negroes had no souls, and who proved it by the Bible. Some of these now were approaching us, intent upon burning our house. My father had told us to kill them.

It was a violence which could not be avoided. The white men insisted upon it. War was with them a business; war and pillage, conquest and exploitation, colonization and Christianization. Later, when I was older, I thought about this and I began to see why. Theirs was a world of contrasts in values: superior and inferior, profit and loss, cooperative and non-cooperative, civilized and aboriginal, white and black. If you were on the wrong end of the comparison, if you were inferior, if you were non-cooperative, if you were aboriginal, if you were black, then you were marked for excision, expulsion, or extinction. I was a Negro; I was therefore that part of history which opposed the good ,the just, and the enlightened. I was a Persian, falling before the hordes of Alexander. I was a Carthaginian, extinguished by the legions of Rome. I was a Frenchman at Waterloo, an Anglo-Saxon at Hastings, a Confederate at Vicksburg, a Pole at Warsaw. I was the defeated, wherever and whenever there was a defeat.

Yet as a boy there in the darkness amid the tightening fright, I knew the inexplicable thing—that my skin was as white as the skin of those who were coming at me.

The mob moved toward the lawn. I tried to aim my gun, wondering what it would feel like to kill a man. Suddenly there was a volley of shots. The mob hesitated, stopped. Some friends of my father's had barricaded themselves in a two-story brick building just below our house. It was they who had fired. Some of the mobsmen, still bloodthirsty, shouted, "Let's go get the nigger." Others, afraid now for their safety, held back. Our friends, noting the hesitation, fired another volley. The mob broke and retreated up Houston Street.

IN THE quiet that followed I put my gun aside and tried to relax. But a tension different from anything I had ever known possessed me. I was gripped by the knowledge of my identity, and in the depths of my soul I was vaguely aware that I was glad of it. I was sick with loathing for the

hatred which had flared before me that night and come so close to making me a killer; but I was glad I was not one of those who hated; I was glad I was not one of those made sick and murderous by pride. I was glad I was not one of those whose story is in the history of the world, a record of bloodshed, rapine, and pillage. I was glad my mind and spirit were part of the races that had not fully awakened, and who therefore had still before them the opportunity to write a record of virtue as a memorandum to Armageddon.

It was all just a feeling then, inarticulate and melancholy, yet reassuring in the way that death and sleep are reassuring. Years later, when my father lay in a dingy, cockroach-infested Jim Crow ward in an Atlanta hospital, he put it into words for me and my brother.

"Human kindness, decency, love, whatever you wish to call it," he said, "is the only real thing in the world. It is a dynamic, not a passive, emotion. It's up to you two, and others like you, to use your education and talents in an effort to make love as positive an emotion in the world as are prejudice and hate. That's the only way the world can save itself. Don't forget that. No matter what happens, you must love, not hate." Then he died. He had been struck by an automobile driven by a reckless driver—one of the hospital doctors.

I have remembered that. I have remembered that when, sitting in the gallery of the House or the Senate, I have heard members of our Congress rise and spill diatribe and vilification on the Negroes. I have remembered it when the Negroes were condemned as utter failures in soldiering. I remembered it when, in the Pacific, where I went as a war correspondent, a white officer from the South told me that the 93rd Division, a Negro unit, had been given an easy beachhead to take at Bougainville, and had broken and run under fire. I collected the facts and presented them to him. Bougainville was invaded in November 1943. The 93rd was ordered there in April 1944. The first night it bivouacked on the beach, and motion pictures were shown.

I remembered it when I talked with my nephew for the last time, as he lay in a bitterly cold, rain-drenched tent on the edge of the Capodichina airfield near Naples. He was a Georgia boy, the youngest of four children. His father, like mine, was a mail carrier. He, like me, could have passed for a white man. By sacrifice and labor his parents provided him with a college education. He won a master's degree in economics, and the next day enlisted in the Army Air Corps as a Negro. He went to the segregated field at Tuskegee, Alabama.

He hated war, he loathed killing. But he believed that Hitler and Mussolini represented the kind of hate he had seen exhibited in Georgia by the Ku Klux Klan and the degenerate political demagogues. He believed that the war would bring all of that hate to an end. He was a fighter pilot. He fought well. Over the Anzio beachhead he was shot down, bailing out and escaping with his right leg broken in two places. He was offered an opportunity to return home but he refused it. "I'll stick it out until the war is finished or I am," he told a friend. Later, returning from a bomber escort mission to Germany, his plane lost altitude over Hungary, was fired upon by anti-aircraft batteries, and was seen striking a tree and bursting into flames. That was the end of one of the men Senator Eastland of Mississippi described as "utter and dismal failures in combat in Europe."

It would be easy to grow bitter over such things, but in remembering my nephew and our last conversation, in which he asked me whether the war would really bring an end to prejudice and race hatred, I remember also the Negro corporal of an engineers unit, who said to me, "This is the only work they would give me, but I don't mind. We learn a trade; we do constructive work. The combat soldiers are taught how to kill. It will bother them. It will stick with them. It will have no effect on us. We will not have to unlearn it."

I could be sophisticated about the advantages of being a Negro. I am amused, for instance, at the fact that because it is considered remarkable that a Negro can write a book at all, a passing fair volume by one of my brothers is frequently hailed as a masterpiece. Everyone with the slightest sense is aware that genius has no color line. Everyone knows also that people generally choose friends and companions for their taste, manners, intelligence, and personality. Yet it does not occur to him that Negroes do likewise. Therefore he often mourns that we colored people cannot freely associate with whites, when it should be obvious that if we did have this privilege we would like no more of them for friends than he does. It is beyond the imagination of a white man to think that to a Negro he is dull.

NEGRO athletes and singers do not benefit from their color as do Negro scientists and intellectuals, for whereas the latter are considered wonderful if they attain mediocrity, the former are expected to surpass anything the whites can do. In the main, however, I have found it advantageous to be a Negro. My sense of humor is never without material, and I am easily able to judge the worth of white people by their reaction when they discover that I am not white. I am also able to add to my knowledge by pondering the fact that the people who turn away from me when they are told my identity are the most superior of all the peoples, for they look down upon those who are not afraid to be seen with me, and call them "nigger lovers."

Sometimes it is more enlightening not to insist that I am a Negro. Once on a subway going to Harlem I fell into conversation with a man who spoke with a marked German accent. "This used to be a pleasant line to ride on," he said. "But now there are too many Negroes. They have a distinctive smell." He wrinkled his nose.

"Suppose you and I had to do the same kind of work they do on the docks or over hot kitchen stoves," I said. "That is the kind of work Negroes are forced to do *because they are Negroes*. Would we be odorless—particularly if we lived in antiquated, crowded, segregated tenements, which we were forced to inhabit also because we were Negroes? Would we reek of lilies of the valley?"

He looked at me with amazement. "But Negroes *do* smell," he insisted.

I was tempted to paraphrase Dr. Samuel Johnson and tell him that "It is you who smell; they stink." But instead I quoted from the late James Weldon Johnson, who said, "Do you imagine the manufacture of deodorants is exclusively for a Negro market? I notice that the advertisements invariably feature a young and beautiful girl—a white girl."

The man shook his head, "I've lived

in this country for thirty years," he said. "You're the first white man I've ever heard talk like that."

Looking at him I recalled an incident in Brooklyn during the early part of the war. A plant was manufacturing the famous and secret Norden bombsight. The plant refused to hire Negroes, but did hire persons of German descent. Most of these were loyal Americans, but a few were arrested by the F.B.I. for stealing the secret of the bombsight, and convicted. But it was too late. Germany got the information and passed it on to Japan. One of the officials of the company told a friend that, "I'd close down the plant rather than hire niggers."

Negro soldiers made a good record in this recent war. They have in previous ones. Yet I recall with uneasiness the grimness on a Negro soldier's face when he told me, one day in the Pacific, "Our fight for freedom will start the day we arrive in San Francisco."

It has indeed, and there are times when I have felt with a sweep of fear that the patience of the colored man is close to its end. I remember the clamoring stillness and the blood heat of a day in Georgia. A lynching was prevented when a band of colored women walked with cans of kerosene toward the village store, a terrible calm upon their faces, an awful quiet in their silent stride. I remember how I felt when I stood beside my father and knew that the whites would not let me live, that I must kill them first and then be killed.

Yet I know, I know, I know that there is no reason for this killing, this hatred, this demarcation. There is no difference between them. Black is white and white is black. When one shoots the other he kills his reflection. Only hate, the negative force, can separate them; only love, the positive force, can bind them together.

I am one of the two in the color of my skin; I am the other in my spirit and my heart. It is only a love of both which binds the two together in me, and it is only love for each other which will join them in the common aims of civilization that lie before us. I love one for the sins she has committed and the fight she has made to conquer them—and conquer them, in great degree, she has. I love the other for her patience and her sorrows, for the soft sound of her singing, and for the great dawn which is coming upon her, in which her vigor and her faith will serve the world.

Some of the members of the black race are passing over to the white race. It may be that I am one of these; that I am a member of a vanguard that in the millennium to come will transmute the great potentialities of the colored races into the civilizations which are to follow. I pray that those civilizations will be better and more virtuous than ours, and that the bridge which I and others are building will grow strong and be a highway for good.

I have a feeling that life is a rushing force, certain of its course and destination. Our bodies are its medium, and it shapes them to its use. As the social pattern of the Negro evolves, will his color change? Is it changing now? We do not know, and I, for one, am sure that it does not matter. I am white and I am black, and know that there is no difference. Each one casts a shadow, and all shadows are dark.

ALBERT EINSTEIN says:

On reading Walter White's article one is struck with the deep meaning of the saying: There is only one road to true human greatness—the road through suffering. If the suffering springs from the blindness and dullness of a tradition-bound society, it usually degrades the weak to a state of blind hate, but exalts the strong to a moral superiority and magnanimity which would otherwise be almost beyond the reach of man.

I believe that every sensitive reader will, as I did myself, put down Walter White's article with a feeling of true thankfulness. He has allowed us to accompany him on the painful road to human greatness by giving us a simple biographical story, which is irresistible in its convincing power.

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Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

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We invite every friend of the "Committee of 100" actively to support our work through adherence to the principles set forth in the following affirmation, originally published by the late William Allan Neilson and already subscribed to by 75,000 Americans.

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The "Committee of 100"
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Please record my name as among the signers of the above affirmation.

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Around The Town

By FRANKLIN ACKER

FLAGRANT INJUSTICE

The grossest, most flagrant piece of international injustice ever tolerated—and even sponsored—by so-called democracies, including your own United States, is the partition of Palestine to provide a howling mob of dissatisfied Jews with a free handout in the nature of a "home country", this, of course, at the expense of somebody else.

The Jews have no more right to claim Palestine than an American whose ancestors came from England has a right to claim a suburb of London, or any other portion of that country. The Jews raise the whoop and yell that they want a land they can call their own. This gives them no valid claim on any of Palestine, but now that they've got what they've been hollering for, it will be interesting to note how many are going to uproot themselves and head for the "old country."

It is our suspicion that this new Jewish state will serve largely to give the Jews an even louder voice in international affairs, and to provide a sort of staging area for Jews whose ultimate aims are to gain entrance into the United States.

The Jews claim to be a persecuted people, but in truth they are past masters at dishing out persecution themselves. When they get the whip hand, don't you think they won't use it. You probably read in Friday's newspapers about how one Isaac Bildersee, Jewish assistant superintendent of schools in Brooklyn, issued an order forbidding the singing of Christmas carols by Brooklyn school children on the grounds that this constitutes mixing religion with education. From the strictly legal standpoint. Bildersee is probably correct. He has the backing of the law.

But we wonder if Bildersee would have taken a similar stand had a Jewish religious holiday been coming up and school children wanted to observe it by singing some Yiddish ditties? It's quite easy to understand, however, that any mention of Jesus Christ is extremely distasteful to the Jewish citizens of Brooklyn, as well as Jews elsewhere, for Jews are the ones who nailed him to the cross and to this day are apparently right happy about the whole affair. Not being Christians, they can well afford to be intolerant of Christian ideals.

And being as time about as fair play, we can frankly say that it pleases us no end to note that the Catholics of Brooklyn are on Bildersee's neck. For this, he has no one to blame except himself. The neck belongs to him, and he's the one who stuck it out.

So much, for the intolerance of Bildersee. Leave him to steep in his own perspiration.

Turning back to Palestine, we're beginning to wonder how long it will be before the Jewish boys will start yelling for somebody to help them fight off the pesky Arabs, and perhaps a few million other Moslems? Politicians seeking the Jewish vote, and currying the favor of the powerful Jewish propaganda machine, will probably be whooping it up before long for a powerful international task force. And anybody who opposes it will be branded as un-American, intolerant and the human equivalent of the illigitimate offspring of a mongrel dog.

Most Americans have been so intimidated by Jewish propaganda, which harps on intolerance, democracy, freedom and such, that they are afraid to stand up and say what they think. Even if they did, few magazines and newspapers would publish it for fear of colliding head-on with some sort of committee investigating something or other, mostly people, organizations and publications opposed to Jewish aggression and intolerance.

But there's one comment invariably made when a group of Gentiles get together and start discussing the Jewish problem. It's to the effect that Adolph Hitler may have been at error about many things but on one issue he was right smack on the ball.

Two guesses are not required to arrive at the correct answer.

And just to show that there are still some white Americans who have the intestinal fortitude to call the score, we quote verbatim from a recent issue of the Congressional Record. Congressman J. E. Rankin, of Mississippi, author of the amendment creating a permanent Committee on Un-American Activities, has the floor. Listen—

Mr. Speaker, it is evident to every thinking American that the members of the so-called United Nations Organization desire to subordinate the United States to their domination.

If they have a right to go into a country like Palestine and dismember it, then they will probably claim the right to turn Texas and California back to Mexico, Louisiana back to France, and the Panama Canal back to Colombia.

I wonder how far these international moon gazers are going in their attempts to drag the United States down to the level of Italy, China, India, or Russia.

It is about time that Americans began to be heard, from one end of the country to the other. There is going to be such a wave of resentment against this surrendering of the powers of government to foreign influences that the Members of this Congress will never hear the last of it.

With reference to this subject of Palestine, I want to quote from the autobiography of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., one of the great Jews of this country and the brains of the Morgenthau family. He said:

"Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in its economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary, it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries. These are bold and sweeping assertions, but in this chapter I shall undertake to make them good.

"The very fervor of my feeling for the oppressed of every race and every land, especially for the Jews, those of my own blood and faith, to whom I am bound by every tender tie, impels me to fight with all the greater force, against this scheme, which my intelligence tells me can only lead them deeper into the mire of the past, while it professes to be leading them to the heights.

"Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light. I will go further, and say that it is a betrayal; it is an eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which, if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of liberty, equality, and fraternity."

That is from one of the most patriotic Jews America has ever seen, warning the world against the stupendous fallacy into which this bunch of moon-gazers in New York have now plunged.

The next thing we hear will probably be a demand that America send soldiers to protect this new state.

The United Nations have thus waved a red flag in the face of every Arab, in the face of 500,000,000 Moslems, people who were our friends, and have turned them against the American people—because this whole thing is being charged against the United States.

This crazy program is being supported by certain alleged leaders of both parties in order to try to line up certain elements in New York in the next election.

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Gibson Phillips

A Recommendation For Action By The Southern Governors
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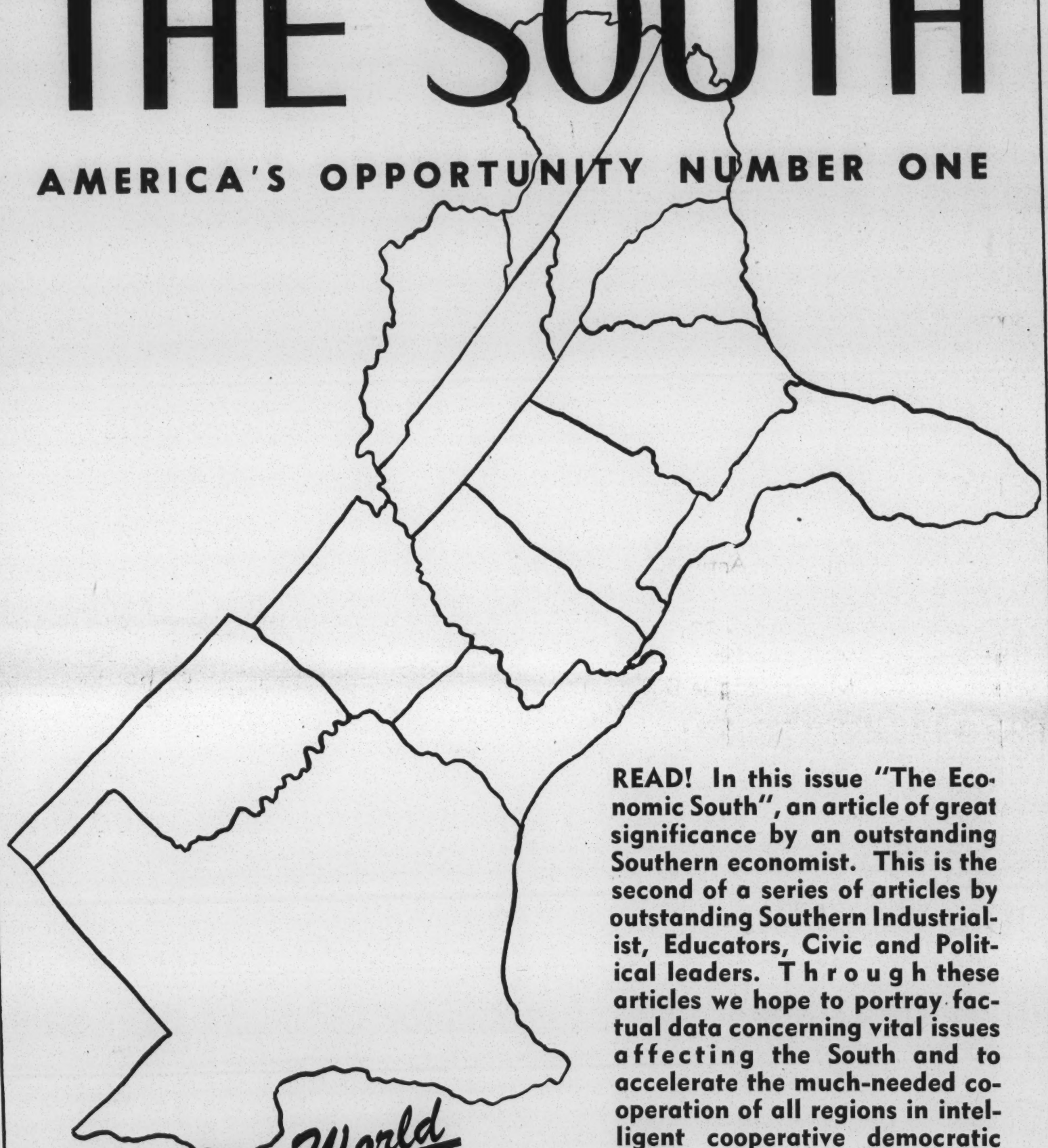

READ! In this issue "The Economic South", an article of great significance by an outstanding Southern economist. This is the second of a series of articles by outstanding Southern Industrialist, Educators, Civic and Political leaders. Through these articles we hope to portray factual data concerning vital issues affecting the South and to accelerate the much-needed cooperation of all regions in intelligent cooperative democratic action.

The New World

COMMENTATOR

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

THE NEW WORLD COMMENTATOR

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THE NEW WORLD COMMENTATOR

Editorials

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9

The Way Of Life Of The New World

American Leaders Must Provide a Sound and Enduring World Policy — While Sharing Our Material Resources With the Less Fortunate Nations of the Earth, We Must Provide for Humanity an Inspired Way of Life

When we contemplate the legacies of two world wars, in one generation, and their almost incomprehensible destructiveness, our innermost impulses are stirred and a tinge of nervous apprehension is almost inescapable. However, upon thoughtful consideration, we realize that during the incidence of both of these devastating apocalytic conflicts America has been spared the desolation and despair that have characterized these events in most of the other portions of the civilized world.

Our homeland has not been invaded. Our women, children, aged, infirm and all those that have remained within our boundaries have been shielded from the horrors of falling bombs, shellfire and the indescribable torments that the scourge of World War has visited upon most of the world's people. Our courageous armies and fighting men have been awarded victory at the cost of minimum sacrifices. And in the race of scientists, of almost all civilized nations, for atomic power, America and American scientists have been rewarded with the atomic trophy. The impulse arising from these considerations causes every American to thrill with pride and gratification. When we think of these significant facts, we seem to sense a feeling of peculiar American security. Too often we become attended by an attitude of surcease from concern with reference to the plight of humanity.

Of course it is great to be an American. We enjoy the highest standard of living that human ingenuity has ever been able to attain and infinitely beyond that of any other major country. It is frequently mentioned by authoritative sources that America owns seventy per cent of the world's automobiles and trucks, and 50 per cent of the telephones, and operates 35 per cent of the world's railroads. We listen to 45 per cent of the world's radios, consume 59 per cent of the petroleum, and 50 per cent of all the world's rubber. We enjoy well equipped public libraries, public schools and state-supported universities. We have rapid, luxurious means of transportation and millions of other things the sum of which amounts to the maximum opportunity for American citizens to develop their innate capacities.

When, for objective reasons we seek to visualize the destroyed cities, factories, railroads, power plants, residences, hospitals, and institutions of the major areas of the earth; when we consider the shocking destructions of human life, human hopes and human capacities of millions and millions of the earth's inhabitants—the blessings of American citizenship assume an almost divine luster. Contrasted against the background of world devastation, America stands out as a magic land.

Indeed, as the citizens of Berlin, Warsaw, Dresden, Rotterdam, Vienna, Athens, and London, as well as the other war-torn areas of the earth, stand in the midst of ruination and in acual view of numberless crippled and emaciated men and women as well as starving children, many if not most of them think of America as a blessed land of relative peace, abundance and smugness, existing phenomenally in the midst of a world of desolation and want.

Yes—God has blessed America. Today we stand out preeminent among the nations of the earth; the flagship of the New World to which the confused, multi-delusioned and suffering masses of the earth look with faith and confidence, and from which goodwill, strength, and wise leadership are expected to emanate. However, as we thrill with emotion while musing upon the greatness of our country, the wise and sagacious among us are reminded that, according to the experience of life, a disturbing ominousness has attended greatness. Greatness has also been the traditional target of all of the jealousies and envies that the evil one could invent.

We know of Nineveh and Tyre. We are reminded of the misery, suffering and the appalling effects of the impact on human progress caused by the fall of Greece, Rome and the other nations and cultures of the past who too have been preeminent among the nations. Alas, as we scrutinize the black pages of history, in the light of human reason, it also becomes alarmingly apparent that humanity has escaped obliteration only because the destruction and

Turn to Next Page

misery occasioned by the fall of the great nations and cultures of the past have been limited by the undeveloped state of the destructive potentialities of man during these tragic periods.

We know, of course, that the destructive, as well as the constructive capabilities of humanity have been amazingly and alarmingly developed during the last few years. The development of means of high speed transportation, together with atomic power, the utilization of bacteria as implements of war and countless other inventions designed to harness more and more of the material forces, have made available to man destructive abilities that surpass our comprehension and probably our wildest imagination.

Napoleon traveled, in haste and with every then conceivable advantage from Vilna to Paris, a distance of 1,400 miles, in 312 hours, averaging about five miles per hour. Today, in America, the constellations of Eastern Airlines and the D. C.-6's of National Airways fly daily on regular schedules from Miami to New York, a distance which according to the American Automobile Association is 1,405 miles, in only four hours. If Napoleon could have flown to Paris in one of our supersonic aircraft not only the map of Europe but the plight of humanity might be vastly different from what it is today. The military aspects of high speed transportation must now be generally understood by all thoughtful persons.

Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer has reminded us that "The pattern of the use of atomic weapons was set at Hiroshima . . . and if it is used in war again, it may well be by thousands or tens of thousands."

Senator McMahon has advised the U. S. Senate that "It would not be necessary for an enemy to destroy our cities in order to destroy us. By the use of radioactive particles, or death dusts in combination with disease germs, every living thing in our cities could be annihilated and the cities themselves left standing and empty of resistance to an invader. Almost daily we read of the progress that America and the western nations are making in the development of destructive weapons, and the press is replete with opinions as to the relative achievements of Soviet Russia in the race for destructive potential. Much of what is being said today about the destructive potentialities of our marvelous scientific weapons seem to border on the fantastic and may be thought of as idle speculation or fancy dreaming. However, the fact remains that man appears to have his fate in his own hands and the people of the earth and each of us are challenged to devise through thoughtful responsible action, a humanitarian pattern for all. Indeed, the gravity of the situation of humanity with reference to our scientific weapons consists primarily in the fact that we are traveling full speed into a new world of myriad and conflicting atmospheres and ideologies, in which the chief quest of man seems to be more and more destructive powers; and yet no one knows or is able to comprehend the destructive potentialities of the implements that we now possess.

Of course, we must eschew both hysterical fear and the mood of those who have resigned themselves to absolute despondency, and await the end of civilization. However, the exigencies of the times glaringly and alarmingly dictate that throughout the world, and especially in America there must be a general awakening of the citizens from the lethargy of smugness and from the prevalent tendency of too many of the population to stand on the sidelines while the fate of humanity is being decided. The true leaders of the world—the great among us, whose loyalty transcends all selfish interest, realize with moral certainty that during these eventful and perhaps decisive, hours, days, or years, only that is expedient which is rooted in eternal principles of justice and righteousness.

It is high time for the true leaders of the people to strike positively and enthusiastically at the real villain of the peace—ignorance. Those who guide the destiny of humanity cannot, in view of their divine trusteeship, give concern to or recognize any fancied duty to save the faces of demagogues. They must act immediately, using all democratic means to end racial discrimination, segregation and unjust economic and social practices. Indeed, not only must we unmask the Klan; we must employ all democratic means to expose the cunning, selfishness and sinister motives of the real traitors to humanity. We must make known to the masses the heresy of those who with siren voices seek to maintain, promote, and arouse the prejudices of the people and to make capital of social discontent.

A bounteous and benign Providence has not only bestowed upon America magnificent and magnanimous blessings, but has honored us with the divine responsibility of not merely saving the face of democracy but of preserving the democratic ideals upon which the entire structure of our civilization depends. Surely the impact of those considerations will vividly arouse all true patriotic Americans and passionately inspire the noble, the divne, the constructve and imaginative impulses of all. As did the founders of the nation, America and Americans must with unselfishness and moral sincerity beseach the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our conduct.

During this eventful if not decisive period, American governmental policy with reference to Americans in particular and the peoples of the world in general is of most momentous significance. Upon the sagacity of the formulators of American policy the welfare and security of the world depends. In our democracy the ultimate responsibility for our nation's policy rest on its citizens and they can discharge such responsibilities wisely only if they are informed.

"Let facts be submitted to a candid world," said the founders of this nation, when they as representatives of the United States of America declared its independence from tyranny. It is the duty and the moral obligation of all American citizens through their votes and other democratic means to diligently safeguard the democratic principles of freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of assembly. These essential democratic rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, which was ordained and established to secure to all Americans the blessings of liberty.

We must militantly oppose all legislative practices or governmental trends that tend to curtail or abridge any of our democratic privileges through penalties or unjustified, annoying, and distracting investigations or

threats of social or political ostracism. Any such legislative practices or trends are opposed to democracy and the safety of all. Through such policies vital information and early but significant symptoms of social disorder may be concealed and allowed to become formidable if not disastrous. . . .

Due to what we have learned from our expriences in dealing with China, and in view of the present instability of the European democracies, surely we have become fully aware of the fact that our American dollars cannot purchase or provide the peace of the world. Yes—America must aid the people of the war-torn areas of the earth. We must generously give even more of our material wealth. However, we will not even have squarely approached the discharge of our divine duties until America and Americans give to the world an inspired way of life.

Indeed, those who formulate American policy are today faced with a situation of unprecedented gravity. They must be able to envisage the destroyed residences, power plants, factories, and even cities of the war-torn areas. They must also understand and appraise the ravages of war on the minds, the ideals, and even the souls of the tormented victims. They must realize that the most alarming and menacing legacy of the wars of the century is a general, paralyzing, and demoralizing dilemma that affects the people, not only of the west but extends from Britain to the countries behind the Iron Curtain as well as China, Japan, Africa and, to some extent, Australia and America.

We have witnessed the uncanny spectacle recently staged by two opposing conferences of international intellectuals in New York,—the Cultural and Scientific Congress for World Peace, and Americans for Intellectual Freedom. The Roman Catholic Church, in alarm, protests and declares that Roman Catholics are being persecuted in the Communist-controlled nations.

The World Council of Churches on July 13th issued a militant call for all Christians to resist totalitarianism and among other things emphasized that in Spain, where Roman Catholics predominate, the Protestant churches are being persecuted by Roman Catholics. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church in America has found that there is a progressive deterioration of religious freedom in totalitarian countries, both within and without the Iron Curtain. In America and South America, and in some democratic nations elsewhere, the Protestant churches openly practice racial discrimination and segregation and uphold all the social paterns that hate has conceived. Russian exponents of communism have used promises of freedom, promises of non-discrimination, and the Marxist philosophy as alluring willow the wisps, to delude the people, in order to foster their own totalitarian designs.

In America,—"the land of the free and the home of the brave" —the most undemocratic, delusive, and demoralizing social patterns of racial segregation and discrimination are openly practiced and even defended in the Nation's Capital and in all the southern states.

We may well assume that communism and tyranny thrive on social and moral instability. But democracy can prosper only when it adheres to its noble principles and follows a course inspired by these principles.

Those who formulate American policy will not be hoodwinked by the ghastly and ghostly sophistries of those of the ilk of Machiavelli and Metternich. They must and will shun the beguiling sophistries of those, including many of our present-day statesmen, who are willing to risk the fate of America and the world on selfish social formulas which seem to be based upon the proposition that by filibusters, cunning, and shrewdness, they can so skillfully reshuffle the cards of destiny, that they may safely continue to practice racial segregation and all the evils that hate has conceived. The sages and the ecclesiastics of old have warned us of the folly of the man who assumes that he may prudently fix the time that he will begin doing right. They have vividly told us that no man can determine the hour when destiny will strike.

Those who formulate the policy of America today must be guided by the immortal, time-honored principles of the true leaders of European culture, as well as the formulators of our American creed. They must give serious consideration to the noble thinkers of the world, from Erasmus to Voltaire, from Montaigne and Spinoza to Heinrich Heine and Victor Hugo. They must give profound consideration to the teachings of Americans like Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. . . .

America and Americans will hold high the torch of liberty and through the glory of its light, we must reflect those things that are noble and divine. We must demonstratively implement the American creed. We must give to the world a peaceful way of life.—T. Renfroe Eaton, Editor.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

One of the best fruits of civilization has been the suppression of cruelty, and the cultivation of compassion. Our forefathers came here largely to avoid the cruelties and suppressions of the old world, and to enjoy a new birth of freedom. But it was not long before they themselves became cruel and heartless, with the burning of witches, and the owning of slaves, the shame of which continues to torment and bedevil us to this good hour.

Because of our former open-door policy, America has become the land of a complex and polyglot population, here to enjoy the benefits of civil and religious liberty, and to ***achieve fully*** the dignity of personality, which should be inalienable to all human beings everywhere.

Eliminating the overlapping of the latter group, there are contained in America, in these various minority groups, as much as forty per cent of our total population. The other sixty per cent is composed of so-called "old stock Americans," who have been here for three generations or more, and who are largely of Anglo-Saxon extraction. They constitute the dominant group in the United States.

As reassuring as this may be, it is true that, upon examination, we find ourselves woefully lacking in any well conceived or strongly sponsored plan for promoting inter-cultural unity. Now more than ever do we need it if we are to continue as a strong people in the coming new era.

VAN A. BITTNER
A TRIBUTE

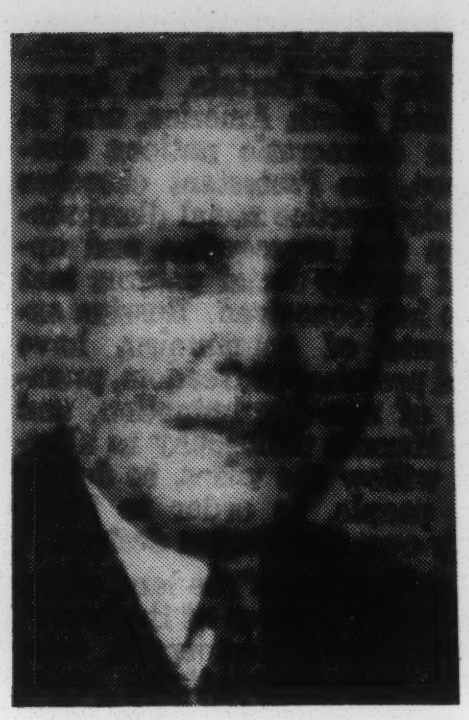
July 20, 1949, is a date to be remembered—with sorrow, but also with pride—in the annals of the labor movement in the South and in the nation. On that day ended the long, useful, and dedicated life of Van A. Bittner, National Director of the CIO Organizing Committee in Atlanta, who had devoted 53 of his 64 years to the cause of making organized labor a vital and cogent force in the democratic, free-enterprise economy of these United States.

Truly, a prince in our Israel fell that day, a mighty man of valor in the good fight to secure economic and social justice for all who work with hand and brain to make and keep our American industrial production the wonder and envy of people everywhere, and the source of continually enriched and ever more gracious living for all who labor.

We pause to mourn his untimely passing. Yet, in the reverent spirit of Abraham Lincoln's great address on the battlefield of Gettysburg, we reflect that it is for us who live on, and who have been benefited by the unselfish and honorable career just now ended, to carry on the work that Van A. Bittner so nobly advanced. It is for us to study the life of this valiant servant of all who labor, to observe and evaluate the facets of his scintillating personality, to note and practice the principles that actuated him, to pursue with unfailing vigor the goals toward which he strove. That is precisely what he would have wished. It is the sincerest tribute that we could pay to his memory.

Van A. Bittner was born in 1885 in Bridgeport, Pa. His father was a coal miner. The Bittner family was poor, and the children—the boys, at least—had to begin early to contribute to the upkeep of the home.

At the tender age of 11, when boys today are normally in school, the young Van Bittner went to work in the coal mines near his home. He joined the United Mine Workers after getting his first pay envelope.



Five years later, still a mere boy of 16 but a man in stature, brawn, and ability, Mr. Bittner was elected president of his United Mine Workers local. Seven years later, at 23, he was elected a vice president of UMW District 5, with headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa. Three years later, still a young man, now 26, he was chosen president of this district.

Working with Mr. Bittner in the UMW during the years that immediately followed were two young trade unionists whose names were to be much in the limelight of publicity later on—John L. Lewis and Philip Murray.

These years were lean and tough ones for Mr. Bittner and the UMW. The high cost of living had just begun to be the general topic of conversation and journalistic comment that it has since continued to be. The country at large was only beginning to recover from the stock market crash and financial crisis of 1907. Work was not plentiful. Business was stagnant. The mine owners, like most other business men at that time, viewed with foreboding any attempt on the part of their ill-paid workers to enlarge their oragnization in order to try to improve their condition. The concept of union-management cooperation for the good of both was yet unheard of—each side regarded the other as "the enemy."

In 1916, at the age of 31, Mr. Bittner came south for the first time as an International Mine Workers representative. He led the UMW drive to organize coal miners in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He spearheaded UMW activities in and around Birmingham, Ala., in 1920. From 1924 on he was top representative of the UMW in West Virginia.

Altogether, Mr. Bittner remained in West Virginia eighteen years, nine of them as president of UMW District 17. Under his leadership hundreds of thousands of coal miners were organized into the United Mine Workers.

While he was an officer and member of the United Mine Workers, he served as a member of the Appalachian Wage Conference from 1933 to 1941.

At the start of the CIO's first campaign to organize the nation's mass industries, both Van Bittner and Philip Murray became top aides to John L. Lewis. Mr. Bittner became director of this drive in the Great Lakes-Western area. His direction of the CIO's program of higher wages and better working conditions brought thousands of workers—in the steel mills, the farm equipment factories, and the packing houses—into the CIO as active members.

In 1942, now a seasoned labor veteran of 57, Mr. Bittner was elected assistant to President Philip Murray at the first constitutional convention of he CIO United Steelworkers. As a representative of the steel workers, he became a member of the CIO executive board.

In the same year, Mr. Bittner was appointed by President Roosevelt, on Mr. Murray's recommendation, to represent the CIO on the National War Labor Board formed to function during World War II. Mr. Bittner served the nation in this capacity until December, 1945.

With the coming of peace, the CIO early in 1946 turned its attention to a relatively virgin field — the increasingly industrialized South. "Operation Dixie" was begun, with Mr. Bittner in command. On opening

thic campaign, Mr. Bittner declared:

"This campaign is a single-minded organizing drive. We will organize the workers so that they can get the same good wages and working conditions that the CIO has served for all of its members."

It was while Mr. Bittner was still engaged in this valiant effort to bring the blessings of sturdy unionization to the working people of the South, that a stroke, due to heart trouble, took him from us. But not before he had scored some notable successes in the three years since the campaign was begun.

During "Operation Dixie" so far, the CIO has increased its membership in the South from 375,000 to 800,000. Most notable successes have been in Laurel, Miss., a woodworking and lumber center, where 6,000 persons of the 30,000 population —1 out of 5—now wear a CIO pin; Natchez, Miss., where the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company workers are organized in CIO, and Gadsden, Ala., a small rubber and steel city which is now a "union city" by any standard of measurement.

What manner of man was this Van A. Bittner, the impact of whose life on the labor movement in our country has been so vitalizing and fruitful?

His manner was mild, quiet. Ho looked—and talked—more like a school teacher instead of a man with a half century of labor battles behind him. He was poised, shrewd, articulate, and as much at home as guest speaker for a Rotary Club as at a union meeting. Friendly and unhurried, he smoked a pipe and inexpensive cigars, and punctuated his remarks with gentle puffs.

Mr. Bittner was married and had a daughter and two grandchildren. He was a member of the Lutheran Church. He looked —and was—the solid, substantial type of citizen who is a pillar of his community, his church, his union, and his nation.

What were the principles that Mr. Bittner brought to his work among us here in the South?

Two quotations from his addresses may aptly be cited here:

"There will never be real civil liberties in the South—or in any section of the nation—until the workers are organized into free trade unions.

"The success of our campaign means the protection of wages and conditions for not only workers in the South, but for workers in every section of the country."

But perhaps the best clue to the underlying principles that actuated Mr. Bittner were the ones that he presented **in practice** for the consideration of workers, management, and townspeople generally where "Operation Dixie" was carried on. How well he won over these differing groups to the side of the CIO is well described in the following quotation from **Business Week** for Dec. 18, 1948, concerning his manner of conducting the campaign in Laurel, Miss.:

"Key to this strategy is a finesse of manner that would do credit to a social registerite. Southern Organizing Director Van Bittner demands more than toughness and persistence. His Dixie union representatives must also have a good working knowledge of public relation. They not only have to be able to sell unionization to the workers, but also union respectability and responsibility to the community.

"CIO's Dixie organizers—all of them native Southerners, drawl-equipped for their job—stay at the best hotels. They dress well, are model guests, pay bills promptly, carefully avoid any conduct that might lead to hotel complaints of irresponsibility. They are good customers at strategically located restaurants and stores. They attend church regularly.

"As a result, an arrest for handing out union literature at a plant gate doesn't hurt. The union agent has built up a name as a solid sort of citizen; he can't very easily be dubbed a rabble-rouser if a minister, church deacons ,and merchants vouch for him.

"Much the same policy is used in choosing local union leaders. In Laurel, for instance, CIO's woodworkers picked as business manager of the big Masonite local, a man who was deacon in his Baptist church and leader of a Boy Scout troop. . . .

"Here's what was done in this last respect at Laurel: Union officials estimated that workers' pay had increased $5,000,000 annually since they joined unions. Merchants were told about it, soon were giving credit to the union for a big improvement in business. The union offered to help in any civic project or charity; again, unions got a share of the credit for each community job well done."

The foregoing describes strategy. But the strategy is based on principles. The CIO unions in Laurel and elsewhere were not just **pretending** to be decent and civic-minded. They actually were—and are—all they purported to be. The object was not to undermine employers but to build up employees. Free enterprise and sound business management were accepted and applauded — no employer. no jobs. All that was sought was a reasonable share of the gross profits for the workers who had helped in the making of these profits.

This principle is the basic principle of the CIO. Mr. Bittner and all who had worked with him in the early days of the labor movement had learned it the hard way. When the time came to apply it in inaugurating "Operation Dixie," Mr. Bittner had the wisdom to formulate and implement related principles consistent with it and flowing logically from it in a democratic system founded on free enterprise.

It has been said that no man is indispensable. But some men are all but irreplaceable. Well did Secretary-Treasurer S. H. Dalrymple, of the CIO Organizing Committee, say of Van A. Bittner: "Words cannot describe his loss: his passing will be mourned by the nation."

"Operation Dixie" will go on —of this we are sure. Whoever is selected to be its commanding general will certainly be a man who learned his principles and strategy from—or perhaps along with—Mr. Bittner. It is these principles and this strategy that will bring evenually the consumination for which he consecrated himself — the organization into free labor unions of all in the South who do the actual work of industry, with the resulting benefits of higher wages and better working conditions.

In any case, "Operation Dixie" stands even now, and will increasingly so stand as it presses steadily forward toward fulfillment, as the final monument of a great-hearted, great-souled labor leader — Van A. Bittner.

ECONOMIC SOUTH

The South's Economy Has Made Solid Gains in the Past Ten Years — Southern Industries Have Already Taken Most of Their Recession Adjustment — The South's Attitude Toward the Negro Is Its Basic Economic Weakness.

BY GIBSON PHILLIPS

The South, like the rest of the nation, is in the midst of a downward adjustment period of some proportions. For the first time since the end of the war, current economic activity in the region is running below year-ago levels. That is, the monthly rate of gain over the previous year has not only continued its down trend begun last fall, but the gain has finally disappeared altogether. We have moved back to last year's levels and are now sinking below them.

So far, there is little evidence that the South is any worse off than any place else, however. As a matter of fact, up to the present the region's economy has been moving downward more slowly than the rest of the U. S. The country as a whole dipped below 1948 levels in the midwinter, but it was late spring before the South did likewise.

The reason for the South's comparatively better showing in recent months has been the cash receipts from its farms. Last year the region's farm income hit an all-time record of nearly $4.5 billion dollars. The important thing about this record income, so far as the present situation is concerned, is that a good slice of it—several hundred millions, from cotton, in particular — did not become available until after the first of the year. The South has been booming along on the effects of this cotton carryover ever since.

The other crops and farm enterprises have helped, too. There was a good peanut crop last year, and a good tobacco crop, except in parts of the Carolinas, and with high prices most growers had money in their jeans to carry them over into 1949. Citrus in Florida had an excellent winter season, largely because of the California freeze which helped both prices and the demand for Florida fruit. Livestock, a growing enterprise all over the South, has experienced some price drops, but continues to pour in a steady income.

Industrially, however, the South has not been doing too well in 1949. True, when you compare production, payrolls, employment and profits with some of the pre-war years, we have been virtually booming. But the post-war balloon burst for a big part of Southern industry way last fall. The South's industry got hit earlier and harder than that of the rest of the U. S., and if it had not been for the phenomenal farm income that continued to flow in after January, our region would have turned down quicker, rather than more slowly than the U. S. as a whole.

When you talk about Southern industry, you are talking first and foremost about textiles and lumber, of course. They are our biggest industries, employing about half of our total factory workers. Both industries have taken a rough beating.

Textiles had a fantastic post-war boom after the OPA controls were taken off. Prices and profits, and to a much less extent, wages skyrocketed. Then came the glut in the pipelines and the d[illegible] off of the export markets. Mills began to reduce the number of shifts. In recent months there have been many layoffs. Cotton mill activity today is about one-fourth off from last year.

Lumber also had a tremendous post-war boom spurred on by the huge increase in all kinds of building. Construction activity began to fall off last autumn, however, as the residential boom (particularly in Florida) came to an end. Prospective homebuilders decided to wait until prices came down. As a result, the demand for lumber dropped sharply around the first of the year. Today, lumber mills are no longer running at capacity. There has been a fairly heavy unemployment in the industry.

Another big Southern industry, furniture, has been equally sensitive to the tightening up of consumer buying. Furniture has gone through a very difficult adjustment period in recent months, which has been reflected in a cutback in production and a layoff in employment. The same is true in pulp and paper, one of the region's vigorous new industries. Demand has at least temporarily caught up with supply, resulting in a fairly widespread unemployment in recent months. The South now accounts for one-half of the total U. S. production of pulp and one-fourth of the U. S. production of paper and paperboard.

Certain stability has been introduced into the Southern industrial situation by the chemical, food-processing, metal and iron-and-steel industries. Chemicals are becoming increasingly important in the South, and their continued prosperity in the post-war period has added greatly to the well-being of certain parts of our economy. Even including fertilizers, however, chemicals are still minor compared with textiles. The same is true of the growing light metals industry.

Birmingham's iron-and-steel industry has held up very well, but its coal mining has had recent declines. Southern ports have been a source of great post-war strength in our economy, but port activity has recently fallen off considerably.

In brief summary, then, the present economic situation in the South is characterized by a slow downturn in general activity as the effects of the 1948 farm income boom wear off. Most of the region's major products, both farm and factory, are sold in nation-wide markets, and we are feeling the national declines in demand.

The question is, how will the Southern economy fare for the rest of 1949?

It is guessing, of course, but the chances are that the South will probably show greater declines in the months ahead than the rest of the country, reversing the trend of the recent period. Not only have the effects of our farm boom worn off, but also our industries are not currently showing the strength that is being shown in many of the major industries elsewhere. On the latter point, it must be remembered that the South has relatively little of the heavy goods industries that are still running nearly full-blast as a result of the heavy expenditures for national defense and foreign rehabilitation and arms. Our industries turn out products primarily for the consumer markets—textiles, lumber, furniture, paper, processed food.

From one point of view, you might say that a possible source of strength for the South in the months ahead lies in the fact that our major industries have already taken most of their recession "adjustment." They are now in a better position to react sensitively to any improvement in consumer demand as prices continue to decline. Dealers' inventories are low and pipelines are relatively clear. However, this is not enough to cause great happiness on the part of the Southern mill worker who is currently unemployed, waiting for demand to catch up to supply. Moreover, it may take some time for this pick-up to occur. In the meantime, Southern business is coasting along at below last year's levels.

It might be conservatively estimated that employment and payrolls will be off about 5 per cent in 1949 from 1948. It may be worse than that. In any event, the overall level of employment will be about 50 per cent above pre-war, which gives some indication of the fact that even with declines Southern industry is riding at high levels.

Cash farm income in the South in 1949 ought to drop about the same rate—five per cent. This will probably happen in spite of the Government props under the major Southern cash crops, cotton and tobacco. The parity formula will automatically allow for some decrease in price of these and other controlle crops. Moreover, livestock prices are still moving slowly downward and, as we pointed out earlier, livestock is becoming more and more important in our farm economy. In the U. S. as a whole, the heavier dependence on livestock and grains should result in the national farm income going down slightly more, percentagewise, than in the South.

With both farm and factory income sloughing off, the South's total personal income should also decline in 1949 from 1948—the first year of decline after ten straight years of increases. It is likely, however, that the drop in total personal income will only be four or five per cent, which will leave it at the highest level on record except in 1948.

There is no question about it, the South's economy has been making solid gains in the past ten years.

The South (not including Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas, to the west) has gained about 10,000 new manufacturing plants since 1939.

It has added some 80,000 new non-manufacturing business firms in the period, its 320,000 today accounting for 13 per cent of the U. S. total. In 1939 the South accounted for only 11 per cent.

Its factory payrolls, which will run about $4,000,000,000 this year, are three times as great as they were in 1940.

Southern factory workers totaled some 1,568,000 in 1947, compared with 1,098,000 in 1939, a gain of 43 per cent.

The value added to the manufacture of Southern products jumped from $2,300,000,000 in 1939 to $7,900,000,000 in 1947, a 231 per cent gain. The "value added" is the difference between the value of shipments and the cost of materials and supplies. It includes some inflation due to price rises, as well as increases in physical output.

The South's farm income—like payrolls, running about $4,000,000,000 in 1949—is also more than triple the latest prewar figure.

And—just to throw in another figure on progress—the number of farms electrified in the South between 1945 and 1948 increased by nearly 500,000—that is, the number nearly doubled in three short post-war years. As of June, 1948, the number was 15 times as great as in 1935.

And so go the statistics. The story is fairly well known. Even allowing for price inflation, it is an impressive account.

Just as impressive and not as well known are some of the qualitative changes that have taken place.

Our economy is moving slowly in the direction of the balance that it needs. The trend is best seen in a breakdown of the income figures.

In 1939, manufacturing payrolls accounted for only 14 per cent of the South's total income payments. By 1947 that proportion had grown to 17 per cent, still short of the national proportion of 22 per cent but heading in the right direction.

Similarly, our dependence on farming has dropped. Whereas, agriculture accounted for 21 per cent of our total income in 1939, it made up only 16 per cent in 1947. Again, this was short of the U. S. figure of only 10 per cent, but the direction was good.

The same healthy trend is seen both within industry and within agriculture. On the farm, the South's nemesis has always been dependence on cotton. But that dependence is declining very sharply and has been for years. The trend is well illustrated by the growth in the importance of livestock. Twenty years ago livestock accounted for only about one-fifth of the South's total cash farm income. Today it accounts for a third and the proportion is growing.

In industry, our nemesis has been dependence on textiles. Despite the great importance of that industry in the South today, it is nowhere near as important even as pre-war. In 1939, textiles accounted for 42 per cent of the South's total factory employment. In 1947 it accounted for only 35 per cent.

In the same period, employment in machinery, equipment, metal and paper plants in the region increased by 91 per cent—from 10 per cent of the region's total employment to 14 per cent. Here were gains in industries of the "higher-value-

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added-by-manufacture" type—the industries that could bring more wealth to the South to stay.

* * *

Southern economists always get a funny feeling when they write or talk about their region's gains, however. They are always conscious of two facts lurking in the background: (1) the entire Southern economy is still only "peanuts" compared with the U. S. as a whole; and (2) even with our big gains, we have a long way to go before our economy can be described as being really healthy and strong enough to guarantee our people a good standard of living.

The second of these facts is really much the more important. That we are still "peanuts" in the eyes of U. S. industry as a whole is not really so serious. There is nothing wrong about being little. We have no reason to feel sorry for ourselves just because there is more industrial wealth strung out along the Pennsylvania Railroad's trunk line between Baltimore and New York than in the entire South put together.

The fact that we have a long way to go if we are going to bring the good life to our people is something to worry about, however. No quantity of statistics showing our great progress since pre-war can hide the fact that our economy has at least three basic weaknesses in it.

Two of these weaknesses have already been mentioned. One is our too heavy reliance on agriculture, even today after the progress we have made. The other is our inability to turn out products that make us wealthy. Our industries are still too much concerned with the initial handling and processing of raw materials where the real money is not made. We are not carrying our industrial processes along far enough to cash in on the profits made from the sale of the final articles.

A third weakness is perhaps even more basic. It is simply that we have been unable, partly because we have been unwilling, to utilize our human resources in a manner anywhere near resembling efficiency in the economic sense. I am referring, of course, to our refusal to allow the Negro to take his rightful place in our economy.

The effects of these weaknesses are clearly seen in the figures on personal income.

In 1947 the South had about 20 per cent of the nation's population and only about 13 or 14 per cent of the national income. This meant that on a per capita basis, the average Southerner accounted for only $883 a year, compared with the U. S. average of $1,323. On a per capita basis, our region was 44 per cent below the U. S. as a whole. This represented some progress since 1929, when we were 50 per cent below, but it was still not a happy comparison in 1947.

Let us try to break these figures down to find out more about the difference between the per capita income of the South and the U. S. at large. We are indebted to a recent address by Mr. Joseph K. Heyman, the well-known Southern economist, for the interesting and significant figures which make this analysis possible.

The highest income group naturally is the white population not living on farms. In the U. S. as a whole, the per capita income of non-farm white in 1947 was $1,590; in the South it was $1,280. The white farm group was considerably lower. The U. S. per capita for white farmers was $678, and the similar figure for the South was $534.

Per capita income for the non-farm Negroes is pretty close to that of the farm whites. It was $698 for the U. S. in 1947 and $572 for the South. The farm Negroes brought up the rear. Both the U. S. and Southern per capitas were about the same in 1947—$275.

Suppose we could raise the Southern per capita up to the U. S. level in each of the three categories in which we were lower in 1947. It would have added $6,000,000,000 to our income in that year, pushing our total to about $32,000,000,000 and our Southern per capita to $1,033 instead of $883.

But why, if we could raise our per capita to the U. S. average in each of the categories in which we are deficient, would the Southern per capita still be lower than the national level? The answer is simple: we have too large a proportion of our people in the categories in which the per capita income is lowest.

Nine out of every 100 Southerners are in the Negro farm group, which ranks by far the lowest in per capita income. In the U. S., only two out of every 100 people are in this group. Sixteen out of every 100 Southerners are non-farm Negroes, whose per capitas are also way below the general average. The U. S. number in this group is only half as large. Similarly, the white farm group—also far below average in per capita income—is larger in our region than elsewhere in the country. About 27 per cent of the South's population is in this group; nationally, only 18 per cent of the people are farm whites.

In only one group is per capita income above average. This is in the non-farm white group. But the South had a much smaller proportion of its population in this group (only 48 per cent) than the U. S. as a whole (72 per cent).

Here, then, is your answer. Our population is heavily weighted with folks in the below-average income groups.

Mr. Heyman sums it up very nicely. He says tha t, if the South's overall per capita income had been equal to the national average in 1947, our region would have had a total income some $13,000,000,000 greater than it was. About $6,000,000,000 of our actual $13,000,000,000 "shortage" was accounted for by lower per capitas, group for group — as we pointed out earlier. The other $7,000,000,000 "deficit" was due simply to the fact that we had unusually heavy proportions of farm whites, and of Negroes both on and off the farm.

The implications are clear and have already been stated. We are poor, first, because our economy is not generating enough stay-at-home wealth to give us per capitas that are equal to the U. S., group for group. We are poor, second, because our economy is still unbalanced in favor of agriculture, where per capita income is low. We are poor, third, because we peg the Negro at a relatively unproductive economic level and keep him there.

Earlier in this article, we have pointed out that we have made some progress in getting more and better industries in the South. It can also be said too,

that we are making some progress on the Negro side of the economic problem. He has been getting better jobs and making more money. Also, he is becoming less of a drag on the Southern economy simply because he is pulling out—Negroes made up nearly 31 per cent of the region's population in 1930 and only about 25 per cent in 1947. The Negroes who are left have a better chance, by and large.

But the South's attitude toward the Negro is still the basic economic weakness of the region. Any clear-thinking business should know that the South is never going to be able to achieve economic parity with the rest of the U. S. as long as one-fourth of the Southern population is denied fair economic opportunities. There are centuries of facts to prove it.

* * *

All of the foregoing figures on both progress and unsolved problems merely beg the question: economically speaking, what are the long-run prospects of the South picking itself up by its own bootstraps?

No one would dare answer that without first assuming some premises that are strictly out of the economic field—premises having to do with the South's attitudes and point of view. The entire Negro problem is obviously not going to be solved by the out-migration of the black man. The South is going to be made up of a large proportion of Negroes for many years to come. Until the region decides that the Negro can take his place on the assembly line, at the brick wall laying brick instead of handing them up to a white layer, in other jobs where he can get equal pay for equal work done—until that happens, the South will continue to operate its economy a couple of notches below that of the rest of the country. This will happen, no matter how many new plants come in, and no matter how fast Southern agriculture is strengthened and at the same time is squeezed down to a more minor role.

If we could assume that the South's basic attitudes on equality of economic opportunity will change, however, what then, of the prospects?

Almost anyone would agree, I believe, that the prospects are excellent that the South could and would close the gap between its economic standards and those of the rest of the country. The region has natural resources in abundance, human resources that can both work to produce and pay to consume. The story of the wealth of the South has been told time and again.

Most immediately, of course, there would be a great need for capital for development purposes. Some New York economists recently raised the question: Why not a Marshall Plan for the South? If this region is as important as most people think it is, why not pour some U. S. money into developing the South for the good of the nation as a whole? It was a challenging thought, and the economists who presented it made a good case for it. Certainly the South today is woefully lacking in capital. Most of its investments in the past have come from the North. We will probably have to continue to look there for a large bulk of the investments to be made in the future.

We will have to continue to get help from the government, too. Few people realize what a tremendous part government spending plays in the life of the South, even today, years after the New Deal and months after the end of the period of war spending. In 1948 government—federal, state and local—pumped some $4,500,000,000 into the income stream of the 11 Southern states through wages, salaries, interest, veteran payments, and so on. It was the region's single biggest source of revenue—bigger than all wages and salaries of all of our industries, bigger than our record total cash farm income.

But there is also some evidence that, little by little, we are building up part of the capital we need right here on our own. During the past ten years the South's rate of gain in bank deposits and banking capital, resources in savings and loan associations, and assets in locally-owned life insurance companies has been twice as great as the other sections of the country. Southern life insurance companies, for example, have more than tripled their assets since 1940—a vastly greater gain than made by companies elsewhere in the U. S. A substantial part of these assets might be available for investment in new Southern enterprises; indeed, it may have already been so invested. All this means that we are coming along, though we are still a long way from competing with Wall Street.

In a variety of ways we can get the capital. That is only part of the job. The other part is using it to best advantage. We'll have to get the right kind of industries. We'll have to pay the right kind of wages. We'll have to develop the right kind of attitudes about the utilization of our most precious resource—our people.

If we put our full efforts along these lines, we should be able to hold all of our recent gains—and make some new ones.

THE CALL WITHIN

By HERBERT O. MATTHEWS

If I could grasp a twinkling star,
To light my way across the bar;
Could I discern, from day to day,
That which propels me on my zway;
Could I but halt, survey the scene,
Death would not mourn: "What might have been."

If man could weigh, with equal grace,
Divine portent in any race;
If nations sensed creation's plan
And Christians lived as man to man;
If only ego ne'er had born,
What peace 'twould be, tomorrow morn.

All fame and fortune, warp and wool,
All conflicts that becloud the soul,
Are retribution's awesome toll.
We're faithless, failing creatures all,
Who heed not that faint inner call:
To truth and to trials.

Since human personality is divine, it is inviolate, and it should have the fullest opportunity to flower to the ultimate of its potentiality.

Since love is the very core of the Christian way of life we are committed to the affirmative attitude toward all life.

And conversely, since hate is the Negative of love. Prejudice is but the daughter of hate.

A RECOMMENDATION FOR ACTION BY THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS

The following letter was sent to each of the governors of the thirteen States by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at its meeting on June 8. Signing the letter were the following members of the Executive Committee:

Dr. Charles Johnson, Nashville, Tenn., president of Fisk University; Mr. Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Va., publisher and president of SRC; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, professor of economics, Virginia Union University; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga., Rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina; Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney; Mr. Charles Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia Director of CIO; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia; Mr. Carter Wesley, editor, Houston Informer; Mr. John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C., vice-president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

* * *

As Southerners closely identified with the stream of change in the bi-racial society of our region, we feel it appropriate to call your attention to an opportunity which now presents itself to the South.

One of your number, the Governor of North Carolina, has lately set a significant example by his appointment of an esteemed Negro citizen to the North Carolina State Board of Education. The man selected for this honor is President Harold L. Trigg, of St. Augustine's College, in Raleigh, who is eminently qualified in every way to serve in this position. His appointment implements the policy, set forth by Governor Scott at his inauguration, of granting "broader representation on the boards and commissions which serve the public interest." As a precedent, the appointment was courageous; as an act of statesmanship, it shows acute discernment of the mood and needs of the Southern people.

State Services

Our States are accepting increased responsibility for public well-being in a broadening field of services. The need for further growth and improvement in this direction is the essence of the controversy about States' rights. If the Southern States would preserve a broad measure of autonomy in local and state affairs, they must speed their efforts in at least three fields. They will need a greater flow of revenue from state and local sources; they will need to build a tradition of administration markedly free from politics and patronage; and they will need to adjust their state services to fit more closely the needs of all citizens.

In most of our States, a fourth or more of the people are Negroes. As a group, the weight of need rests most heavily upon them, and they are accordingly entitled to a large share of the services of the modern State. This is true in education, in agricultural credit and instruction, in aid to the elderly and to dependent children, in unemployment compensation, and in the administration of justice. In all of these fields, and in others, the appointment of capable and representative Negro citizens to positions upon policy-making boards would be of the greatest public benefit.

Over a period of time, the benefit would be felt in many ways. The administration of public services would reflect greater attention to the exact needs of Negro citizens. Needless irritations and inconsiderate acts, which are now routine in many state services, would be greatly lessened. Most important, perhaps, the loyalty and common civic pride of the Negro citizen body would be considerably strengthened.

A New Era

Notwithstanding discouragements that would have crushed a lesser resolve, the Negro people of the South have held firmly to the faith that justice and a basic equality can be achieved within the framework of American legal and cultural institutions. The South has an old duty —postponed of fulfillment until the strain is very great—to reward that loyalty with recognition and acceptance. The kind of appointments we suggest will be seen by the Negro citizens of the South as the opening of a new era in their public standing.

There is a broader area, too, in which this step would benefit our region as a whole. Many of the South's problems spring from economic disabilities. Race relations would be vastly improved by the security to be derived from expanded industry, a strengthened pattern of family farm ownership, good schools, good homes, and good health for all our citizens. But these things are expensive — expensive beyond the means of the South by itself to provide.

We shall need the aid of the whole nation in obtaining these fundamentals of modern society. The nation will be understandably reluctant to put up its share of the funds unless there is evidence of a determination to provide public services more equitably than the South has done in the past. Such evidence can be convincingly furnished if the Southern States will follow the broadened precedent which North Carolina has set.

Below are listed some of the specific fields in which, it seems to us, the precedent might be most promptly and usefully followed:

Public Welfare Boards
Prison Boards
Pardon and Parole Boards
Boards of Health
Boards of Education
Hospital Authorities
Labor Commissions
Apprentice Training Boards
Agricultural Commissions
Police Commissions
Library Boards
Park and Recreation Boards
Veterans' Service Commissions
Licensing Boards
Boards of Registration
Planning Boards

True Representatives

We respectfully recommend, therefore, that you give your attention to the unfolding of a series of appointments of this nature. We do not presume to recommend in detail the pace or the distribution of such appointments. We do, however, point out the importance of selecting appointees whose standing in their own communities commands confidence and respect. Here or there—as has happened—it may seem simplest to select an individual whose

Continued on Page 21, Column 2

A Prayer

for

MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN

by

THE REV. WARREN CANDLER BUDD

Pastor

HAPEVILLE METHODIST CHURCH

Believing that the sentiments expressed in this beautiful prayer are worthy of a larger audience than that privileged to hear it on the occasion of the dedication of the Ford plant in Hapeville, Georgia, we proudly present it to our readers.

"O God, thou art Thyself the great Creator, the Master Workman. Thou has revealed Thyself to us in Jesus the carpenter whose roughened hands bear eternal testimony to the dignity of toil.

We sense Thy presence in the upward surge of the masses, who with the awakened self-respect of children of God, have through the centuries cast off the shackles of slavery and serfdom, and stand now gazing toward the dawn of a greater freedom.

We praise Thee for those brave spirits who have led the way; who have dared to risk even their children's bread in organized endeavor to improve the lot of all; who for their unselfish devotion have been condemned as outcasts of society; endured prison; sacrificed their lives as martyrs to the cause.

Help Thou the labor movement of our day to be worthy of its heritage. Unite in high purpose the workers in the factory and the farm. Preserve them from the temptation to selfish complacency. Guard their leaders from the lust for personal power. Guide them in the service of the common good. Help the workers of all lands to stand shoulder to shoulder for justice and peace among the nations. Save them from the sin of selfish nationalism. Give them a wider vision of world government with justice and liberty for all.

Grant to labor the wisdom to seek a world of peace and plenty by means of organization and the ballot, keeping their movement free from hate and violence, building into the cooperative commonwealth those spiritual values which alone can make it endure.

Bring at last, all workers by hand or brain into worldwide brotherhood; into clearer fellowship with Thee, O God, the Father of us all. Amen."

WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?

By ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
Chancellor of Chiacgo University
—at the 237th convocation—

We hear on every side that the American Way of Life is in danger. I think it is. I also think that many of those who talk the loudest about the dangers to the American Way of Life have no idea what it is and consequently no idea what the dangers are that it is in.

You would suppose, to listen to these people, that the American Way of Life consisted in unanimous tribal self-adoration. Down with criticism; down with protests; down with unpopular opinions; down with independent thought. Yet the history and tradition of our country make it perfectly plain that the essence of the American Way of Life is its hospitality to criticism, protest, unpopular opinions, and independent thought. A few dates like 1620, 1776, and 1848 are enough to remind us of the motives and attitudes of our ancestors. The great American virtue was courage.

We ought to be afraid of some things. We ought to be afraid of being stupid and unjust. We are told that we must be afraid of Russia, yet we are busily engaged in adopting the most stupid and unjust of the ideas prevalent in Russia, and are doing so in the name of Americanism. The worst Russian ideas are the police state, the abolition of freedom of speech, thought, and association, and the notion that the individual exists for the state. These ideas are the basis of the cleavage between East and West.

Yet every day in this country men and women are being deprived of their livelihood, or at least their reputation, by unsubstantiated charges. These charges are then treated as facts in further charges against their relatives or associates. We do not throw people into jail because they are alleged to differ with the official dogma. We throw them out of work and do our best to create the impression that they are subversive and hence dangerous, not only to the state, but also to everybody who comes near them.

The result is that every public servant must try to remember every tea party his wife has gone to in the past ten years and endeavor to recall what representatives of which foreign powers she may have met on these occasions. A professor cannot take a position on any public question without looking into the background of everybody who may be taking the same position on the same question. If he finds that any person who is taking the same position on this question has been charged with taking an unpopular position on another question, the professor had better not take any position on this question, or he may be haled before some committee to explain himself.

Is this the American Way of Life? The great American word is freedom, and in particular, freedom of thought, speech and assembly. Asserting the dignity of man, and of every man, America has proclaimed and protected the freedom to differ. Each man is supposed to think for himself. The sum of the thoughts of all is the wisdom of the community. Difference, disagreement, discussion decided by democratic professors are required to bring out the best in the citizens. America has grown strong on criticism. It would be quite as consistent with the American Way of Life to offer prizes for the most penetrating criticism of our country as it would be to offer prizes to those who have done the best job of advertising it.

The heart of Americanism is independent thought. The cloak-and-stiletto work that is now going on will not merely mean that many persons will suffer for acts that they did not commit, or for acts that were legal when committed, or for no acts at all. Far worse is the end result, which will be that critics, even of the mildest sort, will be frightened into silence. Stupidity and injustice will go unchallenged because no one will dare to speak against them.

To persecute people into conformity by the non-legal methods popular today is little better than doing it by purges and pogroms. The dreadful unanimity of tribal self-adoration was characteristic of the Nazi state. It is sedulously fostered in Russia. It is to the last degree un-American.

American education has not been constructed on such un-American principles. In general, the practice has been to give the student the facts, to try to help him learn to think, and to urge him to reach his own conclusions. It is not surprising that the heart of American education is the same as that of Americanism: it is independent thought. American education has not tried to produce indoctrinated automatons, but individuals who can think, and who will think always for themselves. The basic principle of American government, and one that accounts for the importance of education in this country, is that if the citizens learn to think and if they will think for themselves, the Republic is secure. The basic principle of the Russian dictatorship is that the people cannot think or cannot be trusted to think for themselves.

The American doctrine rests on the proposition that it is the individual in himself that counts. It is not who his father was, or how much money he has, or what his color or creed is, or what party he belongs to, or who his friends are, but who and what is he? So the test of a teacher is whether he is competent. The professional competence of a teacher is hardly a question on which lay bodies, or even administrators or trustees, would wish to pass without the advice of persons professionally competent in the teacher's field.

If we apply any other test than competence in determining the qualifications of teachers we shall find that pressures and prejudice will determine them. In 1928 it was said that Al Smith could not be President because he would be subservient to a foreign power; and today, in many places, and if not today it may happen tomorrow, anti-Catholic or anti-Jewish campaigns may mean that teachers who belong to those churches

will not be able to practice their profession.

Teachers may be expected to obey the law of the land. But it is still permissible, I hope, to ask whether a law is wise. To discriminate against teachers—to act as though they were all disloyal—and to put them under special legal disabilities seems injudicious if we want able, independent men to go into the teaching profession.

The assumption appears to be that American education is full of Reds, an assumption that is the precise reverse of the truth. All the excitement of the last few years, all the hearings, investigations, and publicity releases, have not turned up more than four or five Communist professors, even though membership in the Party has been perfectly legal up to now. To require oaths of loyalty from all because of the eccentricity of an infinitesimal minority is an unnecessary and derogatory act. And of course it will not effect any useful purpose; for teachers who are disloyal will certainly be dishonest; they will not shrink from a little perjury.

The way to fight ideas is to show that you have better ideas. No idea is any good unless it is good in a crisis. You demonstrate the failure of your ideas if, when the crisis comes, you abandon them or lose faith in them or get confused about them to the point of forgetting what they are. The American idea is freedom. Freedom necessarily implies that the status quo may come under the criticism of those who think it can be improved. The American idea is that the state exists for its citizens and that change in society must occur to meet their developing needs. The whole theory of our form of government is a theory of peaceful change. Many of the changes that Marx and Engels demand in the **Communist Manifesto** have taken place in this country, and they have taken place without communism, without dictatorship, and without revolution, thus disproving, incidentally, one of the central theses of Marx and Engels, that such things cannot be accomplished without communism, dictatorship, and revolution.

These reflections on the **Communist Manifesto** lead me to say that labeling some thing or some man communist because communists happen to favor it or agree with him, that easy process by which one disposes of different views by applying a dirty name to them, involves the negation of thought of any kind. If it had been applied consistently in American history it would have deprived us of some ideas and some men that we are proud to think characteristically American. For example, the **Communist Manifesto** demands free education for all. Are we therefore to recant, and renounce the American doctrine of free education for all?

And what would the F. B. I. say of Thomas Jefferson, who calmly remarked in his First Inaugural, "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."?

Jefferson was not in favor of revolution; he was serene in the face of talk of it because he had confidence in our people, in our institutions, in democracy, and in the value, power, and results of independent thought.

We are now in the midst of a cold war. We must protect ourselves against external enemies, their representatives in this country, and any citizens who may be conspiring to overthrow or betray the government. But the statute books are already filled with laws directed to these ends. It has never been shown that there are so many spies or traitors in this country, that the external danger is so great and imminent that we have to divert the entire attention of our people into one great repressive preoccupation, into one great counterrevolution in which the freedoms of our citizens must be thrown overboard as too burdensome for the floundering ship of state to carry.

It is useful to remember that Jefferson spoke in 1801, when our Constitution was twelve years old, and when the infant republic was in dreadful danger from deep divisions within and from the wars that were raging between the great powers. If he was right in speaking in such a way at such a time, we cannot be far wrong if now ,when America is the most powerful nation on earth, we seek to recapture some of his sanity and courage.

How is the educated man to show the fruits of his education in times like these? He must do it by showing that he can and will think for himself. He must keep his head, and use it. He must never push other people around, nor acquiesce when he sees it done. He must struggle to retain the perspective and the sense of proportion that his studies have given him and decline to be carried away by waves of hysteria. He must be prepared to pay the penalty of unpopularity. He must hold fast to his faith in freedom. He must insist that freedom is the chief glory of mankind and that to repress it is in effect to repress the human spirit.

WHAT WILL I DO TODAY?

What will I do today?
Will I comfort a discouraged
soul?
Will I help someone reach his
goal?
Or must I stop and say "there's
no need
To do someone else a deed".
Will I run a useful race today
And not give up while on my
way?

Will I speak that my words be
of need?
Will I live that my life be a noble
creed?
Or must I live a life in vain,
Without a goal, or destiny, or
cause to claim!
Will I give without receiving?
Will I accept criticism without
grieving?

Will I look up, not down,
If I fail to accomplish renown?
Will I praise another's success
Even if it's great as mine, or
best?
Will I brighten the darkest way?
Will I do these things today?

Lil Wingfield
516 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

AN OBSERVATION

Since time immemorial, individual goodness has been striven for, but it is more than a soul-saving goodness that the world now needs. It needs that social goodness which comes only when people respect each other, and when they learn to work together for the common good, and also when they quit looking down their noses at less advantaged persons or groups of persons.

ALABAMA UNMASKS THE KLAN

By JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

THE AUTHOR

James A. Dombrowski, native of Tampa, Florida, began his education in the public schools of that city. He served in the American Air Force overseas during the First World War, and is at present a member of the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion. He holds the collegiate degrees of B.Ph., Emory University, Georgia; B.D., Union Theological Seminary; Ph.D., Columbia University. Dr. Dombrowski is also a Fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, and a Rosenwald Fellow. It is well to mention that our author is a native-born Southerner, and with the exception of the years spent in the North at various graduate schools, he has lived all of his life in the South. His main interest at present is in serving as Director, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., New Orleans, La.

The Alabama legislature has outlawed the wearing of hoods in public. This action was taken after a series of incidents in which white persons were the victims of hooded mobs.

One can take some satisfaction in this action by a Southern legislature. It is noteworthy, too, that the Birmingham **Post** and the **Age-Herald** have waged a relentless editorial attack upon the Klan, and these papers deserve the thanks of the community.

But the Klan is itself an effect and not the cause of much of the violence that is evident in so many parts of the South today. Segregation (based on the premise of superior and inferior races) is the antecedent cause of the Klan and the associate evils. In spite of all attempts to gloss over the real nature of segregation by such legalisms as "separate but equal," the harsh truth remains that segregation means that the Negro has no

rights which the white man is bound to respect.

Segregation means that a Negro can be killed with impunity by any white man who chooses to kill him. That is what every Negro knows in his heart. It follows necessarily that segregation, based on the denial of the rights of certain individuals, inevitably breeds cynicism and disrespect for the laws intended to protect such rights.

We do not know whether or not the Klan officially is responsible for the beatings, threats and mob violence that have shaken Birmingham. We do know, however, that if the number of Negroes shot and killed by "law enforcement" officers of Birmingham in the past two years were tallied, and the circumstances of these police-murders were detailed, the revelations would read like something out of Hitler's Germany. But it is not the facts of violence, as revolting and shocking as they may be, which concern us here. It is that peculiar organization of society which gives rise to such conditions. Also it should be pointed out that Birmingham is not unique in the sadistic tactics of its police.

In New Orleans on Independence Day, 1949, two city police shot and killed an unarmed, twenty-year-old Negro Navy veteran, Crispin J. Charles, Jr. In February of 1948, New Orleans Policeman Alvin Bladsacker fatally shot an unarmed Negro, Roy C. Brooks. Brooks died, it is said, with a bag of peanuts in one hand and his hat in the other. Although under indictment for killing a man in his custody, Bladsacker remained on duty until June, 1949, when a jury cleared him after deliberating seven minutes.

Police have been beating and killing Negroes regularly for many years in New Orleans. So far as we know, in only one instance has a white police officer served time in the penitentiary for killing a Negro, and he was paroled after a few months. And why not? Is it not a basic tenet of the Jim Crow system that in court the word of a member of the "inferior" race has no status against the word of the "superior" race? Does not every police officer know, what every Klansman knows, that if the white man pleads "self-defense," that is the end of the matter?

These are not pleasant or pretty facts, but they are symptomatic of a diseased condition of society which will not be cured until we at least correctly diagnose the disease.

Action against the Klan is to be commended, for it tears the cloak of anonymity from lawlessness. But we should be reminded that such action is merely a palliative and does not deal with the basic illness of which mob violence is a system. What is contra-indicated here is to eliminate legalized segregation and discrimination as a matter of public policy. Only then shall we have a society in the South and the nation that is law-abiding and healthy, a society in which the basic public policy will be conducive to decent and normal human relations, a so-

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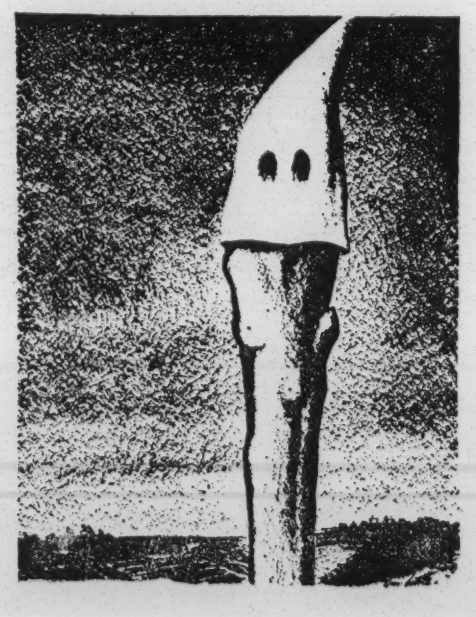

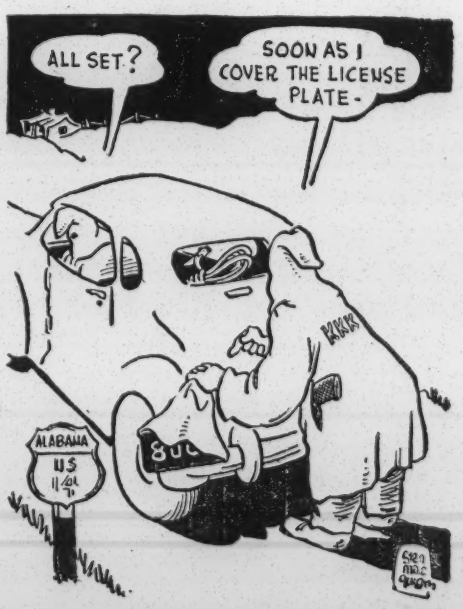

"——AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE"

THE SUPREME WHITE CASTLE

The Castle You Live In — The Earth You Live In — Eternity, the Atom and Environment.

By H. O. MATTHEWS, B. S. M. D.

EDITOR'S NOTE

That the approach of Dr. Matthews to the solution of the vital problems of today is unorthodox, will not be denied. It is to be remembered, however that progress ceases whenever writers or readers feel limited by standardized or conventional doctrines or patterns of thought.

The remarkable thought content, the emphasis on concepts of eternity, eternal life and predestination, render these articles mentally stimulating and captivating to the reader. The editorial staff invites our readers to comment on these articles.

The atom reveals a new world. The most reverend "ego" whips the devil round the castle yard. All humanity must take a new look and assess new values, in a new world. The educated "ego" must be subdued. The atom must be respected.

Whether you believe it or not, you are now living in a new world. Beneath you is mother earth. Above, the sun, moon, and stars, the heavenly planets and illimitable space. All about you is magnificent creation.

You are in the presence and the midst of universal creation. But above all else, you are in the presence of the divine atom. Your very being is a creature of the atom. The atom is the basic element—the building stones—of all the universe.

Man has split the atom and revealed the devastating power within it. Like it or not, man now finds himself compelled to respect that destructive power. He is compelled to give that power more reverence and re-

spect, than he has given "The Risen Christ," in two thousand years.

During those two thousand years, and more, the most learned and right reverend "Father Ego" has chased and back-lashed the devil around the stump, in his own back yard. And at this late date, is there one most aged, most dignified, most learned, and most saintly among these ministers of the gospel, who can definitely say: "I have seen this devil we have chased so long. I can definitely identify him when he is lined up with the other criminals, on judgment day."

Not one can definitely identify this human devil. If they are at all honest—and atomic power now compels human honesty—they are compelled to admit that: like ordinary dogs, they have chased their own tails, round and round. They have whipped and back-lashed no one, other than themselves.

They are compelled to admit this, because all of us are now face to face with the atom and the mighty, immutable, awe-inspiring power which the atom contains. Who among us is brash enough to stand up and say: "This or that atom is evil, abominable and unworthy of human reverence and respect. This atom was divinely intended to be inferior to that, and this white atom is, alone, worthy of supreme emulation and praise."

Yes, whether you like it or not, the world is new. And you are shocked to find most of the basic principles you struggled so hard to learn in your primary, intermediate and college training—most of the basic concepts you have long taken for absolutely granted fact—must now be completely rearranged or forgotten.

For instance, you have long been taught, and had accepted as absolute unassailable fact, that our U. S. A. is a separate, self-contained and sovereign nation. She need only attend her own business and remain out of all the squabbles of the rest of the world. Sadly now, you realize that these concepts are not true, have never been true, and can never be true.

You realize now, that your aches and pains, your wants and desires, your eternal destiny and your aspirations, are identical with all humanity. Therefore, your nation is not dominant and supreme over all nations of the world. Your nation and you are a common, passionate part of all the universe, and may not even attempt to extricate itself.

Soon, you will realize that you and all humanity must take a new look and assess new atomic values in a new world. Your long educated and over-educated, ingratiating "ego" must be and will be subdued by the universal power of the atom.

Certainly, friend, you must have known that through all this rambling preamble we must eventually get down to the bedrock of our present fast-fading civilization. And here we are:

This is a beautiful Sunday evening in June. This is Birmingham, Ala. And on a rare June day, Birmingham can be as beautiful as any city on earth. Especially when viewed from the crest of Red Mountain at twilight.

I drove my car up here, stopped briefly, off the busy

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KLAN (Continued from Page 16)

ciety which can develop the full potential economically, culturally, and spiritually.

With these facts before us, we can be less than optimistic about the ultimate effect of the anti-Klan act of the Alabama legislature when we learn that at the same time such action was taken the lawmakers were seeking a law which would enable them to continue the disfranchisement of Negroes, now that the Boswell Act has been stricken down by the U. S. Supreme Court.

highway, to have a soulful look across Jones Valley, at the fringe of day, swiftly departing westward. The rose-tinged smoke and steam from molten steel rises in the distance, to mingle with the gold-tinged western twilight. The vari-colored lights of a big city begin to twinkle all over the landscape. The windows of mass dwellings and homes, which admit light and radiate light to and from the very soul of the South, begin to glow dimly in a million directions.

Above me, "Old Iron Man, Vulcan," holds a red light high, as a warning of death riding the highways. Just as well, is this red light a warning of destruction, close upon many unsuspecting souls, now basking in the cozy light of home, far below.

Yes, this is the modern, beautiful Jones Valley. But these modern days are not the first days I have scanned this landscape. I have peered from this same spot, perhaps anxiously, furtively, fearfully, in other days and other times. You see, I was brought over here, a slave, from Africa, several hundred years ago. Yes, I am almost as old as America herself.

Down there in the valley I have clung, wide-eyed and frightened, to mother's apron strings, on the auction block, while she was sold down the river—at times without me, never to see her again. And times without number, I have stumbled, ragged, breathless, bleeding, over these hills, among trees and rocks, dodging bloodthirsty hounds, seeking my freedom from oppression, from want, from fear, and in eager quest of that, rumored, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and that, so desirable, dignity of person and privacy of home.

Sure enough, memory of past generations familiarizes this same terrain. Seated here, in this car, I have struggled a long way. But I have not yet reached my destination—that rumored human respect, dignity of person and privacy of home. Perhaps the unfolding new world will, suddenly, propel me into these universal aspirations.

Look up, my friend! Even though you have long been white and free, you seem vitally disturbed about peace and security. You are anxious about general world conditions, and about certain economic and political questions here at home—bureaucracy, deficit, spending, socialism, taxes, inflation and depression, states rights and civil rights, communism and nazism, hot wars and cold wars.

The Castle You Live In

Friend, look me in the eye!

Of course, you think I am a complete stranger to you. But, I'm not. In these, your most modern days, I have merely evolved from a slave into an average doctor of medicine, pursuing happiness here in the South. It is possible, I have had a slight economic success and the slight degree of happiness such success brings.

All I know of world conditions comes to me in your newspapers. And even though my life is overwhelmingly shaped, conformed, irrtated and exasperated by the same economic and political questions, as is your life, I am helpless to grapple with these problems, in order to shake them off. I am segregated from them.

You have constructed a wide, bottomless moat, surrounding high, insurmountable castle walls, wherein you have retired, to live eternally in your vaunted "white supremacy." It is so pathetic, because you believe you can ignore me, as unworthy of even slightest consideration. You think you have gathered up every shred of your national and international problems and every thread of your superior human destiny, to keep them cloistered within the castle, and solved, at your leisure, by your own superior knowledge and understanding. You even believe you have persuaded your own **Great White God** to abide with you, and left only the devil and his imps outside with me.

Of course, you are wrong my friend. It should be well known at this late date in history, that the only devil the world knows anything about is human ego. All that stands in opposition to the divine work of The Creator is human ego. And, my friend, The Creator did not build your present, princely dwelling place. This great white castle has been created solely by you and your ego. Therefore, you and your devil—ego—dwell together inside, while The Creator of all things is segregated outside, with me.

E'er long, my friend, you will learn that this devil of yours is very deceitful. He is not satisfied to be confined. He smiles in your face, but will stab even you in the back. He will gnaw into your very vitals and destroy you. Like so many termites, he will eat away and undermine the very foundations of your castle walls. The walls will collapse about your ears.

If you doubt these warnings, simply remember: Ego destroyed the ancient Ethiopian, Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations. Ego destroyed the Greek and Roman civilizations. Ego destroyed the Spanish empire. Ego, and nothing but ego, destroyed Hitler and his nazism. And ego, naught but ego, will destroy you.

Perhaps, my friend, you are one of those who think your civilization is so well organized, so far advanced, so deeply entrenched that it just can't happen here, and to you. This is pathetic, friend. Truly, you do not understand the dangerous character of this devil you are living with. Have you ever stopped to think of the fact that these national and world problems we are discussing are creatures of your own civilized ego. I refer to such things as: Government bureaucracy, deficit, spending, taxes, inflation, and depression, civil rights, states' rights, international free trade, Atlantic Pacts, blockades, and Big Four conferences. You will have to admit: these things are not natural figments and processes of nature. They are not part and parcel of creation. They are figments of civilization—human artifacts—that are diametrically, both opposed to and opposed by, creation and Creator. Therefore, these war-threatening problems, and many more of the world's dire dilemmas, belong to the impish litter of that dangerous devil who abides with you—your own civilized ego. That is why he is so dangerous. He and all these imps threaten to destroy you.

We have said previously: This devil of yours is deceitful. He is not satisfied to be confined within any castle walls. That is true. His imps—all of these very same problems—permeate the air. They fly over your castle walls and across the moat. They come to me in my sleep. They prick, prod, sear and burn me. Then, away they go out of my reach, back to irri-

tate and exasperate you and your household.

While these imps are with you, they cajole and flatter you. They enhance your ideas of superiority and grandeur. Effusively, they praise your efficiency in capturing, caging, nurturing and controlling them —your vaunted civilized progress and advancement. But, all the while they are with me, they whisper to me of your penurious soul, your bigotry and prejudice, your pugnaciousness, your avarice, greed, and your absolute frustration in dealing with these imps and their bisexual progenitor—your devilish ego. Not only do they bring me such gossip, but they show me proof positive, untold examples of verification —such as the last terrible depression, World War Two—still in refrigeration, after ten years —and the dread recession, upon which the world is about to enter.

Well may you see, from this, it is not I, alone, nor just the thirteen million people like me, who are irritated and disturbed by these gossipy, malicious imps. Humans the world over are disturbed. Humanity's pot is boiling and ready for a cannabalistic feast upon your exclusive civilization. And these very imps haul the wood and stir the fire under the pot. Anon, these same little imps will dress you down, cook, carve and serve you up, in greatest glee.

Friend of mine: it is high time to take stock. See where you stand:

The only thing that will subdue this devil of yours and destroy all his litter, within their lair, is absolute faith. Faith alone will prevent civilized destruction. But, mind you, the faith I speak of is not simply what you believe and trust about a Human God and His Son, Christ. This faith is not what we think or reason about life itself and human destiny in life. It is not a set, planned goal in life, nor in eternity. The faith I'm talking about is an automatic, day-to-day action in life, into which thought, reason, nor any selfish consideration of reward, either here or hereafter, enters. For the instant one hesitates in his action, to consider, weigh, estimate, or judge the right or wrong, the good or bad effect of a situation or action, that very instant it is not faith. It is failure.

And most certainly civilization must soon know that civilized ego is a complete failure, in consummation of that divine edict: "Peace on earth, good will toward men." Because ego is selfish. Ego is in dire opposition to all of creation and Creator. In every situation, action, problem or dilemma; in every call of creation, every catastrophy of nature, ego, eternally hesitates to judge first its own protection and preservation, its own reward and aggrandizement, or, else the conceived good and benefit of its own family, group race or nation. All such considerations are in direct opposition to The Eternal Creator, who demands that when an atom, or a human receives creation's call he must go, direct, unfailing, to the bull's eye. Else he fails.

And for all that, who among puny humans is qualified to hesitate, judge and decide whether The Creator's call is just and righteous, or whether for the ultimate best interests of brazen civilizaion? No, no, my friend, every call must be fulfilled without question. That is exactly why we say: **"To err is not human, because The Divine Creator does not forgive humans."**

No, He does not forgive. He does not allow for any degrees of faith—no partly successful, no near misses. There are no angles to faith. Faith is straight and direct. This may be seen from the fact that, all above faith, all below faith, all to either side of faith, is failure. Thus, that person, or that thing which misses the directness of faith ends in failure. And in failure, both faith and the power to consummate faith are forever lost. There are absolutely no extenuating circumstances assigned to ignorance of the requirements of faith. There is no such thing as repentance unto salvation, of that faith and power lost through failure. There is no mercy, no forgiveness.

Eternity, the atom and environment.

Does that shock you, friend? Since you are taking stock, do you find your stock in trade critically low? Do you feel as though the earth has suddenly whirled from under your feet? I'm sure you do, because the above considerations have been your stay and shield for your waywardness, lo, these many centuries. But this is a new world. And these are the Divine Ordinations of that atom whose devastating power you cut loose, not so long ago. Now you are face to face with that power—eternity.

We have said: The atom is the basic foundation—the building stones—of the universe. Therefore, the atom is eternal. And what will you do with this eternal power? The atom has no ears for prayers and supplications for mercy; no heart and mind for compassion and forgiveness.

If you drop an atom bomb on other humans, there is no mercy, no compassion, no repentance, no forgiveness for hundreds of thousands of them—nothing but destruction. If you hold the bomb and fear to drop it. If you live in mortal dread, that some others might drop the bomb on you and yours. You will find no mercy nor compassion in fear. The fear itself will destroy you. If you agree among yourselves never to drop the bomb, fear remains. Your own ego will never let you thoroughly trust the other fellow's ego—ego is selfish and deceiving.

So, my friend in this new world, you are forever faced with that destructive power. From now on, your destiny is not in the arms of a merciful, compassionate and forgiving superhuman God. You face eternity itself. And eternity is austere, relentless and unforgiving. Heretofore ego and its imps have tried to split up eternity into the present life and future life. And while splitting, your ego has divided the present life into unlimited tiny pieces; in order that ego might claim exclusive and inalienable right to as many pieces as was humanly possible to identify. Such lack of faith toward life is no more.

Eternity, as always, is whole and complete. This present life is merely a temporary gift ,out of the grace of eternal life. Our human lives are not cut off from eternal life, at birth, so that we must struggle to reattain eternal life. No gift of life is inferior to another. No gift of life is ever sinful, degrading or unworthy, under any conceived circumstance. And every instinct and urge, every sense pleasure and every pain of life, is given of divine intent, to keep all things

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conscious, reverent and respectful of The Creator. These pleasures and pains keep life ever thankful for its known award of pleasure, in consummate faith, shy and dreadful of the destructive pains of faithlessness.

In one nutshell, my life was divine and eternal before conception. It remains divine and eternal at birth and during all mortal life. And my life can be no more, nor less than divine and eternal in death. However, there is one proviso: That I do not abuse and dissipate this divine gift of life, in senseless and faithless pursuit of the exclusive pleasures of life. I must be faithful to every phase of life—both its pleasures and its pains. I am not free to pursue happiness and discard my pains on some other individual, or some other material thing. If I do, it is the painful pleasure, that eternity withdraw my life from me, completely. And all that is now evident and mortal in me passes into oblivon, at death. And above all else, there is here for me no repentance, no compassion, no mercy and no forgiveness.

Thus, you see, eternity is cold and compelling. There is immeasurable force and compulsion within and behind every instinct, every urge, every vibration, every magnetic and electric wave of creation. And what is more, your life and mine is processed, evolved and destinated as much—possibly more—by electro-magnetic waves and vibrations, emanating between us and our eternal environment, as from our passionate instincts, urges and sensations. And what is even more still, these vibrations and waves are not only automatic and involuntary, but absolutely beyond our immediate understanding and appreciation. Certainly, you can find no free-will nor choice, for your overweening ego in that essence of life which is absolutely beyond human understanding.

Yes, friend, the environment is cold and rigorous toward life in us. It forgives not lack of faith. The atom is eternal, and eternity is our invironment. Our lives are a mere part of the eternal life. Our immediate environment is a mere part of eternity. Therefore, our environment is part of us. For, without environment, mortal life does not exist. We find a certain environment which nurtures us when life is given. Some type of environment remains when life is withdrawn. This, in spite of all evolution and change in environment.

For all that, it is our environment itself which projects us unto this passionate being. It is our environment which sustains us in life. It is our environment which accepts our lifeless shells in death—whether mummified, cremated or interred.

Environment knows no mercy nor compassion.

Is it not high time to pause and consider the stark , cold compulsions inherent in your own environment? Certainly, I know the rigors of my own environment. And my environment does not differ, even one iota, from yours, because our lives are given contemporary status in this evolutive period of creation. But today, in your life and mine, by means of our own pleasures and pains, our environment absolutely compels our reverence and respect for its own pleasures and pains.

Just in such over simplified manner as this:

I grow hungry. I must eat. Else, the pains of starvation will destroy me—without compassion. I turn eagerly to my environment for the pleasure of food.

I thirst. And painful thirst will destroy me—without compassion.

I must have clothing and shelter against the rigors of sun, climate, and catastrophic elements. Else, painful exposure will destroy me—without slightest compassion. I eagerly seek through my environment for some type of protection.

I grow weary and exhausted. I must find somewhere in my environment, if only a filthy hovel in an alley, or some moss and dry leaves under a tree, to lie me down to sleep. Else, exhaustion will destroy me, utterly.

If I'm normal and healthy; if I aspire to beget progeny; I must have sex life. Where else, other than environment, is my health safeguarded and progeny conceived?

Where, in all these, is there the least semblance of human mercy and compassion? Where, in the course of their eternal periodicity, even in the duration of any single human life, do these basic instincts and urges hesitate and dally, to allow for human repentance? How and when do they forgive human lack of faith and respect for them?

If you find no forgiveness here, then consider your five senses—eyesight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. None of these, among humans, is perfectly accurate and infallible. All of them are very narrowly limited. No individual is able to see, hear and touch all of creation; only an exceedingly small part of his own environment. But even in his own, near and dear, environment the individual is, most times, grossly mistaken in that which he thinks he sees and hears.

But the point we wish to impress is this: Have you ever stopped to think how coldly, how rigorously, how dispassionately one's environment impinges upon all his senses? In storm or fair weather we accept it. And no matter how terrifying and appalling any environmental catastrophy of sight or hearing, we are compelled to see and hear. We cannot blot that sight or sound from our senses, no matter how we try. It even matters not how distasteful and revolting the odor, we are compelled to breathe twenty times a minute and sense that odor, until it disappears into space, or until we flee and escape from it.

And just in case one is unable to escape, then is it necessary for me to state that the shock of certain sights, sounds, odors and poisonous tastes, may utterly destroy both you and me, without slightest compassion? And is it necessary for me to repeat, that all my thinking, all my planning, all my life's important considerations—even safety and security,, the preservation of life, itself—are bound up in the known rigor and dispassion of these urges, instincts and sensations?

Certain it is, my friend, these are the basic pleasures and pains of all human life, all animal life, all material life, and all spiritual life. These pleasant and painful forces are both mortal and immortal, both temporary and eternal. They may be temporary and mortal, in relation to my own span of life, but they are eternal with every human who preceeded me, with all those humans now blessed with contemporary life, and, as well, they remain eternal with the multitude of human lives yet to follow mine.

And still more certain, my friend, you and I are made con-

scious of each and every one of our urges, instincts and sensations by that same tiny little atom, and combinations of atoms, as well as electro-magnetic vibration of atoms—in food, air, water, sunlight, landscape, and all our environmental contacts—human or otherwise.

Then, what aspirations in life can rise far above these common, ordinary, simple pleasures and pains? If one aspires to know only the beauty of life—here it is. If one aspires to eternal life, what eternal consciousness can be conceived—in life or death—beyond the conceived beauty and ugliness of his own environment—that which conceives and labors him into being, that which sustains his being, and that which calms his fears in death? What future life can rise above these things?

Actually, these same pleasures and pains are at the bottom of any creed or sect, any denominational system of worship. Any human who claims the right to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, worships nothing in his own consciousness, other than these basic pleasures and pains. Anyone who claims the right to speak freely, speaks basically from his experience with these same forces. Anyone who would be free from want and fear, seeks to avoid the intensity of these pains and the privation of these pleasures. Anyone whosoever suffers fear and dread is basically in fear of the known destructiveness of these, the atom's pains.

You have the A-Bomb within your castle.

So, my friend, you dwell with your devilish ego and all his imps, secluded within your castle walls. Know you not, that all these threatening, life-destroying pains abide with you? Know you not, that the explosive atom rests 'neath your own bed?

Your ego has duped you into the belief that you can confine, manipulate and control these pleasures and pains, of your own free will and choice. Ego tells you that you can own the atom, with its tremendous power, and hold it as a threat, to cause human conformity to your way of life. Even by its ownership, you may eternally maintain your castle of white supremacy, wherein others fear to tread. You may drop an occasional atom, or withhold it at will. You may even agree never to disagree, about the power within the atom.

But, my friend, your walls are not high enough, wide enough and thick enough. Your bottomless moat is not deep enough and wide enough to restrict the awesome forces of all creation, when the atom explodes spontaneously. Or, perhaps you may stub your toe upon its detonator while rambling through some dark night, searching for your deeds and abstracts, your constitutions and bills of rights, your last will and testament.

These are only possibilities. However, I'm sure you are aware that the atom is immaculately faithful to you. It dares to tread the castle, and comes faithfully at your every beck and call. The atom hesitates not, to question or decide whether you are worthwhile and worthy; nor, whether your craving is consonant with the atom's own best interest. No, the atom seeks not your reward nor favor.

Then, how much less faith may you reveal toward the atom? How may you seclude yourself, hesitate, reason, judge and decide? Certainly, all the bloodshed, misery and loss of the past centuries could have been avoided, had your forbears denied ego, and consummated faith toward environment.

So, why wait? Now is the time to reinstate faith. It is not a mater of educaion, because your overweeing ego is already too highly educated in the ways of civilization. It is not a matter dependent on the slow processes of evolution and assimilation. Faith waits not, to be educated, evolved, nor assimilated. It waits not upon cooperation and tolerance, nor upon compromise and agreement. Dire destruction is at hand.

SOUTHERN GOVERNORS

(Continued From Page 12)

complacency would ease the task of getting political acceptance. But the job is more difficult than that; for the appointments will be meaningless unless the persons selected can be trusted by their own people to be truly representative.

We firmly believe that such a course of action by you who are elected to lead all the people of your States will be of multiplying benefit for generations to come.

Respectfully,
The Executive Committee,
Southern Regional Council.

DANNY'S OBSESSION

By Herbert Owens Matthews

Bare eight years old was "Dippy" Dan.
He now lives in Chicago.
Born down in Georgia's backwood land,
Where Negroes seldom argue.

Quite shy of all white folk was Dan;
He'd lived there just a year now.
His Pop was lynched by hooded men
As Mom drew near to farrow.

So Danny and his little pals
Oft' drew and jumped in chalk-rings,
And as each youngster took his trials,
These words I heard them shouting:

One, two, t'ree. fo', fi', six, seb'n,
All God's chil'n got go to Heb'n.
Ef God's kin fo'k git da befo',
Den us po' fo'k got hunt back do'.

'Cause dey's seb'n kin fo'ks t' us's one,
An' dem whi' fo'k got mas' an' gun.
Dey tell Sain' Pete whut he mus' do:
"Stan' back da, Pete, an' let us th'u."

"We gwine bu'n cross 'fo' dis hyah gate;
It wa'n yo' massa whu us hate.
Ef He gib black-fo'k much dis lan',
He gwine hab trubble wif dis ban'."

"We laks col'd fo'ks, dey needs dey Heb'n;
Ef dey gits one yahd, we gits leb'n.
Ef dey in dey place—back us street,
Den you-all Heb'n be kep' right neat."

"Now, Pete, You's sher'ff on dis big gate;
Ef you wants yo' job, play dis straight.
You tell yo' massa, un'erstan'?
We's de Klav'n of de Ku K'ux K'an."

DEMOCRACY IN MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

EDITOR'S NOTE

The background and training of Leander G. Blackus qualifies him to discuss the fields of recreation and athletics. Mr. Blackus started his athletic career as a sprinter and broad jumper at the West Philadelphia High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, being the first Negro to make that track team. From there to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama as a member of the track, basketball, baseball and football teams. Quarterback of Tuskegee's undefeated and unscored on football team and chosen as an All-American backfield man. He has been a member of the track team at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

By LEANDER G. BLACKUS

A statement in the June issue of the New World Commentator alluded to the possibility of Negro baseball, particularly the Northern teams, expanding their rosters by using players of other groups to balance their organizations. Such a procedure would not only increase the attendance but would go a long way in demonstrating that Negro baseball is willing to reciprocate with the policy of using other race team members, as is now being followed by the major leagues. ment on the part of Negro basement on the part of Negro baseball would lend encouragement and inspire Southern baseball organizations to take steps in this direction. As an example of what can be done along these lines, look at the organization of the Lexington Hustlers, a semi-pro team of colored and white team members, playing to mixed spectators in a non-segregated park. Some owner and manager had to take this bold step to demonstrate to the public the democracy that exists in baseball. This new routine in the realm of sound business principles is paying off at the box office, and in so doing, should mean better facilities for the spectators and better salaries and transportation accommodations for the players.

Negro baseball has grown up and become big business, and should be treated as such. These leagues should realize that the customer is the real umpire and calls the game through his financial support. It appears the following list of suggestions could be considered by the officials of the Negro American League as a yardstick to future development:

Better Parks—It is realized that here is raised a point of argument. There are some who would say that the arrangement with present league parks lends prestige to the organization. That in this way the Negro League is brought before the white public. Such discussions only mean that someone, somewhere, is afraid to face up to the responsibility of business organization. It seems wise for any business to own its establishment and not be at the mercy of an owner who has within his power the opportunity of closing out this business by merely declaring that the facility cannot be used this year. The money spent in rentals and percentages could be applied to park development. Income could be derived from concessions, park rentals, etc.

Schedules—With park ownership, schedules could be arranged to meet league requirements and not be dependent upon when some other league team will be on the road. This would put a halt to the long bus jumps now taken by Negro players. It does not make good business sense for a team playing in Alabama to go as far north as New York, northwest to Indiana, or southwest to Texas to carry out its season's schedule. Such movement is too hard on players and equipment and impossible for the public to follow through reader interest.

Players—Need to understand that baseball is big business and they are business men and must conduct themselves as such on and off the field. This point leads into the conditioning and coaching of players. A good coach with an understanding of men and public relations is necessary for the improvement of the league. Players' contracts are not all that should be desired, and a good lawyer in this department would do much to make for more harmonious agreement on the part of players and management.

Publicity—From the news releases at present, it is impossible to give up-to-the-minute statistics on teams and/or players. There appears to be no central clearing of results, game by game. Should a club secretary feel so disposed, one newspaper will carry Team "A" in first place and another Team "B." A central clearing of statistics is necessary for public consumption to keep interest alive in home teams. A good league publicity department would solve this problem and make all sports writers very happy.

Broadcasting—Why not broadcast road games so spectators can follow the team while playing away from home. The fan is interested and wants to know what the boys are doing.

Farm Club Arrangement—There is no reason that farm club arrangement cannot be explored with major leagues to serve as a feeder for the national pastime. This suggestion will act like dynamite upon some Negro team owners, as they feel such a move would curtail their present autonomous status; however, to survive they must revamp their thinking and plan for the future. Baseball is a cooperative effort and not the whims or wishes of a few bosses. Semi-pro and industrial leagues should be encouraged and assisted by the Negro league. Working arrangements should be made with these, as the Negro League has a working arrangement with the major leagues. In this way, young players would have a chance to develop and not be ruined before their big opportunity arrives. This would also make some old players in the Negro League wake up, as they would realize that they do not have a life lease on their jobs. Last, but not least, baseball schools on some Negro college campuses would go a long way toward game, player development and league improvement, and would attract more players and spectators to the regular contests.

These are the views of the writer, to whcih you may or may not agree, but whatever your opinion, send it in and we assure you space in this column for your thinking.

YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW

By Isadore Sperling

191. Some people are so engrossed in the petty details leading to a great reputation that they lose sight altogether of the good deed which must dwell within the great reputation.

Such foolish reputation builders are strikingly similar to the mad carpenter who busied himself day and night with the details of saw and hammer, board and nails telling everybody it is a great home he is building.

Finally, the whole town shook its head in deep pity when it was horrified to discover that what the mad carpenter turned out is not a great home for the living, but a huge coffin for the dead.

192. "There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so". Shakespere.
Look. The excellent steel in the hand of a thoughtless breaker of the Divine Law spells untold danger to society.

The excellent steel in the hand of the thoughtful surgeon spells no end of hope and healing to society.

193. The birth of a nation is very much like the birth of an individual of the nation.

There must be pangs, tears, blood with the birth of the smallest nation, exactly as there must be pangs, tears, blood with the birth of the smallest babe.

Neither the birth pangs, nor the cries cause alarm to the good midwife.

The good midwife does watch with the keenest eye the flow of the life-blood and it is this life blood at the birth of the littlest nation which gives the best friends of humanity the greatest concern.

Prophet Ezekiel sums it up succinctly in the verse of the Lord to Israel: "And I passed close by thee and I noted thee wallowing in thy blood and I said to thee—in thy blood live and I said to thee—in thy blood live."

194. It is a gross error to maintain that Wednesday, May 11, 1949, the United Nations lifted the head of Israel to a nation among the 58 nations.

Matter of fact, had not Israel been all things essential to true nationhood way before that Wednesday, May 11, 1949, nothing from the pen, mouth, or hand of the United Nations on the 11th of May, 1949 would have helped Israel one inch to rise to its seat among the 58 nations.

There is this undeniable truth: as long as the seat of Israel, seat 59, was not filled, so long the head of the United Nations had been crying for a crown it never earned.

When the high office of that august assembly respectfully walked up to the representative of Israel and asked him to fill that vacant seat, 59, among the 58 seats of the nations, he whomever God had endowed with eyes to see, could plainly see that by so doing, the United Nations at last obtained and secured for itself a shining crown which most admirably fits the head. How about Israel's headcover? That? Look at it? Look well at the crown of thorns on the tear-stained, martyred brow.

Countless millions of martyrs, women, children, greybeards, thru the tragic twenty centuries, the darkest Diaspora of Israel, together with the last six million victims, burnt alive, buried alive by the Teutonic Messiah of a Great Germany tied tenderly these thorns together and most tenderly they see to it that it fits perfectly him who wears it.

Is there any need for any other crown?

195. Every bit of it occurred on the 11th of May, 1949 when the representative of Israel rose from his seat, mounted the stage and occupied the new seat among the nations, seat 59.

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The watchful reporters never noticed the occurrence. The astute camera eye never caught a glimpse of what took place behind the representative of the new nation.

The public, the newsmen, the officials were positive that only one single representative from Israel answered the call of the high officer of the august assembly, only one mounted the stage.

Just the same, a host, no small host, lined up close behind, in perfect order, in perfect silence, followed the representative of Israel to his seat.

No other representative of the 58 representatives ever had a similar host to line up close behind and follow him to his seat upon the stage, unnoticed and unknown to the public, to the camera, to the whole newspaper guild, gluttons for novelty, for the unusual.

Do you know who that host of honor was? It was the Jewish patriarchs of old. It was Moses, Joshuah and all the prophets. It was Jehudah Halevi, the great Hebrew poet of Spain of 1000 years ago. All dreamers of Zion who forever sang of the Resurrection of Israel in Eretz Israel were there making up the Host.

Indeed, it makes no more sense to say that they were not there, that they could not be there, because they are dust and their words are dead, as for example, to say that it is vain for America in the Supreme Moment to call upon the spirits of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, because these makers of America, these moulders of America's soul, are dead and their words are so much dust.

Perhaps, this explains why the face of the representative of Israel on that day, Wednesday, 11th May, 1949, shone with a light that Israel of yore saw in the face of the great Law Giver, when he came down from Sinai to make it known for all times that a new nation was born.

196. When Israel swapped one God for the Golden Calf, God put Moses to the severest test.

God said to Moses: let me destroy this bad nation and create a new nation from thine issue.

Moses was sorely tempted. Did not the nation forget the miracles, the liberation, Sinai, the Ten Commandments, in amazingly short time? Should he not say now: "God, let Thy Will come to pass?

But then Moses wrestled with that rising passion and suppressed it, as a man suppresses a fire about to get out of hand and burn his house to ashes over his head.

"And Moses returned to God and said: Indeed this nation has committed a great sin and they made for themselves a god from gold. But now if Thou wilt forgive their sin, very well and if not, pray, erase me from Thy Book and what Thou hast written" . . . and spare them.

God replied to Moses: I will not destroy a nation, when that nation has a leader who loves the people more than he loves his own life, and the lives of his own children.

197. The Hebrew word for bride really means: all things.

Talmud tells us why the Hebrew word for "all things was selected to mean a bride.

From times out of mind the scholars in the community attended weddings, especially the weddings of the poor.

These scholars came with gifts and songs. The purpose of the gifts and songs was clear: to endear the bride to the heart of the groom.

The scholars vied with each other in the songs, which showered compliments upon the bride.

One scholar after another sang before the bride and in each song there was a spontaneous word wreath, so to speak, which chanted that the bride is all things that a groom desires.

He who sings well to the bride and even dances well with the bride to make the wedding cup run over with joy, dances before God, the sages said.

198. The ancient legend knows exactly how man came into his life-allotment of three score and ten.

The Lord addressed the first man: be strong in body; be mighty of spirit; be of great faith; possess far flung ambitions; let thy thirst for knowledge embrace the whole earth and rise to the seventh heaven. The years of thy life shall number 30.

Man listened and shed bitter tears: Lord, man cried, Thou hast given me all these wonderful gifts and such short time to enjoy these gifts.

The Lord replied: I have no more years for thee. Wait. Perhaps, a little later I will find more years and I will add them to thy years.

Then the Lord spoke to the donkey: a beast of burden thou shalt be; all thy life thou shalt bear upon thy bent back enormous treasures which will never give thee one single pleasure; under lash thy pains will never grow less. The years of thy life shall number 30.

The donkey fell down to earth, kicked up its heels and broke into a terrific howl. Lord, the beast cried, since my lot on earth is soaked thru and thru with pain, must I suffer 30 long years? Lord, have mercy upon me and cut my misery to ten years.

The Lord asked man: dost thou desire to pick up the 20 years which the donkey won't have?

Yes, Lord, man exclaimed with great joy.

Then the Lord said to the dog: a watch beast thou shalt be; in heat, in cold, without a roof, a beggar of bones thou shalt be; every day of thy life thou shalt feel the deep hurt of ingratitude by the hard boot and sharp cane of thy human master. The number of the years of thy life shall be 30.

For the first time the dog wept as only an unhappy dog can weep; Lord, the dog stammered between one sob and another, since I must suffer as Thou sayest I must,, do shorten my life span to ten years.

The Lord heeded the plea of the dog and this explains how 20 more years were added to man's fifty years, thus rounding out man's life allotment to the three score and ten.

Therefore, the first 30 years of the life of man mark power, ambition, creative achievement.

The twenty years, succeeding the first 30, mark sweat, grunt, the back-breaking burden, remindful of the donkey.

Last come 20 years of instinctive saving. Like the dog at his feet between the years 50 and 70 man stands watch over his life accumulations.

Mind you, these divisions in the life of man are distinct enough when normalcy has the upper hand.

But no sooner does an upheaval of some sort break loose from somewhere, than the exception to the rule almost becomes the rule: a man below 30 may be seen acting exactly like a man of 60: the miser standing watch over accumulation in a manner to remind the spectator of the proverbial dog of the hay-stack. Nobody must come close to enjoy a mouthful of the good hay, even tho the hay can not possibly hold out one mouthful of joy to the jealous watchdog.

199. A warning from the Talmudic sage comes down to the men and women of this age of the split-atom:

"He who calls his fellow man a bad name, has no portion in the life of Hereafter."

What is this life of Hereafter if not life tomorrow and tomorrow?

Has there ever been in the long life history of man an age more fraught with frightful name-calling than our age of incredible speed and incredible slander?

Can man hope to have his fair portion in a good life tomorrow and tomorrow, if the Fear of Heaven will not stop man calling his fellow man bad names, before the catastrophic consequence of the measureless evil destroys everything?

200. "He who says a thing in the name of him who fathered the saying, brings Redemption into the world." Talmud.

Many centuries before our mounting discoveries and inventions, long before the printing press, Wisdom tied up human redemption with spiritual honesty, with the care to give credit to him who first set down or enunciated the good saying.

The eighth Commnadment, Thou shalt not steal, applies even with greater force today: do not steal a neighbor's discovery, a neighbor's invention. Mention the name of the essayist whose essay you pronounce. Do not deceive your readers, or hearers that you are the father of the Wisdom. Do lend Redemption to your life, your day, your community. They need your example for their Redemption.

BOOK REVIEWS

TRIAL AND ERROR: BY DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

REVIEWED BY RALPH GIBSON

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Ralph Gibson, the author, is an Englishman, 27 years old, a native of London, and a Bigelow Felow on the law faculty of the University of Chicago. He is a barrister of the Middle Temple and a graduate in law from Brasenose College, Oxford. During the last world war he was an officer in the Kiny's Dragon Guards stationed in the Middle East in command of troops of the Arab Legion.

This book is the autobiography of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a leader of Zionism for fifty years and now the first President of the State of Israel Reconstituted. Of all the recent books on Zionism and Palestine, it is assuredly the most valuable boon to the specialist and to that gentle person whom we define as the "general reader," not in condescension but in envy.

For the gentle general reader, then, the books is "essential;" and, happily unlike many "essential" books, it is an exciting tale. It is the tale of a truly noble nature, of a great and humble person whose humility never degenerated into submissiveness. It is the tale of a man who was one of the foremost leaders, who led the leaders of a great international movement and society that was also the political expression of a "nation." Here was a "prime minister" with the shaky powers, the equivocal position and the variable finances of the head of a voluntary organization who met with and dealt with the statesmen of great nations. It is a tale of struggle and of wanderings and of devotion and of disappointment: it is a bitter tale for us to read but is not written in bitterness.

In the past ten years the public debate on Palestine has grown too shrill for proper comprehension: those who knew little became shrill themselves, and those who knew much were themselves doing the talking. Now that the tumult is dying—and the continuing problems are coming to the surface—we are fortunate to have a book that will remind us again of the quality and texture of Zionism and of the long patient history of its leaders and of its lesser folk.

For those who have long been interested in Palestine and Zionism, particularly for those Western non-Jews who have been concerned to discover what it is that the West has done to the Jew and what, in so doing, the West has done to itself, the book is of supreme interest; and not least for what it does not say. There is a restraint to Dr. Weizmann's pen that was inevitable (however much it disappoint us) when the author was writing as the head of a movement, in which there are serious unresolved differences, at a time when unity in the face of desperate peril was the author's desire as much as it was his duty to preserve it.

There is plain and direct talk on the content of Zionism as Dr. Weizmann saw it when the movement was young: he is outspoken in his belief that the movement depended on the passion and faith of the little people as against the subtle maneuvering of the wealthy of the "statesmen." He is explicity in his condemnation, as he was then, of the espousal by Herzl of the British offer of Uganda as a place of settlement in 1903. On the problems that face Israel today, however, he is less decided.

The Constituent Assembly of Israel, now meeting in Jerusalem to adopt a Constitution for the State, is faced with problems to which the answer depends, almost entirely, upon what belief the members hold as to the true content of Zionism. Should there be a civil law for all citizens in matters of personal status, of marriage and the like, with the right to go into religious courts if the parties wish? Or should there be an exclusive jurisdiction, as was the case under the Mandate and Turkish rule, for the courts of the Jewish, of the Moslem, and of the nine Christian communities? And if there be this exclusive jurisdiction, should the non-orthodox Jews have access to courts of their own beliefs? Is Israel, in other words, a vehicle to carry that culture that shall the expression of the many shall be the expression of the many facets of Jewish culture, with the enrichment and impoverishment that have come with the harsh experiences of the Diaspora, or is Israel to be an introverted archaism, the shrine of an ethnic faith that knows only orthodoxy?

This latter alternative will, we know, not happen. The quality of social life in Israel is far from the ailing antiquarianism, from the turgid theocracy, of which it is on occasion irresponsibly accused. But the problem remains: what shall Israel be? What shall the relation be to it of the Jews of the secular West, whose Liberal and Reformed Judaism, in its organized manifestations, has taken on so much of the low-temperatured moralism of the churches of the West? What shall the word "Jew" mean in after years, supposing hopefully that the West cease to clutch its old sin, whereby the word came to mean a "situation" into which the West has forced those persons within a definition laid down by the "Gentiles" of the West?

We would be wrong to feel disappointed at the absence of answers to these questions. It is sufficient that there is much to be learnt from Dr. Weizmann's story of his life and work. For Dr. Weizmann was an "authentic" Jew: a most completely "authentic" Jew in the sense that Jean-Paul Sartre defined him: "Authenticity . . . consists in having a true and lucid consciousness of the situation, in assuming the responsibilities and risks that it involves, in accepting it in prde . . ."* What that situation was, and is, what it meant to accept it "in pride" and creatively, we can learn from Dr. Weizmann's auobiography.

It is invaluably instructive, also, to read of the achievement

of the Balfour Declaration. Dr. Weizmann, and other leaders of Zionism, were doing their job superbly well, but, like all national statesmen and Trade Union leaders everywhere, they were representatives of one cause and not students of international affairs. They were more mindful of their own plans than of the susceptibilties of others, although, be it said, they were more sincerely mindful of the rights of other inhabitants of Palestine than the more vociferous Arabists. To have asked them to have rejected the Balfour Declaration in 1922, when it became apparent that the cynicism and stupidity of the Anglo-French Treaty of 1916, the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty, had cheated the Arabs of their independence and had, into the bargain, destroyed as a result that agreement that Weizmann had made wih King Feisal in 1919, would have been to ask too much of angels, let alone hard-pressed men. But the lesson is still important. In 1919, as we see from a letter that Weizmann cites, King Feisal could still write to Mr. (now Justice) Felix Frankgurter that Zionism and the revival of the Arabs complemented each other since neither were imperialist; but when the Treaty was signed, in 1922, when greater Syria was divided up between the British and the French and Feisal robbed of his throne in Damascus, and by that same treaty the Jews were afforded "rights" in Palestine under the Balfour Declaration that was written into the Mandate, how could the Arabs feel so cerain that Zionism was not imperialist? Was it not riding in on the back of British imperialism? The conflict of Arab and Jew in Palestine may be laid at the door of British imperialism, but only to the extent that Britain signed and honored the Sykes-Picot Treaty, whereby Zionism was converted, in the eyes of the Arabs, into a tool of that imperialism. The frequent allegations of a deliberate policy of "divide" and "rule" are too clumsy an analysis.

We cede that this degree of detached objectivity, arguable even with the aid of 27 years of hindsight, could not have been expected of the Zionist leaders. They were convinced of the integrity of their own intentions and they lived in a naughty world. Dr. Weizmann tells the story with honesty and simplicity. But the story contains a dolorous lesson for all of us, not only for Britain. Dr. Weizmann was, as we have said, a superbly authentic Jew. He reacted proudly and in creative spirit to the situation that the West had created for the Jew. But there were other forces that retarded his work. Had the promises to the Arabs been honored, we had perhaps seen a productive and enriching partnership between Arab and Zionist in greater Syria; but the actions of the West forced the Arabs and Jews into conflict and, as the conflict grew sharper and the need for allies more desperate, both Arabs and Jews, or many of them, began to forget that they were both victims, just as Indians and Negroes forgot in their recent battles in the suburbs of Capetown, in South Africa. Let us hope that Arabs and Jews will soon remember their identity of interest and injury; let us hope that the West will soon earn and deserve their forgiveness.

Dark Hour, Before Dawn

By Herbert Owens Matthews

Base man: have you not ever seen
The rut, the shame you wallow in?
Ten thousand years, yes, even later,
You've looked, yet overlooked, Creator.
Since He's unseen—He's vagrant elf—
Since He's unknown, project yourself.
You're free of will, well qualified
To consummate all He's denied.
You understand Divine intent;
Manipulate, to heart's content,
Your favored projects, lust and greed,
Select and grade Creator's seed.

Pale wastrels, came to Afric's sand,
To bind proud humans, foot and hand,
To lead them to these virgin shores,
Besmirch them with the meanest chores.
The wastrels lashed and lynched and bled;
Our forbears laughed and sang and prayed.
The vilest thrusts were parried off.

'Twould seem, these facts should be enough
To prove them strong, courageous, brood,
Most worthy of Christ's brotherhood.
How stamp us of inferior breed,
And most unworthy of their seed?

We're proud, our forbears and equator
Burnt in us faith to our Creator.
They tanned our skin, they oiled our hair,
Made our lips curl and nostrils flare;
Kept our brain cool 'neath heavy shell,
But gave us song to sing in hell.
They armed us for your vile deceit,
For all degrading things we meet.
That's why our song from jungle hill,
Your thongs, as slaves, have failed to chill.
That's why we stand, this early morn,

Erect and facing this new dawn.
For, by the gray, dim, distant light,
We're promised ending of the night.
The rising sun will end your sway
And light for us Creator's way.
Your hate, your fraud, your tricky pelt,
Grandiose will, within itself,
No more can heap inhuman shame
Upon our souls—His faithful clan.
Last night was long and harried, when
Our humble, contrite, loyal, pain
Brought no reward—e'en countless slain.
But now, the night must end.

E'er day, you'll know that black and white
Were fiendish dreams conceived last night
And all creation must unite,
To void complete destruction.
For, when you split that atom—bombs,
"'Twas that one split which sealed your doom"
So says, all power of creation.
Then e'er 'tis dawn, 'twere best to see,
You spite yourself, despising me.
Best, grasp, my hand and trudge with me;
We, both of us, stand on the brink.
And friend:-'Tis far, far later than you think.

TRAVELING THE ROAD OF LIFE

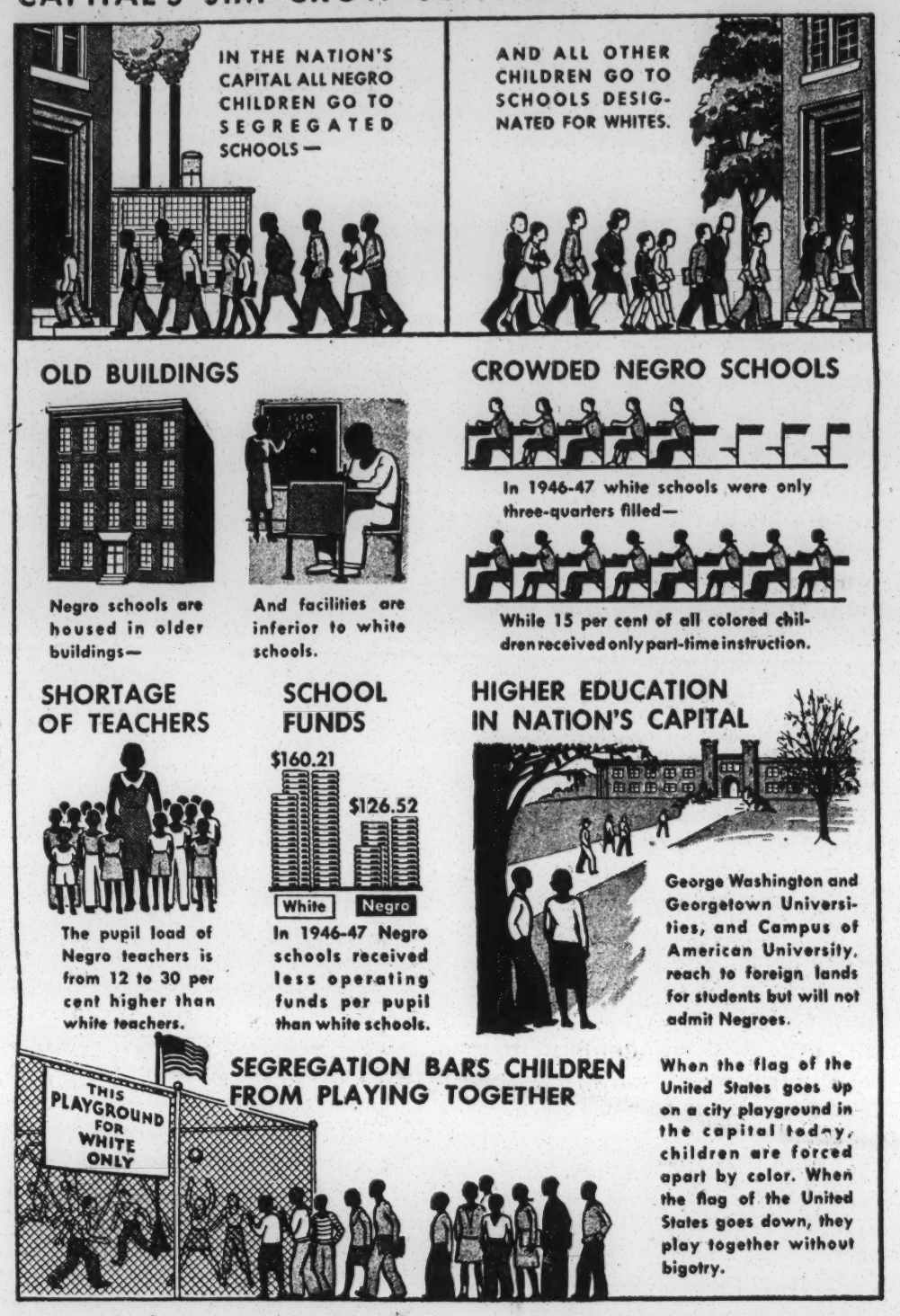
By LIL WINGFIELD

While traveling the road of life
we may sometimes meet
Envious foes and belligerent
souls,—these we may not happily greet.
Our roads may be longer than
others but our courage may be
stronger than our brothers',
And as we travel along with jubilant song we may tarry
To rest our weary feet and drink
from some wayside well, cool
and deep.
But as hours fade while we rest
in the shade we may fall asleep
And dream wonderful, fantastic
dreams of happenings further
up the road of life;
But we dream not of hatred or
guile or injustice, nor of turmoil and struggle and strife;
That miles ahead may bring
hours of dread and times of
sacrifice.
But we dream on and are content in our dreams of ecstasy,
And hours pass fast as we idly
tarry by the side of the way;
Night draws near and still finds
us here where we'd stopped
with the ending day.
Finally we awaken from dreams
that are shaken
And encounter the long distance
before us.
Our loads grow heavier as we
pursue the miles and miles
That follow; but we walk on
through the rain, through the
cold and the mist though our
friends are but few,
For we have faith in Him who
watches from above all the
things we do;
Who leads us through impetuous
storms and perilous battles of
fear,
And will always guide and abide
with us though fate may seem
near.
With exultant hearts and uplifted heads we walk triumphantly on,
For we know He will guide us
wherever we go; we know we
walk not alone.

We need everlastingly to submit the school, the church, the press and the radio to a searching observation lest they become media for propagating prejudice, and at the same time to use them to the fullest extent to promote the spirit of good will, kindliness to all, a deep reverence for human personality and respect for civil, religious and political liberties.

WE HAVE SEGREGATION IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

CAPITAL'S JIM CROW SCHOOLS



FACTOGRAPHS

The "third rail" used at first in the electrification of New York City's transportation was the invention of Granville T. Woods, a Negro of free parentage, of Columbus, Ohio. This invention was brought to the attention of the public by a race riot in 1880 instigated by steam locomotive engineers who had lost their jobs as a result of Woods' achievement. Woods, however, had only begun his inventive career. Soon after the riot he invented a system, technically known as induction telegraphy, which made telegraphic communication possible between moving trains. Subsequently he perfected twenty-five other inventions, some of which have added greatly to the mechanical development of our country by the American Bell Telephone Company. His extraordinary inventive genius secured for him a position in Thomas Edison's laboratory at a salary of $10,000 yearly.

Howard Latimer, a Negro, made the original drawings for Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone. He too was one of the "Edison Pioneers." Among many useful inventions credited to Latimer was a carbon filament for the Maxim Electric Lamp. Soon after this achievement, he became chief draftsman for the General Electric Company. Latimer directed the installation of the electric light systems of New York, Philadelphia, and London.

+ THE PEOPLE SPEAK +

(The views expressed in this section are those of the writers and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The New World Commentator)

COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE

By H. OWENS

How shall we protect and maintain free government and the present high standard of living? How prevent dictatorship? How prevent degeneration of human character int osocial irresponsibility? A plan to exercise governmental concern and governmental responsibility, yet maintain individual concern, individual effort, ndivdual thrift, and individual social responsibility.

This is America, the land of the free. This is U .S. A.—whose subjects boast the world's greatest individual freedom, the greatest per capita wealth, the highest standards of living, the longest expectancy of life, and the highest degree of per capita health standards, of any nation on earth. In addition to all this, America claims to have made the greatest scientific, techsical and cultural advancement in its three hundred years, of any other nation, in more than three thousand years.

This is our great Uncle Sam. How did Uncle get that way? Certainly, not by wars and conquest. Certainly, not by power politics and mere political maneuvering. Certainly, not by mere governmental fiat and governmental snooping into the regulated and regimented lives of its subject peoples. All these methods have been passionately tried and found wanting, by certain other contemporary nations, which now trail us, far to the rear.

Uncle has exercised a necessary supervision and limited control over some exigencies and crises, affecting the health and lives of his nephews and nieces, from the very founding of the republic. But not until recent years has there been a desire or tendency to absolutely control, manipulate and process human life by governmental fiat.

However, such recent tendencies are not to be laid entirely at the feet of government, itself. These tendencies have culminated from demands of Uncle's relatives for freedom from oppression, from want and from fear—security. The original settlers came here to find freedom from governmental oppression, want, and fear. Their progeny are still pained by certain degrees of want, but, mainly, they dread reinstitution of that old governmental oppression. So, the fight never ends.

Yes, a large percentage of Uncle's nephews and nieces constantly send up supplications for security from want and fear. And because of this paternalistic attitude toward government, the people have been forced to bear, more and more, paternal chastiement and dictation. Just because of these annoying supplications, Uncle Sam has sapped up the wealth and power of the highest class of people, and leveled them off into an indistinguishable alloy with the middle classes. Then Uncle has tried to use this assimilated and digested wealth and power as a lever, to elevate his lowest class of citizens up to a level, comparable to that alloy of middle classes, from he point of view of security. But, we fear the end result will be a very poor, unstable alloy of none but the lowest class of poverty and want.

However, Uncle has tried. And in this effort, the government has demanded and compelled the overwhelming majority of its working class of citizens to lay aside a pittance for a rainy day of unemployment, retirement and old-age assistance. The power of compulsion begets reasons for more power. The people, generally, accepted without serious protest this levelling off, amalgamation and alloy, of powerful wealth with the middle classes. And the middle classes accepted, without serious protest, this compulsory elevation of the lowest laboring classes into a status of financial security, and stability comparable with their own.

Now, this newly acquired governmental power is greedy for more power. Out of this maelstrom of amalgamation and absorption, the professional class of citizens, alone, stands aloof, free, and at least, partly independent of governmental regulation and regimentation. They are now begrudged even this partial independence. Because the children who labor have raised a hew and cry unto Uncle, for welfare funds, pensions, greater disability compensationss, and they scream to high heaven about the high cost of sickness and disability, the supposed poor distribution of medical care, and lack of adequate hospital facilities, in certain areas. So, Uncle Sam proposes to do something about it all, even if what he does turns out later to be the wrong thing.

For these varied reasons, one burning issue at present is the governmental version of compulsory health insurance. This issue has the nieces and nephews puzzled, distraut a wrangling among themsc But under the government plan, the government would undertake to furnish to every citizen, free of cost, complete medical, dental, specialist and necessary hospital care and services. The plan in its entirety, to be financed by a compulsory tax on payrolls, wages, salaries and other income, collected at the source.

None would be exempt from the tax, though ostensibly any would be free to accept or not accept government-sponsored care. It is specifically stated that any physician may join the government group, or remain in private status of his own free will. And any patient may accept regimented medicine, or seek his own choice of physician, of his own free will, and at his own expense.

At any rate, the tax is the burning issue with the laboring man. For ninety per cent of

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Uncle's relatives desire their Uncle's periodic allowances and emergency assistance. But, it hurts when they are required to first give Uncle value received —work for Uncle—in the form of unavoidable taxation. If only Uncle could make his millionaire nephews foot the entire bill. If only he could milk the giant corporations and trusts for the full amount.

Destroy the middle class and dictatorship follows.

But, as we have just pointed out, Uncle Sam has sponged up the wealth of all his millionaire nephews, in other taxes, and leveled them down to a state of indistinction from the middle class. And Uncle has learned the fact, the hard way, that the big corporations and trusts are not the independent, soulless monsters they were once thought to be. All of them are completely built, owned, operated and controlled by the great middle and laboring classes of citizens. If these corporations are destroyed by taxation, then the middle class will be destroyed, and leveled down, so that no class exists, except laborers and indigent poor.

Then what? The laboring class and indigent cannot provide the required number of jobs of compensable work, to sustain itself in the present high standards of living. Neither can free democratic government undertake to so provide in toto. Either living standards must be very materially reduced, or some form of dictatorship—socialism, nazism, or communism—must take over. And it is certain, sure, that none of these systems of dictatorship is qualified to maintain the present living standards.

Under communism, for instance, a man cannot obtain a suit of clothes, just because he sees it, likes it, and wants it. All his pleasant desires are submerged in the common good. Somone in Moscow must first decide and vouch for the fact, that a suit of clothes for a certain man in the Ural Mountains is consonant with the common good of all Russians.

Because of this very fact, the farmer in the Ural Mountains becomes indifferent over producing a bumper crop of sheep. And if he does produce them, he holds them to the last minute, just to gloat over his own possessions. Frequently, he turns over the last of them to the community stockyards, only at point of a gun. Since sheep and everything else are valued by a standard of gold, it is easy to see how this farmer's indifference and delay slows the stream of gold on its way upward to Moscow. Then politics and governmental red tape slows and dissipates the flow of gold back downward to the sheepherder's common share, in the mountains.

Thus, the sheepherder and all other Soviets remain in continual and perpetual depression. They are forever conscious of needs and desires — pleasures and pains—which are never completely satisfied—a low standard of living. In order to maintain a high, pleasant standard of living, gold must circulate rapidly and freely. Pleasures, needs and desires must be satisfied, almost at slightest whim, for the greatest number of people. The stream must not become sluggish. One must not wait for some important personage to wake from an afternoon nap, or return from dinner, to sign a voucher, in order that some other individual may obtain a piccolo, or a white elephant, if that be his desire—his pleasure.

The same is true, possibly in less degree, of socialism. The universal high standards of living which now prevail could not and would not be maintained under socialism in America. That is simply because the flow of gold inevitably becomes sluggish and stagnant, by superior recognition and reasoning for the common good of all, in every possible situation.

So then, we have stated: the professions are the last, ostensibly free and independent, upper crust of the middle class. 'Twould be well to keep it so. They are the last bulwark of a free and independent people. The professions are now neither subservient to government, nor to class. But they serve both.

The middle class is the buffer which holds the oppressive heel of government up off the neck of the laborer and indigent poor. The history of the middle ages and the French Revolution will detail just how oppressive government can be. Even Hitler's Gestapo and the present Russian secret police will testify to this, exceedingly well. But free and independent professions will guarantee the complete freedom of the middle class, yet a while longer. If the professions are regimented under the governmental heel, it will not be long e'er dictatorship descends upon all the people.

The many compulsions of the government plan of insurance—a threat to freedom of religion and freedom of person.

Dictatorship thrives on compulsion. It is well to remember that very point. And it is well to remember that the essence of the government's plan of health insurance—the gold sustaining element—is a compulsory payroll tax, from which none would be exempt.

While this is being remembered ,we should also become cognizant of the fact that there are many more potential compulsions involved, than at first appears. Actually, this compulsory health plan touches precariously upon two basic American ideals—freedom of religion and freedom of person.

Freedom of religion is jeopardized, in that we have in this country uncounted numbers of a religious sect, known as faith-healers. They are certainly religiously averse to any form of regular medical care. Yet they are not exempt from the tax to support it. Would they be compelled, by government edict, to accept it? Who can say at this early date? But, the probabilities are that some one or more politicians would conclude that these religious fanatics were a threat to the general health, and dupe other politicians into their way of hinking. And just here, it would not be amiss to include the many thousands of Christian Scientists with this religious group.

The threat to person appears, in that every person insured will have a number, just as under the social security system. All his personal and private diseases and disabilities become a permanent record in Washington, under that number. These records will be open to any future political snooper, and may be used for political purposes, or any other conceived use.

But above all else, each physician is specifically given freedom of choice, whether he will serve under the plan or not serve. Therefore, some will not join up. In that case the insured who chooses to have the service of that patricular physician must pay out of his own pocket, even though he has previously been

taxed. Under such circumstances, is it not probable some independent physicians will be subject to boycott and other public pressure, from certain malicious individuals and organizations, to either force him into the system or ruin his business? Thus compulson begets compulsion.

And under this system, all and sundry will crowd in upon the poor overworked physician, often unnecessarily, just to get his tax dollar's worth. The doctor will see 50 to 100 in his limited time. Then he must spend most of the night collecting and compiling records and reports, in order to collect his compensation. Thus the mortality rate among the profession will increase.

However, the most terrible threat is: such governmental paternalism tends to break down the dignity and sanctity of the home. The head of the family is temped to shift his individual responsibility onto the shoulders of government. He becomes shiftless, thriftless and irresponsible toward family. He knows the government is committed to care for his family in sickness and in death. He may desert them without compunction. And such social ideas of irresponsibility will gnaw into the very fiber of the nation; thus, weaken the nation as a whole.

When the national fiber is weakened, one compulsion will lead on to another, one governmental regimentation will call for another, just for security reasons until there is neither freedom nor security under complete dictatorship.

Individual responsibility for person and home transcends governmental responsibility.

We must take the position that the individual responsibility must be maintained. But it would not imply that government has no direct responsibility for the health of its people generally .We firmly believe in the sheer impossibility of government infusing itself into every ache and pain to which the flesh is heir, in an equitable and beneficial manner.

Thinkers hold that government is responsible to the people as a whole — not to any class of people, not to poor states nor to rich states, not to veterans nor non-veterans, not merely to the underprivileged and indigent. All of the people do not need, nor want health insurance. Therefore, the government is not responsible for health insurance for those who do need it and want it. The greatest error in Uncle Sam's government is its attempt to legislate for benefit of special classes, special situations, special areas, and special occasions. These special financial crises never end. And this special class legislation — to agriculture, to veterans, to poor states for the indigent and old-age assistance, to those merely unemployed, and for education—these are extremely wasteful, and especially threatening to the economy of the country. These especially cause deficit spending.

There is no good reason why the government should spend billions erecting special hospitals for veterans, and restrict them exclusively to veterans. Any hospitals built by government should be open to use of all the people, bar none. Any man who suffered loss or disability in service of his country, is entitled to gratitude and appreciation of all the people and this gratitude may be shown in special ways and special favors. But the mere fact that one served his country ,and for various reasons another did not, should cause no special preferment to the one who served. Therefore, all non-service-connected disability payments and services should be discontinued. These are special class favors and very wasteful, both in the payments themselves and in the cost of administration of the payments and services.

Now is the time for government — state and national — to assert the unassailable principle that: Government is responsible to all the people. And this principle must be stoutly defended by government, against all pressure groups, political, or otherwise. Because our government is truly of the people, for the people, and by the people. Therefore, government is responsible to the people as a whole, not to any particular group of people, no matter how rational certain groups of pressure may sound.

Government has been ignorant of the fact: that every ache and pain, every want and desire, every fear and fancy, every present and future aspiration, of the most insignificant of all its people is valued in terms of gold. The national government, under pressure of a class of citizens who are devoted to free enterprise, has been largely responsible for instituting this gold standard. And the national government itself, in an effort at self-protection, has collected and cached more than three-fifths of the world's entire supply of gold, underground at Fort Knox. Actually, that is equivalent to holding three-fifths of the aches and pains, the wants and desires, the fears and fancies and the eternal aspirations of all its citizens, static underground.

Then, as we see it, government has but one responsibility in this dilemma of public health. That responsibility is, to make that gold circulate to the best advantage of all its own people and the people of the world. Government will find it impossible to adequately satisfy every pleasure and pain of its people. But if human pleasures and pains circulate freely, in terms of gold, the government will find that human aches and pains will satisfy themselves more satisfactorily.

With free circulation, each responsible individual can then take care of his own illness and that of his family. There will be less class avarice and greed, less group pressue on government, less state and political pressure for handouts. Because with all citizens more financially competent, many states will suddenly find they are not so poor as once thought to be. Farmers will have no need to press for support of farm prices. There will be no need for special non-service-connected disability payments. No need for special old-age assistance. No need for special state aid to education. No need for regimentation of the professions. No need for a special compulsory tax for health insurance. No need for increased public debt and deficit spending.

A plan to make gold circulate freely.

The following are basic outlines of the plan conceived by me, to be adequate and workable:

Discontinue all special class handouts and class services. Absolutely dissolve, all bureaus and agencies so concerned. This,

Turn to Next Page

alone, will save billions of tax dollars that may be used in social security. And if the social security agency remains in status quo, except for extension of its services to all the people—farmers, domestics, self-employed—at most, only a very slight increase in S. S. taxes would be needed under this plan.

Then, let every man who is able to work, work and earn to his fullest capacities. If he is able to work, if there is a job for him, and he refuses to work, let him summarily forfeit all guarantees, under this plan. When he is disabled for work, even temporarily, let the S. S. Agency, in co-operation with his employer, both together, guarantee him at least 50 per cent of his average yearly wage or salary, over the last five years he worked, with an absolute rock-bottom minimum of thirty dollars a month for the duration of his disability, or duration of life.

If the man's disability is the result of employment, the employer must assume complete responsibility. If not the result of employment, the employer and agency cooperate, 50-50. But if the employee never returns to work, or dies, the agency assumes complete responsibility, even to any undue loss to employer. In every case where disability is not the direct result of employment, the employee's own estate and savings may be taken into account, and the employer and agency would be liable only for any deficit required to reach a guarantee of 50 per cent average yearly earnings, or the minimum of thirty dollars, whichever is greater.

When a man retires at age 65, if he has insufficient estate or savings, let the employer and agency, in cooperation, guarantee him any necessary deficit required to reach 50 per cent of earnings, or the minimum, for duration of life.

All indigent, disabled and aged male persons, should receive a minimum of thirty dollars a month assistance under this plan. Indigent, disabled and aged females may vary, depending upon whether they have at any time entered the labor market—been employed.

All farmers, domestics, and self-employed, should receive the same minimum guarantees, as others. Indigent, orphaned and disabled children, should be given special consideration, up to the age of employability.

Then, for special emergencies requiring large outlays of funds for personal or family illness, hospital and special medical care, the S. S. Agency should undertake to guarantee loans, from the employer, if at all possible, or from others, up to a maximum of 75 per cent of an average year's wage or salary, repayable over long periods, at a fixed rate of interest, not to exceed 3 per cent.

And under this plan the minimum of thirty dollars would be free of tax. But those receiving the 50 per cent of average earnings would be liable for both a normal tax and S. S. tax.

Then let the national and state governments cooperate in building hospitals and facilities for all the people, covering all areas.

By this plan it is easily seen that we believe the employer also has a great deal of responsibility toward relieving the aches, pains, fancies and desires of his employees. Especially does the employer's responsibility increase with the longevity and faithful service of his employees.

It is our honest opinion that some plan similar to this is easily workable, without any greater financial outlays, than are now habitually made by our national and state governments combined, in needy social fields. In fact, we believe the total outlays would be much less than now. And we believe each individual would be better able to shoulder his own responsibility for the high cost of living, disability and disease. We believe the national economy would be much more stable, over the long period.

BY THE EDITOR

In our romantic Southland white men have lived side by side with black men for many years. In spite of the white man's studied unwillingness to be more considerate of him, they have gotten along very well together, or rather the black man has shown a rather generous willingness to get along with his white brothers. But suppose the Negro did not speak our language, follow our religion, wear our clothes, eat our food—what an insufferable mess we continually should be in!

Our present dilemma seems to lie in the fact that we have no philosophy whatsoever of getting along with Negroes. Our only policy seems to be that we want no progress of any sort to eventuate.

The status quo—that in the South is our firm position. We want most to keep the Negro in his place. But what is his place? Is it to be forever that of a second class citizen?

In an inter-cultural meeting, an able Negro once asked, "But where is our place?" Then he said:—"In the streetcars we are put back behind, on the trains we go up in front, on the steam boat we are sent down below, in the theater we climb up above."

An able white Southerner is reported to have said: "Yes, I'm an educated man—I hold all the accepted prejudices." And prejudice has for so long dominated our thinking that it has become so deep-seated in our mores as almost to have become a part of our very culture.

It is now to laugh; for what could have been more ironical than for the atomic bomb to have evolved from an idea brought out of Germany in the brain of a there-despised Jewess?

Throughout the world there are groups of people who are farther, or less far, along in their cultural development than other groups. Witness the bushman of Australia, or the Dravidian of India, in contrast with the highly cultured man of Northern Europe, and his descendants who have spread around the world. Yet in the divine plan we are all brothers.

Just think what America might become in this new world of promise if all of her varied peoples were given the opportunity fully to achieve their destiny, to which they are fully entitled under our constitution.

Because we are so stupid as to keep one-tenth of our population in continual economic and political slavery, we do as much harm to ourselves as we do to this large segment of our population. Booker T. Washington said: "You cannot keep a man down in a ditch without staying in there with him."

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The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization set up in February, 1944 to study the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is pro-democracy and pro-humanity. It is an outgrowth of the needs of the South, it is Southern in its make-up and its work.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the people of the South must take the lead in solving their own problems. SRC believes in the future of the South. It believes that the South can be prosperous and healthy, purged of poverty, hatred and fear. It believes that the South needs to broaden the narrow base of Democracy on which it stands if it is to go forward.

The Southern Regional Council does everything it can to promote these beliefs. It works through its state divisions and affiliated state and local committees to take its aims and activities into all communities of the South. It cooperates with other agencies devoted to Southern progress. It studies the problems of the South and seeks solutions to them. It conducts surveys to get at the roots of the South's economic and social ailments. It seeks to mobilize the people of the South for intelligent, democratic cooperation. It works to create better understanding between races.

Southern Regional Council members include people from all "classes," all faiths, all races, from all parts of the South. Its officers, executive committee and board of directors include church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

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NYT Magazine 4-5-63

PROGRESS AND TRADITION—"In Greenville, Miss., a typical Deep South community, segregation follows no hard and fast rules. The Negro labors alongside the white man (above). But the familiar divisions still obtain in restaurants (right), buses, movies and many other areas of contact."

Segregation's Way In One Southern Town

The barriers against first-class citizenship for Negroes are crumbling—but slowly.

By HODDING CARTER

GREENVILLE, Miss.

EVEN if the Supreme Court does outlaw the South's dual educational system — an issue now being considered by the justices — segregation's Wall of Jericho will not come tumbling down to the tread of Negro children marching off to hitherto all-white schools. Not even the most fearful white defender of the status quo ("separate but equal" school facilities for the races) or the most optimistic Negro objector expects anything like that. Most of the Southern states, if not all of them, will take evasive action that will delay into the far future any significant implementation of a court order to open the presently white public schools to both races. The legal counter-measures proposed range from the abolition of the public school systems, as has been promised by the Governors of South Carolina and Georgia, to a variety of local redistricting programs which would gerrymander school districts into geographically fantastic divisions with the sole object of keeping Negro children in the Negro schools. And, inevitably, extra-legal devices would also be resorted to in some areas of the South.

Whatever the court does, there can be no doubt that next fall and for many years to come the great majority of Southern Negro children will continue to go to separate schools. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court's imminent decision is causing many white Southerners to look more closely and with some anxiety at a social pattern which, until the very recent past, has been taken for granted or accepted as immutable by the great majority of the white and Negro citizens of the South.

It is a pattern which is confusing in its contradictions not only to the newcomer but to people who have lived with it all their lives. I am assuming, correctly I think, that my own city, Greenville, is fairly typical of any Deep South community of similar size in which dwell white and Negro citizens in almost identical numbers. In Greenville, as elsewhere, segregation follows no hard and fast rules, nor is it as severe or as all-embracing today as the practice was in my Louisiana boyhood.

OF our 30,000 citizens nearly one-half are Negroes, and Negroes make up two-thirds of the county population of 70,000. Ours is a Mississippi River port town, a prosperous county seat where a changing economy is reflected in growing industrial payrolls and diversified agriculture. In the surrounding countryside, cotton is no longer the only crop. Rice, cattle and soybeans increase the planters' income, while mechanization is replacing, and sometimes displacing, the Negro tenant, who first moves to the near-by town and then so often treks to the North. Like Mississippi as a whole, where the Negro population decreased between 1940 and 1950 from about 50 per cent of the total to 45 per cent, Greenville and Washington Counties are losing Negroes.

The more familiar divisions still obtain here and almost everywhere else in the South. Negroes sit separately in the buses and in the movies. They cannot patronize restaurants catering to white customers. They attend separate churches. And so on. But there are other things they can do now which they could not do twenty and even ten years ago, and some of the variants are indeed puzzling.

PERHAPS the best way to illustrate these paradoxes is to accompany an imaginary Negro citizen during one day of his life in Greenville. This man, let's say, is a bricklayer. On this particular day he has labored all morning on an unsegregated job, the construction of a new office building downtown. He belongs to the same union and receives the same pay as do the white men beside whom he works. Last night he attended a union meeting in the same small hall, though he observed the amenities by sitting a little way apart.

Just now it is noon, and he has decided to walk over to the courthouse to vote in the special city election. On the way he passes a hotel in which Negro and white dining room employes, including one of his daughters, are working side by side; but he could enter it only in line of duty. When he gets to the courthouse he stands in the same voting line as do the white voters, and after he has cast his ballot he may stroll upstairs to the unsegregated courtroom to listen to the testimony and nod to a neighbor who is one of two Negroes on the jury.

When he quits work at 5 P. M. he decides to buy himself a new hat and a pair of shoes before he catches the segregated bus for home; and because he likes good clothing and has been working steadily all winter, he goes to one of the best men's stores in town. He can remember when he would not have been served in that store, and even now the clerks don't want him to try on the hat before he buys it, though they have no objection to fitting him for the shoes; but since he knows his head size, he doesn't worry overmuch.

WHEN he gets home he settles down to read the afternoon newspaper before supper. Sixteen years ago only 200 Negroes read that paper. Today there are more than 5,000 Negro readers. I know because it's my paper. Maybe he and his wife will go out tonight, so he looks at the movie ads. There are three (Continued on Page 34)

HODDING CARTER is editor-publisher of The Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1946 for his editorials on the subject of racial tolerance.

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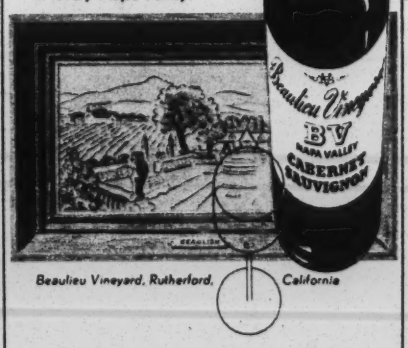

Beaulieu Vineyard, Rutherford, California

Segregation's Way in One Town

(Continued from Page 11)

movie houses for Negroes only, one white movie with a balcony for Negroes and two which admit only white patrons, so he has a wider choice than do the white theatre-goers.

His house is not so much to look at, because housing here is at a premium. He and his family are living in a small cabin which he has put in fair repair. He hopes to own his home one of these days as do most of his friends, and he has in mind the new Negro housing addition just north of town.

ON this street, not all of his neighbors are Negroes. There is one poor white family just across the way and another one on the corner, for poverty and overcrowding are no respectors of housing segregation in the South; there are hundreds of white and Negro citizens of Greenville who live in the same depressed neighborhoods, some of them even next door to each other. They have almost nothing to do with each other, but they are not unfriendly.

He also sees by the paper that the American Legion is sponsoring a carnival, featuring a big tent show, which opens tonight; that a notable pianist is performing at the white high school auditorium in the community concert series, and that out at the air base there will be a reception for the graduating class of cadets. He can't attend the piano recital or go to the air base reception. However, his wife's sister, who lives in Chicago, has a son who is a cadet here and he'll find out from the boy what the party was like when he and his wife drive out to the base next week to see the boy parade. And he can go to the Legion carnival, and enter unrestrictedly the tawdry shows and gamble side by side with the white dupes along the midway.

HIS wife suggests that they go to a late movie instead of the carnival and that first they call on a friend who is a patient in the new hospital which everyone in town is so proud of. There are Negro doctors practicing in the hospital and Negro nurses in the Negro wing, and all the facilities are just alike, with common kitchens and operating rooms.

So the couple fix up a bunch of daffodils and go off to see their friend. They find the friend in good spirits and entertaining a few relatives from across the river in Arkansas. One of the kinfolk, a nephew, is a veteran and a graduate student at the University of Arkansas, which was the first Southern university to admit Negroes after the Supreme Court held that it was in fact impossible to provide separate and equal facilities at the graduate school level.

The nephew is arguing with his parents and his sick aunt, as so many of the younger Negroes are arguing today, about the remaining disparities in the South. He wants to know why he can buy two-bit shockers in the city's drug stores, but can't enter the public library, only the small branch library for Negroes. He wonders when the University of Mississippi will admit its first Negro as most of the other Southern state universities have already done. He is protesting that most of the jobs open to Negroes in the new industries in the South are only the menial ones. He is questioning the Christianity of white Southerners who

THE COURT ISSUE

The segregation cases before the U. S. Supreme Court pose the issue whether it is constitutional for the states to segregate Negro children from white ones in the public schools. The issue is presented in five cases involving South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas and the District of Columbia. Thirteen other states in which segregation is in force can be affected by the decision. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids a state to make a law "which shall abridge the privileges" of any of its citizens or deny them "equal protection." By a Supreme Court decision of 1896, it was held that "separate but equal" school facilities complied with this amendment, but the present complaints contend that separation itself constitutes a condition of inequality.

don't want Negroes to study in the same theological schools with white divinity students nor to worship in the same churches.

His angry criticism makes the older folks uncomfortable. They tell him that he doesn't remember the old days. They point to the two Negro policemen and two policewomen on the Greenville force, to the record of no lynchings in the South in 1952, to the new swimming pool for Negroes, the two new high schools whose teachers have almost achieved equality of pay, to the hospital in which they are sitting, to the 2,000 Negro farm owners in the county, to present-day wages. But the young veteran replies that these benefits and improvements for the most part raise the barriers of segregation higher by making racial separateness more agreeable to Negroes and highly profitable for some of them. Before the argument is over they have to leave, because visiting period has ended.

* * *

OUR Negro bricklayer is fictitious, but the situations in which he finds himself

(Continued on Page 36)

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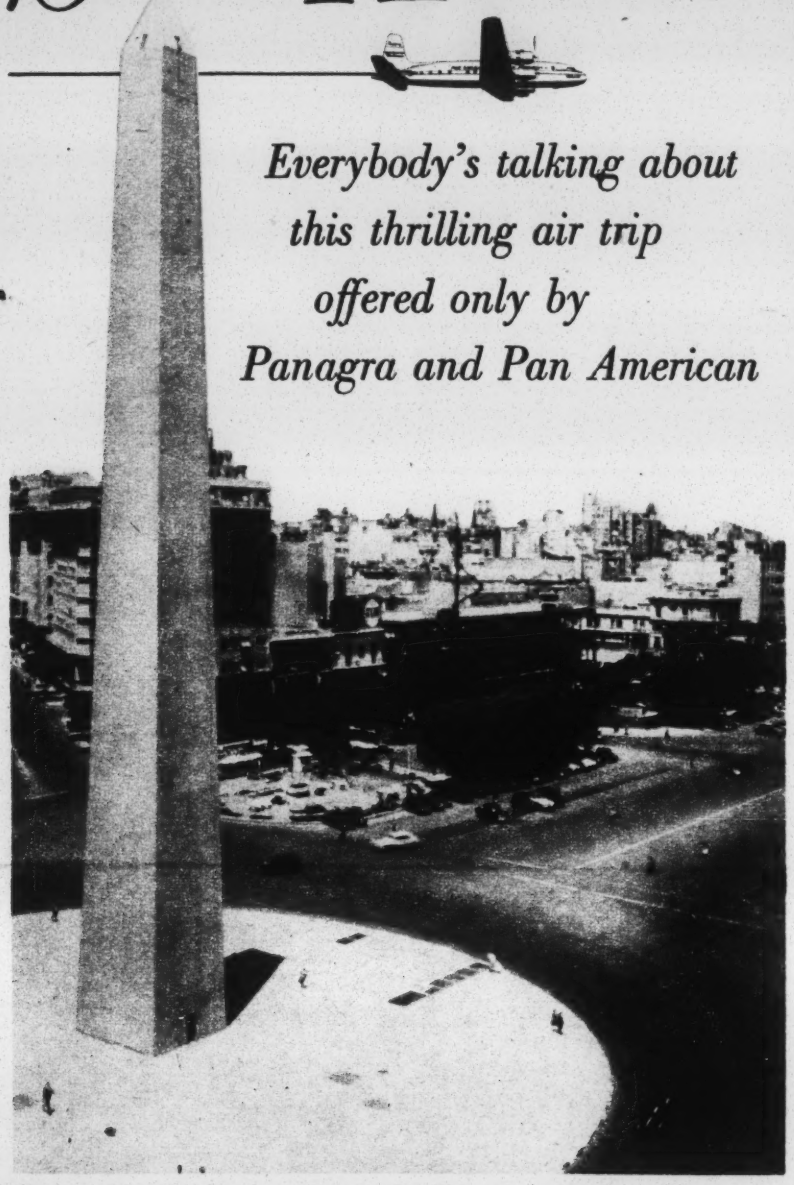

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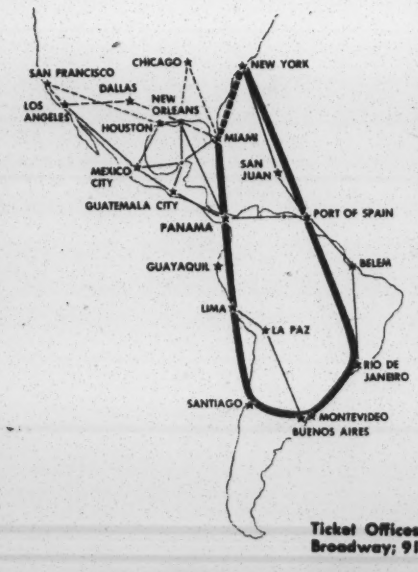

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(Continued from Page 34)

here are not. The debate in the hospital room is raging today among Negroes, among many white Southerners and their non-Southern critics—and sometimes the debate is among white Southerners themselves. I have no way of telling how many Negroes in the South are as impatient as the imaginary veteran. I believe, however, that the younger Negroes and the Negro intellectuals, particularly the urban dwellers, are not satisfied with the speed or the direction of most of the changes, while the older, less educated, rural and small-town Negroes are inclined to be satisfied with the progress that has come in their lifetimes and particularly in the last twenty years.

IT is easier for me to gauge the attitudes of white fellow-Southerners for they are not inhibited against speaking freely. Overwhelmingly they believe that the improvement in the Negroes' lot has been remarkable. Some of them argue that the changes have come too fast. Only a few will contend that the pace has not been swift enough or that the progress is and will remain inconsequential as long as segregation itself is imposed. Vocally, at least, the white South still insists upon segregation in the realm of mass, unselected personal contact—in restaurants and swimming pools and hotels, and, of course, in the public schools.

Having spent almost all my life in two Southern states, Louisiana and Mississippi, I know firsthand that regardless of segregation the change in the Negro's status in the South appears almost miraculous to white and Negro Southerners who can remember what the racial pattern was like forty years ago. As contradictory or unreasonable as the taboos under which our Greenville bricklayer moves may be, they are far less onerous and numerous and rigidly enforced than they were in his and my boyhood. By and large, until some seemingly revolutionary, emotion-charged issue like the possible ending of public school segregation comes up, the white people of my town, and elsewhere in the South, are not overly worried about what is happening on the fringe of the pattern.

THEIR sons are serving in the same units with Negro troops, living and dying alongside them. They know that Negro students are attending state universities and a considerable number of sectarian colleges and divinity schools in the South, and that interracial meetings of college students are not a rarity. My white fellow-townsmen took quite calmly the fact that about a year ago Negro delegates to a state-wide convocation in Greenville of a Protestant denomination dined in the church annex with the rest of the delegates and were served by the women of the church. When they travel by air and by Pullman they see increasing numbers of Negroes as their unsegregated fellow-travelers.

They know that Negro and white workers belong to the same unions, and profit from the unity they have achieved thereby. They are aware that the effect of a series of Supreme Court decisions has been to make racial discrimination and segregation itself more difficult to preserve. They are growing accustomed to the Negro as voter, as juror, as educated land and home owner, as professional man, as a customer and client with a lot more money to spend than his sharecropper father had.

They don't know him any more intimately than they used to—probably the personal contacts are relatively fewer—but they see him as a different person from his father, whom they remember as an obsequious, almost illiterate, culturally inferior and likable hoe-hand. They felt more comfortable around the father than they do around his son, but if and when they can look at him rationally and objectively, they admit that the son is more valuable to the South and to the nation.

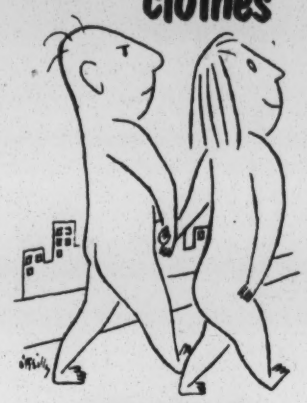
BUT when you discuss with these fellow-citizens of mine the possibility that the United States Supreme Court may, in what would be a momentous decision, cause the white children to attend public school with Negro children, they will tell you with great emphasis that this will not happen. Most of them do not wax vehement or make threats as was their fathers' custom when the racial status quo was threatened. They simply say that it's not going to happen in Greenville. They point to the editorials in The Delta Leader, a Negro weekly published in Greenville, and in The Jackson Advocate, the largest Negro newspaper in Mississippi, which insist that Mississippi Negroes want only equal school facilities and do not desire a single public school system.

Most Southern Negroes are of the same opinion, these Greenvillians say, and few if any of those who disagree will try to send their children to the presently all-white schools. And, if this surmise is incorrect, my white neighbors add, they are prepared to go to any legal lengths to prevent integration of the public schools. Whether physical coercion and economic reprisal would be added to their list of weapons if it ever seemed necessary they do not say—and this is an encouraging sign in a land where formerly the initial reaction to such potentialities was violence or the threat of violence.

WHAT the Negro bricklayer and his wife and their belligerent young veteran nephew are saying about this, I do not know, nor could I be sure that

(Continued on Following Page)

IF you wear clothes



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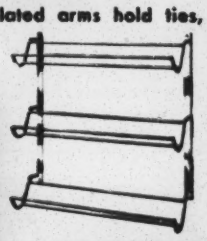

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"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"—Greenville school, for Negroes only.

(Continued from Preceding Page)
what they might say to me was what they really thought. I am sure only that Negro opinion in the South is honestly divided. Some of those who say that they would prefer separate secondary schools, if they were really equal, may be accommodating themselves to realities or calculatedly parroting what they know the white Southerner wants to hear. Others are weighing against the fruits of victory the probability of humiliation for their children and some kind of community retaliation against unorthodox Negro parents. And, of course, there are thousands of Negroes who themselves profit, directly or indirectly, from segregation and who have an economic stake in its continuance.

THIS unsureness of what is really in the mind of the other is a mighty barrier between the races. But I cannot believe that in the event of a favorable court decision any concerted effort will be made by Negro parents to enroll their children in the white schools, at least not in Mississippi and the other states of the Deep South where the Negro population represents from one-fourth to nearly one-half of the total. It is altogether likely that in the border states and in sections of the Upper South where the Negro is a tiny minority, economic considerations may permit the enrollment of the relative handful of Negro children among scores or hundreds of white children.

The pressure of numbers, the ratio of Negro to white, is an important factor in this matter. So, in time, will be the pressure of educational costs in a dual system under which actual equality of facilities must be provided.

BUT here and now, my white fellow-Greenvillians are prepared to spend themselves broke to meet whatever terms the Supreme Court may demand as the price of the continuation of the dual system. Abolition of the segregated school represents for them too sudden and complete a break with the past and even the present. The Negro's status is changing and the barriers raised against his first-class citizenship are crumbling here and there, as the bricklayer and even the veteran can tell you. But it is a sporadic sloughing off.

Some among the white Southerners say it is happening too fast, some among both races say it is happening fast enough, some—and almost all of them are Negroes—say it is happening too slow. They all agree that the acid test of how fast it can happen will come if the Supreme Court holds against the segregated school and the South faces what to do next. No one believes that the Southern states will willingly live up either to the letter or the spirit of such a decision.

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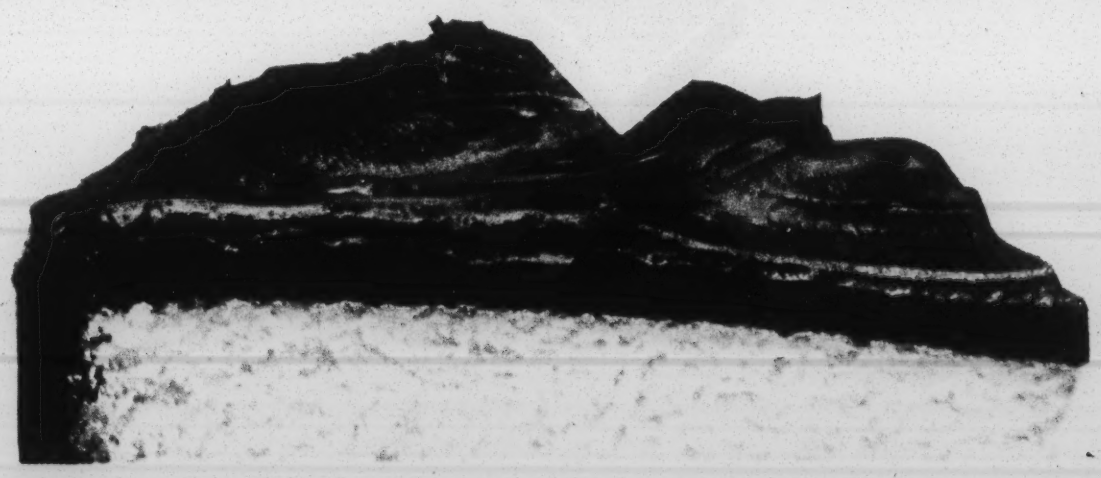

Race and Racial Differences Prior to 1956

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Biracialism in American Society: A Comparative View

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New York City

I

OUR culture exercises certain values forcefully through our interracial arrangements, principally Negro and white. Comparison with other white-governed societies receiving Negroes reveals the uniqueness in American developments, above all in the operations of Negro status.

Studies of American Negro life have been done chiefly by disciplines other than anthropology; American anthropological method has not contributed new insights to the already rich literature. No scholar employs intercultural comparisons of modern Negro groups.

There is, regarding the American Negro, Powdermaker's study of the biracial functioning of a Southern town, giving the values of both segments of the community (1939); and anthropologists have participated in distinguished single- and multidiscipline presentations of Negro personality, culture, and society, of historical and culture origins, of separate institutions like family, church, and press. All the accounts are mutually elaborating and reinforcing despite some differences of interpretation, as reflected, for example, in the disputed terminology of "caste" and "class." There are, however, hidden commitments to cultural valuations and personal philosophies in the work of individual scholars, which Myrdal shows need enunciation (Myrdal 1944: 1036–64); cross-cultural surveys of Negro place in other white-ruled societies show how substantial for method and theory are the value cautions stressed by this foreign observer.The present article rests upon the whole literature, since no real anthropological differentiation is apparent, and statements are pointed cross-culturally by my studies of Negro life in other societies.

American culture and society have a Negro or interracial aspect. It has shaped the life of each American Negro by rigid, clear formulas of relationships with whites, especially in the south and southwest, specifying conditions of residence, employment, schooling and burial, of sex and marriage, of separate conduct and speech for the races. The Supreme Court's decision ordering against segregation in public education reveals again how Negro life rests upon assumptions of the host society. They have been most completely defined as the traditional South saw them, including reciprocal injunctions upon whites which have not held so fast in other regions. Other regions of the country before World War I actually knew Negroes as little as Indians, except for "northern" centers like New York, Chicago, Detroit.

Southern blacks began the Great Migration north during the first war, attracted by industry, and were later joined by demobilized soldiers, all groups equally footloose. Adrift from the clearly patterned South, the blacks conducted themselves essentially as they had at home, unrelatedly perpetuating fragments of the race-ways to which they were habituated in association with

whites; there was no solid guidance to new speech, conduct, and interracial concepts.

The North also lacked guidance among its confused familiarities with slavery, Emancipation, Jim Crow, the occasional segregation of even New England, and industry's readiness to exploit any new unskilled labor supply. The features of northern life from which the migrants hoped to profit reached them largely as negative conditions—in the want of southern paternalism, the absence of rules for biracial association, the lack of special emotion about the race. Negroes were not significantly different from Italian immigrants, and the Irish often fared worse. Social disorientation long comprised much of their "freedom," and Wright (1940) shows how it did allow for broadened, although dangerous, interracial experience.

But true liberation did inhere in the reality of the North's want of slavery traditions. European immigrants also contributed positively to northern life their fierce confidence in eventual achievement; how this filtered through to Negroes can be gathered from works of Wright and Willard Motley and from accounts like Record's of the organizing efforts of political groups. Racism and the American Creed ideals (Myrdal 1944, chap. 1) forced the President before Pearl Harbor to create the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, to protect Negroes and other minorities in industry, and to issue antidiscriminatory orders to the armed services; these formally indicated advance in the Negro's place since the last war (Mandelbaum 1952). In 1863 also, concessions to American ideals of equality had grown from war emergencies. Then it had been upon white initiative; in 1941 it was biracial; both times it was to "save the Union," politically in '63, spiritually in '41.

The altering social balance between the races affects the South most sharply, touching all vested interests, habits, philosophies. Neither the conservative nor the liberal responses can be linked absolutely to generation, class, locality, and occupation. A retired Fair Employment Practice Commission chairman stated defiantly in 1943 that "not all the armed might of Hitler could change the social customs of the South"; yet white university students elected a Negro student president of a professional organization. Today South Carolina and Georgia governors defy the decision of the Supreme Court while Arizona and Indiana public schools quietly have been integrating students belonging to different races.

In the North also, individuals feel torn between prejudice and ideals, asking how to act in concrete biracial situations in school, recreation, jobs, and how to evolve a philosophy of racial integration. National organizations plan against disorders that might follow the recent Decision and struggle to envision nobler repatternings of conduct and belief.

But our ugliest racism has never seriously questioned the Americanism of Negroes. They "belong" here, unlike Negroes living in Britain (Landes 1952a,b, 1953b), France (Tardits Ms.), and dependencies in Africa such as white Kenya (cf. news reports of Mau Mau); unlike also American Indians, Orientals, and Mexicans in the southwest. In that social sense, they are a variant of native

white. Sporadic efforts to "return" them to Africa or to establish nationally a separate black caste, as had been Marcus Garvey's ambitions, have failed and today appear absurd; but a separate caste is now shaping by law in the Union of South Africa. The Reconstruction South would not expel Negroes, symbol of enemies and defeat; it incorporated them well, though in servile place. We know the South's traditional phrases of responsibility for the race: "We believe in being kind to our darkies. . . . We understand them and they understand us. . . . . They belong to us . . . They aren't happy with Yankees." Most Negroes have remained south and love much there; individuals flourish, though often behind white fronts; a Negro knew he "belonged" even when he struggled for life in savage extremity of the "American Dilemma" (Myrdal 1944, Pt. XI).

Today the focus upon discrimination has passed from emotion to informed defense of national principles of existence, as in the Text of the Supreme Court Decision outlawing Negro segregation in public schools. Each challenge to prejudice reveals how live these principles are. Biracial physically, our society is a unity in culture and Constitution. This social unity of races persuades many Britons that "Yanks" are Negroid in living tempo, speech, body postures, and expressiveness. The weakness and guilt of our racism is that Negroes *belong* in American society yet are not admitted to their equal *place* in it.

Britain manifests informally and the Union of South Africa asserts explicitly that Negroes do not belong inalienably and automatically to their societies. Brazil vaunts a policy of mixing racial elements and admiring the results. By 1951 the Nationalist government of South Africa was elaborating extremely the segregation rulings in terms of social alienation, "apartheid." Neighboring Portuguese Africa continues to formally certify "assimilated" natives to full place in Portuguese society, but the numbers are few and the actual processes not clear. In France, African students complain of unredeemed social isolation (Tardits Ms.).

Americans are not actively interested in any Negroes but "our own." They incarnate public conscience about "human rights" and the Constitution, a symbol complex which is utterly mysterious to Britons, though English Midlands textile mills were struck all during our Civil War in sympathy with our freedmen. Our involvement with Negroes contrasts with our relatively indifferent though romanticized feelings about American Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals, who have endured the same racisms, unameliorated by the traditional kindnesses to Negroes. For these other nonwhites have barely entered into our blood, wars, economic and political struggles, or private understandings.

The long intense history with Negroes produces endlessly a great literature of self-exposure and criticism, in all forms, covering all experience. We pour it out upon other nations, who echo our powerfully explicit race concepts, usually in considerable ignorance of their American meanings. They conclude that we are a color-obsessed people.

This inference isolates one glaring manifestation and overlooks other fea-

tures that influence developments. Our society is busy re-incorporating and revaluing at a tremendous rate the highly identifiable descendants of a former slave caste that remained such for two-thirds of their three centuries' part in a prime center of our civilization; customary definitions are steadily being recast, forced by global events and devotion to the national creed of freedoms, accelerated by the Negroes' prestige as being among our oldest Americans. The nearest historic comparison is in Brazil, whose society also depended upon vast numbers of African slaves, subsequently freed and held integral to the nation. The similarities end there; it is the differences that uncover our Americanism (Landes Ms.).

The Catholic-Lusitanian world of colonials possessed a supraracial humanism unknown to the Protestant English-speaking world (Landes 1953a). Slavery could be as vicious as anywhere else but Brazil modified it by a regard for Africans drawn from the old Moorish domination of the Iberian Peninsula. The Catholic church demanded baptism of new slaves before sale, to enter them as persons into the Christian society of the paternalistic family of purchase, the church and state. Negroes maintained close formal ties with the church outside of the obligations, banking funds for purchasing freedom and burial, and to dignify their Afro-Brazilian sects. The church gave them three black saints, one being Benedito the Moor, a reformed convict permitted to cradle the child Jesus in his arms.

In our slave regions, far from mandatory Christian personification, slave status was reduced to an extreme in world history by market notions of chattelism, exaggerated by industrialization. Owners called slaves "chattels" (including British victims of the Irish Wars and Industrial Revolution exported here for punishment), hardly more human than cattle; good studs were bred for market after the abolition of the African slave trade. An owner's sex mates of color were hidden; in Brazil they became recognized concubines and mistresses producing legal heirs. Brazilian humanism and Anglo-American chattelism differentiated critically the two slaveholding systems; there eventuated consistently the mild Emancipation of Brazil and the violent one of the United States. Former chattels of the American South became a segregated class of serfs after 1863; Brazilian slaves became normal citizens after 1888, fitted into the class structure according to general criteria of family, accomplishment, and the relative handicap of color.

Chattelism was their legal status, but informally American Negroes were very active and intimate in personal and cultural exchanges with whites, unlike Indians and Mexicans among us. Southern masters made them responsible for indoctrinating the young of *both* races, and so close was the tie that "poor whites" sought to boycott their protected labor (C. S. Johnson 1930); they were the black face of the white aristocracy. Such shared interests and identity do not greet Negroes now migrating to Britain (Little 1947; Landes 1952b, 1953b) and France (Tardits Ms.) nor the tribesmen becoming proletarianized in South African industry, as shown in the news, parliamentary speeches, and the new literature of that country; often the Negroes are fiercely repudiated.

Our slave administration caused blacks to lose tribal traditions more thoroughly than in Brazil and the Caribbean. American masters insisted upon steeping slaves in Anglo-American culture, rationalized as for greater manageability and Christianity. European immigrants are also obliged to drop their customs during acculturation to our life; our feelings about equality demand cultural standardization. Now the very presence of Negroes testifies to a community's rooted Americanism.

Brazilian masters encouraged African practices, if only tacitly. So have other class societies in the Catholic Americas (including south Louisiana). Today these subcultures are class-linked, identifying "black peasantry" but not "colored" bourgeoisie.

Regardless of Africanisms, all New World societies share the conviction that Negroes *belong* here where they are born, whatever their ancestors' origins. This probably feeds upon the Americas' emphasized role as hosts to resettling foreigners. It contrasts with the rootless place of the colored "half-castes" born in Britain in this century of colonial fathers, citizens of the kingdom in law but not in real acceptance. Yet Britain has not developed domestically instruments of race prejudice and so reveals that there is no absolute connection between lack of formal discrimination and real acceptance. The New World also stresses the discontinuity since everywhere Negroes "belong" completely but among ourselves have been denigrated while in Brazil they suffer more from the general inequities of an aristocratic class organization.

No white-ruled societies beyond the Americas allow the Negro to "belong." Because we do absolutely, the Negro now tells us how we have failed our creed of liberties, how we must redeem national morality; he tells it in the Negro press, in scientific reports, novels and poetry, in the lawsuits of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Roi Ottley therefore wrote in 1951, disillusioned by the United Kingdom and Europe, that elsewhere lie "no green pastures" for his race but only here in America.

II

"Place" and "belongingness" operate through interwoven details. Isolated, one detail can appear like others in foreign societies, but the actual local interrelationships function with significant differences. Frequently in interracial matters these are overdetermined by local ideas of status. Our elaborate preconceptions obscure insights into other societies' purposes, by ourselves, and by foreigners captivated by our literature and impressed allegedly by conduct of our troops (white) and tourists. The misfit of American racism applied to biracial actualities elsewhere reveals our cultural skewings.

There is, for example, the term "Negro": we of the United States cannot communicate without it; its loaded meanings ride us over the seven seas. But no other society finds the word useful or even tolerable except for technical purposes like anthropology. In even our most respectful usage, "Negro" conveys rawly the whole exposed position of the descendants of our country's former slaves. In Brazil the term is offensive, even brutal, except anthropo-

logically, precisely because of slave associations; this is also the view in Spanish and French speech. The preferred term in Brazil, as in France, is "black," a decent analogue to "white"; another is "colored," but it is best to omit all race references. Subcultural identifications, such as Afro-Brazilian, are correct as with our own nationally hyphenated citizens. In our deep South, affected by Spanish and French colonization and the aristocratic organization of life, "black" and "colored" are also kindlier references though they deteriorate into "darky." Generally, "black" sounds harsh to us, as "white" sounds noble, through folk moralities (C. S. Johnson 1941). In the United States, "Negro" recently became acceptable to the race after successful insistence upon capitalizing the word and so converting it to the appearance of a subcultural or subnational identification. Brazilian speech did something similar when general usage specialized "neg'o," a corruption like "nigger," to convey endearment regardless of race and class.

In Britain, "Negro" is meaningless except anthropologically. There "black Yank" signifies American Negro; humorously it is "Blackie." Negroes of the Empire are "colonials" or nationals of their homelands, e.g., Jamaicans, Nigerians. Those called black or colored are indifferently south Europeans, Indians, Jews, or Africans. "Kaffir" is extraordinarily offensive, especially in South Africa, similarly to our "nigger," stressing the cultural and civic degeneration of conquered tribesmen; it is seldom directed to Negroes in Britain but chiefly to detribalized "primitives" in South Africa. "Native" describes peoples of Africa and is as full of opposed nuances as our "Negro."

British terms reflect historical and administrative relations with the colonies, and attitudes toward the greater world; they make no sense within our framework, and Anglo-American conversations regularly fall afoul of them. Colonial, Kaffir, native, and the nationalist terms place Negroes within empire relationships. The "color" words stress British separateness not only from Negroes but from other European and Asiatic powers. The terms all assume the nonpresence of Negroes in the kingdom. This is re-conveyed bluntly in the distressing term "half-caste," which describes all the colored born in Britain. The terms indicate the sensitive fronts to abuse which is secondarily race-connected.

The race-like terms everywhere are code indicators of status. In the British West Indies, special color terms are linked synonymously to each of the three classes. In Britain there is no such synonymity. Thus in the British Caribbean, black is low or working class, colored is middle class, white is upper; the social meaning is revealed when an extreme Negroid type possessing middle-class attributes of education becomes designated colored. In the United States, complexion distinctions are subgroup features within Negro society, linked to aspirations there but lost in interracial functions, except for unacknowledged "passing" (Davis, Gardner and Gardner 1941; Powdermaker 1939; Dollard 1937). Whether class- or race-divided, the Americas' accepting biracialism is at the opposite pole from the United Kingdom's experience of distant administration of other races in colonies. The present colonial migrations are forcing a

race and culture cosmopolitanism in Britain that raises American-style issues, blurred by the conviction of Negroes not belonging "properly" there.

The London *Times* of May 31, 1954, estimates that in the Kingdom, "Coloured residents of all nationalities probably now total 75,000. . . . During the past 15 years the number of persons of Negro descent resident in Britain has grown from fewer than 10,000 to about 35,000" (Banton 1954:7). They arrived with the two wars, especially the last, in a youthful migration that is principally male seeking employment, though some attend universities and technical schools. By British standards, the workers are largely unskilled, poorly versed in the culture, and transient. "No matter how long they stay, they are only passing through. They don't exist for us." Though there was a considerable spillover of blacks in port towns during the slaving period, it is entirely forgotten and certainly not related to the present development which is unique in the history of Negro entrance to any white society. There is no "reason" why Britons should accept the migrant colonials but Americans would expect otherwise; consistently, we do absorb West Indians to our "Negro" category (to their annoyance).

Negroes are foreigners in the United Kingdom. The notion of "foreign," like "Negro," is crucially unlike in the two English-speaking countries. To us a foreigner is a potential American upon entering our land. To the Briton he is a stranger and permanent outsider; he includes the whole non-British world and also domestically those who live at a distance, say in another country. Every person is socially appraised in Britain by class and national indicators, stressing speech, occupation, and total physical appearance; in the United States social place is differentiated critically and permanently only by race.

The outsider's surest entrance to the British social organization is by marriage to a native. Colored colonials marry English girls or domicile with them unofficially and establish families. Such marriage is always termed miscegenation, exposing the felt irregularity. Censure is directed less at the Negroes than at the girls, as Britons responsible for the social violation; Englishmen can demonstrate violently at mere sight of a biracial couple. In the northern United States mixed marriage tends to alienate the couple from *both* racial sections. In both countries intermarriage confuses separatist principles—of "race" here, of "nationality" in Britain.

Most British miscegenation occurs in the "working class," where the pretensions—of family, occupation, accent—are weakest. Very occasionally a professional or wealthy colonial marries into the solid middle class, and the couple is likely then to depart for the West Indies or West Africa. The opposite occurs in the United States, where it is usually intellectuals and prestigeful liberals who dare to defy racism.

Accidentally and singularly, Britain thus permits the growth of biracial households which are *always* headed by a colored man. Forbidden by law in some of our states, it is blocked by custom in the others. Therefore Americans are startled by British intermarriage, supposing that, "The English *like* them." The English do not like them, even less than marriage to more familiar Euro-

peans. But there are no legal or traditional prohibitions, and "the rule of law" defends normal conduct. In our country, on the other hand, everyone has been exposed to strong indoctrination, and mixed unions are statistically insignificant.

All Americans, all colonials view the legal freedom of intermarriage as the sign of interracial Utopia. Ottley shows how colonials become disillusioned and accuse Britons of a hypocrisy exceeding American prejudice. They complain, with some cause, of being offered marginal jobs, rooms, women. British officials deny this and privately accuse the women of misleading Negroes' hopes; however, Negroes say, "our only friends here are the women." (Why women respond is a subject distinct from biracialism.) When authorities invite colonials to study, it is only for a specified period. Interracial association in Britain thus draws its poison from the convergence it forces of heretofore separate significances of foreigners, colonials, and British marriage; "race" is partly an exacerbation of foreignness and partly a reminder of conquest. It is no conceptual thing-in-itself as with us.

Colonials want desperately to "belong." The case is graver for half-castes, who comprehend intimately the English rejection of colonials, being themselves English; but they are not more acceptable to fellow-citizens than the colonial fathers they resemble.

The British proudly make limited exceptions to rules, and the exception of welcome in Negro relations is made for individuals of rare merit, like a great cricketer, a gifted scientist, a fine doctor. Comparable open exceptions do not occur in our traditional South or elsewhere since the race as a whole is provided for and so incorporated. British welcome does not extend to the honored individual's closest kin. "Passing" involves less deception in Britain than here, in the absence of explicit race formulations.

In Britain, the half-castes are largely wasted social stuff. Here they are valuable "Negroes." Though British colored profess to scorn American Negroes for Jim Crow, they express envy of the luck of "knowing where you stand" (Landes 1952b). Half-castes visit us to learn the feeling and machinery of social placement. A Scottish mulatto in New York explained, "The British don't want me. They're terribly polite because I'm different and so they make me feel I'm not real. We're not used to Negroes."

In the United States, half-castes are pulled into the Negro group by American-style recognition, receiving passively our elaborate scheme of race. The orientation is so new and massive that it both excites and depresses. One said after a year here, "Now I know I'm a person without a country. My own won't have me, and *I* don't see why I *must* live with Negroes in America . . . they think only about race! And they admire me for my English mother!" When American Negroes informed another half-caste that here she was a "second-class citizen" she said scornfully, "Aren't Negroes second-class everywhere?"

Status changes in divergent directions are now apparent in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of South Africa. The common fac-

tor is the effort of Negro peoples to secure membership in white society; differential ones flow from each society's view of the Negroes' claims. It is difficult to evaluate the force of mere population figures. We have 16 million Negroes in a total of 160 million; South Africa has nearly 10 million "natives" in a total of over 12 million, following the 1950 midyear estimate in 1951 South African-American Survey; Britons surmise 75,000 colored among the total British 50 million, as the census does not distinguish race. But these three Negro bodies are dissimilar since their social characters are defined differently. Historically a constructive force in the Americas, Negroes are weak confusing elements in Britain and South Africa. The United States now strives for equal association of the races, South Africa officially enforces extreme segregation, Britain denies the existence of another race in her kingdom despite steady immigration. In all countries, Negro living conditions move with those of the general population so that despite the social ease of Brazil he is often retarded materially there, and despite the harshness of the United States he is here at his richest and most celebrated.

III

A fundamental feature of American race relationships, matched only in South Africa, is the explicitness of the rulings. This British Negroes envy since all positions are plotted and a course among them can be planned.

Such has been the consequence in the United States underscored in the Supreme Court's recent unanimous Decision. The Decision also rooted in American dynamics of the moment, with reinforcing factors of Negro numbers, historicity, belongingness, the fluid class character of the whole society, reiterated affirmation of constitutional principles, special training of Negro strength, a flourishing economy—all sparked by war threats to the nation.

The Decision is widely assumed to open a new era of liberties. It is also felt that anything can happen, without care. How will race observances alter in the south and border states, in appearances, in pace, in implications for the whole society? Can we work upon the necessary rephrasings of critical situations? How will a white home guide children to receive Negro teacher and classmates? Cabell Phillips watches straws in the wind in Indiana schools, reported in the *New York Times Magazine* of May 30, 1954; certain southern churches already announce their support of the Decision. Negro homes must move from the hierarchical tradition to the egalitarian: the news already states that in the South Negroes advise caution upon each other. Can America reverse old learning to see the function or functionary above the race, e.g., the teacher before the white or colored woman? How resolve the emotional strains among a newly competing race-mixed teaching profession in the segregating states? Familiar aggressions are now illegal. What becomes of the many Negro teachers now abandoned by a desegregated system; how will whites react against successful Negro rivals?

The ruling on educational integration has already been extended to such a bordering area as public recreation. It is only a matter of time before freer

association will reach multitudes. Northern parents do not easily face biracial couples on school dance floors, anticipating the questions that foreshadow intermarriage. Shall I allow John of colored parentage to invite my Mary, of Scotch-Irish descent, to the movies and a hamburger? If so, am I to invite him to supper here? We have not the British screen that, "They do not exist"; rather, we insist upon confronting the issues openly and explicitly.

Intermarriage will increase, and how is the resulting colored generation to be guided? This is an absolutely new problem for us. Heretofore all born of Negroes have been Negroes. Will the term and category now disappear? Will future colored resemble the confused half-caste? Will "white" retain its hierarchical meanings or be replaced by something like "American" that erases race? Europeans approach this when they lump all our citizenry as Yank. West Indian color-class and Brazilian class organization that preserves a colored peasantry are alien to our notions. Already we see old patterns weaken in the South under accelerated interracial exchanges, and compromise arrangements form that herald strange "survivals" in unimaginable future surroundings.

The heart of the new order upon us is the biracial family, the final grant of "belonging." But this is our taboo, unique except for South Africa. Intermarriage will increase, but will it surpass the limited number of mixed unions occurring among other American groups specialized by religion or national origin? As we confront basic redefinitions of biracialism, will we see the fears and hates drawn from our concept of intermarriage?

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1932 American minority peoples. New York, Harper and Brothers.

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

12/1/48

TO Harold Fleming

I guess you never knew that the whole Civil Rights Bill was just a Communist Plot spinned by the Anti-Defamation League. "Parson Jack" Johnson knows the truth, however, & he's not bashful about telling it. Please pass on to George Mitchell.

Thanks

Alex

The GEORGIA TRIBUNE 11/26/48

Who Is Behind T Civil Rights Fight

One of the major political issues of recent months has been the battle between northern and southern Democrats over the Civil Rights Bill. The question as we have read it in our newspapers and magazines and heard it over the radio has seemed to be a question as to the treatment of the negro in the South. Thinking people, however, will go farther beneath the surface of this issue to find where the real cause of trouble lies.

It will be discovered upon investigation that the negro is being used as an innocent tool of subversive elements to bring about division and strife within the United States. The American public has a right to know the truth and to know all the facts in regard to this great issue. American negroes are being misused by the Red underground of America. They are being made scapegoats. Certain groups who in reality hate them profess for the present to be their friends. Actually the driving force behind the program of civil rights is the "Civil Rights Committee of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith." This Jewish organization rightly takes credit for the civil rights fight but it is hiding behind the American negro in a fight for equality for members of its own race. Many fine law abiding American negroes are refusing to have anything to do whatsoever with this Civil Rights battle because they realize the element that is behind it.

"Those who seek a millennium in communism are following a phantom and a mirage. Communism is not a solution for the ills of the world. It is a powerful deception, a political and social quackery. It promotes hatred and class war, it destroys the sacredness of the individual personality and is hostile to the Christian religion and Christian morality."

The communist-inspired fight to bring about an equality among all men should be recognized by Christian Americans everywhere for what it is—one more attempt to destroy American democracy. The American negro has made great strides of progress in the past few generations without the help of communism or a new Civil Rights bill. We of the North deplore the deplorable conditions under which negroes live in many parts of the South, but so do Christian people in the South and most of the southern states have been working toward the improvement of the lot of the negro for many years. We trust that communist interference will not destroy and tear down that which is being built up by right thinking whites and negroes in our free America.

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The Negro in America Materials — Race and Race Relations — ? 10/22/53

The U.S. Negro, 1953

Courtesy of **TIME;**
Copyright Time Inc. 1953

The U.S. Negro, 1953

A decade of progress has wrought a revolution in his life, brought him more prosperity and freedom—and new problems

TELL me," asked the British visitor, "do your Negroes play golf?"

The question, put to a U.S. businessman, brought a stammering answer.

Yes, said the businessman, he supposed that U.S. Negroes played golf, but he had never seen one with a club in his hand. Come to think of it, he'd seen a picture of Joe Louis on a golf course, but he had no idea at what club Joe could play.

The incident illustrates how little white Americans generally know about their colored fellow citizens. Negroes, in the phrase of the sociologists, have "high social visibility." But their lives are in effect invisible to most Americans, who rarely bother to look behind the Color Curtain at the Negroes' homes, their places of work or worship, or their spirit. There is, as a matter of fact, some news about Negro golfing.

¶ Atlanta and New Orleans recently opened golf courses for Negroes.

¶ In Seattle, Negroes are now free to play on all public golf courses (but they still may not take part in tournaments played on the same courses).

¶ In Chicago, where they play on public courses without restriction, the number of Negro golfers has gone up from 25, a few years ago, to more than 2,000.

¶ In New York there are no restrictions on public courses, and Negroes do play in tournaments.

These facts & figures, modest in themselves, are symptoms of a major revolution in the life of the U.S. Negro—only half-noticed by the rest of the nation. It is a revolution which, although still far from overthrowing segregation, amounts to the biggest, most hopeful change in Negro history since Abraham Lincoln, just 90 years ago, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Says Negro Publisher (*Ebony, Jet*) John H. Johnson: "Every Negro is a Horatio Alger . . . His trek up from slavery is the greatest success story the world has ever known."

Markers of Progress

One of the great facts of U.S. history is that the Negro, no matter how ill used, has remained deeply loyal to the U.S., always hoping for the "Year of Jubilo," stubbornly telling himself

The very time I thought I was lost
The dungeon shook and the chain fell off . . .
You got a right, I got a right,
We all got a right to the tree of life . . .

The fruit from the tree of life is still rationed, and often bitter. The U.S.'s 15 million Negroes are still denied the right to the pursuit of happiness on equal terms with whites. Negroes still do the meanest jobs and get the lowest pay; they must slowly wrest from their white fellows a table in a restaurant, a desk in a school, a smile, the privilege of praying in a white church or using a white swimming pool. This is true on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. While the Negro is generally better off, economically and socially, in the North (as is shown by the fact that thousands of Southern Negroes still move north every year), the North has no cause to feel superior. The chains of prejudice can be as heavy in New York's Harlem or on Chicago's South Side as anywhere in the South. Yet North & South, the Year of Jubilo seems a little closer.

In 1942, in a brilliant study of the American Negro, Swedish Economist Gunnar Myrdal reported: "Negroes are in desperate need of jobs and bread, even more so than of justice in the courts and of the vote." This definition of the Negro's needs is today strikingly out of date.

¶ For most Negroes, the problem is no longer jobs, but better jobs; for many, it is no longer bread, but cake. The Negro wage earner today makes four times as much as in 1940 (compared to the white wage earner's 2½ times as much). The Negro's average yearly income is still only a little more than half of the white average, but ten years ago it was about 35%.

¶ The forces that kept the Southern Negro from voting—intimidation and the poll tax—are largely beaten. The South has more than 1,000,000 registered Negro voters (compared to 300,000 in 1938), and there could be half a million more if Southern Negroes were politically less apathetic.

¶ The Negro gets justice in the courts, although in some Southern courts he still has to fight for his right (affirmed by the Supreme Court) to be heard by mixed juries. The big issue today is no longer justice in the courts, but justice in daily life, *i.e.*, the fight against segregation.

¶ Negro college enrollment is up 2,500% over 1930.

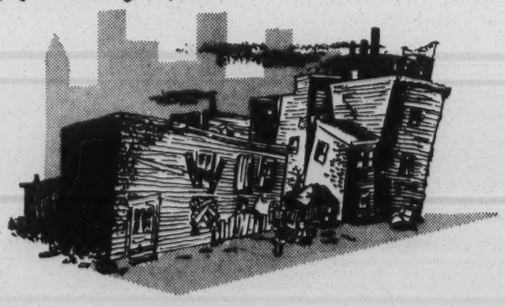
¶ The life expectancy of the male Negro has gone up from 47 years in 1920 to 59 years. In the same period, the white's life expectancy has risen more slowly, from 56 to 66 years. With improving living standards, the gap between the white man's and the Negro's life span is closing.

Prosperity: Cadillacs & Babbitts

The signs of Negro prosperity are everywhere. On the rooftops of Manhattan's Harlem grows that bare, ugly forest of TV antennae which has become a new symbol of middle-class achievement. On the outskirts of Atlanta are shiny new Negro housing developments (financed by Southern whites), with built-in washing machines. Yet the streets of Harlem are still largely slum streets, and a few blocks from the Atlanta apartments stand the old clapboard huts with outdoor privies. Where should one look for the real direction of the Negro economy?

U.S. business, for one, has its eyes fixed eagerly on the TV antennae and the washing machines. U.S. Negroes today have an annual income of $15 billion a year—almost as much as the national income of Canada, or more than the value of all U.S. export trade. Negro publications, whose advertising columns were until recently dominated by hair-straighteners and skin-bleachers, are now agleam with four-color ads of all the national brands—a dusky glamour girl smiling above a pack of Luckies, Negro men of distinction sipping Calvert, a Negro executive praising Remington typewriters. (Most advertising agencies now have special Negro market consultants who see to it that ads will sell and not offend Negroes.)

The Negro is a good customer. He wants to feel that he can buy the best. Swift & Co. does not advertise its ordinary fowl in Negro publications, but the more expensive Swift's Premium ("The dream chicken that came true"). Several Negro families often pool their savings to buy an expensive car and drive it on alternate days. On Harlem's Lenox Avenue, Cadillacs are so commonplace that nobody turns to look at them any more (a situation which one resourceful driver met by having his Cadillac's top painted a gay plaid).



Some of the Cadillac prosperity is obviously false or forced; many Negroes are driven to spend their earnings in showy ways because they still cannot get the more ordinary things a white man with a similar income would buy, *e.g.*, a decent home or a vacation trip to a good resort. Says a Negro leader in St. Louis (where Negro housing is particularly bad): "A flashy car becomes their living room, the only one they've got." Says a San Francisco Negro: "It is a sort of mobile aspirin tablet."

Despite the flashy cars, the Negro's spending habits have changed radically. He saves much more than he used to. Big insurance companies, which once considered Negro business more trouble than it was worth, now go after it. Loan companies, car dealers, etc. find Negroes excellent credit risks. There are signs that the Negro has begun to develop a large, strong middle class. Some Negro leaders, in fact, believe—and they do not consider it a bad thing—that the Negro is turning into the nation's new Babbitt.

Though Negro home ownership has gone up dramatically, the most depressing feature of the Negro's existence is still his home. Negroes now own nearly a third of the places they live in, a two-thirds rise over 1940. (White home ownership has risen more slowly in the same period, is now 57%.) But nearly a third of all Negro homes are dilapidated, compared with less than 10% in the nation as a whole. More than 20% of all Negro homes are overcrowded, compared with 5½% in the nation as a whole.

The Great Emancipators

The foundation of the Negro's economic progress is the fact that he has broken in large numbers out of farm and domestic work into industry. During World War II, a million Negroes went into defense industries. By & large, they have stayed in industry ever since. Today, nearly 11% of all U.S. industrial workers are Negroes—twice as many as in 1940. Most Negroes are still held to unskilled jobs. But there has been progress:

¶ Among U.S. skilled workers and foremen, 4% are now Negroes, up from 2½% in 1940.

¶ Among clerical and sales personnel, 3½% are now Negroes, up from 1% in 1940.

¶ Among women professional and technical workers, 7% are Negroes, up from 4½% in 1940.

One big trouble: there simply are not enough qualified Negroes. Example: U.S. industry will hire all the Negro engineers it can get, but few Negro college students go in for science or engineering. They still favor the respectable, relatively secure professions, such as teaching, medicine, the ministry and the law. In business, Negroes are generally in service lines, *e.g.*, undertakers, barbers, cleaners, etc. This is not entirely the result of discrimination. Also to blame: the Negro's lack of confidence, which makes him underestimate his very real opportunities.

Negroes know that they have advanced because these are good times for the country as a whole, and some fear that their gains might melt away in a depression. But most Negro leaders agree that the Negro's progress in the past decade has been too solid ever to be rolled back easily. One measure of that progress is the fact that the Negro's biggest preoccupation is not economics, but social equality.

The biggest single blow against segregation in the U.S. has been struck by the armed forces. The great experiment of "integration" proved once & for all that 1) if decently treated and trained, Negroes can fight as well as any man; 2) if properly led, white Americans from any part of the country will live, work, fight and die side by side with Negroes.

From the Civil War through World War II, Negro soldiers were kept in segregated units. Despite individual bravery, their morale and performance were generally low. In World War II there were some outstanding Negro units, but of all the Negroes in uniform (about 1,000,000), 90% were kept in rear-area service outfits. During the Battle of the Bulge, when he urgently needed reinforcements, General Eisenhower put Negro service troops through a quick combat training course, attached them in platoon strength to line companies. The experiment worked: the Negro troops, more or less unsegregated for the first time, made a good combat showing. This experience became an argument for postwar integration policy.

The Air Force was the first to abolish separate units for Negroes. The Army followed. By 1951, in the U.S., Europe and the Far East, Negro soldiers were scattered through the regular units. Today the Army has 200,000 Negro enlisted men (11% of total strength) and nearly 4,000 officers. The Air Force has 70,000 enlisted men (7%) and nearly 1,000 officers. The Navy, lagging behind the others in giving equality to the Negro, has 34,000 enlisted men (a little less than 3%, half of them still in the mess steward's branch) and 65 officers.

In Army camps and Air Force bases across the nation, there have been virtually no "incidents" between white and colored soldiers. The only difficulty has occurred at Southern Army camps, where children of colored officers and enlisted men are still sent to segregated colored schools off the post (the President has recently promised to remedy that situation). In Korea the integration policy has worked wonders with the morale of white as well as Negro troops. Negro officers command white troops without any friction. The matter is no longer even discussed. Says Lieut. Colonel Robert W. Wilson of Washington, D.C., a G-1 officer, and a Negro: "I think about the color problem about once a day: when I shave in the morning."

There are other emancipators at work. Among them:

THE MACHINE. It was fashionable, in the '20s and '30s, particularly among pink-eyed young economists, to say that the machine degraded man. Actually, it has proved a great equalizer. It tests a man coldly and without prejudice: he can either run it or he cannot. North & South, thousands of Negroes are experiencing equality for the first time in their lives—the equality of doing exactly the same work as whites on the assembly line.

THE COURTS. For years, liberals have argued that only new, drastic and specific legislation, *i.e.*, FEPC, would do the Negroes any good. Yet in the past decade, the Negro has made tremendous progress not, in the main, through new legislation, but through a long series of court decisions interpreting the basic law of the land, the Constitution. These rulings, it was usually warned, were "out of step" with popular sentiment and would provoke trouble; yet, accepted virtually without protest, they have quietly accomplished a variety of things, from forcing Southern state universities to accept Negro graduate students to opening up Chicago bowling alleys to interracial teams.

SPORTS & TV. The sight of Negroes playing major-league baseball, carried all over the nation by TV, has probably done as much for equality as most legal victories. Southern minor-league clubs have begun to hire Negro players. TV has had another effect on the South: it has carried to thousands of people their first sight of colored and white entertainers appearing together. Says one Negro teacher: "Why, stuff like that, coming into white homes, it's going to make the white man think, whether he realizes it or not."

These very American forces, constantly working on North & South alike, have driven racial discrimination and prejudice sharply on the defensive.

The North: Guerrillas on Main Street

What is it like to be a Negro and actively fight segregation in the North? Hascal Othello Humes, 30, is an A.B. from Columbia University, a former infantry lieutenant who saw combat in Italy. With his wife, he lives in a white neighborhood in Seattle. When they first moved in, the Humeses got threatening letters and obscene telephone calls, but they stuck it out. Humes has three jobs: he is studying for an M.A. in psychology at the University of Washington, he is a city policeman in the afternoon, and at night he is a bouncer in a mixed nightclub. His police beat is in a white section, and when some white people objected, his superior suggested that he ask for a transfer, but he quietly replied that he would rather resign from the force. After he goes off duty each evening, he reports for work at the China Pheasant. By closing time (5 a.m.), Humes has usually lifted at least one drunk (white or colored) well above the floor and carried him into the street. Humes says he does not often wonder whether it's all worth it. But when he does, he thinks

of his wife and of the new baby she is expecting. If that doesn't help, he prays.

Humes's life illustrates the price the Northern Negro often pays for his state of semi-equality. As a citizen, the Negro in the North, by & large, enjoys full rights: everywhere except in the border states, he is equal in the schools and in most public services. His great fight in the last decade has been for simple, decent treatment in everyday life. In this fight, he has made marked but uneven progress.

Ten years ago, for example, Northern hotels and restaurants that would openly turn away Negro patrons were in the major-

ity; now they are definitely in the minority. The facile old excuse—"Personally, I don't care, but the customers just wouldn't stand for Negroes to come in here"—has been proved empty again & again. The chief trouble is that the Negro can never be sure: he is in a constant guerrilla war, always half-expecting to be snubbed by this desk clerk or that headwaiter, or fobbed off with a gentlemen's-agreement type of spiel that all the tables have been reserved, all the rooms taken. Many Negroes prefer not to risk being embarrassed, stay away from predominantly white places. On trips, many prefer to drive all night, rather than take the chance of being turned down by a hotel.

But there are many wedges in the walls of prejudice:

¶ Telephone companies in the North, all white until a few years ago, now employ 5,000 Negroes.

¶ Denver now employs Negro bus drivers (long since a fixture in New York and Chicago).

¶ Detroit banks, in white neighborhoods, employ Negro tellers.

¶ Many Northern department stores hire Negro sales help.

¶ New York breweries now hire Negro production workers.

The Negro's biggest trouble comes when he tries to live in a white neighborhood. The worst race riots in recent U.S. history took place in Detroit (1943) and Chicago (1951), where there had been a huge, wartime influx of Negro workers. Today, both cities live in somewhat uneasy peace. The case of Chicago is fairly typical. "Property owners' leagues," openly dedicated to keeping Negroes out of white neighborhoods, have disappeared or gone underground. Nevertheless, Negroes rarely escape their ghetto—they simply stretch its boundaries. White people retreat before the Negro advance—generally to the suburbs, where Negroes are usually strictly barred. In many Chicago neighborhoods, Negroes and whites live side by side. A mayor's commission has organized the "lighthouse system," under which citizens alert police as soon as trouble signs appear in a neighborhood. Police themselves have been put through a special "human relations" training program.

The South: Minefield among Magnolias

Even if he does not meet outright hostility in the North, the Negro is apt to meet indifference, which can hurt worse. Not many Northerners are interested enough in Negroes to worry about where they ride on a streetcar; but few are interested enough to be really kind to them, either. The South—still the home of two-thirds of the U.S.'s Negroes—cares far more deeply about its Negro problem.

A South African visitor reports: "I went down there to find the Deep South. But everywhere I went, they said: 'Oh, *this* isn't the *Deep* South. You've got to go farther on to find what you're looking for, Mister.' I never did find the Deep South, where they lynch Negroes and provide source material for William Faulkner and Lillian Smith. It wasn't in Tennessee, it wasn't in Georgia, it wasn't in Mississippi. Now I'm beginning to wonder whether the Deep South really exists any more."

There is a lot of evidence that it does not. The color line is no longer a barbed-wire fence strung between the magnolia trees. It is more like a minefield through which whites and Negroes must carefully pick their way—and the map is obviously out of date. Segregation now seems like something out of *Alice in Wonderland* as rewritten by Herman Talmadge.

In the South, a Negro may ride a Pullman car and eat anywhere in a diner (until a few years ago, he had to eat behind a curtain). But he must buy his tickets at a segregated ticket window. He may sit anywhere in an airplane, but his waiting room at the airport is likely to be Jim Crow. He may ride in elevators, body-to-body with whites, but in buses and streetcars he must still jostle past standing white passengers to the Jim Crow rear. (In some cities, he may sit down in the white area if there are empty seats, and white people will often sit down in the colored area if the white area is crowded.)

Several states give Negro doctors full membership in their medical societies, but Negro doctors are not allowed to practice in most Southern hospitals. (White private ambulances often refuse to pick up critically injured Negroes.) A Negro is welcome to shop in almost any Southern department store, but in most he may not try on a suit until he buys it.

A Negro may give a white panhandler a handout but he may not follow him into a bar with the sign, "Whites only." He may attend the graduate schools of state universities (about 1,000 do), but he may not attend undergraduate colleges—with some exceptions (*e.g.*, University of Louisville, University of Delaware). In such schools Negro and white students get on without friction, and form friendships; but the Negroes, while they eat with whites, may not belong to white fraternities—but they are allowed to attend dances as guests.

In many important industries of the South, *e.g.*, Haspel, Chrysler, International Harvester, Glenn Martin, Firestone Tire & Rubber, Negroes work side by side with whites (only South Carolina still has a law requiring segregation in work areas). Union meetings are nonsegregated, but some locals have raised hell when union headquarters ordered an end to segregated toilet facilities. But in one plant near Atlanta, when the "colored" and "white" signs over the fountains wore out, nobody bothered to repaint them, and segregation for drinking stopped. (But if someone had protested formally that it should stop, it would unquestionably have been furiously enforced.)

Struggle in the Soul

Mob violence is rare. The year 1952 was the first without a single reported lynching. Many of the South's "better people," who for years tacitly condoned the Klan, have now abandoned it. It is socially as safe to back anti-mask bills as it was once to take hot broth to an ailing Mammy's cabin.

The principle that Negroes must have "separate but equal" facilities* was an empty phrase a decade ago; today, it is rapidly becoming reality. Most Southerners feel that unless they make "separate but equal" a fact, the courts are sure to saddle them with "whole hog" rulings, *i.e.*, complete equality. Many states are hastily building fine new Negro schools and hospitals, although from a purely economic standpoint, "separate but equal" schools are insanely wasteful. Most Southerners no longer sneer at the educated Negro as "biggety"; many want to

* First stated by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896.

help the Negro get a better education, better jobs and better housing, and let the rest take care of itself.

However, some Southerners are afraid that this formula may prove too little and too late. Southerners complain that there are too many "whole hog or nothing" Negroes. This is only partly true. No Southern Negro seriously wants or expects complete equality overnight. But all Southern Negroes want it as an ultimate goal—and they want to see faster progress towards that goal. They have become suspicious of "gradualism." They want to know, as one Negro leader puts it: "When does Old Man Gradualism run out?" The Southern Negro's mood may be summed up by the case of the successful Negro attorney in Birmingham who recently built a new home. "Look at it," says a friend. "Look where it is. Over there, on Dynamite Hill. You don't build a $35,000 house in that location—unless you are a Negro and haven't got a better place to build it. Some say he wanted to wait, hoping that maybe better areas would open up. But he wanted to live in that house before he died. So he built it."

Southern customs are still largely based on the assumption that the Negro is an inferior being. But that assumption lacks the pseudo-scientific backing it still had a generation ago. For decades, the South's preoccupation with the Negro was a kind of cushion against reality, a diversion from the facts of poverty and stagnation. Southern "poor whites" had nothing if they could not feel superior to the Negro. During the past ten years, the South has been caught up in a great industrial boom; reality has become a little easier to face.

Although many Southerners today will agree that segregation is wrong in principle, the vast majority still fiercely defends it as right in practice. A mass of state laws and city ordinances enforces it. But Southerners seem to know in their hearts that it is not really defensible, and that the tide of events is against it. The result is a war in the South's own soul which many Northerners, who see the South only as stubborn and narrow-minded, fail to understand. A Southern Negro and former slave understood it. Said Booker T. Washington, the greatest Negro leader in U.S. history: "The outside world does not know . . . the struggle that is constantly going on in the hearts of both the Southern white people and their former slaves . . . While both races are thus struggling, they should have the sympathy, the support, and the forbearance of the rest of the world."

The Spirit: Hopes and Headaches

The Negro has suffered more than any other group of Americans. He has seen the white man at his worst, and he might have turned cynically against the white man's faith and values. But he has not. The Negro does feel bitter about his lot. But it is a bitterness greatly modified by hope, patience and humor.

Negro intellectuals occasionally talk "African nationalism." But the majority of U.S. Negroes feel no more kinship to the Kikuyu of Kenya than to the man in the moon. They want to be, above all, Americans.

The most spectacular illustration of the Negroes' loyalty to the U.S. is the Communists' crashing failure to win recruits among them: by FBI estimates, no more than 1,400 Negroes ever belonged to the Communist Party at one time. Dr. Carlton Goodlett, young San Francisco Negro leader, gives these reasons: "More than anyone else, the Negro believes in the American opportunity to better himself. The Communist he sees as a run-down, underprivileged guy. The Negro just isn't interested in the underdog role. Secondly, he has learned to believe in the right to protest. People like myself, always protesting against injustice, wouldn't last ten seconds in Russia. Also, no single group in this country believes more strongly in God and the hereafter. The Negro doesn't want to catch hell on this side of the River Styx and on the other side too." A Negro lawyer put it this way: "It's bad enough to be black without being Red too."

The Negro is still deeply religious, although American churches have been slow in fighting discrimination before the altar. Says Marie Johnson, wife of Fisk University's President Charles Johnson: "I think we got the best out of Christianity, because we had to have it. No matter how we may scoff, we believe . . . Still, 11 o'clock Sunday morning is the most segregated hour of American life."

There are fewer outstanding Negro leaders on the national scene today than ever before. Negro leaders have found that, as their people's status improves, the business of leadership gets tougher. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recalls that back in the days when there were three or four lynchings a year, it was a lot easier to raise funds than now. A great Negro leader, the late James Weldon Johnson, once said that leadership was a form of escape; by this he meant that "Negro spokesmen" might gain a lot of prestige by making speeches and gathering personal followings, but did not really accomplish very much. Today's Negro leader concentrates on getting things done on specific issues. Emancipated to a large extent from the white professional liberals and their pet slogan, "education," he tries, for instance, to get a court ruling on segregation in Pullmans instead of trying to "educate" millions of individual Pullman passengers. Today's Negro leader does not want to be known as a firebrand; the compliment he prizes most is to be called "a good tactician." One symptom of this change is the fact that Booker T. Washington, a superb tactician whom most Negro leaders in the '20s and '30s denounced as an "Uncle Tom," is being rediscovered by Negroes as a great man.

The Negro still cannot forget his color. Negro writers and artists wish that they could be craftsmen first and Negroes second, but they find it virtually impossible. Yet more & more Negroes are impatient with spirituals and the blues (including the literary form of the blues, also known as the novel of protest). Many intelligent Negroes are plainly eager to stop looking at every problem through colored glasses. One interesting symptom: Negroes used to have a kind of secret slang* which, as one Negro writer puts it, was "like a tattoo on your wrist"; it has now all but disappeared. Says Negro Photographer Gordon Parks: "There is this pressure to make good for your whole people. If you fail, they give you a black eye. But a while back, I made up my mind, from now on it's just going to be me. If I want to fail, that's my business. You can't walk around with your race piled on your back." He adds thoughtfully, with the persistent doubt that even the most optimistic Negro seems unable to escape: "Anyway, that's what I tell my kids. Maybe I'm just bluffing myself."

Indications are that, as the Negro shares the white man's privileges and opportunities, he also shares his headaches. Says a Negro newspaperman: "When the Negro had less freedom, he could blame the whites for whatever went wrong with him. Now it's harder for him to blame the whites for his failures." Says Negro Novelist Ralph (*Invisible Man*) Ellison: "After a man makes $10,000 or $20,000 a year, the magic fades. He is just another man with his problems." Most Negroes still wish they had that kind of problem, but many will agree with Ellison that "we are all Americans together, all modern men together. And we're all facing the same spiritual crisis."

Perhaps the Negro's most serious problem is that, as he gets more of the fruits of the tree of life, his appetite increases. Explains a Manhattan Negro social worker: "A Negro laborer living in Harlem and rarely peering beyond the boundaries of his ghetto might be reasonably content; but if he gets a good job downtown, mixes with white people on a more or less equal basis, and then in the evening is forced to go home to a miserable house in Harlem, he will be bitterly discontented." Says a Negro philosopher, Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University: "The old slum is no longer the problem. It's the new, respectable slum that worries us. We call it Striver's Row." As Negroes move into Striver's Row, their bitterness at remaining inequalities will mount. At the same time, white resentment of growing Negro ambition may mount too.

The Future: Liability or Opportunity?

Justice has been imagined by mankind in many different shapes. Could it be that her face is black or brown? That, at any rate, is the way she is likely to appear to the majority of the world's people, whose skins are colored. They are the people, in Asia and in Africa, whom the U.S. hopes to lead to democracy. They judge the U.S. very largely on evidence drawn from

* E.g., *ofay* (any white man), *Mr. Charlie, Miss Anne* (Southern whites).

the "Negro problem." The U.S. has probably won more enemies by stories, true and false, about its treatment of Negroes than by any other propaganda; but many Negroes feel that the U.S. could be winning friends instead. Just how much individual Negroes have done to win friends for the U.S. is almost never realized: they have been effective both in the diplomatic service (which so far employs only a handful—about 60) and in personal contacts at Negro universities like Howard, where young people from Africa and Asia come to learn about the U.S. Says Novelist Richard (*Native Son*) Wright: "The key to Asia is right there in Harlem and on Chicago's South Side."

The Negro problem is basically not economic, or social, or psychological. It is moral. Prejudice does more moral harm to those who harbor it than to those who are hit by it. And the most hopeful fact about the Negro's progress in the last decade is that it could not have been possible without some moral progress by white Americans.

Gunnar Myrdal explained the U.S.'s state of mind on the Negro problem more succinctly and movingly than anyone else: "The ordinary American is the opposite of a cynic. He is on the average more of a believer and a defender of the faith in humanity than the rest of the Occidentals . . . He investigates his faults, puts them on record, and shouts them from the housetops . . . America's handling of the Negro problem has been criticized most emphatically by white Americans . . . and the criticism . . . will not stop until America has completely reformed itself . . . Mankind is sick of fear and disbelief . . . If America in actual practice could show the world [that] the Negro became finally integrated into modern democracy, all mankind would be given faith again . . . and America would have spiritual power many times stronger than all her financial and military resources—the power of the trust and support of all good people on earth. America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity."

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THE RACE QUESTION IN MODERN SCIENCE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES

by

G. M. MORANT

III

THE RACE QUESTION

The importance which the problem of race has acquired in the modern world scarcely needs to be pointed out. Mankind will not soon forget the injustices and crimes which give such tragic overtones to the word " race ". It was inevitable that Unesco should take a position in a controversy so closely linked not only with its goals but also with its very nature. For, like war, the problem of race which directly affects millions of human lives and causes countless conflicts has its roots " in the minds of men ". The preamble of Unesco's Constitution, adopted in 1945, specifically named racism as one of the social evils which the new Organization was called upon to combat. Moreover, the Constitution declares that " the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the *inequality* of men and races ".

The vigorous action which Unesco is about to undertake in support of the struggle against race prejudice was evolved in response to a resolution adopted by the United Nations Social and Economic Council at its sixth session in 1948. By that resolution Unesco was called upon to consider the timeliness " of proposing and recommending the general adoption of a programme of dissemination of scientific facts designed to bring about the disappearance of that which is commonly called race prejudice ".

The General Conference of Unesco in 1949 adopted three resolutions which committed the Organization " to study and collect scientific materials concerning questions of race ", " to give wide diffusion to the scientific material collected ", and " to prepare an educational campaign based on this information ".

There is great confusion on the notion of race, so great that no campaign designed to remove prejudices can be effectively undertaken without careful preparation. Such groundwork must include a clarification of the present scientific position in the controversy on the subject; indeed, it must first of all provide a definition of race on which the different scientific circles concerned can agree.

It was with this in view that Unesco invited a number of anthropologists and sociologists from various countries to meet as a committee of experts in Unesco House in December 1949. They discussed all aspects of the problem at great length and finally drew up a declaration, the text of which is presented further on. Every word of this declaration was carefully weighed. Nothing was neglected in the effort to present to the public in a simple and clear manner the conclusions which science has reached on the subject.

Nor was the declaration in the form decided upon in Paris the end of the effort to make the statement fully authoritative. It was submitted to many leading scientists in various countries. They examined it in detail and a number of them suggested additions and amendments. The competence and objectivity of the scientists who signed the document in its final form cannot be questioned.

In organizing the meeting of experts which produced this authoritative declaration on the race problem, Unesco took up again, after a lapse of fifteen years, a project which the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has wished to carry through but which it had to abandon in deference to the appeasement policy of the pre-war period. The race question had become one of the pivots of Nazi ideology and policy. Mazaryk and Benes took the initiative in calling for a conference to re-establish in the minds and consciences of men everywhere the truth about race. Scientists were unanimous in wishing to have the opportunity of denouncing before world opinion the absurdity of the racist dogma. But they were not given such an opportunity. Nazi propaganda was able to continue its baleful work unopposed by the authority of an international organization.

Knowledge of the truth does not always help change emotional attitudes that draw their real strength from the subconscious or from factors beside the real issue. Knowledge of the truth can, however, prevent rationalizations of reprehensible acts or behaviour prompted by feelings that men will not easily avow openly. Unesco has the will and the means to make available to everyone the achievements

of science, if those achievements can help to lessen the hatreds that separate human groups from one another. But Unesco can really succeed in this task only if it is careful to present the facts in all their complexity without trying to hide ignorances and doubts.

Science was faced with the problem of race at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the great evolutionary theories were being formulated. Unfortunately, the problem soon shifted from the purely scientific field to the field of politics. As a result, the discussions which it has provoked have rarely been free from the passions and prejudices of the moment.

But psychology, biology and cultural anthropology, which have developed so remarkably during the last fifty years, have made possible extensive inquiries and experimental research studies into the problem. The results of this important work are presented in general terms in the declaration of the experts assembled by Unesco. It should not be forgotten, however, that new methods and techniques of appraising results are being put into practice every day. At the present moment, it is impossible to demonstrate that there exist between " races " differences of intelligence and temperament other than those produced by cultural environment. If, tomorrow, more accurate tests or more thorough studies should prove that " races " as such do, in fact, have different innate faculties or aptitudes, Unesco's moral position on the race question would not be changed.

Racism is a particularly vicious and mean expression of the caste spirit. It involves belief in the innate and absolute superiority of an arbitrarily defined human group over other equally arbitrarily defined groups. Instead of being based on scientific facts, it is generally maintained in defiance of the scientific method. As an ideology and feeling, racism is by its nature aggressive. It threatens the essential moral values by satisfying the taste for domination and by exalting the contempt for man. Concern for human dignity demands that all citizens be equal before the law, and that they share equally in the advantages assured them by law, no matter what their physical or intellectual differences may be. The law sees in each person only a human being who has the right to the same consideration and to equal respect. The conscience of all mankind demands that this be true for all the peoples of the earth. It matters little, therefore, whether the diversity of men's gifts be the result of biological or of cultural factors.

Thus, the problem of race must be approached not only

on the biological and social levels but also on the moral level. And, in view of the growing inter-relation of the sciences affecting man and society, it can be solved only by the joint action of different scientific disciplines. Unesco will undertake to make known to a vast public the results of the researches obtained in all these various fields. It will, for example, publish pamphlets prepared by eminent specialists.

Many inquiries have already been undertaken into inter-racial conflicts and the factors that produce them. The time has now come for us to consider the societies which have in large measure succeeded in resolving antagonisms by overriding racial differences. Thus, the General Conference of Unesco in Florence recommended for the 1951 programme of the Organization a study of racial relations in Brazil. This great republic has a civilization which has been developed by the direct contributions of different races. And it suffers less than other nations from the effects of those prejudices which are at the root of so many vexatious and cruel measures in countries of similar ethnic composition. We are as yet ill-informed about the factors which brought about such a favourable and, in many ways, exemplary situation. But in the present state of the social sciences, general speculations no longer suffice. We must have specialists make searching inquiries in the field. We must learn from them exactly why and how social, psychological and economic factors have contributed in varying degrees to make possible the harmony which exists in Brazil. Then the results of their inquiries can be set forth in publications in order to stimulate those who are still struggling elsewhere to introduce more peaceable and happier inter-racial relations.

Yet, no matter how great an effort Unesco may make in this field, it cannot by itself bring to an end the most tenacious and the most widely spread of human prejudices. It must be able to count on the support of groups and organizations formed in many countries to achieve the same purpose. To these fighters, indeed to all those who rebel against the idea that millions of human beings are condemned by the mere fact of their birth to humiliation and misery, Unesco brings its co-operation. It brings too the hope that the struggle against the misdeeds of racism will become a crusade to be carried out in common by all the peoples of the earth.

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED 18 JULY 1950

1. Scientists have reached general agreements in recognizing that mankind is one : that all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens.* It is further generally agreed among scientists that all men are probably derived from the same common stock; and that such differences as exist between different groups of mankind are due to the operation of evolutionary factors of differentiation such as isolation, the drift and random fixation of the material particles which control heredity (the genes), changes in the structure of these particles, hybridization, and natural selection. In these ways groups have arisen of varying stability and degree of differentiation which have been classified in different ways for different purposes.

2. From the biological standpoint, the species *Homo sapiens* is made up of a number of populations, each one of which differs from the others in the frequency of one or more genes. Such genes, responsible for the hereditary differences between men, are always few when compared to the whole genetic constitution of man and to the vast number of genes common to all human beings regardless of the population to which they belong. This means that the likenesses among men are far greater than their differences.

3. A race, from the biological standpoint, may therefore be defined as one of the group of populations constituting the species *Homo sapiens.* These populations are capable of inter-breeding with one another but, by virtue of the isolating barriers which in the past kept them more or less separated, exhibit certain physical differences as a result of their somewhat different biological histories. These represent variations, as it were, on a common theme.

4. In short, the term " race " designates a group or population characterized by some concentrations, relative as to frequency and distribution, of hereditary particles (genes) or physical characters, which appear, fluctuate, and often disappear in the course of time by reason of geographic and or cultural isolation. The varying manifestations of these traits

in different populations are perceived in different ways by each group. What is perceived is largely preconceived, so that each group arbitrarily tends to misinterpret the variability which occurs as a fundamental difference which separates that group from all others.

5. These are the scientific facts. Unfortunately, however, when most people use the term " race " they do not do so in the sense above defined. To most people, a race is any group of people whom they choose to describe as a race. Thus, many national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural groups have, in such loose usage, been called " race ", when obviously Americans are not a race, nor are Englishmen, nor Frenchmen, nor any other national group. Catholics, Protestants, Moslems and Jews are not races, nor are groups who speak English or any other language thereby definable as a race; people who live in Iceland or England or India are not races; nor are people who are culturally Turkish or Chinese or the like thereby describable as races.

6. National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups : and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated genetic connexion with racial traits. Because serious errors of this kind are habitually committed when the term " race " is used in popular parlance, it would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term " race " altogether and speak of *ethnic groups.*

7. Now what has the scientist to say about the groups of mankind which may be recognized at the present time ? Human races can be and have been differently classified by different anthropologists, but at the present time most anthropologists agree on classifying the greater part of present-day mankind into three major divisions, as follows :

The Mongoloid Division
The Negroid Division
The Caucasoid Division

The biological processes which the classifier has here embalmed, as it were, are dynamic, not static. These divisions were not the same in the past as they are at present, and there is every reason to believe that they will change in the future.

8. Many sub-groups or ethnic groups within these divisions have been described. There is no general agreement upon their number, and in any event most ethnic groups have not yet been either studied or described by the physical anthropologists.

9. Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognised that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same. The scientific investigations of recent years fully support the dictum of Confucius (551-478 B.C.) " Men's natures are alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart. "

10. The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, however, that the history of the cultural experience which each group has undergone is the major factor in explaining such differences. The one trait which above all others has been at a premium in the evolution of men's mental characters has been educability, plasticity. This is a trait which all human beings possess. It is indeed, a species character of *Homo sapiens.*

11. So far as temperament is concerned, there is no definite evidence that there exist inborn differences between human groups. There is evidence that whatever group differences of the kind there might be are greatly over-ridden by the individual differences, and by the differences springing from environmental factors.

12. As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless. In every human group a rich variety of personality and character types will be found, and there is no reason for

believing that any human group is richer that any other in these respects.

13. With respect to race-mixture, the evidence points unequivocally to the fact that this has been going on from the earliest times. Indeed, one of the chief processes of race-formation and race-extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races or ethnic groups. Furthermore, no convincing evidence has been adduced that race-mixture of itself produces biologically bad effects. Statements that human hybrids frequently show undesirable traits, both physically and mentally, physical disharmonies and mental degeneracies, are not supported by the facts. There is, therefore, no *biological* justification for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different ethnic groups.

14. The biological fact of race and the myth of " race " should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes " race " is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth " race " has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering. It still prevents the normal development of millions of human beings and deprives civilization of the effective co-operation of productive minds. The biological differences between ethnic groups should be disregarded from the standpoint of social acceptance and social action. The unity of mankind from both the biological and social viewpoints is the main thing. To recognize this and to act accordingly is the first requirement of modern man. It is but to recognize what a great biologist wrote in 1875 : " As man advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being one reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races. " These are the words of Charles Darwin in *The Descent of Man* (2nd ed., 1875, pp. 187-8). And, indeed, the whole of human history shows that a co-operative spirit is not only natural to men, but more deeply rooted than any self-seeking tendencies. If this were not so we should not see the growth of integration and organization of his communities which the centuries and the millenia plainly exhibit.

15. We now have to consider the bearing of these statements on the problem of human equality. It must be asserted with the utmost emphasis that equality as an ethical principle in no way depends upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment. Obviously individuals in all ethnic groups vary greatly among themselves in endowment. Nevertheless, the characteristics in which human groups differ from one another are often exaggerated and used as a basis for questioning the validity of equality in the ethical sense. For this purpose we have thought it worth while to set out in a formal manner what is at present scientifically established concerning individual and group differences.

(1) In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists can effectively use as a basis for classifications are physical and physiological.

(2) According to present knowledge there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same.

(3) Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences are not of importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of *Homo sapiens,* and that the social and cultural *changes* in different groups, have, in the main, been independent of *changes* in inborn constitution. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type.

(4) There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture whether for good or ill are to be traced to social factors.

(5) All normal human beings are capable of learning to share in a common life, to understand the nature of mutual service and reciprocity, and to respect social obligations and contracts. Such biological differences as exist between members of different ethnic groups have no relevance to problems of social and political organization, moral life and communication between human beings.

Lastly, biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood; for man is born with drives toward co-operation, and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can

reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point of this social bond between man and man brings with it disintegration. In this sense, every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind.

The original statement was drafted at Unesco House, Paris, by the following experts :

Professor Ernest Beaglehole, *New Zealand*
Professor Juan Comas, *Mexico*
Professor L. A. Costa Pinto, *Brazil*
Professor Franklin Frazier, *United States*
Professor Morris Ginsberg, *United Kingdom*
Dr. Humayun Kabir, *India*
Professor Claude Levi-Strauss, *France*
Professor Ashley Montagu, *United States* (Rapporteur).

The text was revised by Professor Ashley Montagu, after criticism submitted by Professors Hadley Cantril, E. G. Conklin, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosius Dobzhansky, L. C. Dunn, Donald Hager, Julian S. Huxley, Otto Klineberg, Wilbert Moore, H. J. Muller, Gunnar Myrdal, Joseph Needham, Curt Stern.

Unesco. Publication 791.

Association of Georgia Klans

KNIGHTS

of the

Ku Klux Klan

Present

A Public Naturalization

(INITIATION CEREMONY)

AT STONE MOUNTAIN, GA.

Free Parking Space for 20,000 Cars

TUESDAY

JUNE 14, 8 P. M.

Complete Ceremony Will Be Broadcast Over A Loudspeaker System

A NEW 40 FT. ROAD HAS BEEN CUT INTO THE GROUNDS

All Klansmen With Robes Are Instructed to Gather at 7 P. M.

A Klan Patrol Will Direct Traffic and Parking.

THE PUBLIC IS CORDIALLY INVITED

FIND OUT FOR YOUR-

SELF WHAT THE

KLAN ADVOCATES

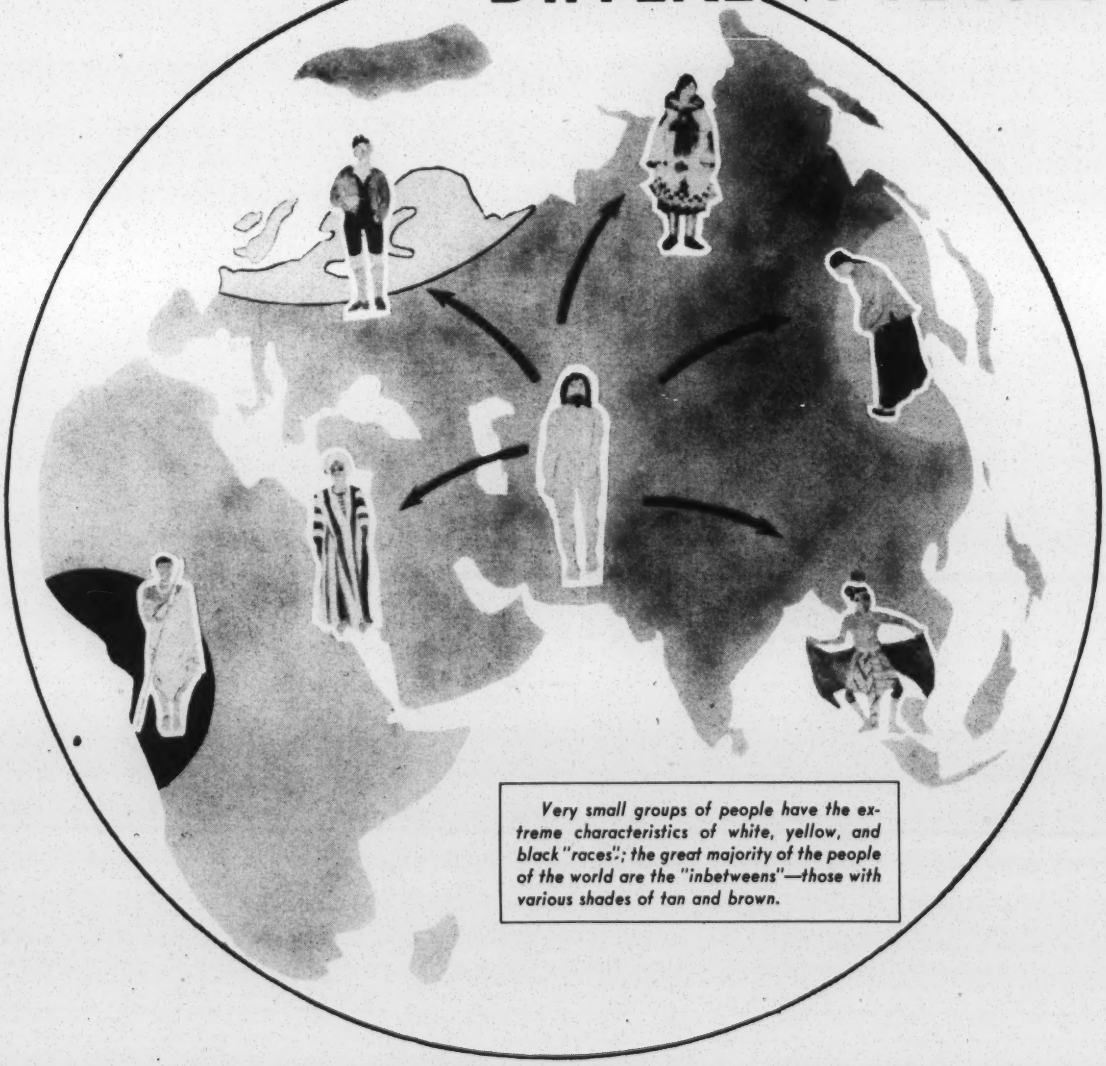
10 Filed 30 - Race & Racial Differences

THE RACES OF MAN

EARLY MAN LACKING MEANS OF WIDE TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION DEVELOPED INTO VARIED TYPES WHICH WE CALL RACES. PEOPLE THEN NEEDED TO KEEP PEACE WITH FEW NEIGHBORS. TO-DAY ALL MEN ARE NEIGHBORS AND WITH ALL MEN IN TIME WE CAN AND WE MUST LIVE IN PEACE.

Race Relations Division, American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

WHY ARE THERE DIFFERENT RACES?



Very small groups of people have the extreme characteristics of white, yellow, and black "races"; the great majority of the people of the world are the "inbetweens"—those with various shades of tan and brown.

Man's greatest adventure was his spread from somewhere in Asia to all corners of the world.

Originally man was neither light nor dark. As he advanced into the areas of hot sunlight and long summers to the South, those with darker skins were better able to survive. The short wide nose developed as the best means of inhaling the moist warm air, and body hair disappeared.

As he advanced into the north, those with lighter skins were better able to absorb the sunlight in the short months of summer and so store up a quantity of Vitamin D against the long dark winter to come. Here, too, the long thin nose was better adapted to inhale and warm the cold air, and a large amount of body hair was some protection against the cold. In some places in Asia, a fold of skin developed over the inner corner of the eyes to produce what we call the slant eye. The geographical differences between men are however of small magnitude when one considers the fundamental likeness.

The population of the world was small in the days of early man and differences, once begun, tended to persist through isolation and inbreeding. Each so-called Race became functionally adapted to living in the area in which it found itself. There was no question of superiority or inferiority, for the white man would have suffered in the hot tropical sun as much as the Negro would have suffered in the cold North.

With the growth of civilization, man has been enabled, through the use of proper clothing and scientifically prepared food and vitamins, to move into all areas of the world, no matter what his color. The so-called racial differences are superficial, and man is essentially the same and has the same potentialities wherever you find him, be he light, dark, tall, short, fat or thin, long headed or round headed.

THE JEWS ARE NOT A RACE

Chief Rabbi W. A. Matthew, of the Royal Order of Ethiopian Jews, at the Harlem Synagogue. His followers are not converts but are from families in the West Indies and Africa whose Hebrew faith stems from the Falashas of Ethiopia—direct descendants from the House of David and of Solomon.

a Jewish Negro

Jews are people of any race who practice the religion of Judaism. They are found among all races and sub-races, and among people of every conceivable physical type and occupation. Certain physical characteristics which are called "Jewish," such as the curved nose, are found among millions of non-Jewish peoples of Eastern Europe and Western Asia which is the area from which many Jews originally came. Even Jewish culture is a composite of customs from the many areas in which they have lived. Indeed, persecution of a Jewish "race" is a comparatively new thing. Previously the Jews were persecuted for their religion. Now that we have religious freedom, there is invented a mythical "racial" basis for the persecutions.

Chinese Jews

a Jew of India

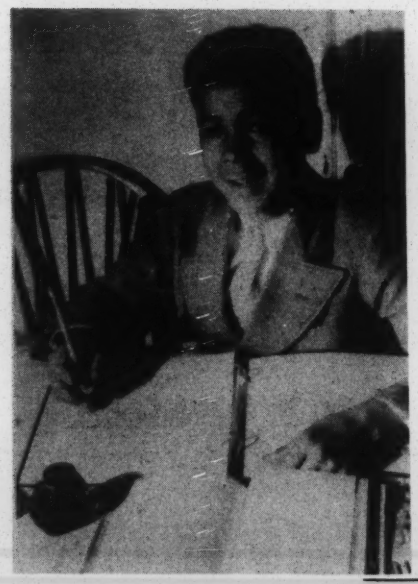
THE FOODS WE EAT ARE A GIFT FROM ALL PEOPLES

The crab-apple and the hazelnut are the only important foods contributed to our table by the ancient Europeans. Everything else we eat we have borrowed from someone else. If the contribution of the American Indian alone were removed we should have no kidney beans, lima beans, chocolate, corn, peanuts, pineapple, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, pumpkins, squash, avocado, tomatoes, tobacco or turkeys.

CULTURE IS NOT INBORN

culture Chinese

Race deals with matters that are inherited, but such things as are called culture (speech, clothing, habits, music, etc.) depend on the surroundings in which the child lives. The little girl drinking the ice cream soda is of the yellow race but her culture is American.



culture American

The Races of Mankind Posters

Reproduced on the preceding pages are five of the set of fifteen posters which give visual presentation to significant facts about race and culture; they answer some of the questions most often asked about race. The following titles of the posters suggest their content:

1. The Races of Man
2. What Is Race?
3. Why Are There Different Races?
4. Nationalities Are Not Races
5. The Jews Are Not A Race
6. Who Are The Aryans
7. Composition of The American Negro
8. All Races Produce Great Art
9. All Races Enrich Architecture
10. The Foods We Eat Are A Gift From All Peoples
11. Inventions Have Come From All Races
12. It's Not In The Blood
13. No Race Is Ape-like
14. Culture Is Not Inborn
15. Negroes Are An Integral Part Of Our Culture

Size: Each of the 15 posters is 18 by 20 inches in size. They were designed for use in an average size classroom, clubroom, or small auditorium and are usually shown to best advantage as a temporary or permanent display on the walls.

Groups: Adults, students from upper elementary levels through college, workers, church groups and members of special interest groups, all have been enthusiastic about these posters and have evidenced by discussions that they gained much useful information.

Price: The posters cost $5.00 per set. This includes postage to places within the United States.

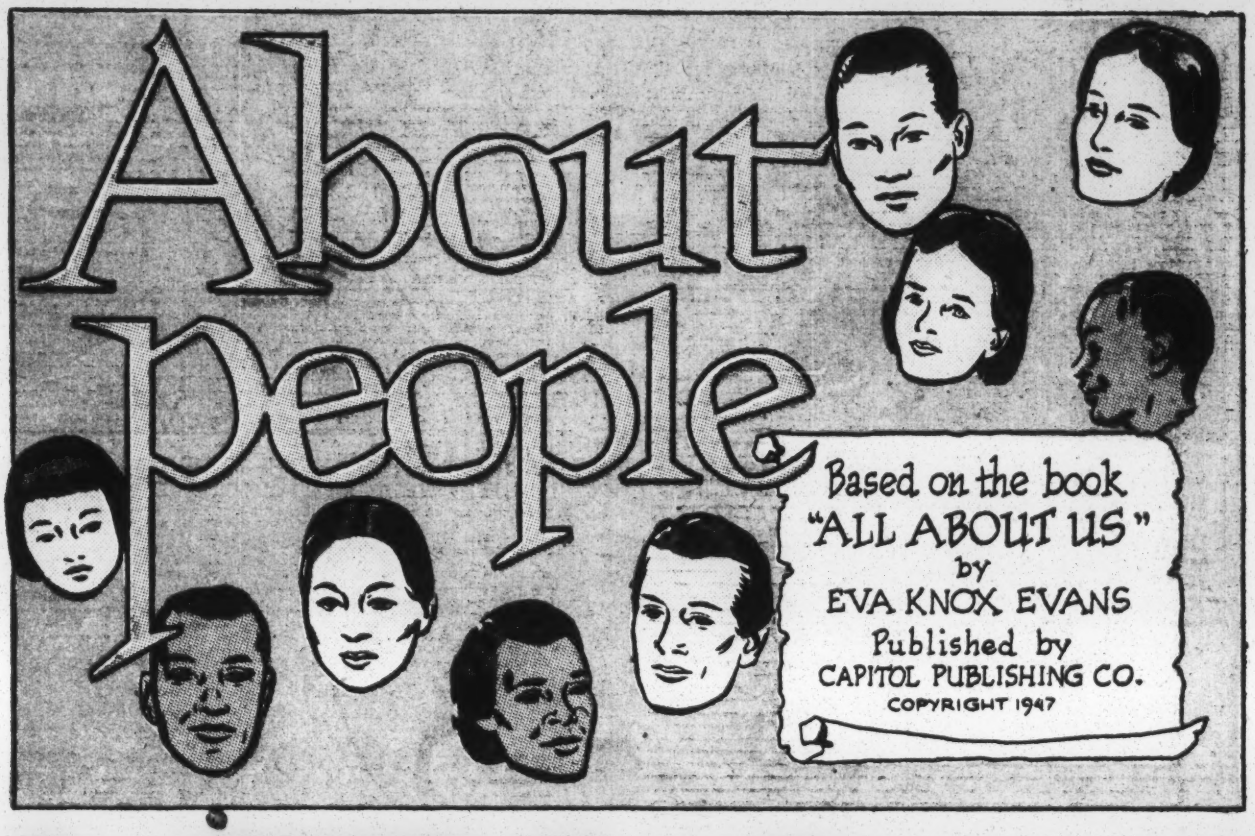
Materials: Bibliographies, pamphlets, and booklets about race relations are available for use in connection with the posters.

Orders for posters should be addressed to:

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant,
Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Checks and money orders should be made payable to:

Charles S. Johnson, Director
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York



LONG, LONG AGO, THERE WERE JUST A FEW PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. THEY DIDN'T LOOK LIKE ANYONE YOU KNOW TODAY.

THERE WERE MAMA AND PAPA GOG'S FAMILY AND THEIR RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS — THE SIGGLES AND THE SOGS, THE BIGGLES AND THE BOGS.

THEY HAD NOT YET LEARNED TO GROW FOOD. THEY HUNTED WILD ANIMALS AND ATE WHAT PLANTS THEY COULD FIND.

THEY LOOKED FOR FOOD IN FAR PLACES. IN THEIR SEARCH, THE BIGGLES AND THE BOGS AND THE SIGGLES AND SOGS WENT DIFFERENT WAYS, AND SEPARATED FROM ONE ANOTHER.

PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH, PUBLICATIONS DEPT., PROGRAM DIVISION, 212-5TH AVE., N.Y. 10, N.Y.
EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANT: BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.

AND WE KNOW THAT PEOPLE IN THE WORLD TODAY DON'T ALL LOOK ALIKE EITHER.

AND THAT'S GOOD. IF WE ALL LOOKED ALIKE, YOU COULDN'T TELL YOUR MOTHER FROM THE LADY NEXT DOOR.

AND YOUR BEST PAL WOULD HAVE TO WEAR A BADGE OR ELSE YOU WOULDN'T KNOW HE WAS YOUR BEST PAL.

THERE ARE LOTS OF WAYS TO TELL PEOPLE APART. NO ONE LOOKS EXACTLY LIKE ANYONE ELSE.

SOME PEOPLE HAVE DARK SKIN, SOME PEOPLE HAVE SKIN THAT IS YELLOWISH-TAN, AND SOME HAVE PALE SKIN.

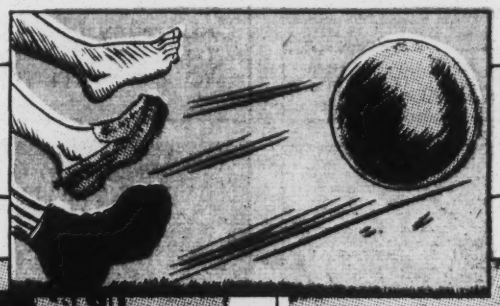
SOME PEOPLE HAVE A CURIOUS IDEA THAT, BECAUSE OF THEIR COLOR, THEY ARE BETTER THAN PEOPLE OF A DIFFERENT COLOR.

BUT THEY ARE WRONG. SKIN COLOR HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ABILITY OF ANY KIND— NOTHING AT ALL.

SKIN COLOR DOES NOT TELL US HOW FRIENDLY—OR INTERESTING—OR GOOD-PEOPLE ARE.

WE CERTAINLY MISS A LOT WHEN WE DON'T FIND OUT WHAT PEOPLE ARE LIKE ON THE INSIDE BECAUSE WE ARE TOO BUSY LOOKING ON THE OUTSIDE.

PART II



HOW WE LOOK DOES NOT TELL WHETHER WE DO THINGS DIFFERENTLY OR THE SAME.

ALL CHILDREN LIKE TO PLAY. CHILDREN ALL OVER THE WORLD EVEN PLAY THE SAME GAMES. TAKE KICKBALL, FOR INSTANCE.

WHERE THERE ARE NO PLAYGROUNDS, CHILDREN KICK THE BALL OVER THE LIMB OF A TALL TREE.

OR WHERE THERE ARE NO BIG TREES, CHILDREN KICK THE BALL OVER A STREAM

WE KICK THE BALL BETWEEN THE GOALPOSTS. HOW WE PLAY KICKBALL DEPENDS UPON WHERE WE LIVE AND NOT UPON HOW WE LOOK. WE ALL HAVE THE SAME KIND OF FUN.

PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD LIVE IN HOUSES OF SOME KIND. WE ALL NEED PROTECTION FROM THE WEATHER.

PEOPLE IN COLD COUNTRIES LIVE IN SNUG TIGHT HOUSES THAT KEEP THEM WARM.

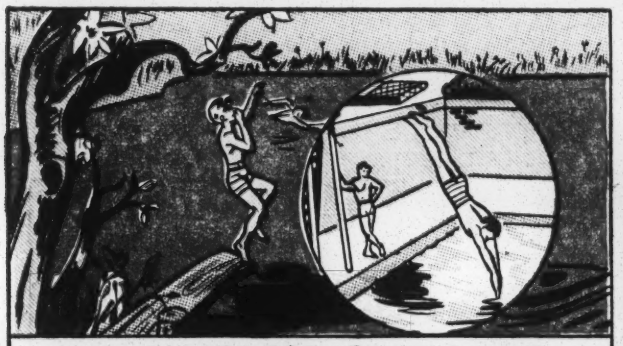
PEOPLE IN HOT COUNTRIES LIVE IN OPEN AIRY HOUSES THAT KEEP THEM COOL.

AND THEY LIVE IN THE KIND OF HOUSE THAT IS COMFORTABLE. IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THEIR LOOKS, HAS IT ?

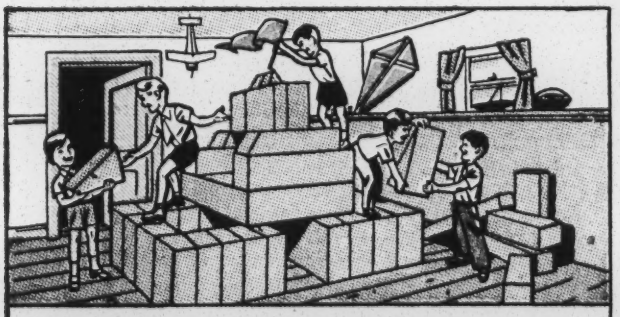
PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD WORSHIP GOD.

THEY WORSHIP HIM IN MANY DIFFERENT WAYS.

BUT THE WAY THEY LOOK HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE WAY THEY WORSHIP.



AND OF COURSE, PEOPLE WHO DO LOOK ALIKE MAY DO THINGS DIFFERENTLY.



WE LEARN OUR WAYS OF DOING THINGS FROM THE PEOPLE AROUND US.

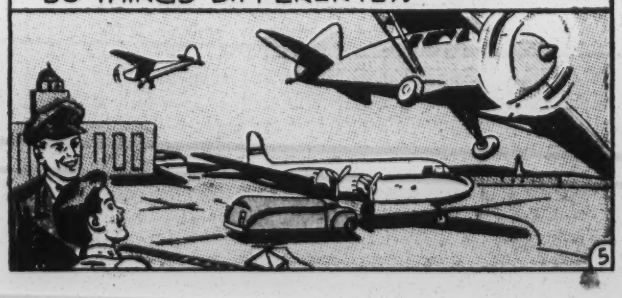
AND THEY LEARNED FROM THEIR MOTHERS AND FATHERS.

SO YOU SEE, PEOPLE WHO DO NOT LOOK ALIKE MAY PLAY THE SAME GAMES, LIVE IN THE SAME KINDS OF HOUSES, AND WORSHIP GOD IN THE SAME WAY.

WE DON'T ALL ACT ALIKE AND WE DON'T ALL LOOK ALIKE. BUT THE WAY WE LOOK HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE WAY WE ACT.

FROM THE MINUTE WE ARE BORN WE BEGIN TO LEARN. WE LEARN MOST OF OUR WAYS FROM OUR MOTHERS AND FATHERS.

BUT EVERYBODY KEEPS LEARNING NEW WAYS, TOO. NEW INVENTIONS MAKE US LEARN SOME NEW WAYS, AND OTHERS WE LEARN FROM MEETING PEOPLE WHO DO THINGS DIFFERENTLY.

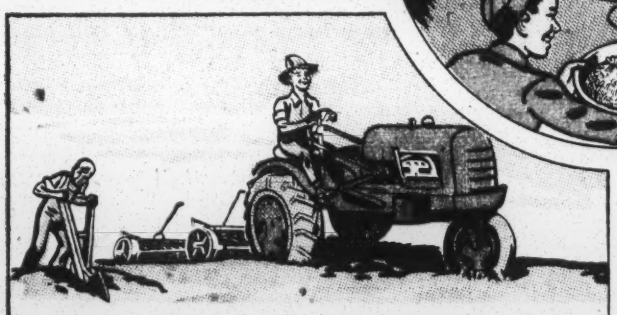


IT WOULD BE SILLY TO TRY TO WEAR HOOP SKIRTS ON BUSES, OR SUBWAYS, OR IN FACTORIES. SO WE HAVE STOPPED WEARING HOOP SKIRTS.

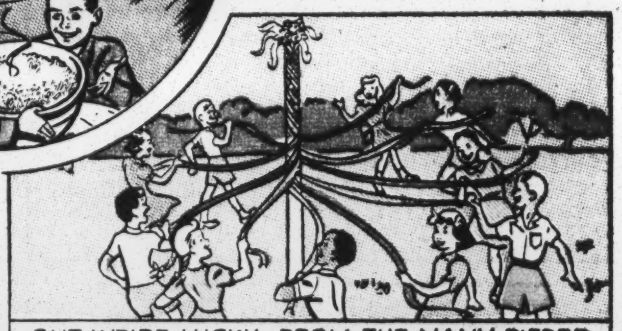
IT WOULD BE SILLY TO LIGHT A GAS STOVE BY RUBBING TWO STONES TOGETHER.

FROM THE INDIANS WE LEARNED TO EAT CORN, FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE FAR EAST WE LEARNED TO EAT RICE ...

... AND WE HAVE LEARNED MANY OTHER THINGS FROM THE PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD.



AND THAT IS GOOD. IT WOULD BE SILLY TO KEEP ON DOING EVERYTHING IN THE SAME OLD WAYS ALL THE TIME, WOULDN'T IT? AND NOT MUCH FUN!



BUT WE'RE LUCKY. FROM THE MANY DIFFERENT PEOPLE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY WE HAVE A SPECIALLY GOOD CHANCE TO LEARN NEW WAYS AND TO IMPROVE OLD ONES.

PART III

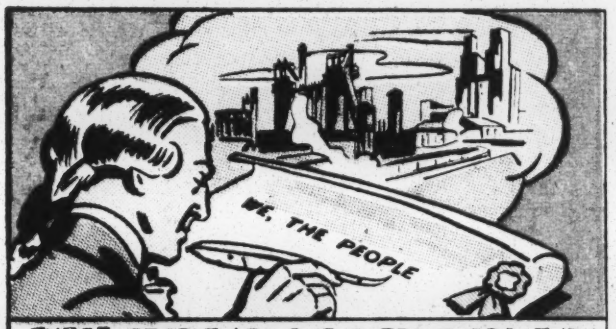
AMERICANS ARE OF DIFFERENT SKIN COLORS, OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS, AND THEY HAVE MANY DIFFERENT WAYS OF DOING THINGS.

WHEN COLUMBUS DISCOVERED AMERICA, HE FOUND PEOPLE HERE WHOSE SKINS WERE YELLOWISH-TAN. HE CALLED THEM INDIANS. THEY WERE THE FIRST AMERICANS.

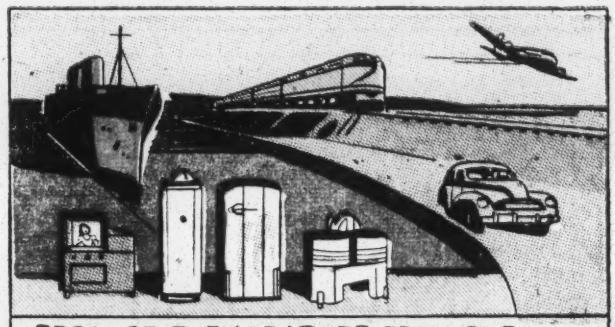
INDIANS TAUGHT THE FIRST SETTLERS HOW TO PLANT NEW KINDS OF FOOD AND HOW TO BUILD HOUSES IN THIS NEW LAND.

THESE SETTLERS HAD TO LEARN THE INDIANS' WAYS IN ORDER TO STAY ALIVE.

AFTER THESE FIRST SETTLERS, MORE PEOPLE CAME—AND MORE—AND MORE—FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD.

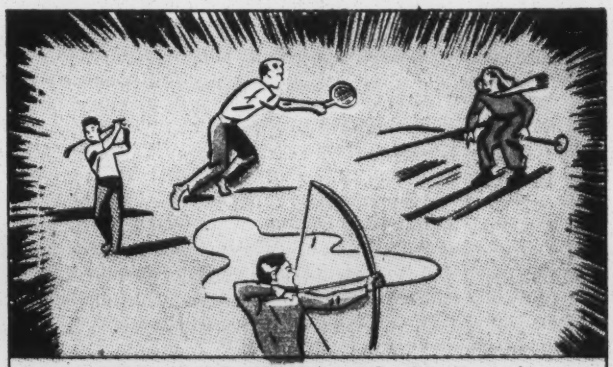


THESE PEOPLE ARE OUR FOREFATHERS. THEY BROUGHT MANY WAYS OF DOING THINGS. THEY LEARNED FROM ONE ANOTHER AND TOGETHER THEY BUILT AMERICA.



BECAUSE THEY LEARNED FROM ONE ANOTHER AND ENJOYED ONE ANOTHER'S WAYS WE NOW HAVE... MORE INVENTIONS THAT MAKE LIFE EASIER....

...MORE KINDS OF THINGS TO EAT...



...MORE KINDS OF GAMES TO PLAY...

...MORE SONGS TO SING.

ALL THESE PEOPLE TOGETHER AND THE PEOPLE WHO KEEP COMING FROM OTHER COUNTRIES MAKE AMERICA A BETTER PLACE FOR ALL OF US. TOGETHER, WE ARE AMERICA.

YET, SOMETIMES, SOME PEOPLE FORGET. YOU MAY SOMETIMES HEAR PEOPLE SAY THEY DON'T LIKE FOREIGNERS, OR THEY DON'T LIKE NEGROES, OR THEY DON'T LIKE METHODISTS OR JEWS. ISN'T THAT A CURIOUS THING TO SAY?

IF THEY DON'T LIKE FOREIGNERS, OR PEOPLE WHOSE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS CAME FROM FOREIGN LANDS, THEY MIGHT AS WELL DISLIKE THEMSELVES! ALL OUR FOREFATHERS CAME FROM FOREIGN LANDS — EXCEPT THE INDIANS!

INDEED, IT IS THE MANY KINDS OF PEOPLE AND THEIR DIFFERENT WAYS THAT MAKE AMERICA WHAT IT IS TODAY.

YOUR NEIGHBOR MAY WORSHIP GOD IN A WAY DIFFERENT FROM YOUR OWN. BUT YOU CANNOT TELL WHETHER OR NOT YOU LIKE THIS NEIGHBOR UNTIL YOU KNOW HIM.

AND WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT THE COLOR OF A PERSON'S SKIN MAKES NO DIFFERENCE IN WHAT HE DOES — OR IN HOW BRIGHT OR FRIENDLY HE IS.

SO IT MAKES NO SENSE TO REFUSE TO BE FRIENDS WITH A PERSON BECAUSE OF HIS COLOR, BECAUSE OF THE WAY HE WORSHIPS, OR BECAUSE HE OR HIS PARENTS COME FROM A FOREIGN LAND.

MOST OF US CHOOSE OUR FRIENDS BECAUSE THEY ARE FUN TO BE WITH...

... BECAUSE THEY ARE PLEASANT TO TALK TO ... OR LIKE THE SAME MOVIES OR RADIO PROGRAMS... OR BECAUSE THEY HAVE GOOD IDEAS FOR GAMES... OR FOR OTHER SIMILAR REASONS.

HAVE *you* EVER THOUGHT ABOUT HOW YOU SELECT *your* FRIENDS?

Premier

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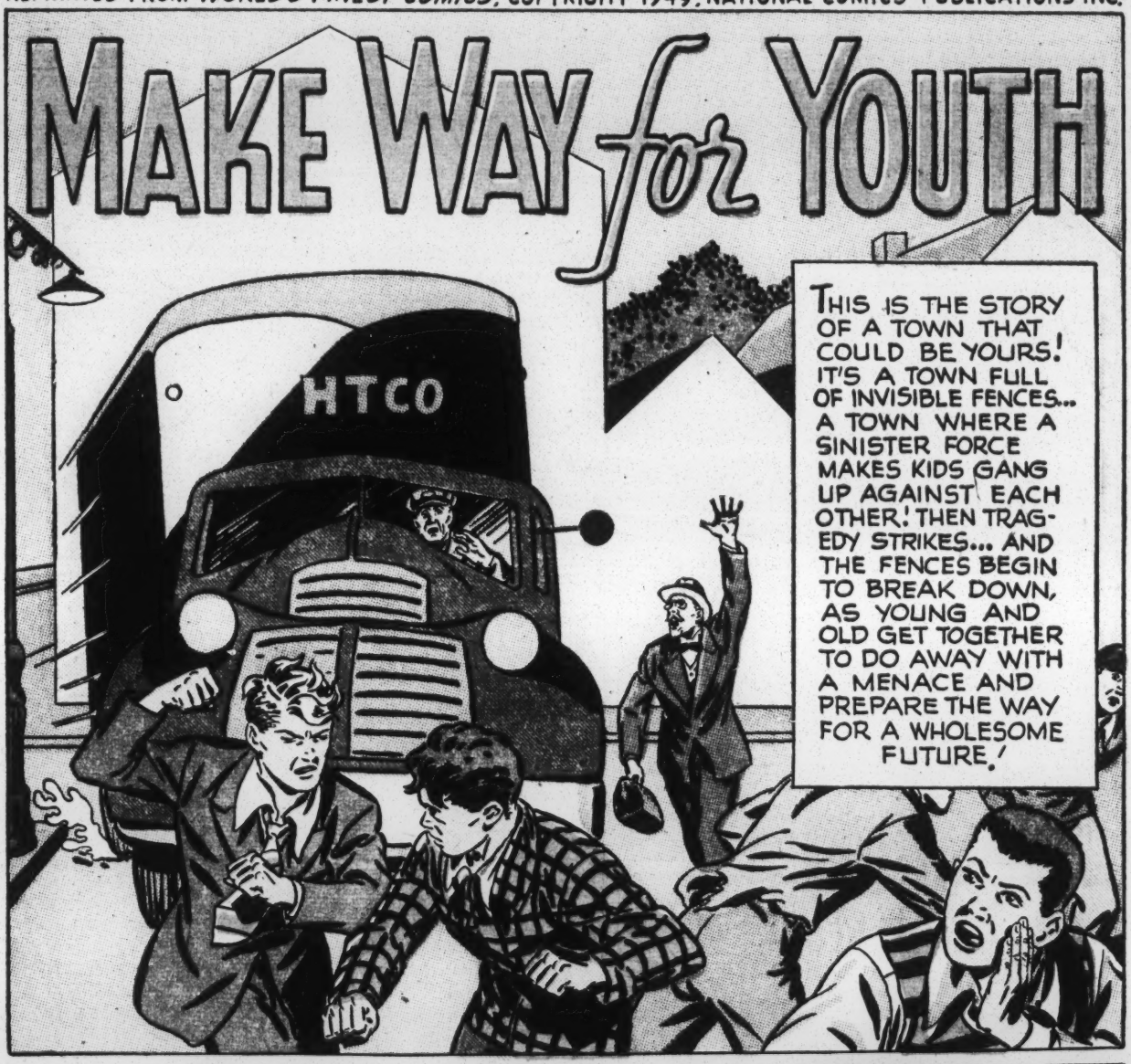
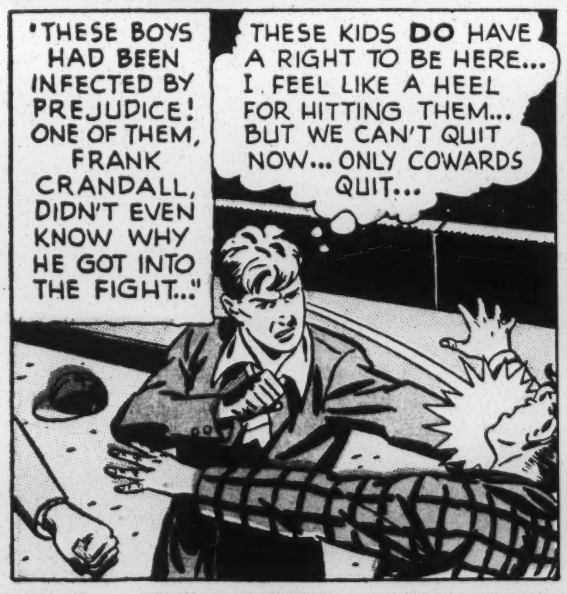
MAKE WAY for YOUTH



BASED UPON THE FILM OF THE SAME NAME PRODUCED BY THE YOUTH DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY

"PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY... BUT WE HAD TO WORK TO MAKE IT THAT WAY!"
TELEVISION RADIO
"IT WASN'T SO PEACEFUL A YEAR AGO! ONE SATURDAY NIGHT, ON A BACK STREET..."
STAY AT YOUR END OF TOWN, YOU FOREIGNER!
I GOT JUST AS MUCH RIGHT HERE AS YOU HAVE!

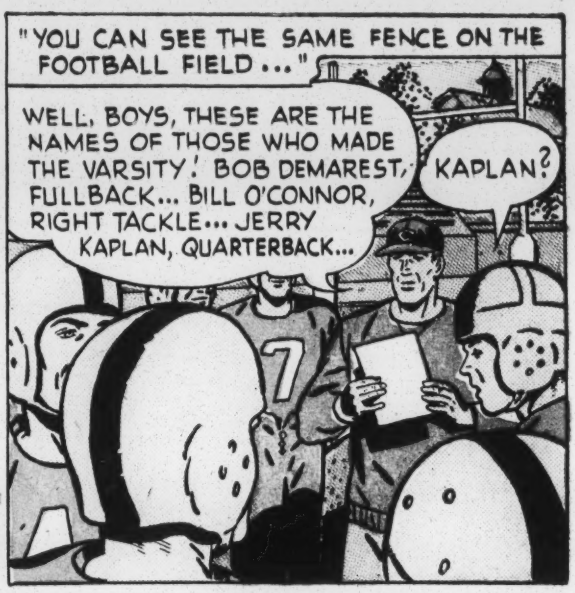

"THESE BOYS HAD BEEN INFECTED BY PREJUDICE! ONE OF THEM, FRANK CRANDALL, DIDN'T EVEN KNOW WHY HE GOT INTO THE FIGHT..."
THESE KIDS DO HAVE A RIGHT TO BE HERE... I FEEL LIKE A HEEL FOR HITTING THEM... BUT WE CAN'T QUIT NOW... ONLY COWARDS QUIT...

"SUDDENLY..."
WATCH OUT!
HTCO

I CAN'T STOP HER IN TIME... I CAN'T STOP...
SCREECH

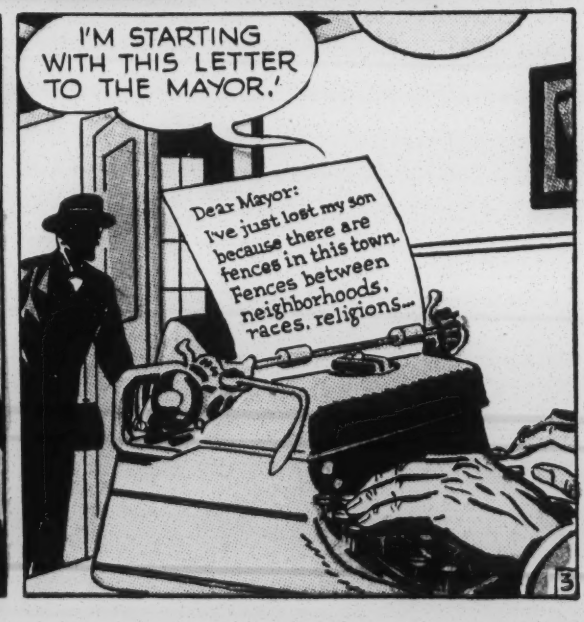
"FRANKIE DIED BEFORE WE COULD OPERATE. LATER, I SPOKE TO HIS FATHER, ED, WHO WAS EDITOR OF THE TOWN PAPER..."
BUT WHY WERE THEY FIGHTING, DOC? FRANK DIDN'T HAVE ANY ENEMIES! THOSE KIDS FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF TOWN...
THAT'S IT, ED... HE DIED BECAUSE THERE ARE TWO SIDES TO THIS TOWN... WITH A FENCE BETWEEN THEM!
2

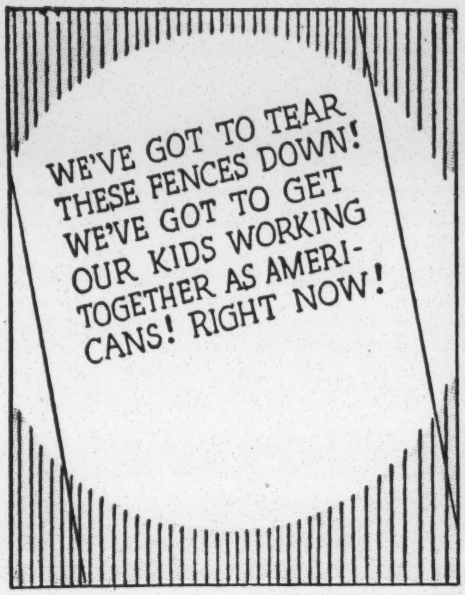
"YOU CAN SEE THE FENCE IN AN ICE CREAM PARLOR, SEPARATING ONE RACE FROM ANOTHER."
SORRY... THIS SEAT'S TAKEN!
IT WOULDN'T BE TAKEN IF MY SKIN WERE WHITE!

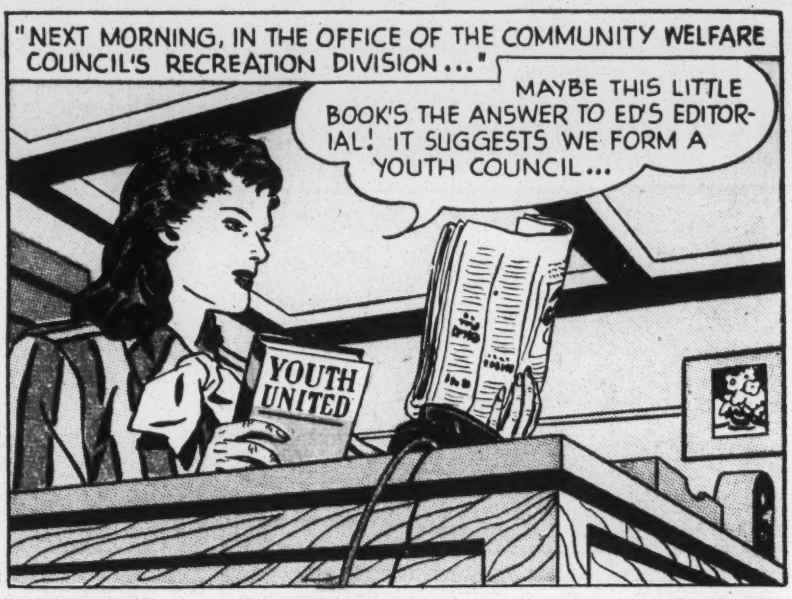

"YOU CAN SEE THE SAME FENCE ON THE FOOTBALL FIELD..."
WELL, BOYS, THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO MADE THE VARSITY! BOB DEMAREST, FULLBACK... BILL O'CONNOR, RIGHT TACKLE... JERRY KAPLAN, QUARTERBACK...
KAPLAN?

TOO BAD, JOHNNY...
I'LL SAY IT'S TOO BAD! I DESERVED TO BE ON THE TEAM! IF NOT FOR YOU...
"PREJUDICES BLINDED JOHNNY'S SPORTSMANSHIP... AND THE COACH HAD TO INTERVENE..."
THAT'S ENOUGH, YOU FELLOWS... OFF THE FIELD, BOTH OF YOU!

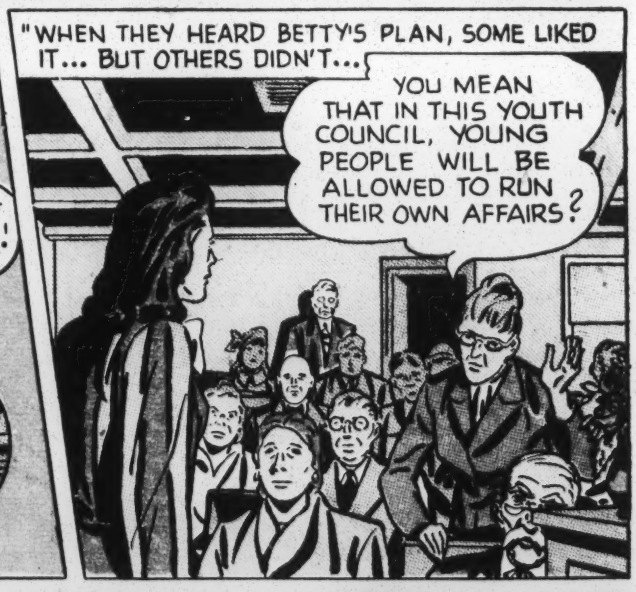
YOU'RE RIGHT, DOC! PREJUDICE KILLED FRANKIE... AND I'M GOING AFTER HIS MURDERER!


I'M STARTING WITH THIS LETTER TO THE MAYOR!
Dear Mayor:
I've just lost my son because there are fences in this town. Fences between neighborhoods, races, religions...


WE'VE GOT TO TEAR THESE FENCES DOWN! WE'VE GOT TO GET OUR KIDS WORKING TOGETHER AS AMERICANS! RIGHT NOW!


"NEXT MORNING, IN THE OFFICE OF THE COMMUNITY WELFARE COUNCIL'S RECREATION DIVISION..."
MAYBE THIS LITTLE BOOK'S THE ANSWER TO ED'S EDITORIAL! IT SUGGESTS WE FORM A YOUTH COUNCIL...
YOUTH UNITED

THIS IS BETTY AINSWORTH... I'M CALLING A MEETING OF THE RECREATION DIVISION...
I'LL BE THERE!
COUNT ON ME!
IT'S TIME WE HAD A MEETING, BETTY!


"WHEN THEY HEARD BETTY'S PLAN, SOME LIKED IT... BUT OTHERS DIDN'T...
YOU MEAN THAT IN THIS YOUTH COUNCIL, YOUNG PEOPLE WILL BE ALLOWED TO RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS?

AND ALL WE'LL DO IS GIVE THEM ADVICE WHEN THEY NEED IT? WHY, THEY'LL GET OUT OF CONTROL!
IT'S A CRAZY IDEA! HIGH SCHOOL KIDS HAVE NO SENSE! THEY LACK EXPERIENCE!

"BUT EVENTUALLY..."
MOTION'S CARRIED! WE'LL CALL THE YOUTH COUNCIL AT ONCE!
I'M WARNING YOU, YOU'RE MAKING A BIG MISTAKE!

"THAT FIRST MEETING WAS SOMETHING SPECIAL! RICH KIDS, POOR KIDS... KIDS OF DIFFERENT RACES, DIFFERENT RELIGIONS..."
"A LOT OF FENCES BETWEEN NEIGHBORHOODS WERE KICKED FULL OF HOLES THAT DAY! AND MORE FENCES WERE BROKEN DOWN IN THE ARGUMENT!"
DON'T ARGUE WITH EACH OTHER... TALK TO ME! I'M THE CHAIRMAN!
I CAN'T LET THEM GO ON LIKE THIS! I'M SUPPOSED TO BE THEIR ADVISER...
SHHH...
BUT THEY DON'T WANT ANY ADVICE! THEY DON'T GIVE ME A CHANCE TO TALK!
DON'T WORRY MR. ANDREWS... YOUR TURN WILL COME!
"FINALLY..."
SOME ANSWERS I DON'T HAVE... HOW ABOUT YOU, MR. ANDREWS?
AHEM... I THINK I CAN HELP YOU!
I KNEW THEY'D GET AROUND TO YOU!
"AFTER THE MEETING, THE NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS POSED ON THE STEPS OF CITY HALL..."
PEPPER MONROE IS PRESIDENT... JERRY KAPLAN IS VICE PRESIDENT... CATHY CLARK, SECRETARY
ALL THE DIFFERENT GROUPS REPRESENTED, ARE THEY? THAT'S A DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL, ALL RIGHT!
"MY OWN SON WAS MADE TREASURER!"
DON'T BE SO PROUD, DAD... I WAS ELECTED, NOT YOU!
5

"THE YOUTH COUNCIL HELD A GET-TOGETHER IN THE YMCA ... AND MORE FENCES WENT DOWN!"
YOU SHOULD HAVE GOT A A BIGGER HALL.'
THIS IS THE BIGGEST IN TOWN! HOW DID WE KNOW OUR GET-TOGETHER WOULD BE SO SUCCESSFUL?
NO MORE ROOM
"THE YOUNG FOLKS LOOKED FOR A PLACE OF THEIR OWN...AND FOUND AN ABANDONED WAREHOUSE..."
THIS IS OWNED BY THE TOWN... ALL WE'LL HAVE TO DO IS ASK FOR IT.'
AND WE COULD FIX IT UP OUR-SELVES.'
IT'S SIMPLE, MAYOR BOWER.' YOU JUST GIVE US THE WARE-HOUSE...
IT'S NOT SO SIMPLE! WHAT ABOUT FIRE REGULA-TIONS? WHO'S GOING TO PAY FOR REMODEL-ING AND UPKEEP? WHAT ABOUT TAXES?
"THIS IS WHERE THE ADVISERS CAME IN.. THE KIDS GOT THE ANSWERS FROM THEM.'"
I KNOW ALL ABOUT FIRE REGU-LATIONS.'
I'LL TELL YOU HOW TO RAISE MONEY TO FIX THE BUILDING.'
DON'T WORRY ABOUT TAXES ... I HAVE THE ANSWER TO THAT.'
"THE YOUTH COUNCIL ORGANIZED A SPEAKERS' BUREAU... THEY SPOKE TO EVERYBODY!"
GENTLEMEN, WHAT THIS WAREHOUSE WILL DO FOR THE YOUTH OF THIS TOWN IS WORTH TEN TIMES MORE THAN WHAT IT WILL COST.'
"THEY RANG DOORBELLS ALL OVER TOWN..."
6

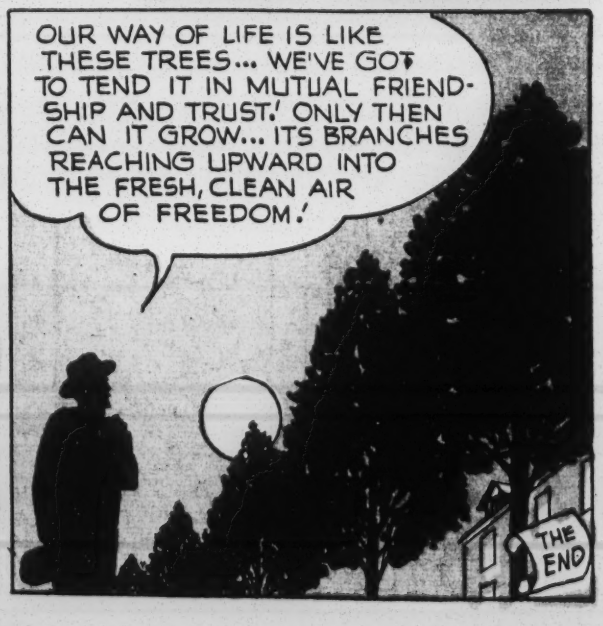
"THEY WROTE A COLUMN FOR ED CRANDALL'S NEWSPAPER..."
LET ME SEE... IT HAS TO BE FUNNY ... HAVE NEWS VALUE... ATTRACT READERS OF ALL AGES.' THIS IS A JOB FOR SHAKESPEARE.'
THE COLUMN
"BUT EVEN WITHOUT SHAKESPEARE ... THE CAMPAIGN BROUGHT RESULTS!"
MORE LETTERS ASKING THAT THE KIDS GET THE WAREHOUSE, MR. MAYOR! AND THERE'S A PETITION COMING, TOO.'
GUESS WE'LL HAVE TO LET THEM HAVE IT.'
"THE RECREATION COMMISSION PROVIDED MONEY TO FIX UP THE WAREHOUSE..."
THEY WON'T RECOGNIZE THE PLACE WHEN WE'RE THROUGH WITH IT.'
"THE PREJUDICES THAT USED TO DIVIDE THE KIDS MELTED AWAY AS THEY WORKED TOGETHER..."
CATHY'S A SWELL KID... WONDER WHY WE NEVER USED TO GET ALONG BEFORE.'

"THE KIDS WEREN'T SELFISH! AFTER THEIR HEADQUARTERS STARTED OPERATING..."
YOU GROWN-UPS HAVE YOUR TROUBLES, TOO... WE'LL LET YOU HAVE THE PLACE FOUR NIGHTS A WEEK!
AND WE'LL GIVE YOU ADVICE IF YOU NEED IT, TOO!
THANKS!

"THEY STARTED A CLEAN-UP CAMPAIGN TO MAKE THE TOWN NEATER..."
BEFORE
AFTER

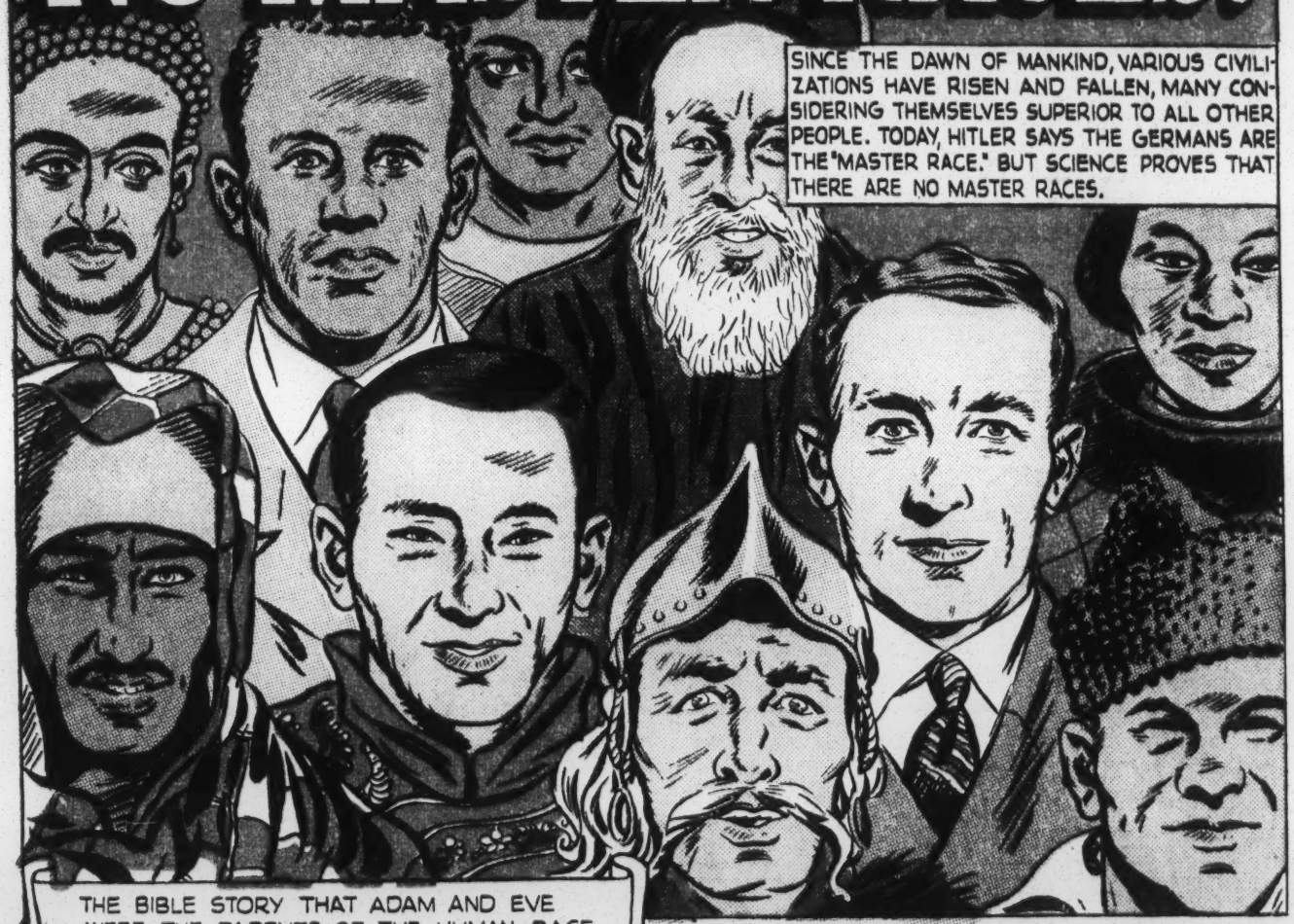
"THEY ORGANIZED WELCOME STRANGER CLUBS IN THE SCHOOLS..."
YOU JUST MOVE TO TOWN? COME ON IN AND MEET THE GANG!
WELCOME STANGER
IT'S BEEN A YEAR SINCE FRANKIE WAS KILLED... AND WE'VE TAKEN SOME HEALTHY SWIPES AT THE PREJUDICE THAT KILLED HIM! THESE TREES, FOR INSTANCE...

"THE KIDS PLANTED THEM TO BEAUTIFY THE TOWN! BLACK AND WHITE, CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS WORKING TOGETHER..."


OUR WAY OF LIFE IS LIKE THESE TREES... WE'VE GOT TO TEND IT IN MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP AND TRUST! ONLY THEN CAN IT GROW... ITS BRANCHES REACHING UPWARD INTO THE FRESH, CLEAN AIR OF FREEDOM!
THE END

Reprinted from "True Comics" Magazine.

There Are NO MASTER RACES!



THIS FEATURE IS BASED ON THE PAMPHLET, "THE RACES OF MANKIND," BY LEADING ANTHROPOLOGISTS PROFESSOR RUTH BENEDICT AND DOCTOR GENE WELTFISH OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. PUBLISHED BY THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK.

BUT IF WE ARE ALL THE SAME, WHY DO SOME PEOPLE HAVE DARK SKIN AND OTHERS HAVE LIGHT OR WHITE SKIN?
THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION, AND THE ANSWER TO IT IS A THRILLING ADVENTURE STORY! NOW, LOOK AT THIS MAP...

...MANY THOUSANDS OF YEARS AGO, MEN BEGAN TO MOVE FROM THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES IN THE CENTRAL REGIONS TO THE FAR CORNERS OF THE EARTH. SOME SETTLED IN THE NORTHERN SECTIONS, OTHERS, IN THE COUNTRIES NEARER THE EQUATOR. OTHERS STAYED IN THE MIDDLE.

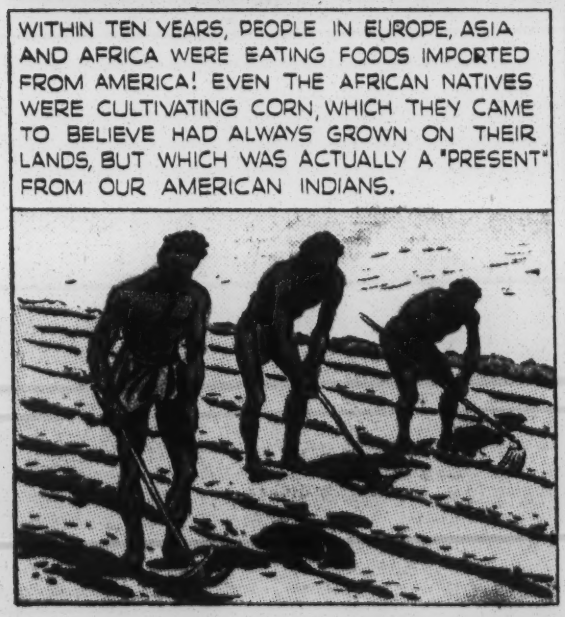
THE PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE REGIONS HAD AN IN-BETWEEN COLOR, SUCH AS THE POLYNESIANS, HINDUS AND MONGOLS.

THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTHERN REGIONS HAD LIGHT SKIN.

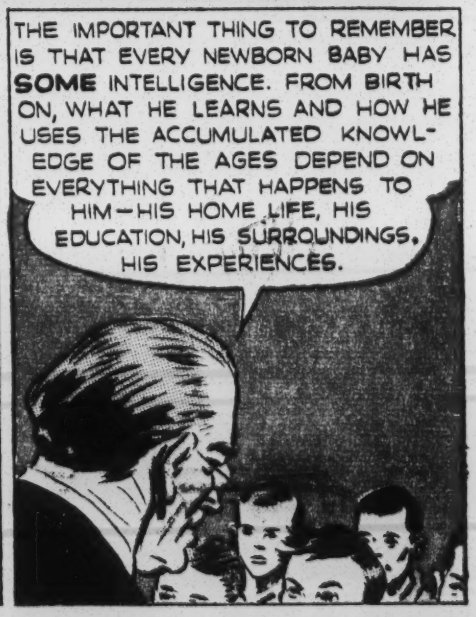
THE PEOPLE IN THE TROPICS HAD DARKER SKIN.

IN OTHER WORDS, DIFFERENCES IN SKIN COLOR ARE NOT AS BIG AS WE THOUGHT?
EXACTLY! ALL SKINS CONTAIN THE SAME CHEMICALS. PERSONS WITH YELLOW SKIN HAVE MORE CAROTENE IN THE SKIN, WHILE THOSE WITH DARK SKIN HAVE MORE MELANIN. THAT'S ALL THERE IS TO IT.

NOW, CONSIDER INTELLIGENCE. MANY BELIEVE THAT EUROPEANS WERE THE FIRST TO HAVE SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE. BUT WHILE THEY WERE STILL LIVING A PRIMITIVE LIFE, AROUND 3000 B.C...



THROUGHOUT HISTORY, PEOPLES OF ALL RACES HAVE BENEFITED BY THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHER RACES. TODAY, THIS VAST POOL OF KNOWLEDGE IS A "BIRTHDAY PRESENT" TO ALL BABIES AND ALL BABIES CAN LEARN TO USE THIS KNOWLEDGE REGARDLESS OF RACE. SCIENCE HAS PROVED THAT PEOPLE OF **ALL** RACES ARE EQUALLY CAPABLE OF EDUCATION.



INTELLIGENCE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH SKIN COLOR. IN WORLD WAR I, TESTS GIVEN TO U.S. SOLDIERS OF ALL COLORS SHOWED THAT EDUCATION, NOT SKIN COLOR, DETERMINED THEIR INTELLIGENCE RATING!

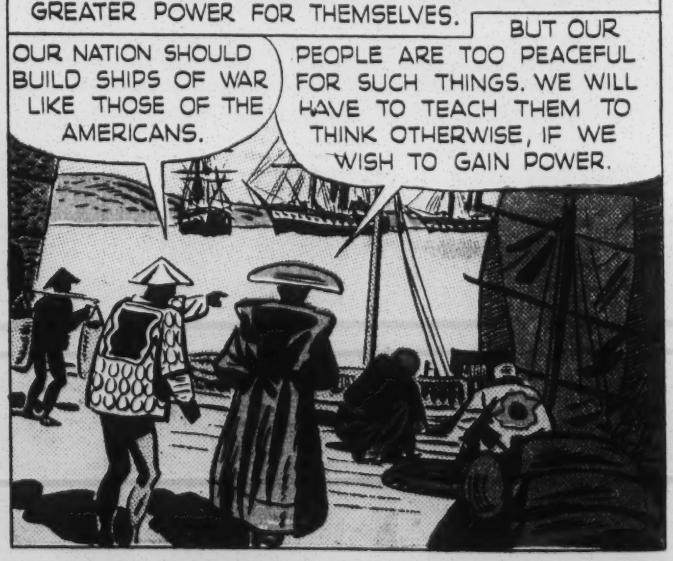
RACE HAS EVEN LESS TO DO WITH ONE'S IDEAS OF LIFE. THE POINTS OF VIEW OF INDIVIDUALS ARE NOT INBORN. THEY CAN BE GREATLY CHANGED BY EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA OR CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR EXAMPLE...

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, THE INDIANS OF MEXICO WERE CONTINUALLY FIGHTING EACH OTHER—UNTIL THE SPANIARDS INVADED THE COUNTRY.

AFTER THE SPANISH CONQUEST, FIGHTING SPANIARDS AND BELLIGERENT INDIANS SETTLED DOWN AND INTERMARRIED. TODAY, THEIR DESCENDANTS ARE OUR PEACEFUL GOOD NEIGHBORS BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

IN CONTRAST TO THE ONCE WARLIKE INDIANS, THE JAPANESE—AS RECENTLY AS FIFTY YEARS AGO—WERE PEACEFUL FISHERMEN AND FARMERS, POETS AND ARTISTS.

IN 1854, WHEN THE AMERICAN NAVY OPENED JAPAN'S GATES TO THE REST OF THE WORLD, SOME JAPANESE LEADERS SAW A CHANCE TO GAIN GREATER POWER FOR THEMSELVES.



SO, WITHIN TWO GENERATIONS, THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO BE WARLIKE TO SATISFY THE AMBITIONS OF THEIR MILITARY RULERS!

BANZAI! WE ARE THE SONS OF HEAVEN! **KILL! KILL!**

AND TWENTY YEARS AGO, MUSSOLINI USED THE SAME "MASTER RACE" TACTICS TO SEIZE CONTROL OF ITALY AND MAKE ITALIANS WAR-MINDED.

ITALIANS, DO NOT FORGET THAT YOU ARE CHILDREN OF DESTINY! YOU ARE THE DESCENDANTS OF THE VALIANT ROMANS!

THEN, TEN YEARS AGO, HITLER ROSE TO POWER IN GERMANY, REVIVING THE WARLIKE AMBITIONS HELD IN THE GERMAN RULING CASTE FOR MANY GENERATIONS.

OUR NATION MUST BE A NATION OF WARRIORS! IF WE ARE TO CONQUER THE WORLD, WE WILL HAVE TO TEACH OUR YOUTH THAT THEY ARE UNBEATABLE!

REMEMBER, THROUGHOUT HISTORY WE GERMANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VICTORIOUS IN WAR! THERE IS NO PLACE FOR WEAKLINGS AMONG US! WE ARE THE MASTER RACE! HEIL HITLER!

BECAUSE GERMAN YOUTHS WERE TAUGHT ONLY WHAT HITLER WANTED THEM TO BELIEVE, THEY BECAME WARLIKE, FOR THEY KNEW NO OTHER WAY OF LIFE.

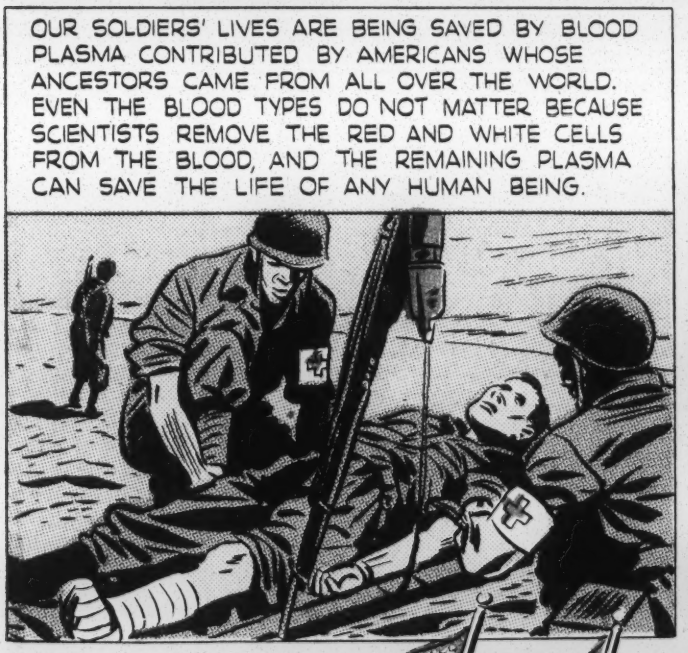
OUR PLANS ARE WORKING WELL! WE ARE RAISING A GENERATION OF BRUTAL KILLERS.

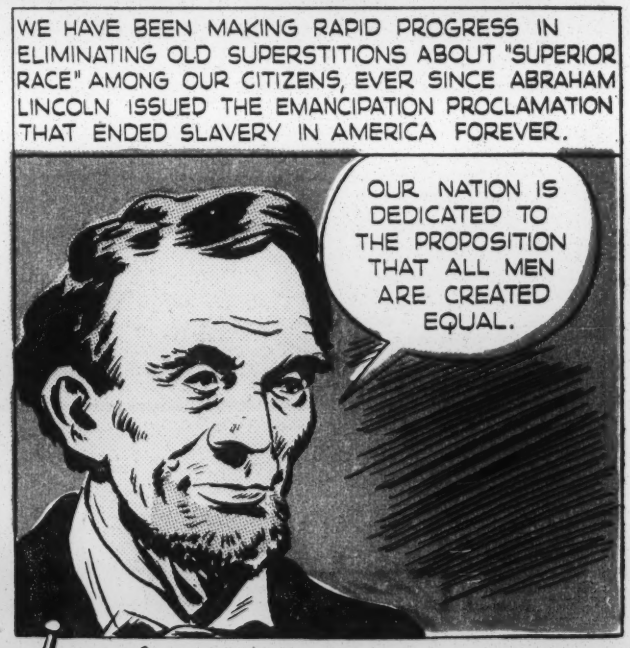
MEIN FUEHRER, WE HAVE OUR STORM TROOPERS AND OUR BRUTAL FIGHTERS, BUT WE MUST INSTILL IN THEM A FEELING OF MENTAL SUPERIORITY.
THAT IS EASY! WE WILL MAKE THEM FEEL STRONG BY MAKING OTHERS LOOK WEAK. THERE ARE JUST A FEW JEWS. WE WILL CALL THE JEWISH RACE INFERIOR!

WILL THE PUBLIC BE CONVINCED? THE JEWS ARE NOT A RACE—THEY ARE PEOPLE OF MANY RACES WHO FOLLOW THE SAME RELIGION.
THE PUBLIC WILL ACCEPT WHAT WE WANT THEM TO BELIEVE BECAUSE WE HAVE TAUGHT THEM TO DO SO!
JEWS ARE NOT A RACE. THEY HAVE A COMMON RELIGION BUT ARE OF MANY DIFFERENT STOCKS. THERE ARE JEWS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY.

HITLER CALLED HIS NAZI FOLLOWERS "PURE ARYANS," AND ENCOURAGED THEIR FEELING OF SUPERIORITY BY STRESSING THEIR "DISTINCTIVE DIFFERENCES" FROM OTHER PEOPLE.
AN ARYAN IS SLENDER!
...AND TALL!
...AND BLONDE!

BUT—THE "PURE ARYAN" NAZIS WHO CONQUERED FRANCE ACTUALLY CONQUERED PEOPLE CLOSELY AKIN IN RACE TO THEMSELVES.
SYSTEMATIC PROPAGANDA ENABLED HITLER AND THE MILITARY LEADERS OF JAPAN TO MAKE THEIR PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE "MASTER RACES." BUT THIS SIMPLY IS NOT SO!





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DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

718 JACKSON PL., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

To All Members and Friends:

With cutbacks already a stark reality in thousands of American homes, mass unemployment must be avoided. To do this, Americans must stick together more closely than ever. We must not fear our neighbors. We must understand that all groups depend upon each other.

In a world torn with political, economic and physical strife, it would seem that superficial differences would have no place. It would seem that great conflicts over who should rule and how, who should eat and how much, who should kill and be killed, would eliminate petty prejudice, and that men would stand together on the basis of their ideas, their ideals and their goal of survival. It would certainly seem that the color of man's thinking would outweigh the color of his skin, and that the forces of reason and reaction would each line up on issues which fundamentally engage the spirit of man, rather than on those concerning the shape of his nose or the texture of his hair.

The CIO has lined up on basic issues calling for the cooperation of all who strive for a better life for the common man of the world. It does not care to what race these men belong any more than it cares how much money they have in the bank. It subscribes to the outlook of science in describing physical differences which in no way affect the mind and heart of the individual.

We therefore commend this leaflet to all people of good will who find themselves confronted, in their daily living, with the morass of ignorance, and superstition, and misunderstanding of racial factors, which are being deliberately used by the enemies of democracy to confuse Americans and others, in the selfish interests of privileged groups.

Fraternally yours,

James B. Carey

Secretary-Treasurer, CIO
and
Chairman, National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination

Willard S. Townsend, Secretary
George L-P Weaver, Director
George W. Crockett, Jr.
James J. Leary
Morris Muster
Harry Read
M. Hedley Stone
Boyd L. Wilson

[PRINTED IN USA]

FOR WHITE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE

For the sake of our **COUNTRY** and the **SOUTH** I plead that you **READ** the following:

In 1944 genuine Democrats made the first serious move to eliminate from the real Democratic Party the alleged Negro-**LOVING,** pink and red **MONGRELS** who **FALSELY** called themselves Democrats—True, we were whipped and humiliated and on election day 1944 real Democrats found themselves with no place to go. **BUT, THE SEED OF OUR STRENGTH HAD BEEN PLANTED!**

Since then the scalawag, carpet-bagger Northern bosses of the New Deal Party kept adding shame and degradation to our lot—**smugly sure** there was no end to what loyal Democrats would endure for party harmony—Late in 1947—after Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee showed **RIDICULE** and **SCORN** for our Constitutional State Rights—**GOVERNOR BEAUFORD JESTER** of Texas sounded the first warning that the **SOUTH** and good Democrats everywhere would not forever give **BLIND OBEDIENCE** to renegade, **FALSE** and Negro Democrats.

The warnings of Governor Jester gained wide public approval in the genuine Democratic newspapers and meeting places of the **SOUTH** and the entire nation—But New Deal spokesmen **SCOFFED** and **POOH-POOHED** the warning of Governor Jester—they laughed at the Texas spark as something they could **STOMP** out with the greatest of ease—they had the usual **CONTEMPT** for **"IN THE BAG"** Southern Democrats.

BUT THE TEXAS SPARK DID NOT DIE and since then **FIRES** have broken out in Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana—**sparks are flying all over the** South—Now, **GOVERNOR FIELDING WRIGHT,** backed by the almost unanimous support of the entire Democracy of Mississippi, has challenged the Democrats of the South and Nation to work with his state to put an end to the delivery of the Democratic Party to the Negroes, the C. I. O., the Pinks and Reds who control and ride herd over these minority groups.

On Thursday, January 29, 1948, senior **U. S. SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND** of Mississippi told a joint session of both houses of the Mississippi legislature that **"THE SOUTH HAD ITS BACK TO THE WALL",** and that unless we defended the real Democratic Party we would soon be completely governed by a collection of **"MONGRELS."**

Senator Eastland said that, "In good times or in bad, the bone, sinew, the flesh and the constancy of the Democratic Party was found below the Mason and Dixon Line"

Instantly! Democrats asked **"THEN, WHY NOT A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON AND DIXON LINE??!!"**

Congressional delegations from several Southern states are talking the situation over—**At last!** Political leadership have ears to the ground, waiting for "We the People" to stomp and speak.

If you are tired of the threat of FEPC—sick of the Wallaces, Hannegans, McGraths and Peppers—weary of C. I. O. and the Reds who want to **MARRY** us into the **WILLING ARMS** of the Negro! You can now do something about it before it is too late!

WE MUST HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON - DIXON LINE.

Five million white men and women of the South must get a message of approval to the thirteen governors of the Southern States—five million people must sign their name and address to one of these circulars and mail or carry it to their governor, **ASKING FOR A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON-DIXON LINE.**

Your political leaders are waiting to **HEAR FROM YOU**—if you fail it will not be their fault. **"THE HOPE OF THE NATION RESTS WAY DOWN SOUTH IN DIXIE!"**

Cordially, John U. Barr,
P. O. Box 86—New Orleans 6, La.

Permission is granted to reproduce this or our printer can furnish additional copies at 75c per hundred delivered to you.

Races Racial Diffs.

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WHAT ABOUT HUMAN EQUALITY?

By W.Hardin Hughes

In countless ways, men are unequal. White people are no exception to the rule. They are tall and short, weak and strong, intelligent and idiotic, cultured and uncultured, saintly and sinful. With respect to every measurable characteristic, they cover the entire scale. Some there are whose contributions to the betterment of the world will be remembered and lauded for ages to come; while others will be remembered, if at all, for their hindrances to human progress. Other peoples — black, brown, and yellow — are correspondingly dissimilar among themselves. The principle of individual differences, in short, applies to every people of the globe. The difference between the noblest and the meanest in any race is as great, in all probability, as the corresponding difference within any other race.

Those who have achieved world renown are rightly thought of as exceptional. Booker T.Washington, George Washington Carver, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, and a score of other American Negroes are of this class. Aristotle, St.Thomas Aquinas, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, were likewise exceptional. Few there are in any generation or time who qualify for world-wide honors. Superior inborn capacities coupled with appropriate opportunities are essential to outstanding achievement. Sometimes, however, superior innate capacities transform ordinary opportunities into the extraordinary. Individuals who bring about such transformation are equally to be honored whatever the color of their skins -- honored, not because of any mystic duty of anyone to accord honor; but, rather, because honoring, when not restricted by ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness, is the normal reaction of men to those who have contributed to the common good.

Fortunately, society is not wholly dependent on its outstanding geniuses for its maintenance and progress; for on the scale of human capacity, just below the level of genius, are the near-geniuses only slightly less gifted by nature; and still farther down the scale, about a point midway between the two extremes, is the average man, the "common man" as we are wont to call him, whose importance must not be overlooked or underestimated. Truly, the "common man" plays an essential role in every society. Since he outnumbers all others combined, it is within his power to conserve or to destroy the social heritage. Without his cooperation, human progress is impossible. How important that his cultural and educational status be raised to the highest posible degree!

But why elaborate the individual differences of men; differences which are as much in evidence in one race as in another! Are not the common aspects of human nature and of society at least as important as the variables? The common needs, the common values, the common goals — these are the equalities in question. Everywhere, the commonality of mankind is unmistakable. Bone for bone, muscle for muscle, nerve for nerve, and sense organ for sense organ, the races are so similar as to be rightly classified as a single species. The same physiological principles apply to all.

Likewise, the same psychological factors need be taken into account in any scientific analysis of human conduct and relationship. Everywhere and in all time, men strive however blindly for the realization of certain human values. Whether happiness is <u>the</u> universal goal, as some insist, or whether it is the natural accompaniment of the good life; happiness is, nevertheless, <u>a</u> universal goal. In its absence, men do strange things. Or, may we say, in the doing of "strange" things there is unhappiness. Furthermore, neither happiness nor unhappiness can be segregated. The greatest happiness principle implies not only the greatest happiness to the greatest number; but the least of unhappiness for

the smallest number. Unhappiness anywhere in society has its unhappy effects elsewhere. No majority, however numerous and powerful, can possibly insure its own continuous happiness by restricting the happiness ofothers. The Golden Rule has become a social necessity.

An essential condition of happiness is freedom. From earliest infancy, men respond unhappily to arbitrary, unnecessary, and especially to inequitable limitations of freedom. Necessary limitations are in a different category, but they must be recognized as equitable. There is no greater source of unhappiness in the family, in the community, in the nation, and in the family of nations throughout the world than the feeling on the part of some members that they are being discriminated against. Discriminations are always violations of human freedom. So generally recognized is the need for freedom that peoples in all time have been willing, at almost any cost, to contend for its realization. To fight for its freedom, is considered the supreme right of every people.

Correspondingly universal, is the common need for security. If happiness is to be realized in any considerable measure, freedom and security must go hand in hand. Unlimited freedom would inevitably lead to insecurity; while absolute security would invalidate the very conditions under which progress and happiness are attainable. Men need, however, to be secure in their physical lives and in t the economic possibilities for sustaining them. They need, furthermore, to be secure in the common rights to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness" guaranteed, at least on paper, by the supreme law of the land. Like happiness and freedom, security cannot be segregated. There can be no sharp line of demarcation between those who are secure and those who are insecure. A state of insecurity anywhere endangers security everywhere. A global illustration of this principle may be seen in the conditions and events leading up to the World Wars. Insecurities multiplied and spread to every nook and corner of the world.

No less important is the need for social identification. Beginning in early childhood, the individual develops a feeling of "we-ness", a "consciousness of kind", and an awareness of oneness with his primary group. These early experiences, similar as they are throughout the world, account in large measure for the common ethical ideal of mankind. The in-group characteristics -- mutual aid, fair dealing, truthfulness, sympathy, loyalty, and the like — become the ethical bases for all religions. Only in a society in which there is mutual identification of its members, can there be a full realization of these ideals. Mutual understanding and a true "consciousness of kind", in the words of Giddings, "make group life possible, create loyalty, ability to stand together, to meet the enemy together, to deal with catastrophes together, to fight pestilences and famines, to build up the industries of the world, in short, to build up all civilization." And no nation, we may add, is at all prepared to identify itself with the family of nations before it has reduced to a minimum the artificial obstacles to mutual identification at home.

America needs today as never before, the wholesome and full contribution of all her people. Equality, not of achievement but of opportunity, is a basic principle of our democracy. We do not expect the musicallly untalented to become composers nor persons of low mentality to become scientists and ~~philosophers~~ statesmen; but we do feel the justice of allowing the possessors of good capacities anywhere, at whatever level, the fullest opportunity to develop them into their own peculiar best. Only the ignorant and the short-sighted~~ly~~ ~~selfish~~ deliberately block the legitimate accomplishments of their fellows.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES by George Eaton Simpson & J. Milton Yinger

Chapter 17: Intermarriage: Interracial, Interfaith, and Internationality.

(Page 489)

Powdermaker notes some changes in the circumstances of interracial sex relations, including the fact that the Negro woman to day is in a position to refuse the advances of a white man. This writer also mentions that currently most of the white man in interracial sexual relationships are middle-aged, and that popular sentimentagainst Negro-white cohabitation is increasing in both groups. Her explanation of these changes in attitude is in (1) the increasing irregularity of intrawhite relationships and (2) increasing race pride and demand for respect on the part of Negroes.

(Page 495-496)

The Negro-white intermarriage rates in New York City, New York State, Boston and Los Angeles have been from 1 to 5 percent of all marriages in which Negroes participated. These intermarriages appear to be declining. (*)

Perhaps the fullest data on Negro-white intermarriages in the United States are for Boston. Stone found that there were 143 such intermarriages for the period 1900-1904, or an average of 28.6 per year. The rate per 100 Negro marriages was 13.6 Data secured from the Boston Registry Department by Wirth and Goldhamer for the period 1914-1938 are given in the accompanying table.

(*) According to Ebony (December , 1949, pp.20-21), the Chicago marriage license bureau reported a record number of 200 Negro-white marriages in 1948. If this is correct, it represents the highest known number of Negro-white intermarriages for any city in the United States. No data on intermarriage rates or trends are available for Chicago. M. L. Barron, People who Intermarry, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p. 189.

Number of Negro-white Marriages and Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes and of All Marriages Involving Whites

Boston, 1914-38

Year	Number of Negro-White Marriages	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Whites
1914-1918	89	5.2	.18
1919-1923	47	3.1	.10
1924-1928	53	3.6	.12
1929-1933	40	3.6	.11
1934-1938	47	3.7	.12
Total	276	3.9	.13

The considerable decrease in Negro-white intermarriage in Boston cannot be explained by the hypothesis that the smaller the proportion of a minority race in the total population the higher will be the rate of intermarriage. The percentage of the Negro population in Boston was practically constant from 1900 to 1920 (1900, 2.1; 1910, 2.0; 1915, 2.1; 1920, 2.2). It was not markedly higher in 1930, (2.6). Wirth and Goldhamer attribute this decline mainly to two factors: first, though Boston was at one time a center of abolitionist agitation and was known for cordial relations between the races, it was not to be expected that this situation could continue with the coming of a new population from Europe; and second, the migration of Negroes to the North during World War 1 years brought southern Negroes whose economic and cultural status was unfavorable to interracial marriage.

The Boston rate of Negro-white marriages in all Negro marriages in the period 1914-1938 was 3.9 as compared with 3.4 for New York urban areas exclusive of New

York City in 1919-1937. The Boston rate changed little after 1919, whie the New York rate, with the exception of period 1922-24, dropped steadily. Whereas the former rate of intermarriage in Boston was unique, the present Boston rate does not seem to be a typical.

50

violence

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THE HOUSTON RACE RIOT, 1917

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THE HOUSTON RACE RIOT, 1917

The most serious riot involving Negro soldiers which occurred in the United States during the first World War took place in Houston, Texas, on the night of Thursday, August 23, 1917. At that time over a hundred Negro United States Army regulars seized rifles and ammunition by force, and marched upon the city. This outbreak followed a period of rising racial tension climaxed by an altercation between white police officers and Negro "military police." The following morning it was announced that there were thirteen known dead, of whom only one was a Negro, and nineteen wounded, including five Negro soldiers, as a result of the riot.

A few days later the mayor of Houston appointed a special investigating commission which sat in open session for several days. Much of the testimony there presented is quoted in subsequent issues of *The Houston Daily Post;* upon these reports the following analysis is based.[1]

The Social and Psychological Setting

The several companies of Negro troops of the 24th United States Infantry who later took part in the riot had been sent from a western army post to Houston to guard government property during the construction of Camp Logan.[2] This detachment, totalling about 600 men, included both men who had been in service for some time and were more or less seasoned troops, and more recent enlistees who came from various parts of the country, particularly from the North.[3]

Houstonians were expecting the early arrival of a considerably larger number (about 3,000) of Negro troops

[1] To keep the length of the citations to a minimum, all references unless otherwise noted will be to *The Houston Daily Post* for 1917, the editions being those on file in the Library of Congress.

[2] July 28.

[3] Editorial, August 27.

along with the white National Guardsmen from Illinois who were to be housed at Camp Logan upon its completion. In addition to some of the white Guardsmen, one company of Negroes had arrived on Monday, August 20.[4] The anticipated arrival of further substantial contingents of Northern Negro troops, alarming in itself to some Houstonians, gained special significance in its relation to the hotly debated issue of local prohibition.

Another point which needs to be mentioned is the fact that Houston was currently being considered by military authorities as the site of a new aviation center. Probably this circumstance had something to do with the lack of public admission of the race tension which was mounting prior to the outbreak itself. A final element in the situation, which may or may not have been of importance, was the fact that early in the week during which the riot occurred there was a change in commanding officers at the Camp. The new commander, possibly less experienced than his predecessor, apparently had not fully gained the respect of the Negro troopers.[5]

This brief résumé of the objective social factors in the situation leads to a consideration of what various segments of the population of Houston were thinking and doing, and particularly what types of interracial interaction patterns were developing prior to the riot. As has already been

[4] August 21.

[5] It is reported that "The life of the major [Major K. S. Snow, in charge of the Negro troops following the departure of Colonel Newman, on the Tuesday preceding the riot] was threatened as he tried to quell the rioting troops." (August 24.) Elsewhere it is stated that after the trouble had begun, and Major Snow had talked to the men, ". . . trying to get them to return to the camp . . . they turned upon him and said, 'You white ——, get back into camp.' . . ." (August 30.) It should be pointed out that Major Snow was sometimes referred to as "Captain Snow" in the published testimony. The fact that he had been promoted to the rank of Major and made commanding officer at Camp Washington only two days prior to the riot helps to account both for the inconsistencies in the rank by which he was designated and for his inexperience as a commander. (August 21.)

pointed out, there was practically no recognition in the Houston press of the ominous indications regarding local racial friction. Almost without exception the reports of developments published prior to the riot indicated that everything was serene in Houston and at Camp Logan. The pages of the local newspapers, however, echoed and re-echoed with the reverberations of racial troubles elsewhere. The notorious rioting in East St. Louis and the subsequent investigation were reported during July and early August. Fairly prominent news items appeared in the *Post* on the East St. Louis investigation in the issues of August 16, 17, 18, and 19—that is, just before the Houston riot.

Another indication of editorial recognition that racial troubles were imminent—elsewhere—is to be found in a published letter to the *Post* by a Mr. B. F. Riley, of Blue Ridge, N. C. This letter reported a noteworthy conference of prominent Southerners at Asheville, N. C.

> For three days, day and night, the sessions went on in the discussion of topics relative to mob violence, the sanitary condition of negroes, their wages, the treatment accorded them by railways and on street cars and in waiting rooms, the disparity in public education, the term [sic.] produced by an attitude of threatening and mob violence. . . . It was recognized that we are facing a crisis in the South, which is eating away like a hidden gangrene, to the undoing of law and order, and which, if not arrested, must work ruin. . . . The regret was general that these matters so little claimed the attention of the pulpit. . . .[6]

A grim reminder to the Negro of the dangers of getting out of place is contained in the following item from Brenham, Texas, which said, in full:

> Willie Shears, an Independence negro, was shot to death at Caldwell Sunday night while resisting a deputy sheriff who attempted to arrest him. The coroner's verdict says it was a clear case of suicide. Funeral services were held at Independence Monday.[7]

The foregoing items indicate a recognition of stirring racial troubles *elsewhere*. But regarding Houston not only

[6] August 13.
[7] August 15.

was there almost no admission of potential racial conflict; there was even evidence of apparently amicable race relations. An example is the announcement of an all-Negro baseball game which was scheduled for the Saturday before the Thursday on which the riot occurred, and of a similar double-header for Sunday, for which "As usual there will be special accommodations for white patrons. The Isles' band will be on hand with ragtime airs. . . ."[8]

Again, one week before the day of the riot, it was reported that ". . . At Camp Logan work is going on in the same even tenor, putting the finishing touches on the many structures already raised. . . ."[9] And a front-page story on the very morning of the riot reported that "Camp Logan is one day nearer ultimate completion; a day marked by no unusual occurrences, but characterized by the same swift moving efficiency that is not unusual in the record of the big job. . . ." The story was headlined "Camp Logan Work Moving Smoothly."[10] Furthermore, the good behavior of the Negro troops was scheduled to be rewarded by giving them a watermelon feast at Emancipation Park that fateful Thursday night.[11]

Buried on the 14th page of the issue for Sunday, August 19, is the only item the writer found published prior to the time of the riot which indicated the existence of local racial friction:

> While standing in the pay line at Camp Logan Saturday noon, Sam Blair, a negro employed at the camp, was stabbed and slightly wounded in the back by an unknown white man. The negro is said to have pushed his way into the pay line ahead of the white man, who resented it.
>
> Blair, it is said, grabbed the white man by the shoulder while someone else hit him with a shovel, when the white man, with a free arm, pulled a knife and stabbed Blair in the back. The latter was taken to the infirmary in the ambulance of the Houston Undertaking Company.

[8] August 18.
[9] August 16.
[10] August 23.
[11] August 24.

Even this item, it will be noted, deals with civilian workmen employed at the camp rather than with the Negro soldiers themselves.

What is the explanation for the silence of the press regarding racial tension which subsequently was freely admitted to have existed from the first appearance of the Negro troops on the scene? One plausible hypothesis is that it was thought publicizing of the racial tension would serve merely to intensify rather than dissipate it. Another hypothesis is that while the construction of Camp Logan was good for business in Houston and also, apparently, for labor, it was thought public admission of serious racial tension might tend to jeopardize completion of the project. The following items emphasize the economic advantages to Houston of the proximity of Camp Logan.

> More than $60,000 of war department money was released into circulation in Houston when the contractors building Camp Logan paid off Saturday evening. . . .
>
> It is not improbable that the sum for next week will pass the $100,000 mark.[12]
>
> Men at work on the big job are wishing that the work might keep on until the sea dries up, and they are not reticent in saying so, coming home at night in cars and jitneys. Pay was never better, they say. . . .[13]

When the construction phase was completed there would be the business brought in by the thousands of soldiers, their officers, their visiting friends and relatives, to look forward to.

Furthermore, one of the Texas representatives in Congress had been working assiduously to further the interests of Houston by securing for it another military training center.

On August 21st it was announced that within the next few days the War Department would make known its decision with regard to the location of the aviation camp at

[12] August 12.
[13] *Ibid.*

Houston. Ironically, just one day before the riot the following victorious announcement appeared:

> Houston has been passed upon by the aviation board and chief of the signal corps and has been designated for one of the aviation camps soon to be located in Texas for the training of aviators. . . .
> . . . ever since Houston announced that she possessed an ideal aviation camp site Congressman Garrett has been hard at work hammering home the idea to the members of the aviation board the desirability of locating a camp in that city. . . .[14]

Confirmation of the second hypothesis, above (that acknowledgment of racial tension might delay or indefinitely postpone completion of the camp), would seem to be given in an editorial which appeared one week after the riot. After admitting that "The public hearing of the causes leading up to the mutiny of the negro soldiers last Thursday night, as well as the incidents thereof, is revealing conditions that were entirely unknown to the body of Houston's citizenry . . ." and also that the situation was far from desirable, the unknown editorial writer lets the cat out of the bag:

> The only explanation of toleration of this insolent and disorderly conduct is that those who knew of it thought it best to endure in patience rather than run the risk of losing the camp by flooding the department with complaints. In other words, it was thought that the negro soldiers would soon be removed and that their lawless conduct would cease to trouble the authorities. . . .[15]

In brief, then, it would seem that most middle and upper class white Houstonians knew little about the developing racial friction, for they were too far removed to learn about it at first hand, and the press did not inform them. Those who were in a position to know the facts thought it better not to publicize them. It is impossible to determine on the basis of available evidence the extent or importance of rumor and gossip in this connection.

The law enforcement officials, at that time exclusively white persons, in the performance of their duties soon came

[14] August 22.
[15] August 30.

into direct contact with the disturbing realities of the situation. From the testimony of Houston's Superintendent of Police C. L. Brock it is clear that instances of racial difficulty, especially those growing out of the Negro troops' resentment of segregation regulations, were not infrequent. In all probability the subsequent violence employed by certain Houston policemen was regarded by them as a legitimate and indispensable means to the end of maintaining law and order—and particularly the racial mores.[16] Superintendent Brock is quoted as follows:

Q. How much trouble has your department had with the negroes?

A. When they first came the situation was bad for a day or so. They were overbearing and I feared trouble. Colonel Newman told me there would be no trouble. I believed all the time we would have trouble with them. Colonel Newman passed an order that no soldier should be out of camp after 11 p. m. There were several clashes on street cars, and in one instance a street car conductor gave the money back to negro soldiers and they got off the car. There was friction at different times. The troops resented the Jim Crow signs in street cars and often threw them out the window. One instance particularly, I remember, a negro on a Washington street car pulled out a knife when told to move to the negro section of a car. There was no trouble as he moved. Colonel Newman told them to obey the city ordinances.

We had a conference and I told Colonel Newman that I believed military police would assist in keeping order. First I was informed the men wanted to wear side arms. I told the officers this would not do and the city got them clubs. Next he said they had to have means of transportation to town. I went to David Daly, manager of the street car company, and he agreed that they should ride free. Then they wanted a badge. I bought out of my own pocket the cloth to have the badges or brassards made. Finally 16 military police were put down town. The men seemed satisfied.

Q. Was there much trouble?

A. No, very little. There was unrest all the time and especially around pay day. . . .[17]

[16] See the vivid and enlightening treatment of "Day-by-day law enforcement" in a Southern city by Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 498-508.

[17] August 30.

In spite of Superintendent Brock's minimizing of the trouble with the Negro troops, the fact that he aided in the organization of the Negro "military police" seems to demonstrate his awareness of the imminence of more trouble than his own staff could properly cope with.

That the office of the sheriff was both cognizant and tolerant of the illegal transportation of alcoholic liquors to the Negro troops at their quarters is suggested by the testimony of a painter living near the camp, W. E. Quin, in which he reported seeing Negro women taking bundles containing whisky to the troops:

> Yes, I went to the sheriff's department and they would not take my information. I told Mr. Fitzgerald at the sheriff's office about it. I went to Mr. Green and he wouldn't take my testimony.[18]

A third group, numerically small but very important in an analysis of the general situation in which the riot occurred, is the white officers in charge of the Negro troops. There is considerable evidence to indicate that these officers (1) exercised rather lax discipline over their troops, and (2) tended to show sympathy with their troops rather than with local white civilians when interracial differences arose. For example, M. J. Howard, a white dairyman, testified that he had had trouble with Negro soldiers crowding him into the ditch. He reported this difficulty to a deputy sheriff, and to an officer at the camp

> . . . who told him that the trouble was he had been calling the soldiers "niggers." He waited until Major Snow came and reported the case, who told him to come back the next day. He called the next day, and Snow told him that the white people were causing the trouble, he said. He also told him that he had placed the two offenders on double guard duty as a punishment.[19]

Similarly, City Detective Bob Martin, in response to the question, "Tell us what you saw there [at the camp]," testified as follows:

> I noticed a lot of negro women inside the camp. I asked Captain

[18] August 29.
[19] August 30.

Snow if it wasn't an unusual thing to have so many negro women there. He said: "We have to do it in order to hold the men here." The second time I went out was last Thursday afternoon [immediately before the riot]. When Detective Fife and I got there Captain Snow was using the telephone. He was talking for perhaps twenty minutes and I saw a crowd of negro soldiers in his office. I went a little nearer so I could hear some of the conversation. He was talking to someone about Sergeant Baltimore. After he hung up the receiver he spoke to a negro civilian, who said he knew something about the trouble. The negro said he did not see Baltimore shot, but heard the shot fired. Captain Snow asked him what they did to Baltimore. The negro replied that they took him to jail. Captain Snow appeared indignant at this and said: "They should not have done so; they should have taken him to the hospital." Then the Captain asked the names of the officers who Baltimore had trouble with, and said: "Those officers must be prosecuted to the limit of the law." By this time there were about 200 negro soldiers ganging up around us. . . .[20]

The testimony of Superintendent Brock confirms the foregoing statements:

Colonel Newman told me when I spoke to him about them shooting craps and having negro women, that he let them shoot craps and let the women in camp because it kept the men satisfied. I heard through reports by officers that many negroes were drunk at the camp.[21]

A fourth group whose role in the pre-riot situation should be recognized is the advocates of prohibition for Harris County, in which Houston is located. Thirsty soldiers were not forbidden to quench their thirsts at Houston saloons which were sufficiently removed from the Camp itself, but it was contrary to regulations to sell alcoholic drinks within a certain radius of the Army installation or to bring liquor on Government military property. But the main reason for giving attention to the prohibitionists here is not with regard to the violation of these regulations: it is the content of the following four-column advertisement which appeared on Monday, August 20—just the day before the first company of colored infantry was scheduled to arrive from Illinois:

[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*

3,000 NEGRO TROOPS TO BE IN HOUSTON WITHIN THE MONTH

Can the men of Harris County afford to vote to continue the saloon in face of this? For the security of the homes of this community and for the protection of the law-abiding negro, who will be helpless

MAKE HARRIS COUNTY DRY—
REMEMBER BROWNSVILLE

Harris County, Local Option Committee,
A. S. Moody, Vice Chairman

Thus it appears clear that the coming of the additional Negro troops, in this case entirely from the North, and furthermore to be quartered permanently at the Camp, in contrast to the 600 colored troops already in Houston who were expected to remain on guard only during the construction of the Camp, was causing genuine concern to some of the white residents. It may also be pointed out that if the Negro troops already in Houston had no intention of resorting to open conflict, this advertisement could hardly help but implant the suggestion.

To understand the import of the exhortation, "Remember Brownsville," a brief account of the Brownsville "race riot" is necessary. Although eleven years had elapsed since it occurred, it was probably vividly remembered by Houstonians, or the brief slogan used by the prohibitionists would hardly have been sufficient for their purposes. The following statement is the published telegraphic report of the investigating officer, Major Blocksom, to President Theodore Roosevelt:

Brownsville, Texas, Aug. 20 [1906].—The Military Secretary, United States Army, Washington, D. C.: Causes of disturbance are racial. People did not desire colored troops here, and showed they thought them inferior socially by certain slights and denial of privileges at public bars, etc. Soldiers resented this. There were several individual encounters between soldiers and citizens. About midnight of 13th a party of soldiers, probably nine to fifteen, made a raid through several squares of town, firing 75 to 150 shots, killing a bartender and dangerously wounding a lieutenant of police. They also fired into several houses where women and children narrowly escaped being shot. The raid lasted from eight to ten minutes. It

is claimed that citizens fired first, but I believe this is without foundation. Although the act was probably preconcerted I do not think the commanding officer could have foreseen. Citizens cannot identify individual raiders, and authorities have made no demand for them. Investigation now going on has yet discovered none. Commanding officers today invited committee of three citizens to assist in conducting the investigation. The people are still in a state of great nervous tension, and men nearly all carry arms openly at night. Women and children are still frightened. I consider it necessary to remove the colored troops—the sooner the better. While now apparently under perfect control, an entire company is on guard every day, it is a great strain, with little prospect of relief. Differences between soldiers and citizens are irreconcilable. Fuller report will be made in regular course. Blocksom, Major.[22]

In accordance with Major Blocksom's recommendation the troops were soon removed. But meanwhile the papers of Texas had daily front-paged the accounts of Brownsville's plight and the inability of her citizens to return to normal living until the Negro garrison had been removed. Thus we get some intimation of the attitudes of fear and resentment which must have been renewed by the prohibitionists' slogan, "Remember Brownsville."

It has already been pointed out that white workmen, either on construction crews at Camp Logan or from that vicinity, were reported to be quite happy over the high wages they were able to make on the job. It has also been indicated that the only instance of local racial difficulty publicized before the riot occurred in connection with members of this group. At the municipal investigation following the riot a William Bigley was asked to describe "whatever friction existed between the white people and the negro soldiers on guard at the camp." His statement follows:

About three weeks ago Saturday I went to the camp to get my pay. I saw an old man standing in line, waiting his turn to get to the paymaster's window. He must have been standing there for an hour. When he reached the window, the paymaster rejected his receipt because it was not signed with an indelible pencil, as is required, and he asked the man to step outside the line a few minutes while one of his clerks got a pencil. The old man did so and leaned up against a building where he was not in the way at all. While he

[22] *The San Antonio (Texas) Daily Express*, August 22, 1906.

was standing in this way, a negro soldier on guard approached him and, using the vilest of vile language, told him to get back in line. When he saw the old man was not inclined to obey him, the soldier roughly shoved him into line with considerable force. I expected trouble any minute. I saw white men grit their teeth at the occurrence and clinch their fists. I said to myself the time has come at last. Just then a negro officer came up and said, "What's the matter here?" Then all the white men spoke up at once and told him and said the fault was all with the negro soldier on guard. At this the negro officer ordered the soldier back to his post and told him to stay there where he belonged.

I worked at the camp eight days and got all I wanted of it and quit. I knew just as plain as anything that trouble was coming.

Q. What was the attitude of the white workmen there toward the negro soldiers?

A. Very bitter. We had orders not to speak or have anything to do with the negro soldiers. . . .[23]

A sixth group whose contact with and attitudes toward the Negro troopers was brought out in the investigation is the street car motormen and conductors. A motorman, B. M. Spiegel, told of difficulties in enforcing segregated seating. "They said, 'We're from New York and we'll sit where we please. We're as good as any white man in town.' This happened frequently, but I could not tell whether it was the same soldiers or not."[24] A conductor, O. J. Charboneau, ". . . told of trouble he had experienced with negro troopers in the removal of segregation signs or 'screens,' as he called them. . . ."[25] Three other transportation workers gave similar testimony during the first day of the inquiry.

In connection with the same problem a deputy sheriff reported that he had arrested a Negro soldier ". . . for refusing to observe the Jim Crow sign on a street car. . . ."[26] A police officer, G. Peyton, was questioned as follows:

Q. What trouble did you, as an officer, have with the negro soldiers?

A. The only trouble was in disregard of the Jim Crow law. The

[23] August 30.
[24] August 29.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*

negroes seemed to object to the screen which separates whites from negroes in the street car.

Q. Did you find any of these screens in the street?

A. I found two of them near a water plug down town. I saw two negro soldiers at Travis and Preston and one of them had a street car screen in his hand. He told me some of the troops had taken it out of a car and he was going to return it. I took it from him.[27]

Their attempts to disregard the segregation regulations suggest how the Negro troops were feeling on this issue. Further information on their thinking, feeling, and behavior comes from various sources. The city engineer, E. S. Sands, stated:

. . . I learned . . . that the negro soldiers were trying to incite negro civilians to revolt against the whites and their government. I happened to overhear some of their conversation one day. Some of the soldiers told the Houston negroes that they were taking too much from the white people. . . .[28]

C. C. Craig, replying to the question, "Did you hear threats?" said:

Yes. Soon after the negro soldiers came here a white contractor backed his wagon over a negro civilian and two negro soldiers said: "We will put some damn white man in the grave."[29]

A white foreman of a Camp Logan contractor

. . . told a reporter for the *Post* Saturday that he had reported to the authorities talks that he had had with negro guards. They told him, while half-drunk on guard and unable to keep from boasting, he said, that the battalion was going to "raise h—l with the white ———after pay-day." . . .

The same foreman says that the negroes hated the Illinois guardsmen so that they could hardly speak of them without cursing them. They considered that the Illinois soldiers were to blame for killing negroes in the East St. Louis riots, and they were out to get them, he says. . . . [There is nothing to confirm this last idea.][30]

A member of the [National] Guard from the camp said after the shooting had occurred that he had known it was coming. Members of the negro troops, who were placed on guard duty at the camp, have for two or three days been insulting the white soldiers.

[27] August 30.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] August 29.

[30] August 26.

Although the trouble did not start between the negro and the white troops, the action of the former in their remarks to the white men showed the frame of mind in which they were. . . .[31]

The testimony of Negro witnesses was to the same general effect.

A negro living on Providence street was the next witness. He said that he was working at the camp on the Monday before the trouble, and that six of the negro guards who were guarding the warehouses told him that they would "raise hell with Houston" because they had been mistreated. "They said they would do Houston like the Ninth and Tenth did Brownsville. They cursed the people of Houston, and said they didn't now how to treat Northern people right. They said us Southern darkies didn't have sense enough to protect ourselves. . . . I told several people, I told my landlady that those niggers told me that about four or five days ago. It was four or five days after they reached here that I heard that the colored troops were going to straighten out Houston."[32]

One of the firemen stationed at the warehouses at the camp, G. J. Wolf, reported that he learned from Howard Burks, a Negro guard ". . . that they had intended to start the riot on Tuesday, but postponed it. . . ."[33] W. C. Wilson, desk sergeant from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m.,

. . . stated . . . that sometime before the riot one or two negro troopers were brought in who complained about the treatment given them and said they were going to get even. . . .[34]

The last three witnesses were the only ones whose testimony would indicate that rioting had definitely been under consideration prior to the day of the riot itself. It will be recalled that the reported reference of the Negro troopers to the Brownsville incident was stated to have been voiced on Monday, the day on which the prohibitionists' advertisement containing the "Remember Brownsville" slogan appeared. As was pointed out above, it seems entirely possible, since the *Post* is a morning newspaper, that the advertisement suggested the Brownsville parallel to Negroes as well as to whites.

[31] August 24.
[32] September 1.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*

With the exception of the hospitable behavior of young women and girls, little information is available regarding the reception accorded the Negro troops by the colored residents of Houston. Nor is it certain that all the feminine entertainment provided the troopers was afforded by genuine Houstonians, for camp followers were reported to have come from the troops' previous station in New Mexico. As an example of the type of testimony given by a number of Negro girls and young women, here is that of Edna Tucker, a 13-year-old girl who ". . . looked to be much older than the age she gave. She was asked, 'How did you happen to go to the camp Thursday night?' "

A. They asked me.
Q. Did you see any whisky there?
A. Yes; Lizzie had a bottle of whisky in a paper bag in her bosom. She took it in the camp and gave it to her man. . . .
Q. What did the soldier do with the whisky?
A. Put it under the bed.
Q. Did you see any women there?
A. Yes sir; lots of them. They were in tents. . . .
Q. Did the guards see you and the women come and go?
A. Yes; they didn't stop me.
Q. Did white officers see you?
A. Yes sir; I saw lots of them.[35]

THE PRECIPITATING INCIDENT: MORNING

On the day after the riot there appeared on an inside page of the *Post* a brief item which evidently was written and prepared for publication prior to the outbreak of the riot. Inconspicuous in comparison with the blaring headlines of the riot itself, it gives the first account of the incident which precipitated the riot.

Two negro soldiers, one of them a member of the military police, were arrested by Officers Daniels and Sparks on Thursday afternoon and claim to have been beaten up to some extent by the officers. Later two other negro soldiers from Camp Logan approached the officers to ascertain what had become of their comrades, and on receiving the information reported to their superior officers at the camp.

[35] August 30.

Afterward the officers in command of the negro soldiers had a conference with Superintendent of Police Brock, which resulted in the issuance of an order by the chief that hereafter negro soldiers are not to be referred to by members of the department as negroes, but as "colored" soldiers. It is said that the order has stirred up a good deal of feeling.

Officers Daniels and Sparks gave their version of the trouble as follows: they had arrested a negress on San Felipe Street Thursday afternoon, when a negro soldier came up to them and asked them to turn the negress over to him. They refused and finally the soldier became so insistent that the officers were obliged to subdue him and send him to the station. Shortly afterward another negro soldier, one of the military police, asked the same officers what had become of his comrade and one word led to another and this soldier also was sent to the station *a little the worse for wear.*

In speaking of the occurrence Thursday evening, Superintendent Brock said one of the soldiers had been returned to the camp, while the other was still detained at police station. He could not say what action would be taken by the government against the two officers who are alleged to have hit the soldiers, but he had put the whole thing up to the government. The chief said he was doing all in his power to preserve order between the two elements and would continue to do so.[36]

It is worth pointing out that the central importance of this incident is admitted in the front-page major story of the riot following a brief version of the same incident: "From every source Thursday night, reports came that this treatment of the troops led to the riot." To avoid confusion in the material about to be presented it should be noted that the "trouble" referred to occurred Thursday morning rather than Thursday afternoon, as the above account has it. It seems hardly necessary to state that the order issued by Superintendent of Police Brock regarding the mode of address to be employed by police officers in dealing with Negro soldiers was later stricken from the police records.

At two points in the investigation testimony was taken regarding the incident which precipitated the riot, and certain basic inconsistencies between the versions of the white policeman who participated and of other informants were

[36] Italics added by the writer. August 24.

clearly developed.[37] The crux of the matter seems to be whether the treatment of the Negro soldiers by the white civil policemen was justified. The following is that of the white policeman:

Mr. Sparks said that he and his partner arrested a negro woman on Bailey and San Felipe streets Thursday morning on a charge of abusive language. They took her to the police box at San Felipe and Wilson streets and sent in a call for the patrol wagon. While waiting there they saw a negro soldier running toward the negro woman, and when told that he could not have her he said that he would take her anyway.

Sparks said that he told the negro Edwards three different times to get back, but that when he kept coming in he struck him four times with his revolver. He then made him sit down and wait for the patrol wagon, and he and the negro woman were put in it together and sent to the police station. Edwards was drunk, he said.[38]

Officer Sparks was called to the witness stand a second time in the course of the next day of the investigation. This time he was quoted as follows:

"I arrested the negro woman for abusive language. While I was waiting for the wagon Edwards came up with about 20 negroes following him and said he wanted the woman. I said he couldn't have her. He said he was going to have her and reached over. I hit him over the head three or four times till his heart got right and he sat down."[39]

But to return to Officer Sparks' first version of the events which followed later in the course of the day of the riot:

He said that he and Daniels went to the same box Thursday afternoon to ring in and that while they were waiting there Corporal Baltimore came up and asked them who hit Edwards that morning. Sparks said he did, and asked why Baltimore wanted to know. Baltimore answered that he asked because he wanted to know. Sparks answered him to the effect, "I don't report to any negro." Baltimore said, "By —— I'm on this beat and I have a right to know." Sparks said that Baltimore was acting so ugly that he hit him once with the butt of his revolver and then arrested him. When he started to run by Sparks shot in the ground behind him to scare

[37] Only one of the two police officers involved survived the riot.

[38] August 30.

[39] September 1.

him, and then arrested him and sent him to the police station. . . .

Afterwards he [Sparks] said two negro soldiers came to him and Daniels and asked them in a nice way what the names of the two soldiers were who had been arrested. The policemen told them they did not know, but they called up at the police station and learned that the names were Edwards and Baltimore, and told the two soldiers what the names were. . . .[40]

The second session of questioning, however, elicited a substantially different version of the same incident.

The action of the police officers in arresting negro soldiers the day of the riot was threshed out by the Committee Friday night. Testimony introduced tended to show that Corporal Baltimore, one of the men arrested, simply inquired of Police Officers Sparks and Daniels concerning the negro who had previously been arrested, so that he might make his own report to the commanding officer of his company. Sparks' testimony, however, was to the effect that the negro was insulting in his inquiries, and that he was forced to deal roughly with him. . . .[41]

Here is the pivotal question in the entire affair: what was the nature of the interaction between Sergeant Baltimore, a colored soldier playing the role, but not clothed with the authority of, a military policeman, and the two white civil policemen, Sparks and Daniels, resentful of being questioned by the Negro, and possibly covering up an inward fear by an outward show of violence?

Superintendent of Police Brock was recalled to the witness stand and was questioned by Judge Henry J. Dannenbaum regarding the encounter between Sparks and Sergeant Baltimore and the latter's arrest. He said that the negro soldier made a statement at the station which was produced and read. He said Captain Haig Shekerjian, Detectives Daugherty and Fife and he were present at the time.

According to the statement, Sparks struck Baltimore over the head with his pistol, then fired at him, and Baltimore ran into a house and got under a bed. Sparks followed him, according to the statement, and made him get up, and then struck him twice. Baltimore said he was just inquiring what had become of his brother officer, and that it was his duty to investigate the matter. . . .

Sparks said he only struck Baltimore once, that he did not strike him after he had run into the house. He said Baltimore had no

[40] August 30.

[41] September 1.

arms or police club with him. . . . Asked why he hit the negro more than once he said he wasn't going to wrestle with the big negro.

He admitted that in making arrests in the thickly populated negro sections where the more vicious elements of the negroes congregate, he thought it necessary to use more force than was legally or morally ncessary in order to keep the other negroes from running away with him.

In answer to General Chamberlain, he said he had received no instructions as to the relations to be maintained between the police officer and the military police and General Chamberlain observed, "I thought so." . . .

Sparks and Daniels made a verbal statement, said Mr. Brock, and he told Sparks he would be suspended in the morning. Sparks said he could not afford to be suspended, that he had been suspended before and Brock told him he would wait until he investigated the matter. . . .[42]

. . . Sparks said that he told the chief and the officer that nothing more was said except that Chief Brock told him to go home and stay away until he was called for. Baltimore seemed to have been drinking, he said.[43]

Detective E. F. Daugherty, who took the negro Baltimore's statement on the typewriter, explained the conversation in Superintendent Brock's office. He said that besides himself, Officers Fife and McPhail, Superintendent Brock, Captain Shekerjian of the Twenty-fourth Infantry and Baltimore were in the office. He said that Baltimore stated that he was coming down San Felipe Street when he met another negro soldier of whom he inquired where the police officers could be found. He said he went to them and asked them why they had arrested another negro soldier that morning, telling them that he wanted the information in order to be able to report to his commanding officer.

Baltimore, according to Detective Daugherty, said that Officer Sparks then hit him with his pistol, and that when he turned and ran three shots were fired at him. He said he was arrested in a house about a block down the street.

Daugherty said that later Superintendent Brock and Sparks were in the former's office alone, and that when Sparks came out he said something to the effect that he wasn't getting a square deal. He also said that any man who would stick up for a negro was no better than a negro himself, Daugherty testified, and as he went out of the door he continued that if that wasn't enough he would give him (Brock) the rest of it. Later Daugherty said that Sparks sent an apology to Superintendent Brock by Captain Anderson.

When asked whether he knew if Sparks had been suspended by Superintendent Brock, Daugherty said that Brock and Captain

[42] September 1.

[43] August 30.

Sherkerjian were to have had a conference Friday morning, and that he understood Sparks was to be suspended until the matter had been settled. He said that Sparks said after his interview with the Superintendent that "if Chief Davison had been in the office he would have told Captain Shekerjian to get out and take his negroes with him. . . ."[44]

Even though it involves some repetition, since it adds some significant data, the first interchange between Inspector General Chamberlain, U. S. Army, and Superintendent Brock is next presented:

Q. You took a statement from Sergeant Baltimore. What did Baltimore have to say?

A. Baltimore asked the officer why he arrested the woman and the officer told him he was not in the habit of reporting to a negro, and the officer hit him.

Q. Did Baltimore strike or attempt to strike the policeman?

A. I can't say he did.

Q. Did both policemen claim the striking was justifiable? Why did they beat up the private?

A. The private demanded the release of the woman. They hit him.

Q. Did the negroes try to strike the officers?

A. I don't know.

The witness was then asked to explain the general attitude of negro troops since they came to Houston and the trouble the police had with them.

He said: "It was reported to me Thursday morning that two police officers arrested a negro woman in San Filipe Street. She was drunk and also had used abusive language. A negro soldier, a private, came up to the officers; he was drunk and tried to take the woman from them. I was busy and did not wait for the rest of the report. At 2:30 Thursday one of the officers informed me that one of the negro soldiers was marked 'hold for chief.' The man was brought to my office. He had blood on his face. I asked him to wash it off and he did. He told me he had asked a policeman why the officer was beating up a woman, and the policeman beat him up and shot at him. It was Sergeant Baltimore. He made a statement and Captain Shekerjian and the other officers heard it. The negro did not seem to be sore. I told the Captain he could file charges against the officer if he wanted to. He said let it go until Friday. That was all right with me.

"I turned Baltimore over to the Captain. That was about 5 o'clock Thursday afternoon."

[44] September 1.

Q. Did the negro soldiers know Baltimore was not shot?

A. They must have known it, for he was in camp. . . .

Q. What was the first information you had there was going to be trouble?

A. Later Captain Kessler (city detective) told me he had word from the Sheriff's office there was trouble at the camp. I got busy and about that time Captain Snow came to the station. He told me when Sergeant Baltimore got back to camp and the negroes saw he was not hurt there would be no trouble. Captain Snow told me "can't a man get out of camp? There won't be any trouble." I went home and went to bed. It was raining. About 8 o'clock I heard shooting. I called the camp over the phone and asked for Captain Snow. I asked him if there was trouble. He said "yes." The telephone wire went dead then and we were disconnected. . . .

Q. Were you afraid of trouble with white troops too?

A. Yes.

Q. If a white provost guard should inquire of one of your policeman why he arrested a man or woman, would the policeman hit the guard?

A. I don't think so.

Q. Would you expect a white man to do any different?

A. I don't think a white man would act like Baltimore did.

The witness said there had been no complaint of lack of courtesy to the military on the part of policemen, and the soldiers seemed satisfied. The army officers also seemed satisfied. He said few of the soldiers had been arrested for being drunk.[45]

About a month after the riot, the following was reported from El Paso, Texas. It was based on testimony taken before the special board of inquiry at the Fort Bliss stockade, where the Negro troopers were being tried for their role in the riot.

The evidence taken before the board of inquiry develops that the meeting was carefully planned, and that it was the result of the beating up of a negro provost guard by a Houston policeman. This negro, with his face still showing the scars of combat, was before the board of inquiry Wednesday and told his story.

According to this story the man returned to the camp at 11 in the morning of the day of the mutiny. He told of his experiences at the hands of the police and two hours later it had spread throughout the entire battalion.[46]

[45] August 30.

[46] September 20.

THE ROLE OF RUMOR: EARLY AFTERNOON

We are now in a position to give a brief synthetic account of the *supposed* sequence of events up to mid-afternoon. It began with the arrest of a Negro woman, drunk and therefore using abusive language, by the white policemen Sparks and Daniels. In this process they treated her with considerable severity if not actual brutality as a result of which Edwards, a Negro soldier (a private, but also a provost guard, and therefore Baltimore's "brother officer"), attempted to intervene. This led to his beating, arrest, and incarceration; but as he was not kept long at the station he was able to be back at the camp in the late morning.

Early in the afternoon Corporal Baltimore, another provost guard, attempted to locate the police officers stationed in the San Felipe district to find out what had happened to Edwards and why. Directed by another Negro soldier, he soon located Officers Sparks and Daniels.[47] Being refused the information he sought he attempted to escape from the policemen, was chased, shot at, captured, beaten, arrested, taken to the station and locked up in the early afternoon. Sparks and Daniels, meanwhile, returned to their beat, where they were subsequently approached and questioned by a pair of Negro soldiers whose demeanor was such that they saw fit to reward them with the desired information. Meanwhile, also, the story of Baltimore's ill treatment at the hands of the same policemen who had that morning beaten up Edwards had been carried back to the camp by

[47] From the conflicting testimony and news accounts it is not clear, however, whether Baltimore had previously had direct or indirect contact with Edwards; whether he had been ordered by his superior officers to make the inquiry; whether he was supposed to relieve Edwards on provost guard duty, and made inquiry when he could not be located; whether the Negro soldier who directed him to the policemen's station also accompanied him there; whether Baltimore had been informed that the policemen had been beating the Negro woman whom they had arrested that morning; and whether he asked them only about the reason for the arrest of Edwards, of the woman, or both.

the soldier who had directed Baltimore to the policemen, and who had hung around awaiting developments. Broadcast throughout the camp by the grapevine, and at the same time exaggerated, this news proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. For it tended to confirm the already current notion that the only way to release the cumulative pressure of resentment and rage was to retaliate directly against the offending San Felipe policemen.

It seems clear that the resentment aroused by the returned Edwards was terrifically intensified when the report that Baltimore had been "shot at" became transformed into the rumor that he had been shot and killed. The first reports after the riot included this statement:

> The trouble began early in the afternoon when a member of the military was arrested by the local police officers. Within a short time this was reported at the camp of the negro soldiers and quickly became bruited about that the negro had been killed by a policeman.
>
> There has been much unrest in the camp for several days past. Within a short time after this report became general it was noted by the officers that some of the negroes were stealing ammunition and passing it from one to another.[48]

Another statement on this rumor appeared in the published reports of the municipal investigation:

> It was this clash between the police and the negro soldiers that caused a rumor to reach the camp that Corporal Baltimore had been killed by a policeman. The rumor spread like wildfire among the negro soldiers and brought to a climax the smoldering feeling that the negro soldiers had been harboring against the white citizens, particularly the police force, for nearly two weeks.[49]

Said N. L. Daniels, a construction worker, ". . . One negro soldier had told me the shooting was going to start at 9 o'clock because the police had shot a soldier. . . ."[50] According to E. E. Ammons, gate keeper and special deputy sheriff at Camp Logan:

> . . . the negro soldier on guard at my gate that came on at 3 o'clock when the guard was changed started swearing. I asked

[48] August 24.

[49] August 30.

[50] *Ibid.*

him what the matter was. He said "the —— —— police had shot up one of our men and we won't stand for it." I told him he would have to obey the laws if he stayed around here. I asked him his name, but he was surly and refused to tell me. I told him I would force him to. I called the sergeant and told him what had happened. The latter reprimanded him and made him give me his name, Albert Wright. I wasn't satisfied at this and phoned to the negro camp. I don't know who answered the phone, but I believe it was a petty officer. I told him how the soldier had talked to me and that he said there was going to be hell in Houston tonight. He asked me to arrest the soldier, but I did not think it necessary. . . .[51]

PLANNING, PREPARATION FOR, AND EXECUTION OF THE RIOT: MID-AFTERNOON AND LATER

James Divins, member of Company I of the Negro regiment, in an affidavit obtained by the District Attorney's department, stated that he

. . . came off guard duty at about 2:30 and heard some of the men of [his] company talking about Corporal Baltimore having been shot downtown by a police officer, and they were all talking among themselves as to who would go down town and raid. They all agreed to wait until night, so they could see about the ammunition.[52]

A similar statement was made by Leroy Pinkett, a Negro private:

Yesterday about 3 o'clock we heard that Corporal Baltimore of our company had been shot by special police officers (white officers who ride horses). All the boys said: "Let's go get the man that shot Baltimore." . . .[53]

According to the news dispatch from El Paso at the time of the soldiers' trial,

About three in the afternoon the men commenced stealing their rifles and ammunition and planning the descent on the town. The real leader of the mutiny, Sergeant Henry, committed suicide with his own pistol rather than surrender.[54]

The news of the imminent riot spread quickly from soldiers to civilians. V. G. Dustin, white foreman of the Houston post office, reported that the morning after the

[51] *Ibid.*
[52] August 25.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] September 20.

riot he said to a Negro mail carrier, Herman J. Ford, "... it seems that a great many of you people knew about this trouble beforehand." Ford's reply was "... that he knew about it when he got off from work Thursday afternoon about 4 o'clock. He said he brought his wife and child in from the Brunner district, where he lives, to San Felipe for safety. ..."[55]

Several Negro girls testified to having been warned of the imminence of danger. Josephine Wright, a 13-year-old girl, quoted the soldiers as saying:

> " 'You better hurry home. If you don't hurry you've got to stay here overnight. If you don't go you're liable to get killed. You better go, because we're going to raise sand. Somebody killed one of our brothers and we're going to get him.' They were cleaning their guns," she said, and had ammunition. That was at 4:30 o'clock.[56]

Lorraine Forman, a 16-year-old mulatto girl, testified:

> I heard them say they were going to raise sand because one of our soldiers was killed, one was arrested, and one was beat up. ... I saw one white officer out there when the soldier told me that. He said this colored soldier is right and this white policeman is wrong.[57]

A white man, Henry Koenig, asserted:

> ... that on Thursday afternoon about 5 o'clock some negro soldiers passed on the way to the warehouses and that they were cursing and telling what they intended doing to the white people. ...[58]

Said E. Hartwell, captain of the temporary fire station at the government warehouse, in response to the question, "Did those men [the Negro guards at the warehouse] tell you anything of the trouble?":

> They said when the wagon came that night bringing provisions the men had been told that the police in town had shot one of their number. When they left the camp they said they were going to the police station to get revenge. ...[59]

[55] August 30.
[56] September 1.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] August 30.

Flossie Chaney, another of the Negro girls, was at the camp Thursday afternoon and left at 6:30.

Q. Why did you leave camp so soon?

A. "They told me they were coming to town and raise hell, and told us to go home. . . . They were all talking about it. All of them said there was going to be trouble. They talked it all over the camp. . . ." Questioned relative to any demonstration against white people, she said the negro soldiers cursed and abused both the white people and their white officers.

Q. What did they say about the white people before they started to shoot up the town?

A. "They called the white people every kind of name. They called them everything. They cursed the white military officers and said 'We'll kill them, too.' They cursed the whites all the time. . . ."[60]

Bessie Chaney, 15-year-old sister of Flossie,

. . . said she was at the negro dance hall near the camp Thursday night and left at 7 o'clock.

Q. How came you to leave?

A. "The soldiers told us to leave. They said a soldier had been killed down town by a policeman and they were going to town and raise the devil. They told me and the other women to go now or stay all night. 'If you don't go ahead of us you can't come behind.' " She testified she had been in tents with negro soldiers; that no one stopped her and no one bothered her. . . .[61]

Edna Tucker, 13-year-old Negro girl, was asked, "How came you to leave?" She replied:

A white soldier and some negro soldiers said for me to leave by 7:30. They told us to go home and stay there, or we would have to stay in camp all night. They said, "there is going to be the devil." I came home and told the rest of the women to come. . . .

Q. Who told you to leave?

A. Jackson and Thomas of Company I. They were cussing. They said the police had killed one of the soldiers. They were mad. . . .[62]

Leroy Pinkett, a Negro soldier previously quoted, asserted in his affidavit:

. . . It was getting late then, and we stood retreat at 6 o'clock and then our men began changing by talking. I heard Sergeant Henry

[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*

of our company say: "Well, don't stand around like that. If you are going to do anything go ahead and do it."

After that I saw some of the boys slip over to Company K and I heard them say they had stolen the ammunition. Then Captain Snow called the men out in line. He asked what we were doing and ordered a search made for the ammunition and also ordered that our rifles be taken up. Another sergeant (I forget his name) took up our rifles from our tent. In this same talk Captain Snow told us that Baltimore was not in the wrong. I heard him say that.[63]

James Divins, another Negro soldier, reported on the same period:

About 7 o'clock Captain Snow called the company out, called them in line and Sergeant Henry called the roll. Every member of the company answered except Corporal McKnight and Private Singleton. They were away from the camp on leave.

Captain Snow told the men in line that they had the officer who had beat up Baltimore and that the officer was in wrong and would be punished. Some member of the company spoke and asked if the officer would be punished on federal grounds. Sergeant Scott then checked the company for ammunition and all rifles were then taken up and turned in to the supply tent.[64]

A white grocery salesman, B. A. Calhoun, testified as follows:

. . . I took Captain Snow to the police station. We went to the station at 4:30 and returned at 6:00 o'clock.

Q. What was the temper of the negroes?

A. They were surly at 6 o'clock. Captain Snow talked to them about the trouble Sergeant Baltimore had with police officers and told them that Chief Brock had said his police officers were wrong in his case and they would be suspended and would be punished. . . . The men seemed ugly and congregated in groups. . . . About 8 p. m. Sergeant Henry came to Captain Snow and told him he could not make the men obey. Five men of Company K were put in the guard house. The bugle was sounded for the officers' call. All officers came out and reported to their companies, and they were assembled. They all lined up and were without arms. This was about 8:10 o'clock. Captain Snow said to me, he had collected all arms, and ordered all negro civilians out of camp. Just at that time someone cried out "break ranks, and get your guns." Firing began. I don't know who fired. It may have been the men designated to do police duty downtown. [It will be recalled that Supt. Brock stated the military police were armed with night sticks only.]

[63] August 25.

[64] *Ibid.*

But all seemed to have ammunition. . . . I ran into Captain Snow's tent and his negro attendant told me to lay down. He told me if the troops knew he had not joined them they would kill him. A part of them marched right by the tent I was in. Others refused to join them and were threatened with death. Some officers ordered them to halt. They kept on, about 150 in line, I guess. Some one said, "Stop firing, save our ammunition, for we will need it later." I heard one say, "We are headed for the police station!" . . .

The witness said . . . that Captain Snow told him when he had disarmed the negroes that he believed the trouble was settled and that Captain Snow refused to carry a revolver, saying, "There won't be any trouble." He said he was told the negroes liked their officers and did not want to kill them. . . .

In reply to questions from the committee he said Captain Snow had ordered a double guard about the ammunition tent and said, "The lieutenant . . . in charge of the tent was beaten and thrown out of the tent when the negroes seized the ammunition." . . .

The witness testified he heard remarks about like this from Sergeant Henry: "If we are going to go down, let's go. What's the delay?"

He said Captain James and his company were loyal, but in direct answer said Captain James did not order his company to stop the riot.

"They wouldn't have fired upon them, anyway," he said.[65]

The soldier who gave the signal for the break is identified in the statement of Leroy Pinkett:

A big fellow in our company named Frank Johnson then came running down the company street hollering, "Get your rifles, boys." We all made a rush then for the supply camp and got our rifles and we went to a large ammunition box and got our ammunition. Sergeant Henry was the leader. . . .[66]

The following statement of James Divins takes up immediately after the company had been checked for ammunition, and the rifles had been collected and turned in to the supply tent:

About half the company then gathered around the stump and they were talking about someone getting the box of ammunition. Captain Scurgion walked up and said he wanted to speak to the company. About that time some member of the company said, "There is a mob coming, get your gun," and everyone commenced hollering, "Get your gun" and we all rushed to the supply tent

[65] August 29.

[66] August 25.

and got our guns. Someone then was pitching ammunition out of the box and Sergeant Henry asked, "Has everybody got their ammunition?" and some hollered "I have not got enough." Sergeant Henry formed the company in front of the officers' line and Sergeant Henry made a little talk and said this is serious business and everyone was asked to stay with him.

As we all went off towards town I heard a demand to halt but it was not given by anyone in our company and no one obeyed the command. Sergeant Henry after going a short distance halted the company and said, "We will go back and make L company go with us," and we marched down to L company's street and some said that L company would not go. We came back and Sergeant Henry stopped the company again and said his father was a soldier and had gone down, but we men would have to follow him and he would carry us down.

Sergeant Henry then ordered a flank guard put out in the rear and he also put one out in front and we marched down the shell road. . . . I think there were about 150 men in this company and a little over half of them were from my company and the others were made up from other companies. . . .

None of the men were drunk that I know of; they didn't seem like they were drunk to me. We did not have any beer at the camp and I never heard of any men getting any beer that day.[67]

In charge of the rear guard was Corporal Baltimore, according to the El Paso dispatch, "with instructions to shoot down any negro of the battalion who refused to join in the shooting up of Houston, or who attempted to fall out of line."[68]

Another witness was a white civilian, R. R. McDaniel, who was going home Thursday night with

. . . four or five negro cotton pickers in his car. As he reached the end of the West End car line a white soldier jumped on the running board, he said. When they had almost reached the negro camp the firing began and the white officer jumped off and ran and the negroes quit shooting. Just then Major Snow ran up and jumped in the car, begging McDaniel to save him, he said.

Mr. McDaniel said that he told Major Snow to keep quiet and that they would get away. In turning around he said he ran the car in the ditch and got stuck and that Major Snow jumped out and ran. He overtook him again, and picked him up. They met Police Officer Gentry and his partner and Major Snow told them to go back or they would be killed, McDaniel said. . . . He said that Major

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] September 20.

Snow was so nervous that he (McDaniel) asked the druggist to give him something to steady his nerves.

He said they got back in the car in about 30 minutes and drove back toward the camp, and that when they were about four blocks this side of the Heights boulevard police officers stopped them and asked Major Snow about the affair. While they were talking some white officers came out from the town and asked the major to tell them all about the trouble. He said that he took the arms away from the men, all but about 135 of them, who refused to give them up.

Q. What did Major Snow say that he did after the trouble started in an effort to quell it?

A. He said he gave repeated orders and pleaded with the men to give up their arms and stay in the camp, but that they paid no attention to him.

Mr. McDaniel said Snow told him the men were shooting at the telephone wires in order to cut them when the firing started at camp. He declared that Major Snow lay huddled in the rear of the car and would not get on the front seat with him.[69]

Captain L. A. Tuggle, post commander at Camp Logan, and in charge of the Illinois troops who were sent in to Houston to break up the riot, is quoted by a reporter of the *Post* as follows:

I sat here just where I am sitting now at 8:30 o'clock Thursday night. . . . I was working on reports.

Up from the east came a vicious whirr of rifle fire. I jumped to my feet in amazement, ran out of my tent, and strained my eyes toward the source of the sound. . . . Officers from the six companies of infantry and the battery of artillery on the line here, had by this time clustered at my tent. We all were gazing into the east and wondering whether it might not be a sham battle. A sham battle on a rainy night, with mud underfoot and a drizzle still falling seemed foolish to undertake. . . .

The lights of a motor car dashed through the pines and played on us. The car darted up and stopped with a wrench of the brakes. Captain J. A. Rossiter . . . leaped out and after him came a bareheaded negro soldier.

"Captain Tuggle, this man says the colored troops of the Twenty-fourth are mutinying and killing their officers," Captain Rossiter gasped.

The soldier then told me what he knew. . . . The man had run all the way to the camp of Captain Rossiter's engineer company more than a mile to the west, to ask for help. . . .[70]

[69] August 30.

[70] August 26.

Meanwhile what was happening in Houston? We can get some idea from the story of P. F. Lowder, a reporter representing the Chicago *Herald,* which was reproduced in the *Post:*

The first Houston knew of the trouble was at 8 o'clock. A few scattering shots were heard. Everybody began to ask everybody else what the trouble was. Then the telephone began to ring.

"Send help! Send help! The niggers are shooting up the town."

Three automobiles loaded with police officers started for Camp Logan. They halted at the city limits and confined their activities to warning people not to go near the camp. An ambulance that ventured near to pick up the wounded girl [hit by a stray shot while she was within her home] was stopped by the colored troops.

The tires were shot full of holes, the driver told to turn around, a few shots were fired in the air and the machine came tearing back the road on flat tires.[71]

Other reporters, out to see what was happening, had the following to say:

Eighty of the negroes, marching in military formation, in column of twos, led by a tall private, marched south . . . This was at 9:20 o'clock. The men were in perfect order, though they were marching along out of step. When two other newspaper men, bound for the camp to find out the cause of the trouble, ran into the column, they made no threatening move, except that the tall leader shoved one of the reporters into the ditch. . . . The two civilians were allowed to go on toward the army camp unmolested. As they were abreast of the middle of the column, one negro called out: "See here, boys, what you let them two go by for? You goin' to pass up them two? Let's get 'em."

There was no answer and no move was made to "get 'em." . . . It is thought that these soldiers marched down the Shepherd's Dam road, across the bridge, and entered the city in the San Felipe Street section where the fighting kept up long after it had ceased everywhere else. . . .[72]

Testified Mrs. Maude Potts, a jitney operator, in response to the question, "What do you know about the riot?":

I was in the center of it. . . . I heard a negro soldier tell me, "get away from here, white lady, we don't want to kill you, but we are

[71] August 24.

[72] *Ibid.*

after the white policemen who have called us names and have been beating our men up." . . . I saw many civilian negroes go along with the negro soldiers and they were armed and some of them were shooting wild. . . .[73]

James Divins further testified:

We crossed the bridge and we met two United States officers in a car on San Felipe Street and halted them and returned their guns to them and let them go. . . . I saw two officers (police officers) in uniform. One lying in the street on his back had been shot but he was not dead and the other one was lying on his side in the bend of the road. I don't know if he was dead or not. . . .[74]

From the last four items it seems clear that the Negro troops were not out to mow down Houston whites indiscriminately. That some of the Negroes, both soldiers and civilians, may have had an inclination to be less discriminating in their violence is entirely possible. But the disciplined and relatively orderly way in which the departure from the camp was organized and carried out strongly suggests that the leaders, while inflexibly determined to punish the San Felipe policemen, had no intention of generally "shooting up the town." This interpretation is corroborated by the statement of Captain Tuggle:

"Of course everyone knows . . . Captain Mattes and the [police] officer (Meineke) . . . had gone on ahead of the troops, had met the crowd of negroes advancing up San Felipe, and had been killed. . . . I am fully convinced that Captain Mattes would never have been shot if he had not been in the car with a police officer. I believe that the negroes thought he was another policeman."

After Captain Tuggle had made this statement a negro prisoner, in a signed confession, made a similar statement that bore out Captain Tuggle's theory. The negro said that if they had known that Captain Mattes was an army officer they would never have harmed him. They had shot out the street lights. They saw, in the front seat, a man whom they knew to be a police officer. In the dark they thought Captain Mattes was another and killed both. Then they plunged bayonets into them.[75]

More light is thrown on the general turmoil and alarm among the civilians of Houston by the following quotations:

[73] August 29.

[74] August 25.

[75] August 26.

Houston policemen, armed civilians, and members of the Texas National Guard, as well as Illinois guardsmen who were in town when the trouble started quickly went to the scene of the shooting . . . where Captain W. P. Rothrock, constructing quartermaster of Camp Logan, assumed command.

Angry cries of "lynch them" and "come, let's go kill 'em," were heard on all sides. Captain Rothrock placed an armed guard across Washington Avenue with instructions not to let anyone pass, then climbed upon the hood of an automobile and appealed to the men to listen to reason. . . .

About the undertaking establishments great throngs gathered and there was muttering and denunciation of the most rabid sort.

At the police station probably a thousand men, many of them armed, gathered and there was a seething mass which circulated wild rumors and offered their services to the chief of police and his lieutenants. This crowd stayed around most of the evening, though there was a gradual thinning out and at midnight there were only a score or so.

At 10 o'clock every available member of the police department was being rushed to the scene of the trouble in autos, armed with repeating rifles and pistols.

A report reached police station that one-third of the riotous negro soldiers were under restraint and that the balance had divided up into small groups and were rushing their way into other parts of the city. . . .

Someone broke in the front window of Bering's Main Street [hardware] store, but Lieutenant G. G. Howard stationed himself in front of the door and refused to let anyone in.

A large crowd gathered in front of Bering-Cortes wholesale [hardware] store in Prairie Avenue upon the report that negroes had broken into the store to get arms, and in some way a number of them gained admittance to the store and obtained guns.[76]

The importance of the rumors which accompanied the beginning of the outbreak is indicated in the following report:

. . . The vagueness and uncertainty of early reports of the trouble of Thursday night caused much uneasiness and fear. . . .

Added to the more or less authentic reports as to what was actually taking place were rumors—wild imaginings of disordered brains. One was to the effect that the negro troopers were moving upon the city, 600 strong, sweeping everything in their path. Another was that local negroes had joined the soldiers in a general uprising; that they were forming in various parts of the city and awaiting a general signal to start their work of destruction. As a

[76] *Ibid.*

result of these rumors many spent an anxious and sleepless night. . . .[77]

A brief account of the role of the Illinois National Guardsmen concludes the section on the riot proper.

Companies were marched to the camp site of the negro companies. Other companies went to the San Felipe district where the army negroes had gone.

The camp site was surrounded and not a man, white or black, was allowed to leave.

Word was received late at night that the San Felipe quarter was surrounded by Illinois troops and that they were waiting for daylight to capture the negro company. . . .[78]

AFTERMATH

Peace and quiet failed to settle upon troubled Houston with the capture of the last of the riotous Negro soldiers. On the Sunday after the riot appeared a report of flaming fear and boundless rumor:

What appears to be a deliberate attempt to incite a race riot is being made.

Negroes have been told, in all sections of the city, that the white citizens and police intended to raid, murder, and burn. Whites have been told that negroes are arming and preparing to attack.

Both races are excited in a manner which has become most dangerous.

Hundreds of negroes have fled the city, many of them leaving during the day and other scores during the night.

Practically the whole of the ship channel has been deserted by negro workmen, who declare they have been warned to leave the city, but they do not tell who warned them.

As a result of these wild rumors which were spread throughout the city Thursday a feeling of continued unrest and anxiety prevailed among both white and negro citizens in several of the outlying sections Thursday night.

In the Fourth Ward the word was passed along that a raid would be conducted on the negro residences by white soldiers and civilians. There was no foundation for any such rumor.

At the same time in the Cottage Grove section, near Brunner, the word was spread that a raid would be conducted by the negroes on the white residents. The rumor gained credence when a party of white men riding through the section in an automobile warned the people that such a raid would be made. People rushed from

[77] August 25.

[78] August 24.

their homes in their bare feet and dressed as they were at the time of the warning and congregated in the stores along Washington avenue. No foundation existed for this rumor.

As a result of these rumors, a large number of negroes have already left the city and others are preparing to move away.[79]

Immediately below this account were published three resolutions by groups of colored residents of Houston condemning the action of the colored soldiers and commending the restraint shown by the white citizens of Houston.

In spite of assurances by the military authorities, however, that the situation was entirely under control, hysterical fear and the rumors engendered thereby continued to agitate the people of Houston. Almost two weeks after the riot the following notices were published conspicuously on the front page of the *Post:*

By Maj. Gen. Geo. Bell, Jr.
To the Public:

The frenzied appeals made to me personally and to the officers of the staff of the 33rd division during the last 24 hours, coupled with the rumors which have come to us, demonstrated that a condition of apprehension exists in the minds of the people of Houston which demands a statement from me.

The only colored troops in Camp Logan are in Company G of the Eighth Ill. infantry, which numbers three officers, 134 men, 10 men attached, 3 men sick, and 4 men absent on leave, a total of 154.

. . . they have no service ammunition in their possession and no organization is quieter or better behaved. . . .

There is abundant evidence to show that many people in Houston have worked themselves up into a state of frenzy bordering on hysteria on the subject of these colored troops.

A certain newspaper in Houston has under large headlines given circulation to a rumor that "negro soldiers and civilians are preparing for a raid," and that "the time of the attack has been set for 11:15 o'clock Wednesday night." [That very night.]

It is impossible for me to find terms sufficiently strong to condemn such statements as these. They, and every one of the rumors which have come to my ears in the last 24 hours, are absolutely and unqualifiedly false and without the slightest justification in fact. . . . I therefore appeal to the sensible people of the city to put an end to all the unfounded reports and resultant hysteria created

[79] August 26.

thereby for the good, not only of Camp Logan, but for your city as well.

GEORGE BELL, JR.
Major General, U. S. Army.[80]

By Mayor J. C. Hutcheson, Jr.
To the Public:

So many hysterical and unfounded rumors calculated to disturb the peace of the city of Houston and to bring discredit upon our city if persisted in have reached me and there seems to be such a feeling of uncertainty and unrest generally prevalent that I feel it necessary to personally state that I have been assured by Gen. Bell that every precaution has been taken against disorder arising out of or connected with Camp Logan, and that I have arranged with Gen. Bell for placing in the city, beginning Wednesday, a sufficient number of white military police, composed of picked men, to thoroughly police all quarters where the soldiers from Camp Logan may be. . . . *Certainly it is utterly inexcusable for any of our citizens when thus reassured on the matters of original apprehension, to circulate or give credence to wild and disturbed rumors,* wholly without foundation such as have been recently current. . . .

J. C. HUTCHESON, JR.
Mayor.[81]

These statements speak for themselves. But along with the general hysteria the conception of the riot held by the people of Houston was undergoing a transformation; a legend was being born.

At the time of the riot it was generally admitted that the Negro troops were bent on wreaking vengeance on the civilian policemen who they felt had treated them very badly. The first attempt to re-define the event seems to be that of a minister preaching a funeral sermon:

Dr. W. S. Lockhart, pastor of the South End Christian Church, who delivered the funeral sermon over the remains of Officer Ira D. Raney, who was killed by negro soldiers in the mutiny Thursday night, declared in the sermon that, while there appeared to be an attempt on the part of many to attribute this mutiny to race troubles, the real facts were that the mutiny was due to just two causes—"vice and booze" . . . It was simply a case of a bunch of "bad niggers" dressed up in a uniform, given a little authority and put under very lax discipline, who, under the influence of women

[80] September 12.
[81] *Ibid.*

and booze, perpetrated this murderous crime against the army and the city of Houston.

The blame ought to be placed where it belongs, he said, and a great mistake will be made if Houston allows the impression to grow abroad that it was race prejudice that caused the trouble, and it is a slander on the Houston people, white and black, to make it appear so . . . He praised the police force for the brave fight it put up against the armed desperadoes. . . .[82]

A week later the sermon of another Houston minister was reported as follows:

A beautiful tribute to the men who gave up their lives for the defense of the people of Houston on the night of the mutiny of the negro soldiers, was paid by Dr. H. D. Knickerbocker, at the First Methodist Church, Sunday morning.

The minister was preaching on "The Atonement" and he used this incident to illustrate his sermon. Those soldiers and policemen who died that night to stem the black tide of death sweeping toward the homes of Houston, they entered into the glory of God himself, who gave the fullest exhibition of vicarious suffering in the death of his Son. . . .[83]

Thus we see the role of the Houston policemen identified with that of Jesus Christ himself, beyond which it would seem difficult for any apologist to go.

Four weeks after the riot from a special Camp Logan section of the *Post* we learn how complete the transformation has already become: the conception of the event has shifted from one in which direct retaliation is central into one featuring incipient mass slaughter. Say the headlines: "How Illinois Guardsmen Saved City of Houston—Nothing Stopped Mutineers on the Night of August 23 Until They Faced the Unflinching White Soldiers from Camp Logan."

Illinois guardsmen on the night of August 23 saved Houston. There is not a Houstonian who will contest this statement. . . .

[The Negro soldiers] with their rifles and belts and bandoliers filled with ball ammunition . . . marched into Houston, then down Felipe street shooting at every white face they saw. . . .

What broke up the organization? What was it that crumpled the will of these angry soldiers, that scared them into slinking away

[82] August 28.

[83] September 3.

up side streets, each man by himself? What was it that checked their march on Houston, saved dozens, perhaps hundreds of lives?

It was the men in khaki, from the State of Illinois. . . .[84]

One more item must be presented to round out this account:

Thirteen negro soldiers of the 24th United States Infantry were hanged at dawn today for murders committed at Houston last August, when members of that regiment engaged in mutinous rioting in the city's streets. Forty-one other negroes were sentenced to life imprisonment, four others for short terms, and five were acquitted. . . .[85]

But this is not the final scene, for that lives on with the people who experienced directly or indirectly the terror and hatred of the riot and its aftermath.

CONCLUSION

The data presented in the course of the municipal investigation demonstrate that the stage was all set for a serious disturbance growing out of race ill feeling.

The data also indicate that although there were other situations in which tension was aroused, it was the members of the Houston police force, and particularly those stationed in the Negro district around San Felipe Street, against whom the colored troopers' hostility was directed.

As a case study of racial conflict involving Negro soldiers, this particular event yields a number of hypotheses which should be tested for validity as principles of general significance in the phenomena of race conflict, particularly of riots:[86]

1—Transportation difficulties growing out of resentment due to segregation are significantly symptomatic of growing tension.

2—Mistreatment of Negro women being arrested by white police officers is keenly resented by Negro men; this

[84] September 20.

[85] *The New York Times,* Dec. 12, 1917.

[86] See Edgar A. Schuler and Charles G. Gomillion, "The Pattern of Military Race Riots," unpublished study.

resentment is likely to cause Negro men, particularly military personnel, to say or do something which is unacceptable to white policemen.

3—The pattern of relationships and interaction between Negro military police and white civilian police is perhaps of crucial importance in understanding and controlling racial relationships in which Negro military personnel are involved.

4—Whether on the basis of factual or rumored incidents of mistreatment, when the feeling of tension or resentment becomes sufficiently oppressive a nucleus of Negro military leadership is likely to appear, organized about the attempt to secure arms and ammunition, with the objective of taking direct retaliatory action.

EDGAR A. SCHULER

Falls Church, Virginia

Reprint - 1956)
Violence

RACE RIOTS CAN BE PREVENTED

Excerpts from an article in Harper's Magazine,
December, 1945 - by special permission of the publisher

ERNEST A. GRAY, JR.

Mr. Gray wrote extensively on racial problems for the OWI during the war. He prepared this article with the aid of Robert Jones.

Race riots can be prevented. Techniques have been worked out which can keep minor frictions from blazing into major disorders. These methods are reasonably simple. They have been tested. New York City proved on August 1 and 2, 1943, for example, that a dangerous Harlem outbreak could be prevented from spilling over into a race riot. The country over, potential race riots were averted on an average of once a week in the year following the bloody Detroit disturbances of June 1943.

If enough people can learn these techniques fast enough, we may be able this time to escape the ugly epidemic of rioting which flared clear across the nation after the last war. But there is a very real threat that one will break out. All the conditions -- social, economic, and emotional -- which touched off the 1919 troubles are back with us today.

Thus once more the dynamite of racial tension is lying loose in many communities. When it blew up in 1919, there were major riots in Washington, D. C., in Omaha, in Phillips County, Arkansas. One of the worst was in Chicago, where mob rule and violence swept through the city for four days; 38 people were killed, 537 were injured, and more than a thousand were made homeless through bombings and arson. In all, race war was fought in 26 cities, taking 350 lives and injuring no less than 12,000 people. If we are to avoid another such explosion, we must know how to remove the fuse.

I do not intend in this article to discuss any of the long-range problems -- involving housing, education, juvenile delinquency, and employment -- which lead to racial friction. I propose to deal only with certain major techniques which any alert community can use to keep these frictions from exploding into race riots. These are the most important of many which have been worked out by individuals and a number of organizations. (Some of them can be applied to frictions and outbursts involving other groups than Negroes.) Let's take up the techniques, one by one.

1. Every city and town with a sizable Negro population should determine through thorough surveys the temper of race relations. It should then prepare to control and eventually eliminate any frictions which the surveys may reveal. It should set up an official Citizens Committee on Race Relations. (Twenty-five such committees already are on the job, among the most outstanding being Mayor Kelly's in Chicago, which is taking determined action to make sure that nothing like the 1919 riot happens again.)

Such a committee must be made up of both Negroes and whites, and every member should be a leader who has the confidence of his own race. Its job is to keep a close watch on race relations, to spot dangerous frictions in their early stages, and to advise the authorities what to do to cure them. It should carry enough weight to influence official action in housing, law enforcement, schools, public health, recreation, and every other field which affects its special problem.

In addition, there should be an unofficial group to handle tasks outside the scope of the official committee such as mustering public opinion, prodding local agencies and politicians into prompt action, and needling the press to improve its reporting of events involving Negroes. (More than a hundred and fifty such groups have already been organized.) Both the official and unofficial organizations should set up machinery for emergency action in case of disturbances. Specialists from agencies such as the American Council on Race Relations, the Urban League, and the Southern Regional Council often help in working out such programs.

2. The police force should get special training both in the handling of riots and in the day-to-day problems of helping Negroes and whites get along together. In many cities the police have long been notoriously hostile to Negroes, and the Negroes in turn have feared and mistrusted the police. In reporting on Chicago's 1919 riot, Illinois State's Attorney Hoyne noted that "a great many police officers were grossly unfair in making arrests. They shut their eyes to offenses committed by white men while they were very vigorous in getting all the colored men they could." Negro antagonism and police bias were responsible for many imflammatory reports; a major factor in the outbreak of that 1919 riot was the report that a policeman had failed to arrest a white man accused of stoning and causing the drowning of a colored youngster named Eugene Williams in Lake Michigan.

Consequently, police administrators must make it clear to every man on the force that he is expected to give equal protection and fair treatment to whites and Negroes alike. In addition, it is important for the force to include a suitable proportion of Negro officers. They have proved much more effective than white in Negro neighborhoods, although their usefulness is by no means limited to these areas. Washington, D. C., has 150 Negro police, including motorcycle cops who have worked for three years in all sections of the city. Use of Negro police vastly improves relations with the Negro community, And in case of race trouble, their presence is almost indispensable. During the 1943 Harlem disturbance, several hundred Negro officers and special deputies were used; they made most of the arrests.

Superintendent Edward J. Kelly has made Washington's police department a national model in the handling of racial conflicts. There is little doubt that his sagacious action prevented a riot in Washington in May 1943. Racial tensions in the war-crowded capital had then been rising for some time. The Washington Committee on Jobs For Negroes in Public Utilities was conducting a campaign for the employment of Negroes on the city's bus and streetcar lines. The climax was to be an open-air mass meeting on Friday, May 8. Plans for the meeting were well publicized in the Negro press, but the regular newspapers gave them little or no mention. In the absence of accurate information, rumors began to fly through the white community that a race riot was brewing and probably would break on Friday night. Fearing that the rumors would lead to real trouble, leading citizens asked Superintendent Kelly to withdraw the permit for the parade and meeting. He refused, on grounds that such action would violate Negro rights and lead to worse feeling in the future, since whites would then believe the rumors had some basis and Negroes would resent the denial of free assembly.

On Friday Kelly instructed all his officers to be completely impartial in preserving order, and posted them heavily along the line of march and at the meeting ground. Kelly himself marched at the head of the parade. There was no trouble.

3. The danger spots where conflict is likely to break out can be located in advance, so that special precautions can be taken in time. The fact that trouble is mounting, and the time when it is likely to flare up, also can usually be determined.

The methods of forecasting and spotting trouble have been most highly developed by the mayor's committee in Chicago. It has arranged for the prompt reporting of all incidents involving racial friction, through policemen on their beats, social workers, transit employees, newspapermen, neighborhood leaders, and others in direct daily contact with the people of the city. The location of each incident -- a fist-fight, vandalism, rumors, even a squabble among women in a meat-market queue -- is recorded on a map of the city.

Almost invariably such incidents are concentrated in a few areas; and in all communities these danger spots have certain common characteristics. They are places where antagonistic groups meet in "incidental or competitive contact," according to two leading experts in this field, J. E. Weckler, of the American Council on Race Relations, and Theo Hall, police chief of Wilmette, Illinois and instructor in police training in Chicago. A white neighborhood into which Negroes have recently moved is very likely to be a friction area. So are public parks, beaches, and shopping centers used by both races, particularly where Negroes have just moved in.

On the other hand, neighborhoods where racial groups have intermingled for a period of years are surprisingly free of friction; given time, the most ingrained prejudice apparently will melt in the solvent of close acquaintanceship. Throughout the Detroit riot of 1943, there was not a single conflict in neighborhoods that had been mixed for some time. All-Negro riot-provoking incidents, because as Weckler and Hall have noted -- "Negroes rarely mob whites except in self-defense."

Knowledge of both "safe" and "tension" areas obviously is invaluable to the police department in deploying its forces to forestall trouble. Moreover, a rise in tension, which indicates a potential riot just as a falling barometer foretells a storm, can be noted immediately, simply by plotting the increasing frequency of incidents on the city map.

4. Rumors about racial friction should be exposed and refuted as promptly as possible. Such rumors precede every riot and help keep it going. Generally they are of two kinds. One type consists of general statements about a large racial group. A rumor of this sort, widely circulated in 1943, alleged that colored maids were organizing "Push Clubs" for the sole purpose of shoving white people in stores, subways, and other public places. It became a nation-wide housewives' tale, conveying the false and dangerous impression that large numbers of Negroes were spoiling for trouble.

The other kind of rumor gives a much more immediate indication of impending strife. It is highly specific, purporting to give actual names, places, and dates. Often it alleges crime, rape, or the other intention of a racial group to make an uprising. Two such rumors helped spread the Detroit riot in 1943. Among the whites, the rumor was that Negroes had raped a white woman on the bridge leading to Bell Isle Park, where a Negro-white brawl had broken out. Among the Negroes, the rumor was that whites had killed a colored woman and her baby at the same park. Like all others cited here, these tales had obsolutely no basis in fact.

Sometimes explosive rumors are actually spread by the press.

It is enough to say that the press should be the chief means of exposing and smothering false rumors.

Prompt action by the radio, police, and citizens' commission to combat rumors also can do much to cool off a dangerously heated situation. Houston, Texas, averted a crisis in June 1943 in just this way. People were whispering that the annual Negro Emancipation Day parade and carnival was to be the signal for an uprising. Some irresponsible white citizens started a movement to attack the parade. Informed of the rumor, the police chief, the mayor, the city's bi-racial commission, and leading white and colored citizens signed a proclamation that there would be no trouble on "Juneteenth Day," that the celebration would be held according to plan, and that anyone who tried to interfere with it would be promptly arrested. This proclamation was published as a full-page notice in all the daily papers. It turned out to be the most peaceful "Juneteenth" celebration in Houston's history.

Of course there isn't always time for the kind of action Houston took. Even emergency action to scotch rumors can, however, prove highly effective -- as New York's officials and leading citizens proved in the handling of the Harlem outbreak.

A policeman, recognizing danger as soon as the crowds began to form, called headquarters. Within an hour both Police Commissioner Valentine and Mayor LaGuardia appeared at the 123rd Street Police Station in Harlem and took personal charge. The details of their operations will be discussed a little later; here it is enough to note that the quelling of rumors was one of their most effective tactics. The mayor, with other city officials and leading Negro citizens -- Ferdinand Smith, Walter White, Max Yergan, and many others -- toured Harlem throughout the night in sound trucks. They broadcast to the crowds the true facts of the initial incident and exposed other rumors that were springing up. Broadcasting equipment was set up in the police station and frequent rumor-debunking talks were carried by most local stations. The trouble was over within eight hours, without ever flaring into a real race riot.

5. The Harlem disturbance illustrates another important point in the handling of potential riots: police should be moved into the trouble zone immediately and in the largest possible force -- but they must use their power with the utmost discretion.

On that summer night in 1943, LaGuardia and Valentine immediately mobilized a third of the city's entire police force for Harlem duty. They instructed their men to use no more force than was absolutely necessary to break up the street mobs. The police did not attempt massed frontal attacks on the crowds, nor did they fire wildly into the masses of people. Instead they separated small segments from the large groups, arrested the ringleaders in each segment, and ordered the rest to go home.

6. It is not enough for the police to be fair in their handling of a rioting crowd -- they must also give an unmistakable appearance of impartiality and evenhanded justice. They can thus eliminate Negro distrust and, just as important, discourage hoodlums from getting the idea that they can attack Negroes with impunity.

For months before the Chicago riot broke, the police had been undermining Negro confidence in their fairness by onesided law enforcement. Gangs of hoodlums had been attacking Negroes with apprent immunity from police interference. In the two years before the riot twenty-four Negro homes were bombed, but not a single one of the bomb-throwers was arrested. Consequently, when the riot got under way, the Negroes suspected the police of bias even on those occasions when such suspicion was unjustified.

How far the Chicago police have come since that time was indicated by another incident, of equally dangerous potentialities, on the near South Side in the summer of 1944. It began with a fight between a white and a Negro. A mob gathered, mostly Negro but with some whites. Threats and violent language began to fly. Suddenly forty police squadcars swooped down on the crowd. The officers broke it up, promtly but without gun-play. And they made several arrests of both whites and Negroes.

Police should immediately isolate the area in which trouble has broken out. The Harlem disturbance provided a classic example of this technique. Commissioner Valentine threw a police cordon around the neighborhoods where fighting and looting had broken out. Traffic was routed around this section; all bus service in the neighborhood was suspended; police guarded subway exits; trolley lines were closed to traffic, except for one on which it was possible to provide a police escort. No vigilantes, hoodlums, or curiosity-seekers were permitted to enter Harlem that night.

Again, the 1919 Chicago riot provides an illustration of what can happen when such procedures are neglected.

8. Breaking big crowds up into little ones and then dispersing them is one of the most effective methods of preventing violence. All through the Chicago trouble crowds of curiosity-seekers became transformed into bloodthirsty mobs as they grew in size and became excited by rumors. The presence of an audience also seemed to give the leaders both a sense of support and an incentive to violent action.

But without the spectators, the urge to brutality seemed to lessen.

9. Finally, municipal authorities should make arrangements in advance to call in the militia if necessary. There are few local police forces which can control a riot once it has begun to make real headway -- and thereafter every hour's delay is likely to cost lives and thousands of dollars in damaged property. Detroit's experience in 1943 indicates the importance of getting all the legal machinery set up and greased for action long before it is needed. In that case red-tape difficulties resulted in a twelve-hour delay in the arrival of troops.

Advance preparation is, in fact, the crucial point in all the techniques for preventing racial trouble and for neutralizing it after it reaches the danger stage. Today every prudent American community with any considerable bi-racial population ought to be taking at least the first steps -- the formation of both official and unofficial committees on race relations, the mapping of friction areas, the training of its police force, the enlistment of press, radio, schools, churches, and private organizations in a campaign against dangerous rumors. Many of the larger cities have made

encouraging progress in all these measures. If enough other communities follow their examples -- and do it promptly -- America has a good chance of getting through this postwar era without another disgraceful and costly epidemic of rioting.

RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY
Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107
By Alfred McClung Lee

To Summarize, Here Are the Steps

1. Know that race riots are symptoms of a disease, not the disease itself. The disease is intergroup intolerance or "scapegoatism," closely related to Nazism and Fascism.

2. There is no substitute for a long-term program to promote sound interracial relations. An anti-riot program has value merely to patch up a truce and to give long-term methods a chance to work.

3. Keep your eye -- or see that some organization keeps its eyes on the seven areas in which danger signals of approaching race violence appear. Those who will look and will see, can see a race riot coming. These seven areas are: rumors, frictions, demagogues, delinquency and crime, police attitudes, congestion, employment.

4. Organize for immediate action. Get together an emergency committee of good explorers and good strategists of social action. The explorers will chart the problems, and the strategists will lay out the things to be done.

5. Make certain that the mayor of your town knows how to bring in the state militia or, better, the U. S. Army without delay.

6. Organize the channels of publicity for immediate action. See that they have "canned" materials at hand for the possible emergency.

7. Develop emergency plans with school and transportation officials, clergymen, management and labor leadership, veterans' groups, scouts, and men's and women's civic and service clubs and societies. Make sure that these plans can easily be placed in action.

8. Should a race riot break out, make sure that the state militia or the U. S. Army is on its way as soon as the danger becomes apparent. Then place the rest of the emergency program into immediate operation.

9. Every organization and every individual of good will can help -- if only by keeping cool and keeping people off the streets.

10. After the emergency has passed, turn to and help build a substantial and permanent organization for the strengthening of interracial democracy in your community. In this long-term program make the focal points of attack congested housing in segregated districts and the dangerous anxieties that all feel in the face of pressing job insecurity.

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Gerald W. Johnson THE SUPERFICIAL ASPECT

Mod Right

Wouldn't It Startle Us?

William S. White, political commentator for *Harpers*, is a writing person of considerable eminence with enough weight of judgment, one might think, to relieve him of any fear of being classified with the lunatic fringe. Yet in the November issue of that magazine he writes as nervously as those members of the Zenith Rotary Club, in Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*, who spoke in favor of raising money to establish a symphony orchestra; they insisted that they favored the project purely as good publicity for Zenith, not because they were guilty of the infamy of actually liking music.

Mr. White opposes the ideas of Senator Goldwater and the John Birch Society; but in so doing he is horribly afraid that he may incur suspicion of being an adherent of Henry A. Wallace, at least, maybe even of Earl Browder. He will, of course. Senator Goldwater may not accuse him, but the John Birchites brand as a Communist anyone who refuses to accept their idiotic gabble. But why should it worry Mr. White? It is characteristic of nuts to think every man of sense insane.

In an effort to establish his exact position Mr. White describes a political spectrum, placing what he calls the Irresponsibles at the infra-red and ultraviolet ends, with true Conservatives and true Liberals in the middle, separated from the Irresponsibles by bands of the "woolly-minded." He rates himself as a true Conservative, professing considerable respect for such true Liberals as Senator Humphrey, but less for the woolly-minded, such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

However, under the subhead "More Than Treason," he attacks "the notion spread by some in recent months that the whole of the military establishment, the whole of the 'military mind' should be held suspect because some officers held or spread right-wing political views." This he calls "a dreadful act of discredit." That's pretty rough on Eisenhower, who is supposed to know something about the military mind and has publicly expressed his anxiety lest it become dominant.

The interesting thing, though, is not Mr. White's case in itself, but what it reveals of the state of political thinking in this country. Categories are conveniences, not ideas; and when men are engaged in a genuine battle of ideas, they waste little time worrying about categories. If they do worry, the reasonable inference is that they are short of ideas.

It may be plausibly argued that Truman's Point Four was the last genuine idea that has been introduced into American political philosophy, and that was nearly 13 years ago. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress may have been another, but it seems somehow to have been lost in the shuffle. For the rest, we have been threshing over old straw, and it is easy to believe that the popularity of Birchism is due mainly to the public's boredom with the futility of it all.

But we are not likely to break out of the dreary old round as long as our political leaders feel compelled to explain that if they vote in favor of a symphony orchestra, it is strictly for publicity purposes, not for any real love of music. All over the world we feed the starving, and nurse the sick, and teach the illiterate, not because it is right to do so, but because if we don't we fear that they may go Communist. Rather than risk being found guilty of charity, we proclaim that we are submitting to blackmail!

Well, heaven knows the introduction of the moral issue into politics is a dangerous thing. Historically, it has made a sickening record of hypocrisy, deceit, lying and betrayal; and all too often it has led to that overweening arrogance that has been the ruin of many once great nations. Nevertheless, the thing exists and there is power in it. Cynics may sneer at Woodrow Wilson, but they can't sneer away the fact that the old boy shook the world.

In one of his memorable addresses Wilson confessed that he didn't know whether he was a liberal or not. He did claim, though, that he knew the difference between right and wrong, and he may have been mistaken in that; but proceeding on that assumption he made such an impact upon the world that it has never been the same since; and whatever else he may have done, he never bored us.

It may be that we have attained a level of sophistication at which the categorical imperative has lost all potency, but here is one opinion to the contrary. If some leader of high intellectual capacity should offer to the American people a new idea backed by one argument only, to wit, "This is right" – well, he would certainly be denounced, and he might be lynched, but he would startle this country out of its intellectual torpor, and he just might achieve Wilson's ambition to "release the generous energies of our people" – to the astonishment of all mankind.

Rad Right

PROJECT ALERT . . *by Robert L. Frye*

Pensacola, Fla.

A PROGRAM dedicated to the "rebirth of the ideals of the American way of life" was born here in the fall of 1959. It was given the title "Project Alert," and was based on a similar one-year program that had been conducted at Lubbock, Texas.

Since then, Project Alert has grown from a local movement into a regional one involving more than thirty Southeastern communities in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Florida.

Its exact origin is uncertain. [See editorial, p. 503.] In the summer of 1960, its chairman, Pat N. Groner, a hospital administrator in Pensacola and a World War II Marine Corps pilot, gave credit for the original idea to Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite, Chief of Naval Air Training, with headquarters here. Following the publication of Senator J. William Fulbright's now famous memorandum to the Defense Department, in which both Project Alert and Admiral Goldthwaite were mentioned, the official version gives the credit to "twenty Pensacola businessmen [who wanted] to reawaken the people to the basic principles of Americanism."

The project was launched at a "familiarization meeting" attended by newsmen, businessmen, industrialists and influential citizens. It became a resounding success practically overnight. The Communist threat and the ideals of the Founding Fathers were discussed on the streets, debated with sales clerks, studied in the classrooms. Youth groups were formed in the schools; almost every civic organization in the area created committees to explore the dangers of communism and to study ways of cooperating with Project Alert.

Project leaders supplied speakers to harried program chairmen desperate for something to put on at the next meeting of their club or society. Preachers joined in the expanding chorus of voices deploring the "apathy and sluggishness" shown by the American people to the threat of the "Red monster."

Once firmly established locally, Project Alert called a conference and seminar to which citizens from more than thirty Southeastern cities and military bases were invited. The usual fiery speeches and a program of anti-Communist films constituted the bulk of the program. The delegates, impressed, went home to spread the word.

CONSISTENTLY, Project Alert officials point out that theirs was not "another John Birch Society" and that they had no intention of participating in name calling. Their only purpose was to give the citizens a "true" understanding of the vicious nature and ultimate aims of international communism, to revive interest in America's heritage, its laws and economic system, and to offer to the citizens certain suggestions which they might act upon in their own way to aid in a rebirth of patriotism on a national scale.

At one time local talk connected Dr. Kenneth Wells, president of the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa., with the Project. Admiral Goldthwaite and Admiral J. W. Reeves (U.S.N., Ret.) reported that Wells had expressed an interest in the program and that an attempt was being made to raise $60,000 to $70,000 to conduct five pilot program tests in other communities. Apparently the money was never raised and talk about the pilot programs was dropped. Subsequently, however, Project Alert of Pensacola was awarded the Freedom Foundation's George Washington Honor Medal for its work in 1960 in bringing about "a better appreciation of the American way of life." Admiral Reeves went to Valley Forge to accept the medal.

The Pensacola High School band also received a George Washington medal for its patriotic activities during the same year. It had carried out a series of programs devoted to patriotic American music.

Project Alert had clearly posed the problem: the menace of communism. Now people wanted to know: "What can I, as an individual, do to fight this menace?" So Project Alert, on July 4, 1961, inaugurated a letter-writing campaign. Chairman Groner reminded his supporters that the "Communist Party can get 50,000 letters to Washington on any issue within forty-eight hours." Groner went on: "Seventy-five per cent of national legislation is initiated and promoted by special interest groups representing less than 5 per cent of our population." Now, said Groner, citizens should write letters to President Kennedy on such issues as "Berlin, Cuba and Communist China." The letters would be gathered by Project Alert and forwarded to the President. The campaign was to run for one week.

Full-page newspaper advertisements were run and radio and TV stations supported the drive. On July 11, the deadline was extended for four more days. A month later, Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D., Fla.) carried a grand total of 425 letters to Washington. Groner estimated that another 200 letters were mailed directly to the White House.

APPARENTLY this was not the answer to "What can I do?"

About this time, Senator Fulbright dropped his bomb into the *Congressional Record* on involvement of the military in rightist politics. He named Admiral Goldthwaite as supporting Navy-initiated forums, conferences and "alerts" aimed at arousing the civilian population to the dangers of communism. He also listed the Commandant of the 8th Naval District and staff, at New Orleans, as supporting the same organizations. His memorandum charged that the Navy had flown a group of community leaders from the Pensacola area to Harding College at Searcy, Ark., for "indoctrination" before Project Alert actually got under way. It noted that the Project used material from Harding College in its promotions and that Glenn Green and Dr. Clifton Ganus, both of Harding, were used as speak-

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ROBERT L. FRYE covered the Project Alert story as a newspaper reporter.

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ers on the local Navy base as well as for the Project. The memorandum further alleged that Navy personnel and civilian workers were required to attend some of the Project meetings during duty hours.

Admiral Goldthwaite, who has since been transferred from Pensacola, defended his part in the movement by saying that while his staff had held "leadership" meetings at the Naval Air Station here, he did not believe "anyone had been required to attend." He added that he had accepted a position on the Project Alert executive committee because it was a patriotic organization. "If being on the Project Alert committee is an offense of any sort," he said, "and that may be what some people are talking about, I know of no basis for accusations of any sort other than the fact that I have been opposed to communism ever since I can remember. I endorsed the program for that reason."

Concerning the flight to Harding College, Admiral Goldthwaite said he had sent a few people to the college to "see what educational material we might be able to use in our education program on the station, not *off* the station. Project Alert people went along to get the information for their own program."

WITH THE failure of the letter-writing campaign and the publicity it received from the Fulbright memorandum, interest in Project Alert began to wane. But what took most of the starch out of the program was the Berlin crisis and Kennedy's military build-up. The Communist threat was no longer something distant that could be combated by high morals and "thinking American." There were classes on survival to attend and fallout shelters to build. People just didn't have time to worry about infiltration by Communists and the decay of Americanism.

To counteract this waning interest, Project leaders set up a series of lectures by "noted" personages. The first visiting dignitary was Edward Hunter, author of *Brainwashing from Pavlov to Powers* and generally credited with invention of the word brainwashing. The final speaker on the program was Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, World War I flying ace and president of Eastern Air Lines.

More recently, the Project initiated another letter-writing drive, this one aimed at the program managers of radio and TV networks and editors of newspapers and magazines. "Newspapers and wire services are feeding the American public political garbage so slanted and biased it is an insult to common intelligence," a speaker told a local civic club. He didn't say which way the bias was directed. He added that there were only two national newspaper columnists worth reading, but failed to name them. He climaxed his speech by charging that the communications media were "publishing all of Russia's propaganda of success" and playing up not America's successes, but its failures.

There is as yet no count on the number of letters Project Alert has managed to relay to the nation's editors and broadcasters.

NEW MISSION to MOSCOW . . *by Barbara Deming*

TEAM MEMBERS of the San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace tell how sometimes in the Eastern countries a crowd at the roadside would surge out to meet them, offering flowers, singing songs, expecting from them the kind of talk about peace they were accustomed to. But then the walkers' plea for unilateral disarmament, their plea to resist as individuals the military policies of their own government, would so take people by surprise that there would be a stunned and prolonged silence.

The walk across Europe sharply dramatizes the world's dilemma. As they crossed from the Western into the Eastern world — fifteen Americans, reinforced by volunteers from eight other countries — the team literally stepped out of one perspective of events into another. In the West, fingers were always pointed East: *there* lies the trouble. Crossing the border into the Communist world, they had only to take a few steps and — as though they had walked through the looking-glass—the same image was presented to them, in reverse. All fingers pointed West: *there* lies the trouble.

In the States, the reiterated question, "Why not tell it to the Russians?" had been responsible for the *idea* of the walk. In Russia, they were asked again and again, "Why aren't you back home making your suggestions there?" In meetings in the States, their speeches sometimes brought people in the audience jumping to their feet to cry, "Communist!" The same recommendations now provoked the cry of "Fascist!"

In East as in West the fears they encountered were heartfelt, the bitter experiences cited were real. They became real enough for the walkers; as they were on foot, they covered the actual ground where certain events had taken place — passed the mass graves where the Nazis had used bulldozers to shovel the dead into the ground, spent a day at Auschwitz. At the press conference the team held when it returned home from Moscow, Bradford Lyttle, the team's coordinator in the field, warned: "One thing I would like to emphasize again and again to the United States — that is the horror with which the people of all Eastern countries view our arming of West Germany. The ultimate justification they give for their military policies is that they could take no chance of ever being invaded again by the Germans. . . ."

East and West, fears were real. But to neither East nor West were the fears of the *other* side real. When Brad Lyttle spoke to the American

BARBARA DEMING has been reporting on the peace movement periodically in The Nation.

Robert Welch of the John Birch Society addresses a rally

Rad Right - J.B.
12/10/61

"In the end, the only protection against such aberrations as the John Birch Society lies in the informed good sense of the people."

How Some Birchers Were Birched

An editor tells how simple exposure 'to the judgment of the public' checked a rising tide of John Birch Society activities in his community.

By THOMAS M. STORKE

SANTA BARBARA, Calif.

A YEAR ago Santa Barbara was sizzling with John Birch fever. Today the temperature of the body politic is almost back to normal. Why the change?

The answer is simple. The John Birch Society has been brought out of hiding. It was exposed to the judgment of the public, as it can be in every community.

It was revealed as a monolithic organization ruled with a dictatorial hand by its creator, Robert Welch, a man who sees Communists everywhere—in the White House, in the Supreme Court, in Congress, in the State Department, in our churches, schools and universities, in our press, radio and television.

It was revealed as a holding company for virulent "aginner" groups that say, as does the title of a current London show, "Stop the world; I want to get off"—groups that are against democracy; against all income taxes; against the welfare and protective activities of the Government, which it calls socialism; against our participation in the United Nations; against foreign aid; against alliances for mutual protection with NATO and SEATO nations; against organized labor; against academic freedom; even against fluoridation.

In any community, the true image of the John Birch Society can be exposed to public view—the image of its reactionary rebellion against the twentieth century, as well as the face of anti-communism which it presents to the world. It can be exposed by individuals, organizations, newspapers, radio and television stations in a joint effort for public enlightenment.

The Birchers will fight back—as is their right. But out of the debate, the public will be able to make its own judgment, based on facts and open arguments.

THIS is what happened in Santa Barbara:

More than a year ago, it became apparent that organized effort was being put behind the activities of the ever-present radical reactionary extremists. A steady pattern of attack was emerging—against school officials, particularly in the adult education field; against churchmen; against the United Nations; against university professors and administrators. Day after day, the mails brought literature vilifying the entire Supreme Court and calling particularly for the impeachment of the Chief Justice. Most of these came in envelopes bearing Robert Welch's now familiar battle cry, "This is a republic, not a democracy—let's keep it that way."

More and more, letters to the editor followed the familiar "anti" pattern. Anonymous telephone calls charging "Communist" became commonplace. Mailings to Protestant church members cast doubts on the loyalty and patriotism of their leaders.

Santa Barbarans were seeing the manifestations of organized activity, but most of our citizens did not know what was behind it—the John Birch Society. I and my newspaper, The News-Press, decided the people had a right to know about the society that was trying to influence their thinking; just as all Americans have the right to form their own opinions from a free flow of information, and the right to promote their views in a legitimate way.

ON Jan. 22 and 23, reporter Hans Engh told the Birch story in The News-Press after weeks of digging for facts. The story was told almost entirely in the *(Continued on Page 101)*

THOMAS M. STORKE, editor and publisher of The Santa Barbara News-Press, last month received the Nieman Foundation for Journalism's Lauterbach Award, given annually for outstanding work in defense of civil liberties.

How Some Birchers Were Birched

(Continued from Page 9)

words of the society, from its founder, some of its local members and its literature. Still, it brought cries of "smear" from the Birchers, and the pattern of Birch attacks continued.

SO I decided I must tell my readers what I thought of Robert Welch and his society and what they were doing to my beloved Santa Barbara. I did so in a front-page editorial on Sunday, Feb. 26, 1961, that was accompanied by a statement of democratic principles in which I believe, and which my newspaper stands for. I introduced my editorial comments with these words:

The editor and publisher of The News-Press is in his 85th year. His entire life has been spent in this community. His memory takes him back many years and his reading even further. He lived when conditions were rugged. When West was West and men were men. He lived during periods when if a man or a group of men openly by word of mouth, or the printed word, called our President, or Vice President, our Secretary of State, the President's brother, members of the Supreme Court, and others at the head of our Government traitors, they were made to answer. Such slanders often called for a visit from a courageous and irate group which brought with them a barrel of tar and a few feathers. And such instances were particularly likely to occur if the slanderer came from New England. He lived when men were considered cowards when they hid behind their women's skirts and clothed their identity through anonymity.

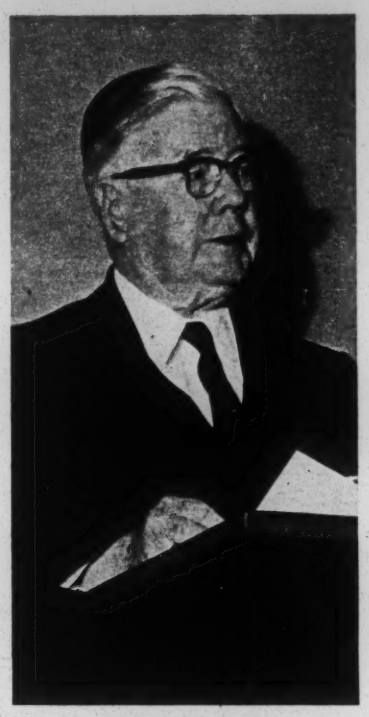
It is in the light of this background that The News-Press tells where it stands on the John Birch Society.

The results were amazing. Most remarkable was the flood of support for our anti-Birch position from the moderates, both liberals and conservatives—the people in the middle who are rarely heard from. Community leaders who had been subjected to Birch attack stood up and fought back, realizing that the newspaper and a broad segment of the public were behind them.

The air cleared and the political temperature began to drop.

WE soon learned that other communities were having similar problems. Within a few weeks we filled requests for more than 15,000 reprints of The News-Press editorials and articles. The end of such requests still has not been reached.

Birch Society tactics call for the formation of "front" groups to carry on its program in disguise. Welch's Blue Book, "bible" of the society, says on page 86: "We would organize fronts—little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts." It says further on: "We are talking about a million men, by which of course I mean men, women, and girls and boys of college age or old enough to be in the fight * * * They are there just waiting to be recruited if we can get the story to them."



Thomas M. Storke.

Last April The News-Press exposed, with documented evidence, the existence of a Birch "front" organization—the first such exposure anywhere. The "front" was called the Freedom Club, and it was set up on the campus of the University of California at Santa Barbara. It pretended to be just an organization of conservative students.

IT was far more than that, as The News-Press revealed. At least part of its financing came from the treasurer of the John Birch Society in the Santa Barbara area. The guiding hand of both the Freedom Club and campus unit of the Birch Society was a 26-year-old man—not a student—but one of Robert Welch's paid coordinators. His primary job was to help spawn John Birch units on California college campuses.

A report signed by the leader of the campus Birch unit contained these words: "It was decided to soft-pedal the societies [sic] activities and concentrate on the Freedom Club." And the minutes of a meeting of the Birch unit said, "A further point of attack shall be subtle movements in objectives and use of the Freedom Club so that attention shall not be focused on the actual society."

Nine of the fifteen members of the Freedom Club, it turned out, constituted the entire roster of the campus Birch cell. The Freedom Club was an instrument for bringing college students into the John Birch Society.

And not just college students. News-Press disclosure of the Freedom Club - Birch Society link came just after mailings had gone out to juniors and seniors of a local high school encouraging them to join the Freedom Club, without revealing its Birch parenthood.

Since The News-Press disclosed the deception, nothing more has been heard of the Freedom Club or campus Birch unit. Exposure was all that was needed.

More recently came Birch efforts to kill the UNICEF Halloween fund drive. A front-page News-Press editorial pinpointing the lies of the Birchers and setting the record straight probably was a factor in boosting this year's UNICEF collections to a total of $6,000, compared with $4,300 last year — a sizable amount for this small community.

THE John Birch philosophies have been aired so thoroughly in Santa Barbara that they have lost much of their force. Welchers and Birchers and their brethren ("I'm not a member, but . . .") continue to pressure church and school leaders. But now the overwhelming majority of Santa Barbarans—the rational moderates—take their outpourings for what they are, the unbalanced exhortations of a tiny, fanatical, highly vocal

(Continued on Following Page)

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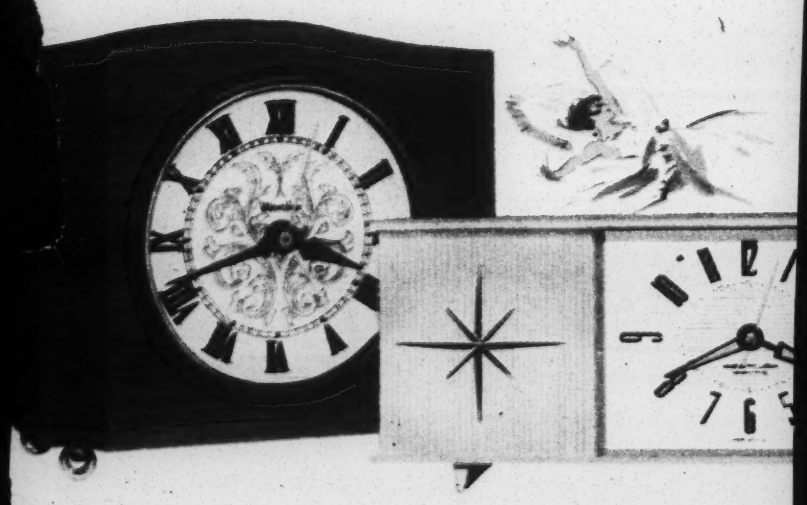

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(Continued from Preceding Page)
minority. California Attorney General Stanley Mosk has described the movement graphically as "a collection of wealthy business men, retired military officials and little old ladies in tennis shoes."

To me, Birchism—or Welchism—is a recurrence of a bad dream. My life spans eighty-five years of American history, and history has a way of repeating itself. Time and again I have seen people who should know better caught up in an emotional wave, following a leader as absurd as Robert Welch.

I RECALL a chat I had with President Roosevelt in the White House in 1934. I had just flown to Washington from Mexico City with Senator McAdoo, stopping en route in New Orleans, Jackson and Atlanta — the realms of three demagogues named Long, Bilbo and Talmadge. I was deeply concerned about their successes, so I asked Mr. Roosevelt, "How are you going to combat such menaces?"

F. D. R.'s expression turned grave. He gestured with a rotating motion of his right arm and said, "I liken these threats to an epidemic of measles. You have to let it run its course. All we can do is keep the disease in its course and hope for the best."

The epidemic of demagoguery of which Long, Bilbo and Talmadge were the images did run its course and die down, if not disappear. The Birch epidemic, of which Welch is the image, also will run its course and die down.

BUT the distressing thing to me is the fact that there still is abroad in the land a paranoia so deeply rooted that it could sustain the John Birch movement—as for years it has sustained the Ku Klux Klan through periods of bold violence and longer periods of hiding and waiting. President Truman has said, "The Birch Society is the Ku Klux Klan, without nightshirts."

The parallel between Welchism and McCarthyism is obvious. McCarthy, like Welch, fed on the paranoiac fears of his followers. But the post-McCarthy period saw the paranoia grow as communism gained new victories abroad and more and more frustrated Americans began seeing Red ghosts in every high office and under every bed.

With encouragement from Welch, a new crop of Americans began to get the idea that they could thwart communism by suspecting and smearing their neighbors, plastering the "Comsymp" label on everyone in sight and discarding our democratic heritage of free discussion of all political ideas.

Welch picked up the game where McCarthy left off, but he added refinements. He lacked the advantage of a seat in the Senate, but he more than made up for it by making sure his society was well financed and tightly organized.

Welch, as he himself boasts is not playing for peanuts. He is out to recruit 1,000,000 members. Yearly dues are $24 for men and $12 for women—which, if averaged at $18, would mean an income of $18,000,000 a year, if his dream were realized; this, without considering large contributions by wealthy fanatics.

In a letter accompanying his monthly bulletins to members, Welch makes an appeal for extra gifts, beyond the dues, and blandly adds, "We shall not go into any detailed accounting" as to how the money is used. This is a policy he has frankly followed from the first; no public accounting of receipts or expenditures.

Smart operators could do quite a bit with $18,000,000-plus a year that need not be accounted for. Smart operators are doing quite well already, on the fringes of the Birch Society and its fronts, with large fees for lectures, exposés and shock-talks to "freedom forums" or to secret study classes—delivered by reformed Reds, unemployed ex-Federal agents, columnists and commentators.

NO idea seemed too nutty for Robert Welch — even the idea that former President Eisenhower was a dedicated Communist who was working with his high-ranking partners-in-treachery to deliver us to the Russians.

Merely exposing such monstrous ideas—merely ventilating them in the public breez—is enough to bring sanit (and sometimes laughter, t be sure) into the discussion political issues. The absurdi ties fall of their own weig or continue to be held de by a minority so minute t it is more troublesome t dangerous.

No instrument can perf the exposing operation mo effectively than a newspaper. Congressional and legislative committees, sniffing the scent of subversion, have come close to launching all-out investigations of the John Birch Society. But there is potential danger in such inquiries.

A SEARCH for subversion can turn too easily into probe of political beliefs. Leg timate questioning can t easily become intimidation of witnesses who hold minority political opinions. Even a character assassin is entitled to develop his own political philosophy and put the hard sell behind it.

Similarly, a newspaper doing its duty in a democratic society is entitled to bring every political philosophy into the light of day for public ex-

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

York in The Louisville Times.

"Turn Right at Birch Tree—Continue Right at Each Intersection."

amination. It is entitled to discuss the sales technique being used, too—particularly if it is secret or semi-secret in nature—and express its own opinion about both the philosophy and the sales technique.

I don't know what the real purposes are behind the Birch facade of anti-communism and the acknowledged but de-emphasized aim of reversing the economic, social and political trends of the twentieth century in America. But it is worth pondering the possibility that the organization, unwittingly, is following a Communist-inspired line to destroy Americans' faith in their most respected leaders and institutions.

The Communists will adopt any tactic, even pseudo-anti-communism, if they see a chance to divide and weaken their enemy. And certainly the agitation and character assassination the Welchers have practiced have served only to make Americans distrust each other, undermine popular support for a strong national defense force and weaken our ties with our allies.

In the end, the only protection against such aberrations as the John Birch Society and such ridiculous leaders as Robert Welch lies in the informed good sense of the people. Air the ideas of the radical extremists, and you will find in a hurry, as we did in Santa Barbara, that the moderates—conservative and liberal—are in control.

THAT knowledge makes all the difference in the world to the church and school leaders and others who have been under attack. When they realize that they have strong support behind them, they are unlikely to buckle under pressure.

In a letter to The News-Press last April, a research associate who was studying John Birch and other extremist movements for the California Teachers Association asked, "Am I correct in noting that since there has been so much publicity * * * there have been no more open attacks—at least on schools?"

He is correct, as far as Santa Barbara is concerned. School administrators have expressed their thanks to me for bringing the Birch Society into the arena of public discussion. So have ministers of the gospel.

IF John Birch meetings are being held now in the Santa Barbara area, they have not come to the attention of The News-Press. Administrators of the University of California at Santa Barbara have noted that both the John Birch cell on the campus and its front organization, the Freedom Club, have ceased to exist. Disclosure of their activities is all that was needed. Parents and the students themselves took care of the rest.

It is true that The News-Press went a step beyond disclosure, as far as the John Birch Society in general was concerned. I spoke out editorially in plain, honest language that I don't think anyone could misunderstand.

I have published my own daily newspaper in Santa Barbara for sixty-one years. During that time I have learned at least one lesson well—that a newspaper will not be listened to or win respect if it pussyfoots in stating its editorial beliefs.

I have learned that you can't kill a rat with a feather duster.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

underdeveloped countries. An intelligent labor leader like Tom Mboya of Kenya does not interest them nearly as much as a demagogic orator like Patrice Lumumba of the Congo. The figure who has most won their imagination is Fidel Castro, who dared tweak Uncle Sam's nose, fought heroically, spoke rhetorically and dressed spectacularly. Castro suggested to these young radicals the possibility of a politics that was not yet functionally rationalized, and meanwhile they neglected to notice that it had become totalitarian. They were drawn to figures like Lumumba and Castro out of a distaste for the mania for industrial production which the Soviet Union shares with the United States, but they failed to see that these leaders of underdeveloped countries, who seemed attractive because they represented spontaneity and anarchic freedom, were themselves fascinated by precisely the same mania for industrial production.

"Such moods among the young were both encouraging and frustrating for the Communists. Encouraging, because for the first time in some years there is accessible to them a small milieu in which to function with at least some freedom. Frustrating, because they cannot really take organizational advantage of this fact. The old Leftists are tired, the 'progressives' too distant or cautious, the pacifists too sophisticated or suspicious. And the young radicals are too indifferent to traditional leftist politics even to consider the CP a serious option—for if they oppose efforts to persecute the Communists, they usually have no hesitation in brushing them aside. All the CP can do, then, is to wait." ("New Styles in Fellow-Traveling," *Dissent,* Autumn 1961)

Rad

IRRESPONSIBLES ON THE RIGHT AND LEFT

A Harper's *columnist looks at the ultra-Conservatives and suggests that the ultra-Liberals should keep out of the fight to contain them (see* Current, *October 1961, page 54).*

William S. White

"An aberrant and unique Right-wing movement is on the rise in this country. While it calls itself Conservative, it confronts true Conservatism, far more than any other view of life, with a still-distant but potentially serious challenge.

"It requires some calm and clinical analysis. But such analysis should come last of all from the throbbing ultra-Liberals, some of whom have in fact helped to start this prairie fire. For all we need to set off a big and nasty blaze indeed is for frenetic Liberals to rush into this area. Their capacity for auto-ignition is no less high than that of the New Rightwingism—which is not, of course, 'Conservative' at all. For the moment, I refer to these people as the 'Reactionary Irresponsibles,' and to certain ultra-Liberals as the 'Precious Irresponsibles.' . . .

"Since the job of inquiring into the New Rightwingism should fall to the moderately Conservative, and since I consider myself more or less in that category, I offer the following observations. For I believe that the task is now imperative. I have long held the view that all such aberrations, whether from Far Left or Far Right, should be met to the last possible moment by a conspiracy of silence. If ignored, often they will at length go away; if widely commented upon, often they will only wax upon notoriety. But it is plain that this aberration isn't going away.

"What is developing here is a political nihilism far more complex and sophisticated than any we have known in my lifetime. Its anger—and anger is the core of its motivating force—is large and ill-defined rather than

narrow and all too defined as in the past. It is not caused by racial malice, nor by religious hate, as was the Ku Klux Klan movement of the Twenties. Again, it does not feed specifically and solely upon fear of communism, as did the McCarthyism of the late Forties and early Fifties.

"Nor is it 'anti-intellectual' in the sense that it scorns those who read much and write well. On the contrary it both values and makes use of these pursuits, these talents. This is no Know-Nothingism, nor can it be defined fairly as a hate movement. It cannot be said to appeal to one social or economic class at the expense of, or in hostility to, another.

"For the anger of the New Rightwingism is directed not against race or religion or class but against the whole nature of the world in which we live. It rejects the whole present—not merely that part of the present which all sensible men would like to reject: the aggressive international communism that arrogantly threatens all that we have and are. The New Rightwingism does not merely—and rightly—deplore softness toward communism; it also recoils from rational recognition that these threats are terrible realities. Thus it demands that the West give no inch to Soviet imperialism—and at the same time bitterly condemns every practical step to prepare resistance, as, for example, foreign aid. It obstructs a program for arming Turkish, Belgian, French, and Italian soldiers (as well as our own) to fight Communists if need be—and also suggests that the sponsors of such programs are practically Communists, or at the very least 'pinkish.'

"The new Far Right questions the value of America's association with neutrals (whether these be Soviet stooges or merely such as Nehru's India). It also fiercely challenges our association with long-proved Allies, some of whom, notably Britain, have given more lives in fighting against totalitarianism, proportionately to national population, than we have.

"It does not merely object—and rightly, in my view—to vast and dubious welfare programs at a time when the one big welfare problem of this country is its physical safety in the Cold War. It objects to *all* programs, good, bad, or indifferent, which would cost any money at all. In this sense, the New Rightwingism has a marvelous impartiality: Its rain of disapproval falls equally on the just and the unjust—and on every shade between. It is, at bottom, against planning itself, simply as a concept, even planning for a hard line against communism. Or, more exactly, it is simply against government itself. . . .

The Reactionary Irresponsibles

"How did these people, these Reactionary Irresponsibles, get that way? It is a difficult question, and I do not delude myself that I can give clear or comprehensive answers. It is possible, however, to offer some provisional and partial answers. The mind turns at once, of course, to the Cold War and the Atomic Era; to the fact that this is the uneasiest in all the ages of man. McCarthyism unquestionably fed in part upon a national disillusion that the Second World War had not brought that world-wide peace and freedom for which so many had hoped. The Communists took China; in many other places they were sweeping forward.

"A people convinced, absurdly, that the war would solve most everything (FDR's Four Freedoms and all that) now found that it seemed to have solved little. *Our* national motives had been truly generous. So the Communist advance obviously was the work of evil men on our own side, of traitors. This state of mind . . . caused a far uglier Rightwingism than that which now we face in the Sixties. The New Rightwingism has not—at least not yet—gone in for wholesale character assassination, or for piecemeal destruction of the Bill of Rights.

"All the same, though the danger now is less acute, the problem is more

complex. For this movement has no easily identifiable leader, or leaders, or any easily identifiable aims. This is another way of saying that it is largely spontaneous, self-generating, and that it is in truth a 'grass-roots' affair as anonymous as that term suggests. It protests against not one or two policies or situations, but many: it is as bellicose toward any extension of the medical-care system for Americans as it is toward the extension of Soviet communism.

"The fact that it has no chosen victims—such as religious or racial minorities—is, of course, welcome. Still this very circumstance promotes the anonymity which nearly rules out the traditional techniques of opposition: first, identification, then exposure, of leaders; then argumentation against them. Men in public life hear from many of the Reactionary Irresponsibles as individuals, true enough, as do those of us who write for national publication. But in each such case, one tends to feel he is in communication with somebody who is a Follower of a True Believer, but not with the True Believer himself.

The Precious Irresponsibles

"Again, the letters one receives from these Reactionaries are both like and unlike those from the Precious Irresponsibles, that is, the Rather-Red-Than-Dead people. The venom from both sources is about the same, if perhaps rather more expertly distilled in that from the professional ultra-Liberal. But—and here is the distinction—the Reactionary Irresponsibles do not, and probably cannot, clearly disclose the source or sources of their twisted philosophy. Nor do they maintain any reasonably consistent theme.

"A fellow knows immediately what kind of mind is engaging him when he is dealing with the Precious Irresponsibles. This is exactly the sort of mind which in the late Thirties held that Hitler Germany and Chamberlain Britain were about equally evil—until Hitler Germany invaded the sacred soil of the Soviet Union. That mind now takes the line, if more cautiously, that there is not really much to choose between the motives and purposes of John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev. It goes into transports of rage when we resume nuclear testing. When Khrushchev resumed it, and acting first at that, this was passed off as a kind of inevitable act of Soviet self-defense, or something of the sort.

"But the mind of the Reactionary Irresponsibles on this same issue is incapable either of such sophistry or such practical concentration on an objective. The Precious Irresponsibles work, consciously or not, toward a situation favorable to imperial policies of the Soviet Union. The Reactionary Irresponsibles, consciously or not, work toward an irrational objective that can only be described as the slow destruction of the power and unity of the United States, in most any field you could name.

"In summary, they are in angry flight not simply from the Atomic Age, not simply from the Cold War, not simply from disillusion, but from current life itself and from all of its intractable realities and unavoidable restraints—from taxes and tonsillitis to the military draft, from communism to overcrowded schools and highways and crime and punishment. This is not merely Brogan's devil hunt of past decades; this is the destructive withdrawal of children from the playground which persists in being different, in every way, from a playground of their illusions.

"For the Reactionary Irresponsibles have no heroes at all, though some superficial observers may say otherwise. For example, the leader of the traditional Right in this country, Senator Barry Goldwater, is not *their* leader. On the contrary, Goldwater is himself the recipient of some of their mail of denunciation. However wrongheaded he may be, he is a decent and responsible politician. Since they had already begun attacking such a

politician as Richard M. Nixon as intolerably 'soft' on communism, welfarism, foreign aid, spending, or whatever, one can say with reasonable certainty that Goldwater's head will be next on their block.

"So, just as the responsible Liberals have long suffered the curse of involuntary association with the Precious Irresponsibles, the responsible ultra-Conservatives such as Goldwater now fall under the course of involuntary association with the Reactionary Irresponsibles. Labels are tiresome things; but they *do* have some meaning. At present there are six main political divisions involving the terms 'Liberal' and 'Conservative.' There is Conservatism in the true and classic sense, as typified by the late Senator Robert Taft. There is ultra-Conservatism in the acceptable if myopic sense, as typified by Goldwater. And there are the Reactionary Irresponsibles. At the other end of the spectrum there is responsible Liberalism, as typified by people like Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey and Dean Rusk. There is acceptable if woolly Liberalism, as typified by such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. And there are the Precious Irresponsibles, who are either crypto-Communists or unwittingly in communism's service.

The role of responsible Conservatism

"The New Rightwingism offers the greatest peril to Conservatism itself if only because Conservatism has here the most to lose. It is Conservatism's historic role to defend *ordered* liberty; and the New Rightwingism menaces that most of all. Moreover, in my view at least, it is Conservatism's historic and unique obligation to defend that most vital requisite to ordered liberty, the maintenance of public and private responsibility. This is so, as I see it, because Liberalism, even the decent Liberalism of which I have spoken, does not always apprehend the deep meaning of responsibility, perhaps because of its preoccupation with another good but not synonymous concept called reform.

"The inside story of the breaking of Joseph R. McCarthy illustrated that point. It was Conservatism that condemmed McCarthy at last, in the Senate and then in the country. The well-meant exertions of Liberalism in the end did more harm than good. For in their understandable zeal, the Liberals wanted to convict McCarthy in the Senate without a hearing. The Conservatives were only barely able to avoid this unfair action; instead they caused the appointment of a select committee which, in full due process, brought about the censure.

"I have not idly selected the epithet 'Irresponsibles' for the new Reactionary Irresponsibles—nor for the Precious Irresponsibles, either. I consider it an accusation of rare gravity, which in the most precise way describes their mortal offense against our political system. The single greatest domestic curse of our times is precisely this—irresponsibility. It is this which we need to fear more than subversion and treason.

"For irresponsibility runs amok with a vague and terrible strength, terrible because it cannot be identified and mastered. It is not manifested always in such shabby Bircher talk as suggesting that Dwight Eisenhower didn't really wish to defeat communism. It is sometimes manifested in guilt-by-association techniques from the Left as well as the Right. There is, for illustration, the notion spread by some in recent months that the whole of the military establishment, the whole of the 'military mind,' ought to be held suspect because some officers held or spread Right-wing political views. Whoever irresponsibly contributes, in such an hour as this, to an unfair and generalized attack on the military services is completing a dreadful act of discredit which the New Rightwingism itself began—by putting its unwelcome embrace upon those services." ("The New Irresponsibles," *Harper's*, November 1961)

Read Right Now.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE
Suite 909
79 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

EMERGENCY APPEAL 31 October 1962

FROM: Edward V. Rickenbacker; Admiral Ben Moreell; Charles Edison; William F. Buckley, Jr.; James Burnham

RE: Preservation of the Monroe Doctrine

At 8 a.m. this morning, we met in emergency session to undertake the organization of The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine and to draft the attached Statement which sets forth our views and expresses our deep concern over the dangerous concessions offered by President Kennedy to Premier Khrushchev regarding Cuba.

The Administration's propaganda machine is working overtime to present the so-called Cuba settlement as a great Kennedy victory and a stunning Communist defeat. In fact, the exact reverse is true. Khrushchev is now firmly entrenched in Cuba and Communism on that island is guaranteed against attack from any quarter by the President of the United States. We believe it is imperative to register a public protest—and quickly—or we will lose the ball game by default.

We are telegraphing our Statement to hundreds of candidates for Federal office requesting their endorsement. We plan to release the Statement and its endorsers to the press immediately.

We hope you will see fit to join with us in endorsing our Statement and becoming a charter member of The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine by writing or wiring us your acceptance. We call on you to do your utmost to publicize this effort in every way possible. Further, we ask you to immediately approach all candidates running for Federal office in your district and state to take a stand on this issue by endorsing the enclosed Statement.

If we are to proceed with this undertaking, we must have funds in hand. We call on you to wire or air-mail us your maximum financial pledge and/or contribution at once so that we may effectively plan just how far we can go in the critical days before November 6.

Time is truly of the essence. This is an historic moment and the Nation is in critical danger. We hope you will join with us in what we consider an enterprise of transcendent urgency.

Please make your check payable to The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine and mail it to the above address.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

1. President Kennedy assured the United States on April 18, 1961, that at the very least our government would not tolerate the arming of Cuba with offensive weapons.

2. We never doubted the President would be true to his word, and endorse his recent ultimatum to the Soviet Union insofar as it faced up to the problem of Cuba's offensive military potential. However,

3. The President has apparently guaranteed the Soviet Union that in return for dismantling the missile bases the United States will guarantee that Cuba will not be invaded.

4. But the Monroe Doctrine declares that the United States will not permit the imposition by any foreign power of its "system" in any nation in the Western Hemisphere.

5. Therefore, the Presidential guarantee would appear to amount to a guarantee that Cuba will, without forcible interference by the United States, be permitted to remain as a Communist colony and therefore as a base for the continued political and psychological subversion of other nations in this hemisphere: i.e., that Khrushchev's control over Cuba, including an arsenal of tanks, MIG fighters and bombers, radar anti-aircraft batteries, and a "fishing fleet" in Havana harbor—is underwritten in effect by the President of the United States.

6. This renunciation of the Monroe Doctrine—the key defensive doctrine of this nation—should not be sanctioned without a Congressional debate.

7. WE THEREFORE CALL on all members of Congress and all persons running for Congress to pledge to consider the President's guarantee as given to Chairman Khrushchev on Sunday, October 28, immediately upon the convocation of the 88th Congress in January, 1963. And we call upon the members of that Congress there to RESOLVE:

8. That the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine continues to be an essential plank of American foreign policy.

30 October 1962

A Case History

Progressive 11/62

Freedom Under Fire

by WILLIAM BOTWRIGHT

Radical Rights

THE JOB I took last November with the Contra Costa *Times* was my first one as editor. The *Times* is a flourishing tri-weekly in the pleasant bedroom town of Walnut Creek, just east of Oakland, California. I was enjoying my new role, and thought I might stay.

But I had not counted on Dr. Drummond J. McCunn, superintendent of the Contra Costa Junior College District, which operates two campuses supported by a county tax levy and governed by a locally-elected board. Shortly after I arrived in Walnut Creek, McCunn launched an energetic assault upon what he perceived to be the Communist conspiracy that eventually cost me my new job, and ultimately cost him his.

McCunn's concern about subversion first came to public attention during a state conference of college superintendents in San Francisco, where he warned that red-blooded Americanism had been "washed out" of textbooks and that many were now "slanted toward socialism." As evidence, he pointed out that the more truculent sayings of Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale had been inexcusably excised.

McCunn, a former physical education instructor, reported he had been researching for years on collectivist "brainwashing" of American youth. Asked for an example, he cited a school songbook standard which begins "Swing the shining sickle. . . ."

"You drip, drip through the hammer and sickle—the words of Lenin," he said by way of expanding upon the devilish subtlety of it all.

A reporter familiar with the song observed it was no more than an innocent bucolic hymn to the American Thanksgiving, written twenty years before the Russian Revolution when the sickle was used, in Kansas as in the Ukraine, to cut grain. This did not faze McCunn. It just shows, he said, how long the collectivists have been up to their sinister stratagems.

The character of McCunn's scholarship was best disclosed in a list of sources appended to the text of his speech. It was a who's who of the lunatic fringe in education—John T. Flynn, E. Merrill Root, Anthony Bouscaren, Veritas, America's Future, the Daughters of the American Revolution. Also listed were a pamphlet by veteran anti-Semite Merwin K. Hart and a "speech on psychopolitics by Lavrenti Beria" fabricated by Kenneth Goff, a lieutenant of Gerald L. K. Smith.

It was McCunn's embrace of the John Birch Society, however, that made headlines throughout California. He said the Society was putting up a gallant fight against the Communist menace.

I editorially challenged McCunn and the Birch approach to Communism, but then dismissed the matter until one of my reporters turned in a rousing account of a meeting of the board of governors of McCunn's college district. Teachers and citizens had demanded that board members divorce themselves from McCunn's approval of Birchism. (Only William Kretzmer, the board chairman, did.) There were highly-charged ideological wrangles between a delegation of labor union spokesmen and a detachment of Birchers.

Almost lost in the shouting were two disturbing revelations:

The first was that McCunn had been hunting closer to home. He had told a Richmond newspaper that two texts and some teachers in his own district were pumping socialist notions into students contrary to California law. But he would not say which texts or what teachers.

The second was that seventy per cent of his outraged faculty had voted that he be fired.

I then wrote in an editorial that public, unsupported charges of subversion were not only unprofessional but pure McCarthyism. I also observed that the crushing faculty censure demonstrated clearly that something in the administration of the college district was seriously wrong.

When I covered the next college board meeting, I learned that to cry "Red" is still a reliable device for making your way in the Golden West. McCunn demanded that newly-selected texts be sifted once again for subversive content. He had never be-

fore mentioned his misgivings about textbooks to the board. Perhaps in fear of being thought "soft on Communism," three board members meekly voted acquiescence over chairman Kretzmer's protest.

A revealing incident occurred then. An elderly woman stepped up to denounce as degenerate *The Shape of English,* a textbook by faculty member Richard Worthen, used for years at the Concord junior college campus. A John Birch Society member moved through the audience handing out copies of the book. Kretzmer said he would tolerate no such attacks without advance notice, and silenced the critic. A Birch member rose angrily and told Kretzmer to "shut up." Birchers and labor union spokesmen shouted at each other.

When I called Worthen following the meeting, he charged that McCunn had conspired with a pressure group to ambush the board with a surprise attack on his book, a recent edition of which contains a comment by a state official critical of the "pathetic" Birchers. It made a good story, and a scoop, for the *Times.*

A few days later McCunn spoke to 700 students at one of the two junior college campuses. I reported in the *Times* that he had embraced the Birchers again: McCunn had promoted the Fred Schwarz anti-Communist crusade, then playing in Oakland; he had handed out Merwin K. Hart's nonsense that the "One Worlders" were scheming to station Irish Catholic troops in California; he had refused to say what he thought of Adolph Hitler. In an editorial entitled *"McCunn Shows his True Colors"* I called him a peddler of extremism of the most pernicious kind.

A storm of letters and telephone calls, obviously organized, broke upon the *Times.* Some said I was soft on Communism and others bluntly called me a Communist.

I ignored it all and kept digging into the Worthen book affair. A student had asked McCunn at the meeting if he had bought the ninety copies of *The Shape of English* passed out during the attack at the college board meeting. McCunn denied that he had. I was able, however, to turn up a sales slip from the college bookstore, dated the day before the affair. It listed ninety copies of *The Shape of English* and was signed by Drummond J. McCunn.

Meanwhile, telephone calls from advertisers started pouring into the newspaper office. Customers, the advertisers reported in dismay, had been threatening to boycott them because they advertised in a paper assailing McCunn. Jim Hughes, the newspaper's manager, became alarmed. When he read the text of my editorial, written for that day's edition, stating that the *Times* would not be bullied into silence, he telephoned the publisher, Dean Lesher, who lives in another town. On the basis of Hughes' description of the editorial, Lesher killed it.

I did not argue then, but when Hughes strode into the office just before deadline and killed my exclusive story about the sales slip, I resigned immediately in protest against clear suppression of news.

Hearing of the incident, the San Francisco *Chronicle* front-paged my resignation and the sales-slip story. Scores of letters poured into the *Times,* most of them supporting my position. The *Times* backed down sheepishly, and ran not only the suppressed news story but the editorial as well—over my signature.

Even though my resignation stood, I stayed in Walnut Creek for a couple of weeks before going on to another job. First, I wanted to nail down the facts in the McCunn case. I had observed that they were liable to be brushed aside as subversive propaganda if they were unfavorable to McCunn. So I put together a brief of minutes, transcripts, and photostats which told without adjectives just what McCunn had said and done. This brief was reproduced in quantity and it served as an anchor for a program to counter McCunn and his supporters.

Meanwhile, the junior college teachers had united against McCunn for the first time in the thirteen years of his tenure. They hired a lawyer and demanded an investigation. There was such a community uproar that the college district board had no choice but to consent. The body which took on the probe was the Personnel Standards Commission of the California Teachers Association, made up of administrators, teachers, and board members, whose role it is to guard against abuse of the profession.

Achieving an investigation was half the battle. There remained the malleable stuff of public opinion, and the McCunn faction had been hammering expertly upon it. Members of Birch Society chapters and other backers of extremist causes formed a pressure group, seemingly well-financed, called the Parents and Taxpayers for Better Education. This group championed McCunn with briefs and delegations to the college board, letters and advertisements in newspapers, telephone campaigns, outside "expert" speakers, reprints, and smear sheets. McCunn's supporters steadfastly maintained the issue was one of loyalty. The choice, one of them declared, was "between this great, patriotic American, Drummond McCunn, and a bunch of leftist teachers of questionable backgrounds."

The line their propaganda took was that the investigating panel was a kangaroo court rigged by the profession's entrenched "progressives" and "collectivists" to pillory a man courageous enough to disagree with them. We were fearful that the McCunn partisans might intimidate the college board into sweeping the investigating panel's report out of sight. This was not an unreasonable view, because it had happened before. It is a measure of McCunn's influence that two earlier investigation reports highly critical of him, one in 1959 and another in 1961, had been quietly shelved.

This danger made it clear that responsible citizens would have to take action to prevent such an event from occurring again. I suggested to a few people that we organize for action. The response was revealing. From all parts of the county came people who were troubled and angry about what was happening to their junior col-

leges. They included a banker, a chemist, educators, clergymen, lawyers, Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals.

A committee was formed called the Friends of the Junior Colleges. With housewife Dorothy Powell as gadfly, the Friends served notice they would tolerate no tampering with facts and no smothering of findings. They worked effectively to inform the public of what had been happening in the colleges.

The Teachers Association investigating panel convened without delay. McCunn spurned repeated invitations to testify. Some 130 other witnesses—teachers, administrators, and laymen—told what they knew.

The McCunn faction worked overtime during the weeks between the closing of the hearings and the investigating panel's report. In one gambit, McCunn told newspaper reporters the district was in danger of losing a million dollars in state grants because the curriculum did not meet state requirements in the teaching of American ideals. College board chairman Kretzmer checked with state authorities and found this purported danger was an invention; there had been no suggestion of withholding state funds. He rebuked McCunn at the next meeting of the college board. A band of McCunn partisans, nevertheless, demanded the floor for an "expert analysis" of subversive elements in the curriculum. The "experts" included a number of veteran far Rightists from nearby Oakland and San Francisco.

The college board refused to be intimidated. The McCunn group trooped out, announcing a rival meeting in a building nearby. Students who went along to question the McCunn supporters' "analyses" were shouted down, pushed into chairs, and even spat upon.

In early May, the investigating panel's report was released to the college board and to the press. The report destroyed what was left of the McCunn cause. The San Francisco *Chronicle* termed it "one of the most scathing criticisms ever made of an educator." The report largely ignored McCunn's Birch statements on the grounds that he could *say* whatever he pleased. But in what he had *done* the report found enough to brand him incompetent, dictatorial, boorish, Machiavellian, and ignorant.

"Where the superintendent should be the chief spokesman and leader of public education," the report stated, "he has become its chief critic and focus of discord," creating a condition "deplorable, disastrous, and beyond all hope of being restored to an acceptable level."

The report reviewed a dozen years of turmoil and an astonishing array of charges: McCunn had been guilty of changing students' grades, countermanding administrators (thirty-four had resigned in twelve years), running secret "security checks" on teachers, using faculty "informers and fomentors of discord," publicly humiliating employes, expressing racial and religious prejudice, handing out propaganda in the schools, and using college district postage for anti-Communist crusade promotion. How could all this have gone on for so long? Obviously, the report said, McCunn had deftly insulated and "courted" a college board "grossly remiss in its responsibilities."

The report demanded McCunn's resignation. He refused to resign. The college board then voted four to one to fire him.

The uproar has subsided now. The colleges are now functioning without McCunn, and the teachers are free to return to the real problems of education. Contra Costa County rallied in time to save its junior colleges.

But this upheaval is just one of scores that have broken out across the land. In many school districts bewildered citizens have recovered from initial disarray only to find the battle lost, books banished, and teachers silenced. School boards, in the absence of strong and timely public backing, frequently capitulate to extremist pressures mantled in aggressive anti-Communism.

Nor can the press always be counted upon to resist. News media in a distressing number of cases have proven incompetent, indifferent, cowardly, or shamelessly irresponsible.

Teachers, board members, Parent Teacher Associations, and citizens would do well to appraise themselves in detail of the purposes, organization, strategy, and tactics of extremism on the Right. The John Birch Society and numerous similar organizations have mobilized their members and sympathizers into disciplined guerrilla units using "dirty tactics" unabashedly borrowed by Robert Welch from the Communists and the Fascists. Every school system must be on the alert to such attacks, and repel them, for the Right has borrowed goals as well as tactics from the totalitarians they purport to fight.

There is a glowing light in true education, and in democracy itself, which the adherents to the Right cannot endure. It is something frequently on their lips, but rarely in their hearts.

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cans for Democratic Action—now refuse to register under the act because they say influencing legislation is not their "principal purpose."

Chief Justice of the United States Earl Warren made it clear in explaining the Court's ruling that the court did not mean to kill the effectiveness of the law. In fact, he said that the ability of elected representatives to "properly evaluate... pressures" was important to a "full realization of the American ideal of government." But the Court's ruling did kill the act as an effective instrument. Today the Registration of Lobbying Act is a farce. It provides little information, and even that is misleading and inaccurate.

Organizations and individuals register only voluntarily. If a notorious lobbyist fails to register no one is assigned to tell him he must. Some 6,000 have registered, but the total number of lobbyists probably is at least twice that number. Organizations which do register decide for themselves what expenses they are going to list, and there is no one to challenge them.

The expenses of the American Medical Association in lobbying against the hospital care for the aged program have been estimated on the floor of the House at more than $7,000,000. The AMA's *reported* lobbying expenses have been less than $200,000. One of the AMA's lobbyists listed his expenses for "travel, food, lodging and entertainment" for a three-month period during the height of the campaign at fifty cents.

The reports on file under this toothless act give no indication at all of the scope or nature of the massive lobbying campaigns conducted in 1962 by the U.S. Savings and Loan League against withholding or of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association campaign against the drug bill.

These are only the most obvious shortcomings of the act. The law does not even pretend to cover lobbying among executive agencies where, in an age of big government, many key decisions are made. Most of the nation's big defense contractors, for example, who maintain plush Washington offices in part to lobby for defense contracts, do not bother to register under the act. They do not work primarily with Congress, but rather rove the corridors of the Pentagon. Yet this is where the big money goes today. Dr. Frances Kelsey reported dozens of attempts by drug manufacturers to influence her executive-branch decisions on thalidomide. These activities are not covered under the act.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company was granted a virtual monopoly in space communications by the Administration and Congress, a deal on which it will make millions. Yet AT&T solemnly insists that it did no lobbying to obtain that legislation. One would have to be naive indeed to accept that as fact, yet no citizen or member of Congress can readily prove what AT&T did.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the lobbying picture is the fact that an act is on the books, and stories regularly emanate from Washington identifying so-called big lobby spenders, as they are listed in existing records. This creates the impression that lobbying is regulated and that relatively accurate reports are made, when in reality lobbying is almost completely unregulated and the reports made are a joke.

In a day when each great American political party seeks to follow a "middle road" in politics, each party vies for support from great commercial and business interests. Neither wants to offend them. Politicians of each party find it convenient to ignore the weakness of the lobbying law—and can have some confidence that those of the opposite party are equally willing to ignore it.

The loser is the citizen, for he is rendered helpless in his efforts to protect himself and further the public interest against the well-organized, free-wheeling, big-spending lobbyists.

Bad Rights Dem

The Devil and Dean Manion

by BURTON MOORE

AT FIRST the Dean's voice conveys warmth and authority as it comes over the radio into more than a million American homes each Sunday night. He sounds the very model of an educator and jurist, gravely concerned with the fate of the republic, with freedom in the American tradition. Then the voice sharpens with urgency as it intones its ominous warnings: freedom is betrayed, liberty is compromised, this nation is ravished by greed, conspiracy, and malice. A moment later, politics becomes theology, and we hear how the Communists muster the legions hostile to God, while Lucifer, the root cause of all the trouble, stalks the land unchallenged.

This astonishing mixture of extreme Right doctrine and fundamentalist theology is broadcast weekly by Clarence E. Manion over more than 250 radio stations across the land. A leading citizen of South Bend, Indiana, Mr. Manion is a banker, lawyer, lecturer, John Birch Society councilor, and, most important, for prestige purposes, a former dean of the Law School of Notre Dame University. He speaks (or in-

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The Progressive

troduces a Rightist guest) every week on the Manion Forum, a radio program now in its eighth year. Behind the scenes of the Manion Forum is a dingy studio on Chicago's near north side, a staff of free-lance copywriters, a highly mechanized mailing operation in South Bend, and the hopes and cash support of many American businessmen.

Ultimately, it is the businessmen who are duped the most. The Manion Forum now costs more than $10,000 a week. To raise this formidable sum, letters of solicitation pour out of South Bend at a rate of 100,000 a week. Usually they bear such earthy salutations as, "DEAR FELLOW-AMERICAN ON HOT SEAT OF WORRY." Occasionally, in a comedy vein, a letter begins: "DEAR FELLOW-AMERICAN WHO DOESN'T KNOW WHERE THE BODY IS BURIED." Then follows a shameless defamation of whatever groups or agencies Mr. Manion feels might be worrying businessmen at the time. In the spring, the income tax is a favorite topic. In June, the Dean worries about liberal influences on college graduates. In the fall, he laments that many businessmen must answer long and complicated government questionnaires.

The Dean's special style favors lurid adjectives: "the Marxist income tax," "the silk-gloved hand of the grasping bureaucracy," "the poisonous breath of campus liberalism," "creeping Welfare-State socialists," and other purple phrases. The hot breath of the Kremlin blows across the businessman's desk as he is urged to invest in a counterattack. In the last paragraph comes the hook: "Please make check payable to Mr. Charles H. Beutter, St. Joseph Bank and Trust Company, South Bend, Indiana."

In the early days of the Forum any small contribution was welcome. When it developed that too many businessmen were buying only five dollars worth of Dean Manion's brand of insurance, the letters began to ask for bigger money. "Corporate support normally ranges from $100 to $5,000," the letters now say. Whenever possible, Manion uses the letterheads and signatures of his corporate friends. A businessman who sells to corporate backers of the Dean, and who receives an appeal of this sort, is hardly able to refuse. The pressure for contributions is so naked and so inescapable that the Chicago office of the Internal Revenue Service now rules that such contributions by suppliers are reasonable and legitimate "sales expenses" and therefore deductible.

The Forum's yearly receipts are not known, but its expenses (including the endless and costly task of raising money) cannot run less than $600,000 a year by the most conservative estimate. They may run as high as a million dollars, but, happily for the Dean, among the Forum's supporters are some sizable firms, including Burny Brothers, a large Chicago bakery; the General Finance Corporation; Thomas McDonald & Company, a Chicago investment firm; Van Camp Hardware & Iron Company, Indianapolis, Indiana; Technicolor, Inc., in California; and the Kohler Company of Wisconsin, manufacturer of plumbing fixtures, which also provides the services of its president, Herbert V. Kohler, for an occasional guest appearance on the Forum.

Sometimes the Dean sounds like the Reverend Billy James Hargis, or Robert H. W. Welch, the founder of the John Birch Society, or any other Super-Rightist. But there are three major differences between Manion and these other leaders which may have significant consequences if the extreme Right gains more political power.

First, Dean Manion is a reputable and important figure in Indiana politics and education. He began to teach history and government at Notre Dame in 1919, and then trained nearly a generation of young lawyers as Dean of the Law School from 1941 to 1952. The Dean plumped for both America First, the pre-World War II anti-interventionist movement, and the so-called Bricker Amendment, a constitutional amendment proposed by the late conservative Republican Senator John Bricker of Ohio which was designed to limit severely executive power in foreign affairs. In 1956 he split with the "International Socialists" in the Republican Party and tried to organize enough Indiana delegates to nominate Senator Robert A. Taft for President. He served briefly on one of the numerous commissions of the Eisenhower Administration and on the Indiana State Board of Education. Today Manion is a banker, something of a conservative authority on constitutional law, and a widely sought lecturer. He is also one of the twenty-eight national councilors of the John Birch Society.

Secondly, the objectives of the Manion Forum are deeply rooted in Midwestern conservatism, in a traditional plea for "small government." The Dean considers big Federal government useful only if it is "controlled, harnessed, checked, balanced, and restrained." Accordingly, any real or fancied encroachment on states' rights infuriates him. He would stop this "creeping bureaucracy," just as many other Midwestern politicians would, by strict enforcement of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, the "states' rights" section of the Bill of Rights. Strictly and literally applied in the Manion spirit, the Amendment would prohibit such follies as American participation in the International Covenant on Human Rights, a document which the Dean assures us is "a vital part of a well-financed, diabolically-determined drive to sink our singular constitutional system in a mad merger with Old World despotism."

Dean Manion makes other familiar Rightist demands, including immediate repeal of the Federal income tax and an immediate and clear-cut victory in the Cold War. How the latter can be achieved without Federal money, or without a thermonuclear holocaust, is never explained. He is quite clear, however, concerning action against the "labor bosses." Anti-trust action, anti-monopoly laws, and a flat prohibition of industry-wide bargaining will curb labor, the Dean assures us. His rationale is a simple exercise in theology and Manion logic: like the sex motive, God created the profit motive for man's happiness. It is plain to any man in busi-

ness that profits are endangered by the "labor bosses." Therefore, runs the inference, labor violates the divine plan.

The Manion Forum also is pledged to the death of the United Nations, which is not only soft-headed and infiltrated by Communists, but also interferes with certain constitutional rights. In his statement of aims and program, the Dean phrases his objection in a manner calculated to please both worried businessmen and conservative constitutional lawyers: "The power to make tariffs and foreign trade regulations is exercised by international bodies in defiance of the Constitution."

Broadcast from a region of sub-surface isolationism, the Dean's language conforms to what many want to hear. It is traditional, as sociologist Daniel Bell has pointed out, for the Midwest to look for powerful devils in international affairs. Because foreign policy is frequently a proper subject for moral discourse and Christian absolutes, the Dean's outcries of betrayal, conspiracy, subversion, and anti-Godism are in tune with the fiery cliches of Indiana politics. He is much less interested in the handiwork of Adlai Stevenson than in the handiwork of the true enemy of the people: Lucifer, who has taken earthly shape as Communism and big government. "The tragedy now is that Lucifer is winning his race against Christianity," the Dean told his radio audience on one occasion. "This is an all-out struggle with Hell."

With the aid of such demonology, the diverse hues of international affairs are woven into patterns of stark black-and-white, or rather, red-and-white. Again and again, Mr. Manion reminds his radio listeners and his lecture audiences that Communism is materialism, which is activated atheism, which is Lucifer. The formula works just as well in reverse, and is used to diagnose and solve all sorts of problems. In the Congo, we must remember that Moise Tshombe is a second-generation Christian; hence, he is on our side and we should be on his. As for Angola, we must remember that it is, after all, a part of Christian Portugal, and,

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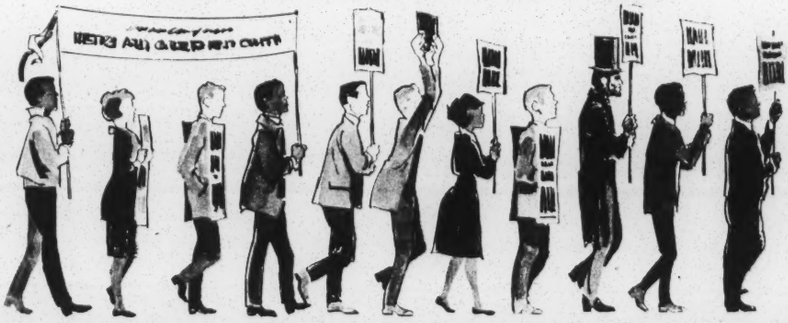

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therefore, is in godly hands. This view of politics as a series of simple moral and chauvinistic choices pervades Manion's entire philosophy.

The third and most significant difference between the Manion Forum and its competitors on the Radical Right is that the Forum is directed with a high degree of professional skill. In charge of all communications is a former film salesman, Emmett Mellenthin, who now heads Creative Productions, Inc., of Chicago. "We think of the Forum as sort of Republican and patriotic," says Mr. Mellenthin. His aides in Chicago are Leo Cummins and Tom Sitkiewicz, both television and film producers recently employed on two of his clients' television shows, "Playboy Penthouse" and "International Cafe." How a moderate degree of success with "girlie shows" qualifies their producers as experts on international affairs, defies explanation. These three men produce all of the radio shows, press kits, brochures, letters of solicitation, and newspaper publicity used by Dean Manion and the Forum. Their admiration for the Dean is unbounded. "You got to admit the Dean's a genius," says Mr. Mellenthin solemnly, in a tone one might reserve for describing Thomas Jefferson. "He just sits down there in South Bend and thinks of all these things by himself. You also got to admit he's got a good thing going."

It *is* a good thing the Dean has going. It is good enough to permit Mr. Mellenthin to spend probably $500,000 annually for radio time and production costs. But Mr. Mellenthin has his problems. Dean Manion's lurid Rightism is not popular among communications people in Chicago, a group of citizens concerned with projecting a "wholesome public image" of their industry, and the appearance, at least, of political impartiality. As a consequence, Mr. Mellenthin has not been able to buy time for the Forum on any Chicago radio station. His firm also tries to keep its other clients (mostly advertising agencies) unaware of Creative Productions' services to an extreme Right organization. The most serious of Mr. Mellenthin's problems is that his more temperate approach has failed to bring in money so readily and rapidly as during the Forum's earlier hard-sell era.

The Manion Forum is usually indifferent to any response from its listeners except money. Occasional newspaper editorials appear in smaller papers applauding the Dean's crusade, and a small but steady flow of letters, nearly all congratulatory, reaches South Bend. Most of this feedback is ignored at the present time because the clerical staff is small and can scarcely handle the vastly more important out-going appeals for the money that keeps the Forum on the air.

No effort is made directly to influence Congressional action unless money or useful mailing lists can be secured as a result. The real test of Mellenthin's performance is not his publicity yardage in small newspapers, although that helps, but the amount of money deposited to the Forum's account.

Dean Clarence Manion is sixty-six years of age, white-haired, modest, and unquestionably sincere. Much of the Forum's appeal can be attributed to his attractive personality. As far as money is concerned, Mr. Manion appears to gain nothing from the Forum. Every available dollar is put to work by Emmett Mellenthin for more publicity, more letters of solicitation, and more radio time. The Dean's favorite word for his Forum is "crusade," and without question he believes it is precisely that. It is a "crusade against conspiracy," a theatrical term in keeping with harangues delivered every week on the Forum.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Quick, Somebody—A Tranquilizer!

The talks generally begin with a calculated note of nostalgia for the dreamy Eden-like republic conceived by demi-gods, and built by a yeomanry of rude but talented citizens who understood the Constitution far better than anyone since. In glowing words, the Dean describes the Great Ones, the Fathers of 1776. Then he asks his radio audience to contrast this ideal with today's reality of fear, insecurity, Communists, betrayal, perversion, and income taxes. "Ever since then," says the Dean, "we have been prodigally spending the principles coined on that bright July day when America was born." The "spenders" are the viciously immoral friends of "big government" who do not understand that the Constitution was designed to "cage and confine" government.

Manion approvingly quotes the decision of President Grover Cleveland to veto a Congressional appropriation for drought relief in 1889. Since then, "passing time has calloused the constitutional conscience of both Presidents and legislators." Increasingly, the Dean tells us, government was expected to cure human weakness. Then came the New Dealers and the Communists, and with them the Dean sees the beginning of the end.

Once the Dean establishes the "historical background," he leads his rapt businessmen and other listeners straight into the simple, easy moral absolutes in which he excels. As he sees it, big government, constitutional excesses, the Communists, the welfare-staters, socialistic spenders, and the internationalist Left-wing educational cabals are all in league with Satan. "Wherever Christ's Gospel could sow love," asserts Manion, "Communism entered to harvest hate. Wherever Christianity exalted the spirit of Man, Communism sneaked in to murder the spirit with materialism. Both Communism and Christianity are supernatural forces. One is from Heaven, the other from

Hell, and the war of one upon the other is eternal."

Unhappily, the Dean's personal war is against not only the Devil, but against certain concrete realities of the modern world. He is still persuaded that we have a take-it-or-leave-it choice on international cooperation, on the reality of nuclear war, on taxation, on social welfare, on education, even on whether or not the Federal government can make treaties with other governments.

He pretends that the Forum is non-partisan, but his guest "experts," who appear frequently, offer only familiar and poisonous testimonies of the extreme Right: Herbert Philbrick, on the nature of Communism; Herbert V. Kohler, on labor relations; Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, on the responsibilities of business enterprise; T. Coleman Andrews, on the theory of the income tax; and Spruille Braden, on responsibility in foreign affairs.

Estimates vary on the size of the Manion radio audience. Most of the radio stations which carry the Forum are small, but the Dean buys good time—early Sunday evening if possible. His approach to the inroads of Lucifer in the modern state has probably won him the better-educated (and wealthier) segment of Rightist opinion, among whom the Dean's reputation as an educator and constitutional lawyer lends weight to his ultra-Rightist doctrine.

Clarence Manion is now the most respectable leader of the extreme Right. It may be that some of his glamor as a former law school dean is wearing off after ten years of Rightist activity, but he is still a heavyweight compared with such Rightist leaders as the Reverend Billy James Hargis and Robert Welch. The Manion Forum has woven together a combination of respectability and public relations that skillfully exploits the fears and anxieties of the most influential segment of the far Right. Of all the extreme Right movements, Dean Manion's is the one that appears to be the most effective in hammering at our hopes for peace among nations and our traditions of freedom, however imperfectly realized, here at home.

The Turning Wheel of India's Foreign Policy

by ANAND MOHAN

When Communist China attacked India, the wheel of Indian foreign policy might well be said to have turned full circle. There was the cleansing confession of Prime Minister Nehru that his nation had been "out of touch with reality." There was his belated acknowledgement: "We have suffered a severe shock. We were living in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation and we have been shocked out of it—all of us, the government and the people."

It is not enough for the American people to know that Mr. Nehru went wrong; it is necessary for them to know exactly to what extent, where, and how he went wrong. Only then can the United States, which has a great stake in the Indian subcontinent, be able to formulate South Asian policies that are sound in their essentials.

To what extent did events show India's foreign policy to be unsound? While rushing generously to assist India against Chinese aggression, both President Kennedy and his Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Averell Harriman, have said that they did not expect India to change her policy of non-alignment as a precondition to receiving military aid. Their unstated assumption here is that the core of Indian foreign policy is sound. In this assumption they are altogether right.

Stripped of all its sentimentality and moralistic overtones, Mr. Nehru's foreign policy was designed, as it should be, to serve India's national interest. Here was an underdeveloped country of 400 million underfed, underclothed people, fired by the frenzy of freedom in the evening glow of World War II, born to independence in the dawn of their country's partition, and forced to wade through rivers of blood let loose at the high noon of insensate religious passions.

Such a country was being shepherded by a government whose annual budget was less than that of New York City. There was no way the government could immunize the people to the new epidemic of rising expectations. To cater to their multitudinous needs in normal times would have been impossible for the most seasoned of governments. For an infant government to do so at an abnormal time when law and order had become casualties, when thousands of refugees had to be resettled, and a war-affected economy rehabilitated, was nothing short of a nightmarish experience.

India's foreign policy was formulated in this context. It was determined by the demands of the time and the situation. Her foreign policy was merely a reflection of the magnitude and complexity of her domestic tasks. All foreign commitments were forbidden by commitments at home. To that extent, India's foreign policy of non-alignment and non-involvement was the product of realism and expediency (in the best sense of the term). To the extent, also, that rational foreign policy is largely a matter of correlating ends with means, India's policy was as sound as the policy of avoiding entangling alli-

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WON'T YOU DO YOUR PART, DEAR CITIZEN?

Rad Rights Ben

As a citizen, it is your duty to learn more about WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. Come to the New National Guard Armory in Selma, Friday morning April 19th at 10:30 sharp, and hear Mrs. Mary Cain Editor of the Summit Sun and other informed speakers. They will tell you why women must come to the rescue of our nation and how they can do it.

WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT was founded in Jackson Miss. by almost 2000 indignant women meeting spontaneously after the Federal Government had violated numerous provisions of our Constitution of the United States. Women came from seven states to this meeting on October 30th, 1962.

On January 17th, 1963 1100 women met and organized with thirteen states represented. Several were northern states. They are just as alarmed as those in the southern states because their constitutional rights are being violated too.

WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT is conservative. It is not politically affiliated with any party and is not denominational. It is opposed to liberals of both parties. Members of this organization vote for the man and not the party! Our organization is opposed to communism. We believe in a return to God and morality in the affairs and functions of America, regardless of the beliefs of other nations. We ask the guidance and understanding of God, our Father, in all we do.

PLACE: NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY AT SELMA
ON HIGHWAY 22 WEST
TIME: APRIL 19, 10:30 AM (SHARP!)

This is a women's organization but men are welcomed in order that they better understand what women plan to do. They should never underestimate the power of a woman.

REGISTRATION BEGINS AT 10:00 A. M.

150 people —

Dedicate yourself to saving America.

Founded by aristocratic ladies, many with children at Ole Miss.

Patriotism!

One aim — return country to Constitution

One project — UN out of US; US out of UN (applause)

UN atheistic.

Film proves that we are pegged for Constitution.

Felix —
Ross Barnett
10th Amendment,

Close: to prevent this from happening in Miss.

Call on God. Invite others to attend the showing of this film. We will go from there

Need to support local govt.

5/1/63

To date, over 66 tons of AIM tools for freedom have been shipped from Boston to 24 schools in 11 countries—Colombia, Costa Rica, India, Jordan, Kenya, South Korea, West Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan, Tunisia, and Venezuela—and much more machinery and equipment is awaiting shipment, with still more continually being donated and assigned for ultimate delivery to schools overseas. The need is great, because over 350 vocational schools in 26 underdeveloped countries of the free world are seeking tools for freedom assistance.

Oversea shipping arrangements have been made by such other charitable, nonprofit organizations as CARE, Catholic Relief Services, American-Korean Foundation, Church World Service, and National Council of the YMCA's. Recently, the U.S. Navy, through its own people-to-people program, Project Handclasp, undertook the task of transporting more than five tons of AIM tools for freedom to India.

Under the AIM tools for freedom program, not only are Massachusetts manufacturers—and some in other States—contributing machinery and equipment, but individuals and nonmanufacturing concerns also donate such services as crating, trucking, use of forklifts, storage space, etc. In recognition of participation in the program, AIM presents Tools for Freedom Awards to all who assist, including those who make monetary contributions to help finance the project.

Convinced that it is a hopeful approach which serves both the economic and philosophical struggles for freedom, while being of broad public relations value for both the contributor and the U.S. image abroad, the Associated Industries of Massachusetts began its tools for freedom program as the result of a pilot effort by what was known as the Technico Foundation in the Worcester-Providence area. Members of the AIM board of directors who participated in that pilot program were instrumental in the Bay State manufacturers' association establishing tools for freedom. They serve on the program's steering committee, headed by Philip M. Morgan, president of the Morgan Construction Co., Worcester.

The newer national tools for freedom organization has as its president Mansfield D. Sprague, vice president, American Machine & Foundry Co., and former Massachusetts Gov. Christian A. Herter, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, is one of the members of the board of trustees.

Civil Rights - Gen.

These Are the Guilty

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1963

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on February 12, 1963, Hon. Carleton Putnam addressed a Lincoln's Birthday dinner at the Willard Hotel in Washington. Mr. Putnam is the author of "Race and Reason," a current best seller, which deals with race relations from an objective viewpoint.

Mr. Putnam's brilliant Lincoln Day address is of such significance that I feel it worthy of being included here as part of my remarks:

THESE ARE THE GUILTY

(Address by Carleton Putnam)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. German, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, let me begin by acknowledging a debt—a debt of gratitude and appreciation to Clifford Newell and Mark German for arranging this impressive meeting tonight. An attendance of over 600 is more than any of us expected, especially in the face of an ice storm in Maryland and Virginia. I'm proud and grateful to your committee for inviting me to speak here, and I'm proud and grateful to you for coming.

It's true that about 2 years ago I wrote a short book—hardly more than a monograph—called "Race and Reason" which has caused some controversy. A few attacks have even been made on it. Therefore, every now and then, friends of mine, here and there, have been good enough to give me a platform—like this one tonight—from which to answer those attacks.

So far it hasn't been an overwhelming task. I won't say that I expected a somewhat higher caliber of opposition, for that might be discourteous to our opponents. But there are only a few loose ends to clean up this evening, and then, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to launch an attack of my own. If I were a lay preacher I would take as my text the 16th chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans: "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark those who cause divisions and offenses in opposition to the doctrine which you have learned * * *. For such persons * * * by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple."

I propose to suggest to you tonight, in this world of rising racial tensions, just who they are who have caused divisions and—however sincere their motives and beliefs—have deceived the hearts of the simple. And in view of the fact that the last time I made a speech one of the press services complained because I referred to a certain individual "whom I did not name," tonight I intend to name names—not all, indeed, because large organizations are involved—but enough to satisfy the press. And I intend to say to you, and to them: these are the guilty.

But first let's go back to where it all began. I suppose nobody in this room doubts that the crusade for racial integration and the claim that races are all alike has its roots in the same soil in which most of the leftwing movements of our time originated. The socialism of Saint-Simon in France, of Marx in England and Germany, of Lenin in Russia, the Fabian Society of Bernard Shaw and the Webbs in England, all were, at least in part, an attempt to meet a horrifying problem among those who worked primarily with their muscles and their hands. They all had one valid common denominator among their objectives—improving the condition of the poor.

I will go so far as to say that many of us here, facing the situation that reformers found in England in the eighteen fifties and sixties, would have thought and felt exactly as they did. Here is the death notice in the London papers of Mary Anne Walkley, 20 years old, who in June of 1863 after sewing in a dressmaking establishment an average day of 16½ hours—during the season often 30 hours at a stretch—simply died of overwork. The doctor's words at the inquest were: "Mary Anne Walkley died from long hours of work in an overcrowded room. * * *" Because she could not stop for Death, Death kindly stopped for her.

As for the food the poor ate, their bread was bought mostly from what were called the undersellers and was adulterated with alum, soap, pearl ashes, chalk and Derbyshire stone-dust. Here is a description taken from official reports concerning conditions in the baking trade: "He [the poor man] had to eat daily in his bread a certain quantity of human perspiration mixed with the discharge of abscesses, cobwebs, dead blackbeetles, and putrid German yeast, without counting alum and sand." Of course, many of the poor simply starved. It wasn't until well along in the next century that the government stopped publishing statistics of deaths from starvation in London for lack of casualties.

Forgive this repetition of what will be to many of you an old story, but it seemed wise to refresh our recollections concerning the origin of today's leftwing ideologies. In those times and in those conditions were born all sorts of emotional attitudes and intellectual concepts, as well as practical schemes. Some of them succeeded and some of them did not, but progress was certainly made. The radical of 1963 inherits a legacy which we must understand. A year or so ago a reported for Time magazine interviewed me on the race question and it wasn't until our talk was practically over that I finally managed to make him give me his view on the subject. He was from the South and he was an integrationist. As he spoke, tears welled up in his eyes. But I could tell from what he said that those tears didn't have their source in the Negro problem, which he hadn't really thought through. They were part of the old legacy. They went back much further than Mary Anne Walkley.

There is no reason to doubt the humanitarian purpose of many of the welfare movements of those earlier days or to question their considerable accomplishments. Much poverty has been relieved. The problem now is to keep the floor under misery and failure without slapping a ceiling on everybody else—and to winnow out the large company of those who use the cry of humanity and brotherly love as an excuse for creating legal ways to break the Eighth Commandment. But that is a topic for a different forum from ours tonight.

I want to touch on only one aspect of that problem which leads us directly into our own field. Implicit in much leftwing theory and rhetoric, because it seemed to make existing conditions all the more reprehensible and in need of correction, was the doctrine of the equality of man. Few Socialists ever took the doctrine seriously in practice, I doubt if the Fabians ever took it seriously in theory, but we have all heard the slogans of the French Revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

I shan't go over again here what the evidence clearly shows regarding Jefferson's meaning—both as to the word "men" and as to the word "equal" in the phrase "all men are created equal"—nor need I repeat Hamilton's recognition that liberty and equality are mutually exclusive. It is obvious the Founding Fathers had no illusions about the equality of men in any sense except in equal rights to justice, and the Negro was not included even in that. But in America as the years went on, helped by the controversial Franz Boas, the notion of a utopian social, economic, and even biological equality persisted as a sort of demagogic fetish until things reached the point where the Swedish Socialist Myrdal actually dared to write in his "American Dilemma" that in the conflict between liberty and equality in the United States "equality is slowly winning," and Handlin, the Harvard professor, could bring himself to declare: "There is no evidence of any inborn differences of temperament, personality, character, or intelligence among races."

This last remark lands us finally in the middle of our subject with a splash. For the benefit of the press I give the full name, Oscar Handlin, professor of history at Harvard University, and while again I do not impugn his motives or sincerity, I assert that in my opinion Handlin's declaration is one of the most groundless and dangerously misleading statements to be found in print today.

Let us quickly review the evidence. All that we need is contained in that short, concise little book, "The Biology of the Race Problem," which I shall cite hereafter simply as the George report. In spite of the example

of the equalitarians, a thousand pages are not required to come to the point on this subject.

If you will consult section IV of the George report, you will note the findings of Bean, Connolly, and Vint on the differences in frequencies of occurrence of certain features of white and Negro brains. The importance of these differences is plainly set out in quotations and citations from and to Penfield, Halstead, Brodmann, and Herrick. I repeat, you will find it all in the space of 10 pages in section IV. If you want more data, I can refer you to the leading article in the Mankind Quarterly, volume 2, no. 4, which amplifies and still further documents Dr. George's material. The differences in question are physical and hereditary. That they account for differences in temperament, behavior, and intelligence between the two races is beyond doubt. That these differences make the amalgamation of the races undesirable is just as clear. All the other sections of the George report confirm these facts.

There isn't time enough tonight to discuss the full report. But I will call your attention to something on which Dr. George does not touch: In 1940 the illegitimacy rate for Negroes throughout the United States was eight and a half times the rate for whites. Nineteen years later, 19 years in which Americans have struggled hard to raise Negro standards, the rate is 10 times that for whites. In other words, as their environment has been improved, their performance has gone down. Taking the single State of Virginia in the 20 years between 1938 and 1958, the white illegitimacy rate declined slightly from 2.6 to 2.3 percent. In this same period which witnessed astonishing gains in Negro education, Negro housing, Negro income, and Negro job opportunities, the rate of Negro illegitimacy increased from 19.5 to 22.9 percent. This is difficult to explain if the Negro's limitations are due solely to his environment.

Speaking of explanations, it's going to be still more difficult for the professors to evade Bean, Connolly, and Vint. They've already begun to say: "Oh, but the samplings aren't adequate." [These samplings varied from 30 brains in some cases to 165 in others.] Well, I have a question to ask these professors and all those who criticize the George report on this most vital point. If you don't like the samplings of Bean, Connolly, and Vint, why have you never produced anything better? You have most of the money, you have the captive foundations—they have hundreds of millions—and there are plenty of other sources anxious to help you. Yet to the best of my knowledge you haven't even tried to assemble any contrary evidence. Don't tell us that you can't be bothered or that this isn't important. This is the most important point in the whole controversy. Either the Negro's limitations are innate or they're not, and this evidence settles the matter. So I ask again, why have you never even tried to produce any other samplings?

The answer is simple. You haven't tried because you don't dare. You know well enough what the results would be, provided you had an objective study and included a Dr. George or two on the panel. I suggest that you now make such a study—a series of any size you like of average West African Negro brains, because there you get the least diluted essence of the Negro, against a series of average white brains—the study to be jointly run by scientists on both sides of the question. Meanwhile we have Bean, Connolly, and Vint; Penfield, Halstead, Brodmann and Herrick. I dislike being rude to amiable Harvard professors but I must say to Oscar Handlin (and I'm going to say it to several others this evening): the time has come to put up or shut up. Either answer Bean, Connolly, and Vint, or explain to the public why you can't.

While I'm on the subject of the George report I have another suggestion to offer. The press quotes George F. Carter, a professor of geography at Johns Hopkins University, as having said about this report: "The arguments they put up in that booklet are Swiss cheese—full of holes." It so happens that early last fall a mutual acquaintance communicated to me Carter's complaints about the George report—this acquaintance listed 50 of them, acting as a sort of agent for Carter. I considered these 50 points carefully, and then I submitted them to Dr. George. Thereafter they were submitted to scholars in New York. All of this occurred before the Putnam committee undertook the distribution of the report, and it was unanimously decided that, apart from three or four points about which some shadow of argument might be made but which did not bear on any essentials, the 50 points were without any substance whatsoever.

There was one item which Carter considered to be a quotation out of context and which we corrected with an erratum sheet. Jerry Doolittle of the Washington Post made much out of this correction in the Post for December 9. So I have a question to ask Doolittle: Assuming Carter is right in his statement that differing climates had identical effects in the way they "sharpened the wits" of all mankind, can either you or Carter honestly believe that the climate of the tropics and the climate of northern Europe over tens of thousands of years had identical effects on the development of those special qualities of the civilized forebrain; namely, foresight and long-range planning? Carter's dwelling on one aspect of molding does not exclude the existence of other aspects. If Doolittle thinks it does, he had better consult someone else besides a geographer. He will find experts on that subject in other sections of the George report.

But let me come to Carter's 50 points and give you 2 examples: On page 27 of his report, Dr. George cites the work of Bean which was published in 1906. On this Carter remarks: "Reference from Bean is nearly 60 years old. Haven't there been any developments or thoughts in this long period?" If Carter had read the report with any attention he would have found that Connolly's work was published in 1950 and Penfield's in 1957. This brings Bean right up to date. But are we in some sort of competition here on dates? Does its date make Newton's law of gravitation invalid?

Secondly on page 68 Dr. George writes: "If there were more Negroes with talents for civilization, we would have no race problem or it would be a very different one." To which Carter remarks: "Again nonsense. Boston had a race problem with the Irish. Many people have a Jewish race problem even though these races have talents for civilization." Well, ladies and gentlemen, is not this what Dr. George has already just said? He has just said, "or it would be a very different one." And that is precisely what the Irish and Jewish problems were, "very different ones."

I leave you to judge where the nonsense lies in these two examples, and I invite Carter to publish in the newspapers all of his 50 criticisms of the George report, just as he has seen fit to publish his Swiss cheese. I have a science degree but I am not a professional scientist and I do not debate with professional scientists. However, I dare say scientists can be found who will answer Carter—also in the press. I simply suggest to Carter that he prepare better criticisms than the ones our mutual acquaintance submitted to me, unless he wants to lose the game by a score of 50 to nothing. And I warn him that before he can walk with Alive in the wonderland of unbridled environmentalism he must first get by the narrow gate of Bean, Connolly, Vint, and Penfield. I could have sat next to Caruso for dinner every night for a lifetime and never sung as Caruso sang. No amount of cultural contact, no amount of integration would have made the slightest difference, except that if I had tried to sing with Caruso I would have spoiled the opera. And what is true of the vocal chords is true of the frontal lobes.

Out at the University of Chicago, there is another professor who thinks he can brush Dr. George aside. For the benefit of the press, let me name him, Manning Nash, associate professor of anthropology. Nash had begun by attacking "Race and Reason" in a long article in Current Anthropology last June which was answered by me in a few short sentences on Bean, Connolly, and Vint which I put in a letter I sent to Sol Tax, editor of the magazine. Thereupon Nash wrote me saying he doubted if my letter would ever be published so he was going to answer me right off privately. He proceeded to ignore all the substantive issues by calling Dr. George, who is considerably above him in academic status, unscientific, and then he urged me to read the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of Confederation so that I might learn something about the legal equality of all human beings.

To Nash I answered: "Regarding your paragraph on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, you appear never really to have read 'Race and Reason,' or much American history. Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration, refutes you on page 62, lines 4–8, of 'Race and Reason'; Lincoln refutes you on pages 8–9. It so happens that Lincoln was a lawyer and you are not. Until the aberration of the 1954 Supreme Court decision no competent lawyer supposed that there was any legal right on the part of the Federal Government to force Negroes into white schools. And that Court reached its decision on sociological and pseudoscientific rather than legal grounds."

But to get back to the George report, when this report was first issued there appeared in many newspapers throughout the South, by some sort of spontaneous combustion, an answer from a man named Charles C. Perkins, chairman of the department of psychology at Emory University in Atlanta. Perkins was very patronizing, very sure that no even moderately reputable psychologist would come up with findings such as the report contained, quite forgetting Dr. Garrett, for 15 years head of the department of psychology at Columbia and a past president of the American Psychological Association. Perkins then went on to remark that while there "just aren't many facts that allow positive conclusions" and while he didn't want even his rebuttal evidence to be taken too seriously, nevertheless "Alpha examinations given World War I soldiers indicated the average northern Negro was smarter than the average southern white man."

It is difficult to understand Perkins' willingness to use this material even with apologies. This is the well-known and long-discredited Klineburg twist, and for the benefit of the press I am referring to Otto Klineburg, professor of psychology at Columbia University. What Klineburg did in this case was to take the four Southern States where the white averages were lowest and compare them with the four Northern States where the Negro averages were highest. If we take the whites in the same Northern States as the Negroes, these whites scored far above the Negroes. It's an old equalitarian trick to compare the best of one group with the worst of another and, of course, such a procedure has no validity whatever. If you take an above-average Negro and give him a lot of advantages he will do better than a below-average white man who has had very few. Wherever you have overlapping statistical distributions, the top of one will always ex-

ceed the bottom of the other. This is not the problem under discussion. The thing we are interested in is what the average Negro will do when compared with the average white man under like conditions. Anyone interested in the latter question will find decisive answers in the George report. This is the only issue, and it is the issue Perkins is clouding and confusing. I urge you in dealing with these people to keep them to the point. Their specialty is irrelevance.

I might say that I think the championship in this respect goes this year to a man up at the University of Connecticut. I refer to one Donald C. Simmons who is listed as a member of the department of sociology and anthropology. It would hardly seem proper to take your time with this 36-year-old assistant professor were it not for the fact that the New Republic magazine has seen fit on two separate occasions to publish his attacks which now include both "Race and Reason" and the George report.

My first brush with Simmons occurred last summer when the New Republic printed a review by him of "Race and Reason" in which he accused me of quoting scientists out of context. When I asked him for one example he was able to give none. Perhaps he was basing his criticism on hearsay from an article by Howard Margolis of Science magazine. Margolis made the same accusation, and when asked to provide an example gave my quotation from Kluckhohn on page 51 of "Race and Reason." I answered this accusation in a letter which Science published. I also answered it in a speech in New Orleans a year ago. I have heard nothing from Margolis since. And I doubt if I hear any more on this subject from Simmons either.

Simmons' most recent effort appeared in the New Republic for January 5 and is of a somewhat more specific nature. He begins by referring to the George report and the measurement of intelligence by brain size. Simmons mentions a group of male Negro brains which he says were found to weigh more than a certain group of female white brains. You will remember that on page 61 of the George report there is a footnote which reads in part as follows: "The essential point here is that, other things being equal [such as sulcification and microscopic structure of the cortex] and considering higher animals in general perspective the larger the brain relative to body size, the greater the intelligence." Note the phrase "relative to body size." Among other factors, the average body size of women is notably smaller than that of men. Thus their brain size would be expected to be smaller without lessening of intelligence. Apparently we have another case here of a man who hasn't read with any attention what he's attacking.

Next Simmons dances the Klineburg twist, about which no more need be said, and then he gives us a quotation from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues which reads as follows: "The more comparable the background of white and Negro groups, the less the difference in intelligence." However, if you will turn to the American Psychologist magazine for May of 1962 you will find that Dr. Garrett answered that statement by showing that there have been six studies on the subject and all of them contradict the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Our Connecticut friend then moves on to comment about some experiments in Baltimore purporting to show that no difference can be found between white and Negro infants up to 40 weeks, and that differences thereafter must be due to socioeconomic factors. But the lower centers of the brain and nervous system, in human beings and in animals, are the ones which mature first; the higher centers mature last. Therefore similarity of performance in the early stages of life signifies nothing as to adult potentiality.

Finally Simmons remarks on what he calls the racist accusation that the Negro never invented an alphabet and points out that many other races didn't either. But if he will read the "Biology of the Race Problem" he will see that George makes no such accusation. George says that the Negro never invented a system of writing. It is true that alphabets are rare. Systems of writing are not. The Negro never invented either. I shan't weary you further with Simmons. My only comment must be one of surprise at the acceptance of this sort of material for the second time by the New Republic.

Well, we've had a look at Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Emory, and the University of Connecticut. Let's return to Harvard for a moment, the university where the FBI had to arrest Zborowski, a research associate in the department of anthropology. I do not mention this in any criticism of the department at Harvard. It might have happened anywhere. I cite it as an example of how important the Communists consider it to be to corrupt the minds of our young people in this field.

The New York Times on December 9, 1962, ran a review of Dr. Carleton Coon's book, "The Origin of Races." This review was written by Prof. William W. Howells, chairman of the department of anthropology at Harvard. Up until the last two paragraphs Howells sticks to his subject and I have no comments to make. However, in the last two paragraphs he launches a thinly veiled attack upon my pamphlet, "Evolution and Race: New Evidence." He opens the first of these paragraphs with the remark that certain parts of Coon's book have been "pounced on with delight by the present cohort of racists." This opening gambit is the usual introduction used by these people in order to arouse anger rather than reason in their readers. If a man acknowledges the facts of race, he's a racist. I suppose if he acknowledges the facts of sex he's a sexist.

But I move on. Howells next says that even if Coon is correct, it is not possible to use his hypothesis to measure modern racial differences. Let's think about that for a moment. If Coon is correct, the Caucasian race passed the threshold of evolutionary development in brain structure from homo erectus to homo sapiens 200,000 years ahead of the Negro. This matter of brain structure is biological, inherent, hereditary. Evolution is a continuing process. If one race has a head start of 200,000 years over another, does Howells mean to suggest that this head start has no significance—does he see no possible relation between it and the differences found by Bean, Connolly, and Vint in white and Negro brains, or the results of intelligence tests, or the figures on crime and illegitimacy, or the level of civilization in Haiti, or the stability of governments in the Congo? Nobody is trying to take a pair of calipers and declare what is the exact measure of difference in the two races today. But I will tell Howells it makes enough difference to the southern mother when she puts her girls in school.

This amiable Harvard professor, furthermore, is not above playing a guessing game in these final paragraphs. At one place he refers to a passage from page 9 of the introduction to Coon's book which reads as follows: "It is a fair inference * * * that the subspecies which crossed the evolutionary threshold into the category of homo sapiens the earliest have evolved the most and that the obvious correlation between the length of time a subspecies has been in the sapiens state and the levels of civilization attained by some of its populations may be related phenomena." On this passage Howells makes the comment in parenthesis: "Those who are to tickled with page 9 of the introduction might try continuing to page 661."

Of course the average reader of Howells' review will not have at hand a copy of "The Origin of Races" and hence will not be able to evaluate the parenthesis because he will have no access to page 661. Does Howells intend to leave the implication of some contradiction? Page 661 deals both with selection and with the tendency to eventual resegregation of genetic chartcers in racial interbreeding. I wonder if Howells supposes this to be compensation to southern society which, after many generations of chaos, might look forward to such an eventuality. Thereafter the chaos would start all over again.

And while we're jumping about from page to page I might call Howells' attention to page 336. I shan't keep you in the dark about what is on that page. Here Coon refers to "the great variability of 20th century human beings, in evolutionary grades as well as in racial lines." Coon calls these differences important. He also says that from the perspective of life as a whole, they are slight. Obviously if you run the gamut from the amoeba to man they are slight. But what a whale of a difference a few brain cells make. You can find that discussed in the George report at page 34.

Finally our amiable Harvard professor sums up his view of my pamphlet in this extraordinarily penetrating remark: "Anyhow I see no way of using such arguments (the 200,000-year evolutionary lag) to disprove the Constitution of the United States." Would anyone in the audience care to tell me where the Constitution mentions the integration of schools? If we look at the 14th amendment, do we see any reference to schools? Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to share with you a not very well kept secret. The people who put the integration of schools into the Constitution were Howells and his kind, the equalitarian anthropologists and sociologists who misled the Supreme Court and the American people with their mess of half-truths and slanted evidence.

I say now to Howells and all his crowd: You have not only misled the Supreme Court and the American people, you have fooled the Negro about himself. You have poisoned his mind with expectations that cannot be realized and inflamed him with an arrogance that has no justification. You have set him against the white man. You have made him think he has a grudge against the white race when the truth is he owes the white race a greater debt than he can ever repay. Offer a few Negroes one-way tickets to Africa, where they can enjoy the culture of their own race, and see how many takers you get.

I tell you without fear of contradiction that the American people are as kindly a people as any in the world, that nowhere else in the world would Negroes in such numbers have found a better haven. Yet James Baldwin and these much publicized "angry black men" writing books and long articles for the New Yorker magazine damn the white American. Baldwin writes pityingly about his ancestor who was dragged to America in chains. But I say to Baldwin that if his ancestor had not been brought here in chains, he would have died a far more terrible death as a slave in Africa. Baldwin is lucky to be here.

And I say to Leopold Stokowski that I revere him as a musician but when he appears on David Susskind's "Open End" TV program and declares that the white man owes the Negro an apology he is guilty of a groundless and inflammatory statement on a subject about which he is incorrectly informed. He is encouraging the Negro to violence and revenge against a race to which the Negro owes an infinite debt.

In this matter Susskind and Stokowski and other public figures across the Nation run blindly with the pack. Yet standing here tonight it is not primarily these that I indict, nor the New Republic, nor even the

Supreme Court. Least of all is it the average Negro. I indict the men who have fooled and goaded the Negro—the men who have made it necessary for the rest of us to point out truths which the Negro might otherwise have been spared the telling. I indict the Howells, the Nashes, the Perkins, the Carters, the Klinebergs, the Handlins, the Herskovitses, the Simmonses, and the Sol Taxes who have spawned our racial tension here and abroad.

And I indict their associations. These men indeed run in packs. They have provided the basis for this whole house of cards that is starting to fall around their heads. If white settlers are being dispossessed and murdered in Kenya, if nuns are being raped in the Congo, if white men and girls are being slugged on the streets of our northern cities, if the Supreme Court has to warn its employees about going home at night, look to the source. "Mark those who cause divisions and offenses * * * and deceive the hearts of the simple."

Here I would like to incorporate by reference what I said a year ago in New Orleans (in "The Road to Reversal") about my exchange of correspondence with the president of the American Anthropological Association, Sherwood Washburn. Then I would like to ask: Have I now given you enough cases to demonstrate the utter lack of facts on the equalitarian side of this controversy and the poverty of their arguments? Out of all these universities and the resolutions of these associations not one iota of evidence or one shred of argument has come that cannot be exploded in 30 seconds. It is all as stale and empty as the notion that the sun revolves around the earth.

Have I also provided enough illustrations of the way these scientists operate? Because, if not, I could go on. I could mention the fact that on one occasion when a certain scientific association was about to pass a resolution condemning "Race and Reason" there was a pause in the proceedings. And someone asked for a show of hands on how many had read the book. In a room full of people how many do you suppose had read it? Three. And yet they were about to pass, and did pass, a resolution damning something they'd never read. Does that episode need any further comment from me?

Listen to what the man who was for 15 years head of the deparment of psychology at Columbia University (he was a member of the faculty for 30 years) has to say about these political resolutions by scientist. I quote you Henry Garrett in a letter to me last October:

"I knew Franz Boas personally. I was able to observe the influence of Boas as founder of the science of anthropology in America and to evaluate the extent to which Boas' socialistic ideology dominated his thinking and permeated the teaching of his disciples, first at Columbia and later at other universities fed from the Boas cult. I was also able to observe the increasing degree of control exercised by this cult over students and younger professors until fear of loss of jobs or status became common in the field of anthropology unless conformity to the racial equality dogma was maintained.

"I will go so far as to assert that the supporters of the equality dogma in science in America today fall into three classes—those who are intimidated, those who are driven by leftwight political motives and those who are honest but mistaken humanitarians. I can testify from repeated personal observation to the intimidation and to the pall of suppression which has fallen upon the academic world in the are of which I speak. It encompasses not only anthropology but certain other related sciences. In the light of this situation the resolutions are not surprising."

Dr. Robert Gayre has told me that not since the days of Galileo has science seen anything like it. When Simmons reviewed "Race and Reason," he asked if I were looking for an "apostate" anthropologist. You know what that word means. An apostate is one who departs from a dogma. Here, in other words, is one of the younger generation who doesn't even realize his self-betrayal—who has never learned that science is a matter of research and facts, not dogma.

In the face of this grotesque state of affairs I'd like to ask the Kennedy brothers a question. Next to population control, the race problem is undoubtedly the most urgent in the world today; it is basic to everything else, even to the cold war. Do you, or do you not, consider it desirable that you inform yourselves on both sides of this matter? All your lives you have been listening to political propaganda masquerading under the name of science. It would take you less than an hour to read section IV of the George report and the article in the Mankind Quarterly, less than an hour to talk to Dr. George or Dr. Garrett. Have you done either?

The decision of the Supreme Court does not relieve you from studying the subject. You've seen what that decision has done to the Nation. You are not President and Attorney General solely for the Negro population or the northern or western radicals. You also happen to be serving millions of people who believe the decision was viciously wrong and who know more about the matter firsthand than you'll ever know. Why have you never given a hearing to the scientists on their side? Are you afraid of losing some votes? Are you afraid of the Catholic Church? I have been told that this is the case, but I refuse to believe it. Any man who buys a vote by doing the wrong thing, or the ignorant thing, in a job like yours is on the skids of history, and you're smart enough to know it. And as for the Supreme Court, it would switch fast enough if you discovered the truth and went out and told it on the mountain. The American majority would respond with a roar and these minority-group arguments would vanish like last year's snow.

Stop and think for a minute. You have the record of the centuries and of today in Africa, you have the facts in certain countries of South America and you have them in Haiti. In the United States you have crime records and you have illegitimacy records. You also have 40 years of intelligence tests. All these point in one direction; namely, that the Negro has created his history and environment (not vice versa) and will create it again wherever he's allowed to. Next you have the microscopic studies of Vint, the morphology of Bean, Connolly, Halstead, and Penfield, and the recent evidence presented by Dr. Coon, president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. You have pages of other evidence in the George report. Finally you know the background of the equalitarian school, you know who started it and the political and social views of most of its leaders. All of this points in one direction.

For each of the above items some far-fetched excuse might be conceived. Any one of them might possibly be debated. But consider them all together.

Let me suggest a parallel. You are walking along a hotel corridor, and as you pass a bedroom door you hear loud, angry voices. Then you hear one of the voices say, "Take that, you dirty dog!" and you hear two shots and the sound of a body falling. So you open the door, and you find one man standing with a smoking gun in his hand, looking down at another man with two bullets in his heart.

After some personal risk and minor injuries you manage to capture the man with the gun, and at the trial the following facts develop. The dead man was shortly to have married his childhood sweetheart and was said by several witnesses to have been joyful over this, having courted her long and earnestly. Further, it appears that the dead man, the week before, had inherited $1 million, after taxes, from an uncle he had never seen. The accused, on the other hand, according to reliable testimony, had coveted the dead man's sweetheart and had been repulsed my her. In fact, he had several times sworn he would kill the deceased. The gun is found to have been the property of the accused.

The defense pleads that the death is a suicide. The point is made that the dead man might just conceivably have changed his mind about his fiancee and have become depressed at the thought of marriage. As for the million dollars, after taxes, this might not have been enough to compensate for the death of the uncle he had never seen. Regarding the remark, "Take that, you dirty dog!" this may have been the deceased talking to himself. Upon your telling the court that you knew the voice of the dead man, with whom you had been associated for many years, and that the voice was not his, the defense replies that the deceased was only 30 years old, and his voice may have been changing.

Concerning the gun, which turns out to be a Smith & Wesson, the defense proposes that this might just possibly have been stolen by the deceased from the accused, because, although the deceased had a Colt of his own in the bottom of his suitcase, he preferred suicide with a Smith & Wesson. Finally, in regard to the threats of the accused, these might by a remote chance have been unrelated to the shooting and due instead to cultural deprivation on the part of the accused.

On the basis of this evidence, the Court takes the case away from the jury and directs a verdict in favor of the accused. Although the accused has threatened to kill two other men in the community, his gun is returned to him and he is complimented and set free. The newspapers are loud in their praise of this verdict. A few weeks later you read in one of them that the other men who were threatened have indeed died under mysterious cricumstances thought by the staff writer for this paper to be suicide. On the following Sunday your turn on your TV and you see and hear certain prominent men apologize to the accused for the inconvenience the community has caused him. In the press that same Sunday appear editorials bitterly attacking the prosecuting attorney in the case. Clearly the whole tragedy, according to these papers, was a matter of cultural deprivation on the part of the dead man. As a matter of fact, you read in the news section that the prosecuting attorney has lost his job and is on relief.

At this point you might be forgiven if you put down your paper with a sigh, particularly after hearing on the radio that counsel for the defense was a fraternity brother of the judge.

A man with a weak, confused mind might perhaps be persuaded that some one or two of the following things were true, namely, that the deceased was depressed at the thought of marrying his childhood sweetheart, or that he could not bear the loss of his uncle he had never seen in spite of the million dollars after taxes, or that he preferred to steal a Smith and Wesson rather than kill himself with his own Colt, or that his voice was changing at the age of 30, or that the threats against him were due solely to cultural deprivation—but a man who could believe all these things ought to be in a mental institution.

By the same token, anybody who can believe that the Negro's limitations are solely environmental in the face of African history, and of Haitian history, and of U.S. crime

records, and of U.S. illegitimacy records, and of 40 years of intelligence tests, and of the microscopic studies of Vint, and of the morphology of Bean, Connolly, Penfield, and Halstead, and of the latest synthesis of Carleton Coon, and of the other evidence in the George Report, and of the unmasking of the infiltration of the life sciences by political dogma—any person, I say, who can believe the Negro is the product of his history and environment (instead of vice versa) in the face of all those facts may not belong in a mental institution, but I dread the thought of his teaching any child of mine.

I must warn you that on the equalitarian side of this controversy there is great cleverness and great evasiveness. Do not let yourself be distracted from the point. There is just one issue, and I will put it in this way: In one group you have masses of brains which, on the average, are at a certain evolutionary level. In a separate group you have other masses of brains which, on the average, are at a different evolutionary level. Is it wise to adopt public policies which will encourage the biological mixing of those two groups of brains?

You must not be confused by the mulatto red herring, or the overlap red herring, or the religious red herring, or the legal red herring, or the civil rights red herring, or the red herring of American democracy. These matters are all of the greatest importance but they have nothing to do with the fundamental issue. If the mixing is wrong, then public policies leading toward it cannot be Christian, they cannot be American, they cannot be civil rights—and they ought not to be legal.

Cleaning up the situation is going to require inspection of the evidence by intelligent public leaders, it is going to require listening to both sides and studying both sides. It is going to require going down to the end of the road on each item—statement and answer, rejoinder and surrejoinder, rebuttal and surrebuttal, until neither side has anything left to say. But I assure the President and the Attorney General: if you will investigate this matter and hear both sides impartially and to a conclusion, there is no doubt what that conclusion will be. You ought to have done it long ago. Eisenhower ought to have done it in 1954.

With particular reference to the Supreme Court, do you realize that most of the material we've been discussing tonight never was put before it? The whole record in the school cases is a scientific travesty. What is needed now—and has been needed since 1954—is executive leadership in channeling a new case based on new evidence up to the Court. I suggest to the President and the Attorney General that, having satisfied themselves as to the facts, they throw their weight behind getting a new case heard, instead of blindly talking about their duty to enforce a judicial decision which is a nightmare scientifically, legally and morally.

Let me add one last remark about my hotel drama. Any similarity between that episode and the groups in our racial controversy is purely a coincidence. Actually and in all seriousness I intend no parallel whatever between the Negro and the accused. I leave you to judge how I feel about counsel for the defense and the other characters in the story.

The time has come for me to draw these comments to a close. Today we have celebrated the birthday of a great man. He was not only an America hero. He was beloved throughout the world. He was a devout Christian, a man of wide compassion and sensitive tenderness. We know what he thought and said about the Negro and I shan't quote him on that subject again. We know that in 1858 he made it clear that he did not favor in any way the social or political equality of the white and black races. We also know that in 1864, when his days were nearly done, he wrote a letter to the Governor of Louisiana barely suggesting his hope that some very intelligent Negroes might be admitted to the franchise—of course under the control, and at the discretion, of the States. Surely with this we may agree.

However, I think we may be equally sure that Lincoln would have had nothing but contempt for these latter-day reconstructionists sitting here in Washington and elsewhere who at bayonet point would force the Negro into schools and other social situations with white children against the wishes of their parents. He would have had nothing but contempt for a welfare agency which farms out helpless white orphans to a Negro foster home. He would not have blamed the Negro for this. If ever there was a leader who would have cleansed the temple with a lash on the backs of the real culprits, Lincoln was the man.

But Lincoln was kind. I think he would have liked Dr. Garrett's way of expressing the difference between the white and Negro races. Dr. Garrett prefers to speak less of inferiority than of racial immaturity, and I have changed this slightly so that I speak now of racial youth. Indeed I have tried to make it clear wherever I have used the word inferiority that I am referring solely to limitations in adaptability to our specific Western culture. But watch the scientists and the equalitarian press—they will always drag out the phrase "Negro inferiority charged" and put it in headlines when they attack us. Like the word racist, it is a badge of their demagoguery.

Lincoln was kind, too, in his attitude toward the South. Had he lived he would have bound up the South's wounds as well as the North's. There would have been no Reconstruction period. And although the 14th amendment was passed after Lincoln's death, I will go so far as to say that if he could see the manner in which that amendment is being abused today, and hurled against the South, he would turn in his grave.

So tonight I am not going to end this talk with a quotation from Lincoln about the Negro. I am going to end it with a different quotation from Lincoln which I recommend to the meditations of the two anthropological associations, and of the Supreme Court and of John F. Kennedy and of Dwight Eisenhower: "You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I might add that you can't fool nature any of the time. Genetic racial differences in intelligence, character, and behavior are the basic reality of life. As Dr. Coon has said, there is great variability in the evolutionary status of human populations all over the earth. This is the fundamental fact in the world today. National or international policy built on any other foundation is a house built on sand.

Near East Report Commemorates Israel's 15th Anniversary

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1963

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Near East Report, a newsletter edited in Washington by Mr. I. L. Kenen, has published a most interesting issue in commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the State of Israel on April 28. I am including an article setting out a view of Israel's position in the world and excerpts from a second article reporting some of the aid Israel has extended to other nations.

The first article follows:

ISRAEL'S 15TH ANNIVERSARY

Many years ago, a contemporary Jewish prophet made a significant prediction about the Jewish state that would some day come into existence.

"It will be unique," he said. "In traditional colonization, the motherland exploits the colony economically, while the colony exploits the motherland culturally and spiritually. With Israel, it will be the reverse."

This was profoundly true. The Israel that was established in May 1948 had a Jewish population of 650,000. More than a million newcomers made their home there and Israel needed substantial assistance to settle them. The motherland, the Jewish diaspora, gladly helped Israel to absorb her immigrants, to build her economy, to insure her survival.

Friendly nations—most of all our own Government—generously provided grants and loans. And, as a result, Israel's economy and defenses have been strengthened. Today, she is a sturdy democracy, on the road to economic independence.

But what has Israel given in return? Has she in fact become the spiritual and cultural center she promised to be? What message does she have for others?

Jews who are old enough to remember when Hitler came to power, just 30 years ago, recall their horror at the brutality of nazism, the callous indifference of it collaborators, the paralysis of its opponents. They sank into a nadir of despair, numbed and shocked at the vast betrayal of conscience.

The struggle which culminated in the establishment of Israel restored the faith of Jews in their capacity to shape their future. It promised Jewish survival. Is Israel had done nothing more than that, it would still have made a glowing contribution to the regeneration of the Jewish people.

In the begininng there was Israel's act of humanity. Her doors would always be open to every Jew in need of a home. She took them all—the old and the young, the sick, the strong and the dying, the educated and the illiterate. This act of compassion was also an enactment of judgment, eloquently reminding the world that too many doors had been closed to the Jews when barbarians turned Europe into a vast charnel house.

In that act, Israel counseled a world that had become obsessed with material things and the art of destruction that it must cherish and honor people.

But Israel has come to mean much more. She has a message, not merely for Jews, but for the peoples of many lands. For Israel has come to symbolize respect for the right of the individual man to be free in his own home, to work with others in the common effort toward a better life and to be safe from the oppression of masters and the hostility of neighbors.

Israel was not overwhelmed by the squalor and desolation of the Near East slums and deserts. She forged a head to higher standards of living. Her example challenged her neighbors to raise their sights and to become restless and unwilling to dwell in the stagnation of the past. And, most significantly, she has literally become a light around the world.

Overleaping the frontier of ignorance and hostility, she has sent her teachers and

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THE CHALLENGER

NEWSLETTER of GEORGIA YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Number Three June-July, 1963

KENNEDY'S SHAMEFUL PROPOSAL

By Silas Moore, Editor

John Fitzgerald Kennedy has recently topped all of his previous efforts to lead, entice, or drag America down the road toward totalitarianism. He has proposed federal legislation which would smash the basic right of a man to determine who may be admitted to his property. The new bill would invent a new "right" alien to the highest concepts of Western civilization. It would invent the right to trespass.

A civil right is a right specified by a valid law. Therefore, it is totally incorrect to describe "sit-ins" at private establishments and other demonstrations against property rights as "civil rights demonstrations." Many agitators, politicians, and newsmen flagrantly misuse the term to further their collectivist aims.

Other words which leftists have tried to redefine are "public" and "private." The confusion peddlers would have us believe that when an enterpriser opens his doors for trade, he automatically forfeits property rights, and his private establishment becomes akin to a public city street. Nonsense!

"We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone." This writer once read those familiar words on the menu of a Chinese restaurant in Pasadena, California. And why not? That simple statement succinctly expresses a vital principle of the free, capitalist society.

We are proud that Georgia's senior Senator, Richard B. Russell, is leading the freedom fighters in battle against J.F.K.'s shameful proposal. In a magnificent 900-word reply to the Chief Executive's radio-TV speech Senator Russell said that "the President of the United States has a higher call to leadership than to use threats of mass violence and disregard of reasonable local laws as a means of securing action in the courts and Congress, however desirable he may regard it to be."

Senator Russell also made this observation: "The outstanding distinction between a government of free men and a socialistic or communistic state is the fact that free men can own and control property, whereas statism denies property rights."

That the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution has been twisted before does not justify Kennedy's attempt to introduce a far more monstrous distortion. The Challenger supports whatever legal means are necessary to prevent the enactment of his terrible legislation.

GEORGIA YOUNG REPUBLICANS VOTE RIGHT

An outspoken Goldwater supporter has been elected chairman of the Georgia Federation of Young Republican Clubs. Meeting in Atlanta on May 11, the YR convention chose Allen Jones over a self-styled "moderate" opponent.

Mr. Jones told The Challenger that he believes all of Georgia's delegates to the '64 Republican Convention will vote for Goldwater.

ARMS AND THE CITIZEN

By James S. Davis

The United States citizen has been besieged by lawmakers for a large part of two generations. Prongs of the attack have penetrated into almost every area of free choice. One bulwark showing signs of crumbling under the blows of restrictive legislation is "the right of the people to keep and bear arms" (Bill of Rights, article II).

Many states have passed laws designed to discourage--if not prohibit--dealings in firearms by the average citizen. Many more have attempted to pass such laws. Until the last session of its legislature Georgia was free from restrictive and ambiguous gun laws.

Georgia House Bill 622 had been rejected by committees of both the House and the Senate. Nevertheless, it was pushed through both legislative bodies, the Senate passing it at the end of the session when most of its members had already gone home. Then despite great protest from Georgia citizens Governor Carl Sanders signed it into law.

In its original form Bill 622 would have required anyone selling a firearm less than fifteen inches long to purchase a $25 license and post a $1000 bond. Fortunately, protests from arms enthusiasts prompted the legislators to insert a sentence exempting individuals engaged in "casual sales."

But the bill is still ambiguous and vague. It repeatedly uses the words "any person," as well as "dealer" and "pawnbroker." A big chunk of freedom balances on the word "casual." Will the Department of Public Safety make its own interpretation?

Clifford R. Martin, president of the Georgia Arms Collectors Association, wrote the following: "Our main concern is that this bill will set a precedent for more severe laws to follow. This one, in its present ambiguous form, would be very difficult to enforce and for that reason, like the 'fire cracker law,' will be subject to changes. Remember, the 'Do Gooders' will not let up. Look out in the future for clamp-downs on ammunition, permits to buy, and registration laws."

Young Americans for Freedom and other conservatives must stand ready to defend the right to possess and enjoy firearms. As always, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

EMORY AND TECH SEE YAF FILM

A Generation Awakes was shown at Emory University and Georgia Tech last month. On May 16 the Emory YAF chapter presented the half-hour sound movie about Young Americans for Freedom. The film includes highlights from the mammoth YAF rally at Madison Square Garden, documents a verbal clash between YAF members and far-left "peace" propagandists, and features speeches by Goldwater, Tower, Thurmond, Buckley, and several YAF leaders.

Newly elected officers for the Emory chapter are as follows: Peery Grant, chairman; Claude Tison, vice-chairman; Spencer Howell, treasurer; Angie Stadler, corresponding secretary; and Alan Quarterman, recording secretary. Dr. Helmut Schoeck, professor of sociology, and Dr. Ralph N. Traxler, associate professor of business administration, have recently accepted positions on the chapter advisory board.

Emory YAF set up a booth on campus where students could sign a "Goldwater for President" petition between classes. Result: 250 signatures!

On May 21 Georgia Tech YAF members sponsored the screening of A Generation Awakes and the old stand-by, Operation Abolition. The audience of seventy was addressed by State Chairman Richard Wilson and Tech Chairman Edward Sullinger.

PATRIOTS--OLD AND NEW

By Richard Wilson, Chairman, Georgia YAF

Let us go back 187 years to the darkest days of the Revolutionary War.

General Washington asks for someone to go behind enemy lines and gather information. A young man volunteers, undertakes the dangerous mission, and is captured. The enemy pronounces the usual sentence for spying--death.

Beyond all hope of rescue he stands surrounded by a jeering foe, the rope already knotted around his neck. He speaks one short sentence, and it echoes down the centuries. "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Not long ago I saw his statue in a green park in New York City. With arms pinioned and throat bared, the stone likeness captures the pride and defiance of Nathan Hale.

Three years ago a modern American had the opportunity to follow in the same heroic tradition. He was being tried as a spy by a Soviet court. But while the world watched and listened, the American said: "I didn't know what I was doing. . . . I know now that I was risking world peace. My superiors were responsible."

Nathan Hale could have blamed George Washington, I suppose. But he did not.

Then there were the turncoats in Korea. Were they the result of years of indifference to our American heritage and apathy toward the insidious methods of Communism?

Through the efforts of Young Americans for Freedom many of our youth are renewing their love for their country, are becoming alert to the enemies we face, and are being inspired to seek victory.

MEETING NOTICE

All YAF members living in the Atlanta area are invited to a meeting of the Atlanta chapter on Tuesday, July 9, at 7:30 p.m. in the penthouse (18th floor) of the Atlanta Federal Savings and Loan Building at 22 Marietta Street. New officers will be elected.

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"Civil rights . . . is one of the most badly understood concepts in modern political usage. . . . As often as not, it is simply a name for describing an activity that someone deems politically or socially desirable. A sociologist writes a paper proposing to abolish some inequity, or a politician makes a speech about it--and, behold, a new 'civil right' is born! The Supreme Court has displayed the same creative powers.

"A civil right is a right that is asserted and is therefore protected by some valid law."

Barry Goldwater,
The Conscience of a Conservative

****

HORROR STORY (It can not come true in Georgia--yet.) By Silas Moore

Once upon a time there was a man named Smith. He was employed as a shoe repairman for twenty years, and by saving regularly and living frugally he finally accumulated enough capital to open his own shoe repair shop. This he did after buying a small plot of land, erecting a building, purchasing the necessary machines and materials, and hiring three assistants.

Mr. Smith was a very devout follower of the Brand X Religion. In fact, he believed that his life would be happier if his close friends and associates were fellow believers in the Brand X Religion. Therefore, the three employees in Smith's Shoe Repair Shop were chosen because they were members of Smith's church.

Not long after the grand opening an important-looking gentleman carrying a briefcase strode into the shop. The visitor gave Mr. Smith a perfunctory handshake, flashed a brief smile, and in a detached but well-modulated voice spoke the following:

"I represent the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which was established during the last session of our state legislature to eliminate discrimination in hiring because of race, color, or creed. After receiving a complaint from Mr. Wendell Johnson we made an investigation and found that you refused to hire him simply because he was a member of the Brand Z Religion rather than a believer in the Brand X Religion. Mr. Johnson has had four years of experience in shoe repairing, whereas Mr. Ernest Mills, whom you did hire, has had no previous experience in your trade at all. Clearly, you have violated state law by practicing religious discrimination, not to mention your poor business judgment demonstrated by employing the less qualified applicant. We suggest that you replace Mr. Mills with Mr. Johnson. We remind you that if you insist on not cooperating, we are empowered to bring suit to compel your compliance. What do you say, Mr. Smith?"

The graying, middle-aged enterpriser stroked his chin and stared at the bureaucrat. "Oh, well," drawled Mr. Smith philosophically, "that's the way the Republic crumbles."

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From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR RELEASE MONDAY AMs
AUGUST 12, 1963

****
WHAT IS THE RADICAL RIGHT?
****

The following is a transcript of remarks by Senator Jacob K. Javits on "Senate Report", a television program broadcast on WNEW-TV, New York City, and WKBW-TV, Buffalo, New York, on Sunday, August 11.

* * * * *

My colleague and friend, Senator Barry Goldwater, in a statement reported in the New York Times the other day asked me to define what I meant by "the radical right." He thought it would be helpful if I did so, and I'd like to address myself to it now.

By the radical right, I'm not talking about those people who are trying to overthrow tne government by force, as the Communists are, and I hope that Senator Goldwater would not be confused on that score. I'm talking about those who proceed within the Constitution, but outside what I call the mainstream of American public life.

Now who does that mean? It means, specifically, those groups who call Dwight D. Eisenhower a crypto-communist, or an associate of Communists, or as being influenced by them --- all of which the radical right does not hesitate to do. It means calling for the impeachment of Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, because the radical right doesn't agree with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Indeed, it means seeking to erect a "super court" composed of the chief justices of all state courts and putting the Supreme Court, as it were, out of business. It means not over-hauling the income tax but repealing it. And it also means similar radical moves in respect to labor, in respect to management. It means isolationism in the foreign policy of the United States. For example, the radical right has already started a dedicated campaign against any concept of a test ban treaty or anything remotely approaching it.

This is what I mean by the radical right; and it's a grave danger to our country. Many people have discussed the radical right in more detail. For example, I have here, a couple of recent books on the subject. (The Far Right, Janson and Eismann, McGraw-Hill; and The Sixth Column, Burlingame, Lippincott). There is a recent article in Look Magazine on the radical right invading the Republican Party. There have been a couple of eloquent and important speeches on this subject in the Senate made by my colleague, Senator Tom Kuchel, deputy minority leader. The highly-respected Congressional Quarterly, which digests all of our affairs in Congress has published a list of all these groups. So all this information is available on the radical right.

In addition, it is very interesting -- and perhaps Senator Goldwater has forgotten, although I don't think he has --- that a book called The Great Ideas Today, published by the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1962, featured a long debate between him and me on this very subject.

I would like to quote from that particular debate between Senator Goldwater and myself, in which I said: "The radical right is attempting to take over the conservative label -- to which it is not entitled -- by exploiting anti-communism and appealing to the normal conservatism of a large segment of our people. But the differences between the radical right and conservatism are clear. The radical right is isolationist in its approach to foreign affairs and negative in its approach to domestic policy. It stresses what it is against. It attacks civil liberties under the guise of anti-communism. It shows mistrust and lack of faith in our governmental institutions and casts suspicion on leading government officials by using the familiar technique of dogmatic and unproved charges, stubornly maintained."

Now that is what the radical right is doing in our country today -- it's very much like the "Know-Nothing" movement in the 1850's and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. And that is why people like myself condemn the radical right and we are against allowing it to infiltrate the Republican Party.

#####

Materials: Rad Rq15-gen

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GBV

October 30, 1963

Fellow American:

The Kennedy Administration is continuing to pursue the dangerous strategy of appeasement. Within the past month, we have seen two indications of this: the passage of the Treaty of Moscow, which can only help to weaken our own defense capacity against Communist aggression; the "wheat deal" which, in effect, will serve to bail Khrushchev out of economic disaster. Khrushchev has recently suggested that the United States must take still another step to relieve "tensions" -- acceptance of Communist rule in Cuba. We have grave fears that President Kennedy is prepared to comply and even seek ways and means of assisting the Castro regime.

The following quote from the INSIDER'S NEWSLETTER, a usually authoratative publication, should cause great concern to all Americans:

> "The Kennedy administration will extend a helping hand to hurricane-torn Cuba -- if it can arrange to be pushed into this action. Attorney James B. Donovan, who negotiated the drugs-for-prisioners swap, is involved again, this time retained by the American Friends Service Committee, who want to send help to victims of Hurricane Flora. While the Administration would like to go along, White House advisers feel that JFK cannot afford to look like the initiator of a move to bail out Castro. The test-ban treaty and decision to sell wheat to the Russians have already made him vulnerable to 'soft-on-Communism' charges, they say, and a move to help Cuba would be just too much. The strategy: Kennedy will approve humanitarian steps to help the Cubans if those who urge them can arrange for major religious groups in the U.S. to join together and demand such action, with as much publicity as possible. The religious groups are being lined up now for a 'spontaneous,' united plea to the White House."

We urge you -- together with others in your community -- to keep careful watch on this situation and to take all immediate citizens' action to block this new effort to build the power of an enemy with American food and dollars. Any American help will only serve to continue the enslavement of the Cuban people and the strengthening of Cuba as the central Communist military and subversion base in the Western Hemisphere.

The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine was organized to serve as a "watchdog" on all such moves. We need your help to continue this function. We hope you will find it possible to send us your contribution so as to enable us to continue our efforts to preserve the security of the Nation against any jeopardy, whether it be from within or outside our borders.

We hope we may hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Eddie Rickenbacker

E. V. Rickenbacker
Chairman

". . . we should consider any attempt [on the part of foreign governments] to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." — President James Monroe, December 2, 1823.

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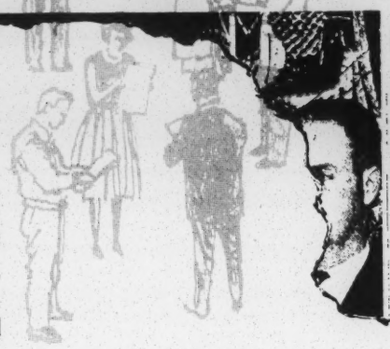
Los Angeles Citizen

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL-CIO

Los Angeles, California, Friday, Dec. 7, 1962



Coast Federa Propaganda Flow Blocked

Organized Labor's exposure of the righ extremist activities of Coast Federal Savings and Association President Joe Crail has caused with of responsible civic leaders from his hand-con committees and ended the flow of his propagand the public schools.

The truth about Crail's tw groups the

by Max Mont

Organized labor's initiative in Los Angeles has demonstrated that ultra-right attempts to invade the schools can be beaten back—by marshalling the facts, alerting community leaders and informing the public.

In southern California ultra-right crackpots and more respectable reactionaries find a common meeting ground in their unending campaigns of pressure on the school system. They make common cause in their efforts to transform the Bill of Rights into a museum piece—ritually venerated on holiday occasions but very dead in practice.

Among the more substantial groups striving to substitute indoctrination for education and retrogressive mass propaganda for public information are the Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association (third largest business of its kind in the nation) and its two adjuncts, the Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee and the Free Enterprise Department.

Not that Coast Federal stands alone. Far from it. Los Angeles seems to be the capital of authoritarian extremism.

This area hosts the national headquarters of rabble-rouser Gerald L. K. Smith and Dr. Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade; sports three ex-congressmen who were apologists for the John Birch Society while in office, one of whom is now on the Birch paid staff; boasts the headquarters of the President of the California Young Republicans, who openly sought Birch support for his election; serves as the fountainhead of what the immediate past President of the California Republican Assembly called a Birch "conspiracy to capture control" of the Republican Party; and prolongs the uproar over the baseless charges of an "imbalance to the left" on state college faculties.

"Thank you for your nice publicity about Coast Federal in your Los Angeles Citizen," said a spokesman for the loan association when the projected public exposure of its authoritarian extremism was announced by the County Federation of Labor's weekly paper.

The words were in the arrogant tone adopted by Coast Federal President Joe Crail and his staff as the house style for dealing with criticism and opposition.

The statement was uttered, however, before the series of events which culminated in repudiation of Crail's activities by the prominent civic leaders who had served unwittingly as his figureheads. And before the exclusion of his material from the schools which had served for so long as a transmission belt for his propaganda.

Crail's confidence was bred of the power commanded by the lavish use of money—over $250,000 spent by Coast Federal annually for staff, materials and mass media to promote his personal views and programs. It seemed justified by years of acquiescence on the part of many community leaders, government authorities and school officials.

The first major challenge to Crail's influence resulted from the study of his operations issued as a pamphlet by the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. It was a part of "a systematic program of examining and exposing to public scrutiny the activities of authoritarian extremist groups."

In introducing the pamphlet, W. J. Bassett, Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, declared: "Of particular concern are the increasing number of businessmen who have lately come to believe that they can safely indulge their far-out political fancies under a newly discovered foolproof disguise—an ostensible fight against the communist danger as a cloak for espousing an equally evil and perilous ultra-right reaction."

The pamphlet described a questionnaire circulated by Coast Federal's "Free Enterprise Department" under the title "Knowledge Is Freedom—Rate Your Americanism I.Q." Its 133 questions apparently reflected a cross-section of the ideas and attitudes of Crail and his staff.

For example, the questionnaire directed those an-

MAX MONT, member of Theatrical and Stage Employes' Local 818, is Chairman of the Committee on Extremist Groups of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor.

swering to "Score 2 points for each 'approve' answer . . ." on such items as "Right To Work Law" (question 32), "John Birch Society" (question 45). Similarly, scores could be improved by checking the "disapprove" space beside the following:

Minimum wage laws; extension of Social Security; nationalized medicine; subsidies to farmers; Tennessee Valley Authority; federal aid to education; long-range foreign aid; the International Labor Organization; the Human Rights Convention; the United Nations; Radio Free Europe; Voice of America; The Peace Corps; League of Women Voters.

Thus, too, one's "Americanism" rating went down if the following statements were perchance marked as truths rather than "myths" on the questionnaire:

—"Human rights are above property rights."

—"By assisting backward nations, the U.S. Government will teach them the ideals of freedom."

—"Society benefits from minimum wage laws as the standard of living is increased."

—"The Government must provide medical care for the aged for they are unable to provide for themselves."

A score of over 110 on the questionnaire "rating scale" was adjudged "libertarian" by Coast Federal standards. Below that score the classifications were:

"Varying degrees of Republicans and Independent Democrats 51-109
"New Frontiersman 30- 50
"Are you sure you wouldn't prefer England or points farther East? . . . . . Under 30"

Ironically, it was the so-called "Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee," chaired by Joe Crail, functioning under tight control of one of his staff members and housed in Coast Federal's building, that produced the most pernicious propaganda. Most of the prominent public figures whose names appeared over the years on the "Executive Committee" of this group apparently had little to do with preparing the material it published and were largely unaware of its activities.

Among them were the Mayor of Los Angeles, the Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, the President of the University of California, the superintendents of city and county school systems and leaders of business, church and civic groups, both liberal and conservative.

The Commemoration Committee sponsored an essay contest on the Bill of Rights among high school students in the county school system. Prize money was furnished by Coast Federal—to the tune of thousands of dollars over the years.

Some of the prize-winning essays were then reproduced in an elaborate booklet published annually under the imprint of the Commemoration Committee with the designation "Program and Speakers Manual" or "Digest."

As the contest winners were chosen by a committee established by the school system, the student essays were of a consistently higher quality than other material by "experts" reprinted in the Manuals.

Some of the statements, articles and speeches circulated in the name of the Commemoration Committee over the years were balanced, sound and thoughtful. But viewed as a whole, the material was distinctly slanted—and sometimes made a mockery of the Bill of Rights itself. Frequently this resulted from a subtle shading of tone, a particular emphasis in theme, a choice of writers. Just as often, however, the material was blatantly biased, vulgarly anti-democratic and politically partisan.

Thus the Speaker's Manuals (or Digests) placed heavy stress on alleged usurpation of states' rights by the federal government and courts to the purported detriment of the people; the imminence of total loss of freedoms, particularly property rights; the evil of social welfare and social security programs; the alleged undermining of freedom by programs of federal aid for solving social and economic problems. No counter-balancing view was presented.

Within the recurrent theme of the evils of federal government action, a constant refrain was encroachment by the federal judiciary. The 1955 Manual quoted from a speech by Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia:

"We have reached a point of centralized government that has swallowed up the reserve states' rights. We have transferred the administration of justice away from home into the strange and faraway hands of the federal courts."

One of the strong motivations for the attacks on the U.S. Supreme Court was opposition to its decisions against racial discrimination and segregation. This was made clear by the following words of Spruille Braden in a three-page reprint of his speech in the 1960 Speakers Digest:

"Abuses and distorted interpretations of the Bill of Rights have been fortified in recent years by the Supreme Court's and other judicial findings or decrees usurping legislative powers, making policy and, in effect, amending the Bill of Rights and Constitution . . .

"But what deference for the first 10 amendments can we expect from a Supreme Court which based a most important decision, not on the Constitution or Bill of Rights, on law or precedent, but on philosophical speculations in a book by Gunnar Myrdal . . ."

In most instances where federal "encroachment" was attacked in the Manual, what was really involved was the issue of the federal protection of human rights against infringement by state or local authorities. So the Manuals are slanted against not only equal rights action but also against safeguards of the right of collective bargaining.

For example, the concluding paragraph of an article in the 1961 Manual by the Honorable M. T. Phelps (former Arizona judge) reads:

"Even the jurisdiction of courts of sovereign states

in labor disputes, where it is alleged (whether true or not) that the Fair Labor Practice Act has been violated, has been denied until consent of the National Labor Relations Board has been procured. This is true even though the NLRB had previously rejected jurisdiction of the dispute."

Disparagement of the democratic process was combined with hostility towards federal programs of social concern and the "welfare state."

In this vein, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was assailed in an article by Felix Morley in the 1959 Manual:

". . . there is little doubt that in this way we have been chiseling at freedom for a long time . . . President Roosevelt's 'four freedoms' statement, made nearly a year before Pearl Harbor, is a case in point . . .

". . . This is emphasized by a glance at the other pair of freedoms—'from want' and 'from fear'—which Mr. Roosevelt said it is the duty of government to provide. These have actually no relation to freedom, properly defined and understood . . .

". . . One could wish that the 'four freedoms' speech had been a mere oratorical gesture, with no continuing significance for the problems of today. Unfortunately, it was the basis of the whole so-called 'Economic Bill of Rights' and therefore the fountainhead from which the current flood of welfare spending continues to pour forth . . ."

Even as the Manuals assailed programs of social concern in general, so did they also attack specific measures—with never a word of reply.

Thus in a page-and-a-half of excerpts in the 1960 Manual, Senator Barry Goldwater was quoted as saying:

". . . You and I must decide whether we intend to continue down the road of federal aid and federal subsidies. Last year the federal Congress passed the so-called 'Defense Education Act.' This year they are being urged to pass a federal subsidy for the construction of schools. We have federal aid for highways. These programs always start small and end big . . .

". . . If we continue down this road, we will become a people who will be leaning on Uncle Sam . . ."

The Manuals, together with other materials, were over the years widely distributed to teachers and students, PTA leaders, civic groups and the general public.

When the County Federation of Labor's pamphlet on Coast Federal began to circulate, intense interest was generated—within the Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee itself no less than among other civic leaders and school-centered groups.

Further evidence, gathered independently of the Federation, was made available. Additional information was submitted to the school system administrators from various sources. Protests were made to the City and County Boards of Education and public hearings were proposed.

A closed meeting of the Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee was called by the Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors. Members present discussed the establishment of objective standards for materials issued in the Committee's name and the possible formation of a screening committee.

In the meantime, the New York Times' western edition carried a lengthy story on the expose by the Federation and quoted Joe Crail as replying:

"They're unwitting dupes of the Communists. They are just carrying out the Communist line. They're pretty ignorant about what's going on. They'll learn."

In the ensuing weeks, newspapers reported several public resignations from the Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee, including that of the Mayor and the Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors. Others resigned without public fanfare.

What had happened to the Committee was made glaringly evident when the new Manual was issued in December of 1962. For the first time the list of Committee members was entirely omitted, except for the name of Chairman Joe Crail.

An offshoot of the Committee, a separate committee with the sole function of conducting an annual observance at the City Council, requested permission in January 1963 to once again conduct its ceremonies. Crail's name was nowhere mentioned in connection with the request. There was a minor flurry of excitement as Councilmen endeavored to learn whether the group was part of Crail's operation.

The observance was subsequently held, but without Crail. Even so, several of the Councilmen protested.

During the same period the County school system quietly dropped the essay contest which had been backed by Coast Federal contributions and the city schools ceased using his material.

Since then Crail has abandoned all pretense that his Free Enterprise Department and his controlled Bill of Rights Commemoration Committee were separate entities. Interested persons are provided materials from both at the same office in the Coast Federal Building.

Despite these setbacks for Crail, it cannot be said that the last battle has yet been fought. He will undoubtedly try a new offensive to regain access to the schools, restore his community position and redeem his prestige.

Perhaps the answer lies in part in another direction. Citing Coast Federal as a case in point, the California Assembly Subcommittee on Tax Administration declared last November:

"We believe that the public should not be required to subsidize, through tax deductibility, the propagation of political opinions of corporate executives."

The subcommittee recommended specific revision of state tax laws. Federal tax reform along similar lines would appear to be an imperative need.

But in any event, labor has shown that by exposing authoritarian extremist groups to public scrutiny, they can be driven into retreat.

low inmates of Ivan Denisovich's – a naval captain, a film operator who knew Eisenstein, a young Baptist with whom Ivan Denisovich has a very interesting conversation about God and religion, a brigadier who was expelled from the army as the son of a kulak, a deaf peasant who during the war ran away three times from captivity; some Latvians and Estonians. They are all portrayed with a sure touch, their speech highly individualized. We see everything through the mind of this simple, honest, hardworking peasant, who loves work, despises easy money (there is a very interesting sidelight on the possiblity of making easy money in the Soviet Union in the account of the village carpet-makers, told very effectively in the give-and-take of Shukhov's wife's letter to him and his thoughts on it, without either the one or the other being "quoted"), and more or less goodhumoredly adjusts himself to his plight, with all his thoughts bent on "surviving" until his sentence expires. It is strongly spiced with bits of camp slang, for which even a Russian may need a special glossary. It is quite unlike the pedestrian manner and the often emasculated language of the run-of-the-mill socialist realism writers. The author has no hesitation in using either dialecticisms or coarse words, of the type which Sholkhov was forced to prune from his *Quiet Don* when he revised the work just before Stalin's death.

For the Westerner who has read many first-hand accounts of Soviet labor camps there are no revelations in Solzhenitsyn's story. It merely confirms – and does so with great artistic effectiveness – what was long known. Nor was it probably new to a great many Soviet readers: even among the Soviet intelligentsia there are a number of people who went through all this. What was new was the chance of reading it in a well-known Soviet magazine and of discussing it freely. Private reports from Moscow say that the entire "liberal" faction of Soviet literary community has hailed the story as a symbol and a hopeful omen. So far, however, there have been very few reactions in print. One of the first was an article by Konstantin Simonov in *Izvestia* (November 18). Coming from Simonov, a noted timeserver, an active participant in the Zhdanov campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans," many of the things he said must have sounded as somewhat hypocritical. He welcomed the story as the final and incontrovertible revelation of the "black and bitter truth" about the iniquities of Stalin's reign of terror. It is significant, however, that Solzhenitsyn himself never mentions Stalin by name (one of the characters on one occasion refers to "the big mustachio'd one"); nor are there any hackneyed references to the "cult of personality." But, scattered here and there throughout the story, are remarks and observations which may make a thoughtful reader question some of the basic premises of the Communist experiment and of the Soviet regime.

Whether Khrushchev's surprising permissiveness with regard to Solzhenitsyn will give rise to a new crop of works exposing the evils of Stalinism is difficut to say. Two more of Solzhenitsyn's stories were to appear in the January issue of *Novy Mir;* one of them is about collective farms and is reported to be extremely "crude." It is possible that this "expository" line will be continued in literature and will run parallel with the clamping-down on avant-garde trends. Those who represent the latter will probably once more go underground, and their work will reach the outside world through clandestine channels. The emergence of this clandestine literature is one of the most interesting things about the Soviet literary scene since 1957, but this is another story.

Reapportionment and the Courts

by Malcolm E. Jewell

The decision of the Supreme Court last March in *Baker v Carr,* opened the way to judicial review of state legislative apportionment and made possible, but not inevitable, a major change in the balance of power in American states. The Court declared that malapportionment in the states may be so "invidious" as to constitute a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. But the Court provided no definition of invidious discrimination; it set no guidelines for the lower courts to follow. Since the decision, the lower courts, both federal and state, have acted more swiftly than many had expected. Lawsuits have been filed in at least 35 states, and in 18 states there have been judicial decisions holding the existing legis-

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lative apportionment of one or both houses invalid. In Alabama, Maryland and Tennessee the action was taken in time to affect the 1962 elections.

But although the courts have acted swiftly and in many states have forced quick action by the legislatures, they have not acted with unanimity. Three paramount questions remain unanswered: How much equality in apportionment is required by the equal protection clause? Do the same standards of equality apply to both houses of a state legislature? Will the courts accept the judgment of the voters concerning apportionment? The Supreme Court will have the opportunity to provide answers to these questions, if it chooses, since each of these issues is involved in one or more of the cases already appealed to the Court from Virginia, New York, Alabama, Maryland and Michigan.

The Supreme Court did not require that legislative apportionment be based exactly on population, and the concurring opinions of Justices Clark and Douglas explicitly stated that mathematical equality is not necessary. Lower courts have varied widely in trying to set standards. Courts in Tennessee, Oklahoma, Vermont and Virginia, for example, demanded greater equality than did the courts in Florida and New York. In November, a federal court invalidated the Virginia apportionment enacted in April which had increased urban representation but left disparities of 2.5 to 1 in the Senate and more than 4 to 1 in the House. Last August a federal court upheld the apportionment provisions in the New York constitution even though these have produced disparities up to 14 to 1 and have effectively guaranteed Republican control of the state legislature. These two contrasting decisions have both been appealed to the Supreme Court, and Justice Warren has granted a stay in the Virginia case.

The courts are unlikely to agree on mathematical standards, in part because they believe that other factors are relevant, factors that may be summed up in the favorite judicial phrase – a "rational" system. The court in New York believed that the apportionment formula there is well adapted to the needs of New York because it balances factors of population, area, accessibility and character of interest of the districts. But judicial standards of rationality differ ultimately, the Supreme Court will probably have to establish some mathematical limits to inequality in order to prevent judicial confusion and contradictions.

The most serious contradiction emerging from lower court opinions to date involves the question of whether the equal protection clause applies to one or both houses of the legislature. The Virginia case is one of several in which the lower court has insisted on "substantial equality" in both houses. Likewise, the federal court in Alabama determined that population must be used to some extent as the basis for apportionment in both houses. The court ordered into effect certain portions of a package plan adopted by the Alabama legislature in response to judicial pressure, but it rejected one part which would have allotted a single Senator to each county, varying in population from 11,000 to 634,000. This decision has also been appealed to the Supreme Court.

By contrast, the Maryland Court of Appeals has upheld a decision by Circuit Court Judge O. Bowie Duckett, who argued that a geographical base for apportionment in one house is not only permissible but is an essential part of the system of checks and balances, an important ingredient in a republican form of government, and a vital protection to minorities. The Judge ordered reapportionment of the House, which has now been accomplished, but the Senate remains unchanged pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

In July, the Michigan Supreme Court, in a 4 to 3 decision along party lines, ruled that the apportionment system in the Senate, which is weighted heavily in favor of rural areas, violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The Democratic majority ordered reapportionment within a month, but Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart stayed the decision pending review by the Supreme Court. His comments during the hearing indicated a belief that a state could use some bases other than population alone for apportioning one house of the legislature.

The term "federal plan" is often used for an apportionment system based on population in one house and geography in the other. Its proponents argue that the method used for apportioning Congress should be good enough for the states, but the Congressional analogy is specious because the states are not federations of counties. Moreover, such a system at the state level is designed to discriminate against urban areas and results in legislative deadlock and frequently divided partisan control of the two houses. This is neither the purpose nor the result of the apportionment plan for the US Senate and House.

The Michigan case also raises the question of whether the courts should try to interpret or ignore the mandate of the voters. The present Senate apportionment plan was approved by Michigan voters in 1952 in preference to a population plan. If the Court does not act soon, it may face the further problem of interpreting the meaning of the Michigan voters' decision concerning a new constitution to be voted on April, which contains only limited revisions in Senate apportionment along with many other controversial changes in the constitution. If the courts try to interpret the meaning of the voters' actions in such a case, they will be embarking in a venture for which the pollsters are better suited. The federal judges in New York, however, speculated that the voters in that state did not want reapportionment because in 1957 they rejected a proposed constitutional convention that

might, *among other things* have acted on reapportionment. There has been no uniformity of judicial behavior on this point. The Federal court approved a Florida reapportionment subject to popular approval, and the voters disapproved. But in Alabama the court ordered reapportionment to take effect before the voters could act on the legislature's plan.

The fundamental argument against judicial reliance on the popular will is that the Fourteenth Amendment applies to minorities as well as majorities. In fact it has been traditionally used by the courts to protect minorities. Under-representation of urban counties is no less a denial of "equal protection" simply because a minority of voters live in the urban counties.

This babel of lower court decisions has provided few guidelines for the legislatures that will meet this year. The time is ripe for a decision from the US Supreme Court that will give answers at least to these major questions. If the Court fails to provide some mathematical definition of rationality, the legislatures will be encouraged to provide a bare minimum of reapportionment. If the Court accepts the principle of the federal plan, it will encourage political deadlock in the states and largely negate the effect of its original decision. If the Court tolerates inequalities because of explicit or implicit approval by the voters, it will be emasculating the principle of equal protection of the law by applying it only to majorities. The logic of the March, 1962, decision, rooted as it is in the equal protection clause, seems to require that substantial equality of representation should apply to every legislative body in all states.

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Jack Corn—Nashville Tennessean

Tennessee's legislature debates reapportionment: After 61 years, foot-dragging

The U.S. Voting Map: A Year of Change

A year ago next week, the U.S. Supreme Court decreed that Federal courts had the right to review apportionment of state legislatures wherever antiquated, distorted districting robs voters of "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision, in the now-famous case of Charles W. Baker vs. Joe C. Carr, struck a blow at a major U.S. political malady—and loosed a phenomenal outburst of judicial and legislative activity.

It has been a year of greater stir toward reapportionment than the nation had witnessed in a whole half century:

▶Legislatures in 36 states have come under attack in the courts for malapportionment. (In the other fourteen states—with the glaring exception of Texas*—experts consider that apportionment is mostly equitable.)

▶In nineteen states—such as Oklahoma, where outmoded districting gave a single vote in one senatorial district the weight of 26 in another—courts have found existing apportionment unconstitutional. In six other states, hearings are still in preliminary stages.

▶In fifteen states, reapportionment plans have been passed for one or both legislative bodies, and ten more states are now likely to take such action.

Actual results are spotty in terms of genuine reform and political impact. But nowhere has a state legislature refused to heed the courts—and nowhere have the courts attempted to pre-empt the actual blueprinting of how to reapportion before the legislatures could come to grips with it. Everywhere observers have been struck by both the volume and the smooth course of reapportioning activity. After the disorder that dogged the 1954 school desegregation decision, some officials feared a "nationwide explosion" would follow the Baker ruling. "But," said one at the Justice Department last week, "the court apparently touched a nerve common to most Americans—that malapportionment was indeed unfair."

Curiously, though both racial and rural issues are prevalent there, the Southern states as a group are the ones that have acted most promptly to redraw the voting map. Indeed, the desegregation process itself may well have made the South more conditioned to change than the North.

In states that reapportioned, some of the old prejudices that stemmed from the rural domination of the legislatures began to die. Examples:

▶After Maryland's urban areas got nineteen new House seats through stopgap reapportionment, the legislature of the former slave state passed a previously rejected law that guaranteed Negroes the right to eat and sleep in public accommodations in the urban counties.

▶Reapportionment of Georgia's Senate on a population basis gave Fulton County (Atlanta) six new senators. One of them, Leroy Johnson, is a Negro. His Republican opponent in November's general election was a Negro, too.

Yet despite such bright spots, and for all the sheer activity generated by Baker vs. Carr, progress so far falls short of liberal hopes of meaningful reform on a nationwide scale. Indeed, some experts believe it is too soon even at the end of a busy year to say just how substantially legislative power will follow the steady movement of the nation's population away from the farms.

Most reapportioning legislatures try to do as little as possible—as long as they seem to pass muster with court rulings. The "apple knockers," the "pork choppers," the "wool hats"—those powerful rural legislators—are understandably reluctant to vote themselves out of power. In Florida, for example, 14 per cent of the population was able to elect a majority in the House, 12 per cent in the Senate; under the legislature's revised plan, 29.5 per cent can elect a majority in the House, 14.5 per cent in the Senate.

Criteria? The nub of the problem is that the Supreme Court decision did not lay down clear-cut criteria for fair apportionment; it merely sent the case back to a lower court for reconsideration. Nowhere is this brake on action plainer than in Tennessee, where the legislature's adamant refusal to reapportion itself for 61 years brought on Baker vs. Carr—and where the legislature is still dragging its feet.

At Nashville this week, the Senate is scheduled to act on a bill to make its membership reflect more fairly the shift in population from the country areas to the city. With little doubt the bill will pass; it was drawn up by a committee controlled by the very bloc that dominates the Senate as a whole—a majority

Newsweek—Tony Rollo

Bailey: Cities are Democratic

*Where 30.1 per cent of the people can elect a majority in the Senate and 38.6 per cent can elect a majority in the House.

of rural members. But it would barely make a dent in the present apportionment that now allows 26.9 per cent of the electorate to choose a majority.

The senators from the state's five underrepresented urban areas were prepared for the real fight—not the one under the huge bronze chandelier that lights the Senate chamber.

Back to Court: "We're going to have to go back to the Federal Court," said state Sen. Hobart Atkins and former Congressman Walter Chandler. As two of the battery of lawyers who had brought Baker vs. Carr to the Supreme Court, they were used to litigation. They already had obtained an order from a three-judge Federal court panel insisting that the Tennessee legislature apportion properly by June 3 or face the possibility that the panel would do the job itself.

So far reapportionment in action has dashed another fond liberal hope of reapportionment in theory—notably that it would boost the political fortunes of liberal Democrats at the expense of conservative Republicans. The hope is based on the assumption that normally Democratic cities now will get better representation, and that the reapportioned legislatures eventually will create Congressional districts more favorable to Democrats. Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey was still hoping last week when he said: "We are sure that if there is fair apportionment, we will win and increase our Democratic membership in the Congress and in the legislatures . . ."

After an extensive survey for the Brookings Institution, Cornell political scientist Andrew Hacker came to a different view: "Remember the American voter is a queer character. He'll vote for a liberal Democratic President like JFK, then go down the line and elect conservative congressmen from the other party." Hacker concluded that reapportionment would help the suburbs far more than the cities—and the suburbs are conservative strongholds. GOP National Chairman William Miller agrees that Republicans will generally benefit: "Underrepresentation is most flagrant in the fast-growing suburbs, not in the solidly Democratic urban districts."

Newsweek—Tony Rollo

Miller: . . . But suburbs aren't

Despite the possibility that the legislatures will become more progressive and give the urban areas—with their racial tensions, their financial deficits, their slums, and their overcrowded schools—a better deal, the implications of the Federal courts' actions during the last year worry some legal experts. One of them is tweedy, pipe-smoking, crewcut Phil C. Neal, new dean of the University of Chicago law school.

"It's really a much more difficult problem than the court seemed to realize," he said last week. "It has created a kind of momentum for getting into great difficulties . . ." As Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter (one of the two dissenters) had put it, Baker vs. Carr led the Court into the "political thicket."

Loose Ends: Most of Neal's "great difficulties" are the loose ends of the Baker decision. Already the lower Federal courts have handed down conflicting answers to the questions that the Supreme Court skipped over. The litigation pressing upward to the high court may force the nine justices to make some hard-and-fast rules about legislative apportionment—and hard-and-fast rules can be dangerous.

Does the Baker decision imply, Neal asks, that every vote in a legislative election should have approximately the same weight—the "one man, one vote" theory? If not, what is fair representation? "It can't be answered by arithmetic. The notion of one man, one vote seems so plausible, so superficially fair. But what if you said that everybody should pay the same taxes?" Neal demands. The Justice Department's view, expressed by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, leans strongly toward "one man, one vote" as an ideal.

What about the 36 states that apportion one house or both according to area, geography, or a combination of area, geography, and population?

'Federal Plan': Many states—particularly those in the West where a single populous city could easily dominate a legislature—give each county or town an equal number of senators—a "little Federal plan." It's so named because its proponents feel it parallels the U.S. Congress where the House is apportioned by population, yet each state has two senators, regardless of size. Yet the Justice Department rejects the parallel on the ground that states were independent to begin with, while the smaller governmental units within them are merely creatures of each state. It argues that

Little—Nashville Tennessean

Face to Face

towns and counties may be represented in a state legislature "as long as there is no more than a modest departure" from the ideal of one man, one vote.

Some Federal judges have drawn strict mathematical guidelines for apportionment, claiming the right to apportion the legislatures in the courts if the legislatures fail to do the job themselves. Some have suggested apportionment by population in both houses; still another court accepted New York's popularly apportioned assembly along with its senate, districted according to a formula involving both area and population.

Congress Ruling: Still another case could be more important than all the others. In Wesberry vs. Vandiver, a lower court said that it couldn't rule on the constitutionality of Georgia's Congressional districts because the U.S. Congress is a branch of government "coequal" with the Federal judiciary. This case also has gone to the Supreme Court.

Where the year's backlog of debates and decisions and appeals will lead, no one can be sure. But at least the growing concern over reapportionment has emphasized the importance of those governmental orphans, the legislatures, to the Federal union.

In a simpler age, before America moved from the farm to the awesome complexities of the cities, the legislatures were powerful enough to elect U.S. senators and astute enough to solve state problems without turning to Washington for help. But the states failed to cope with economic depression; their legislatures were ill prepared for the urban population explosion. The Federal government's aid became more and more necessary, and the states began to atrophy in power.

Yet can a nation as diverse in geography, social attitudes, business, and agricultural interests govern itself entirely from Washington? Can the Fed-

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eral system be revitalized to balance the cry of "states' rights" against the need for "states' responsibilities"? Baker vs. Carr and its aftermath still can jar the states into the twentieth century, and show that the prickly trip through Mr. Justice Frankfurter's thicket is not only necessary but worthwhile.

INTEGRATION: ALBANY

Officially Unofficial

Peach and wild-plum trees were blooming pink and white under a balmy sky in Albany, Ga., last week, and to the Negroes of that racially tense community it seemed for a while that things were really thawing out. After more than a year of futile integration efforts by the Negro coalition group, the Albany Movement, the city council suddenly announced it was junking a whole slew of segregation ordinances.

At first the Negroes of Albany (pronounced "all-benny") were jubilant. "We are overjoyed at the decision," said Charles Sherrod, director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's voter registration project in southwestern Georgia. "Albany can now show the way to the country and the world." Dr. W.G. Anderson, osteopath and president of the Albany Movement, proclaimed "a great moral victory."

Doused: But the jubilation was short-lived. The arch-segregationist Albany Herald doused it with a city commissioner's explanation: "This action simply lets the city out of the business of attempting to compel any action of any individual operating a business. Now the decisions on integration and segregation rest solely with individual citizens and not with the city of Albany. In our view this will strengthen the existing social pattern of segregation."

Negro leaders determined to learn just how much integration—if any—abolition of the Jim Crow ordinances meant. The answer came swiftly.

When four Negro teen-agers sat down at a lunch counter at the rear of the Lee Drug Store, the manager produced a sign reading, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone," and ordered them out. City police suddenly appeared and arrested the four for trespassing. The same day, two Negro youths were arrested for sitting on "white" benches in recorder's court; two Negro leaders were refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant.

The next day five Negro girls tried to buy tickets at the Albany movie theater and were told: "Go away. We don't want your business." A pair of teen-agers who tried to enter a "white" cab received this brusque response from the driver: "I'm sorry. I can't haul niggers."

Newsweek—Karl Fleming

Matinee at the Albany: 'We don't want your business'

Albany's Negroes found one crack in the color wall. The city's Carnegie Library, which along with the parks and playgrounds had been shut down since August, reopened for a 30-day trial period of "vertical" integration: Negroes could borrow books—but reading room chairs and tables had been removed.

By the middle of the week, Negro leaders had clearly established that abolition of Albany's segregation laws was only a legal tactic by stubborn foes; a stronger, unwritten law prevailed. Yet members of the movement kept testing the use of public facilities with small groups. "We must show the nation that segregation is not suddenly dead in Albany," explained Dr. Anderson.

No one was in more agreement with that conclusion than Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, flanked by the U.S. and Confederate flags in his City Hall office. When a reporter asked what the situation was now that the city was out of the segregation business, Pritchett laughed heartily and replied: "You look around and see if you can find anything integrated. If you do, call me."

THE HIGH SEAS:

'Jolly Good Show!'

Little Andrew McLeod of Killam, Alta., was broken up when his dog Ben, suddenly stricken and paralyzed, had to be shot. The dog, it was true, had nipped him on the cheek a few days before, but it was just being playful. There was not much time to mourn though, because in a few days Andrew, age 4, and his mother and sisters, Caroline, 6, and Allison, 2, were off on an ocean voyage to England, for a visit to grandmother in Sussex.

Andrew's father, Dr. H.R. McLeod, thought Ben's trouble was distemper, but just to make sure he sent the dog's head to a province lab for a check. Last week, with Mrs. McLeod and the little ones well out at sea on the Queen Elizabeth, there came a report from the health officer in Calgary: possible rabies.

Canadian officials called Washington; the U.S. Public Health Service called the Coast Guard, and soon a Coast Guard C-130 was taking off in a soupy fog at the Elizabeth City, N.C., air station, with several canisters of anti-rabies serum aboard.

Two hours later Lt. Comdr. Paul Tifft brought his four-engine transport down like a crop duster over the red-and-black smokestacks. Two serum canisters chuted gently down and were picked up minutes later in the water.

"Jolly good show!" exclaimed an amazed sailor. The passengers applauded and the ship's captain radioed warm regards. "Dropped serum at 12:13," pilot Tifft reported, turning for home, 500 miles back. "Picked up by ship's boat at 12:16 . . . departing." A little later Andrew got the first of his fourteen shots. His mother said: "He's fit as a fiddle."

Snooping

As the Soviet skipper told it to Tass last week, two U.S. cruisers and a destroyer hove up on the horizon, sounded a battle alarm, uncovered their gun muzzles, and lobbed four non-explosive dummy shells at his trawler, SR-TR-0997, plunking one shot within 75 yards to starboard. This odd assault, the skipper alleged, occurred March 8 while the SR-TR-0997 was fishing some 70 miles east of Norfolk, Va.

A strong Soviet Government protest

The NATION 4/6/63

Reapportionment – General

Breaking the Rural Strangle Hold . . Will Maslow

The momentous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in *Baker v. Carr*, the Tennessee reapportionment case, and the thirty-odd state and federal decisions which it evoked, indicate that we are on the threshold of a development that may vastly improve our legislative bodies. More than fifty suits have been started in thirty-eight different states in the twelve months that have elapsed since the Supreme Court ruled that "invidious discrimination" in the apportionment or districting of a state legislature violated the Fourteenth Amendment. Although none of these suits has yet resulted in the permanent and equitable "remap" of a state legislature, enough has already been accomplished to quicken hope that the rural strangle hold of our state legislatures may soon be broken. There has been more action on reapportionment in this last year than in the prior twenty-five years. However, no equivalent attack has yet been mounted on the gerrymandering of Congressional seats.

The decision in *Baker v. Carr* was handed down on March 26, 1962. Heroic efforts were at once made by disfranchised urban voters to enjoin the 1962 primaries to compel reapportionment of the state legislatures to be chosen in the general elections. But while fifteen state and federal district courts moved with unprecedented speed to find that existing legislative apportionments denied certain voters equal protection of the laws, they were not prepared, in the summer of 1962, to fashion judicial remedies until this year's state legislatures had an opportunity to correct glaring discrepancies in voting power. However, federal courts in Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee, and the state courts in Maryland, prodded state legislatures into special session, and temporary arrangements were hurriedly devised which increased urban representation in one or both chambers.

Forty-seven of the state legislatures will be in session this year. Even those that have not been warned by the courts are on notice that failure to reapportion equitably may result in judicial remedies for malapportionment.

Perhaps the greatest gains from last year's litigation were achieved in Georgia. The infamous "county unit" plan—whereby candidates for state offices and Congressional districts were required to obtain not a popular majority, but only a majority of the units assigned to counties and districts—was invalidated. On March 18, the Supreme Court not only sustained this decision, but went further: by a vote of 8 to 1, it outlawed any voting system in which votes were weighted. The Court stated that our "conception of equality . . . can mean only one thing—one person, one vote." The opinion, of course, does not affect apportionment of state legislators, but the overtones are unmistakable.

Another law suit in Georgia led to a reapportionment of the state senate hastily enacted by a special legislative session. Metropolitan Atlanta and other urban areas were assigned twenty-three of the fifty-four senate seats. In one senatorial district in Atlanta, with a heavy Negro concentration, two Negroes ran against each other in the general elections and Leroy Johnson, the Democratic candidate, was elected—the first Negro to serve in the Georgia legislature since Reconstruction.

In Tennessee, the legislature was called into special session even before the Supreme Court had remanded *Baker v. Carr* to the Federal District Court. The legislature enacted measures increasing the representation of the state's four metropolitan counties from about one-half to three-quarters of the number to which they would have been entitled on population standards. The federal court held, however, that the remap was still inadequate, and decided that the legislature to be elected in 1962 on the basis of the improved apportionment should have until June, this year, to revise the apportionment. The Court stated that "at least one house [of the legislature] should be based fully on population."

There have been surprisingly few setbacks in the coast-to-coast effort to overcome districting frozen for a generation. (Twenty-seven states have not reapportioned their state legislatures in twenty-five years; in eight states in more than fifty years.) A three-man federal district court upheld the apportionment in New York State fixed by its 1894 constitution; an appeal to the Supreme Court is now pending. New Hampshire's singular arrangement, whereby senate seats are divided according to direct taxes paid, was ruled constitutional. (The plan, though odd, is probably equivalent to representation based on population.) Suits in South Dakota and Wyoming were dismissed on technical grounds and efforts to challenge the reapportionment of Congressional seats in Florida, Georgia and Texas failed.

The federal and state courts that were suddenly confronted with reapportionment issues had little guidance from the Supreme Court. *Baker v. Carr* laid down no guide lines, substantive or procedural, and deliberately refused to indicate the extent of discrimination that would render an apportionment plan unconstitutional. After its decision in the Tennessee case, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court and of a district court in New York, remanding both cases for further consideration in the light of *Baker v. Carr*, but giving no further clarification. Whether the Court can continue to avoid coming to grips with the thorny problems involved remains to be seen. On its fall docket are no less than ten reapportionment cases from Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, New York, Oklahoma and Virginia.

Many questions must be decided. Must a state apportion both houses of its legislature on a population basis, or is a "federal plan" (with representation in one house based on geography or political subdivisions) sufficient? May a federal court set aside an inequitable dis-

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tribution that was approved originally by popular vote? Must a federal court refrain from judicial intervention if a state allows its voters by initiative and referendum to by-pass the state legislature and place an apportionment plan on the ballot? Are federal courts limited to situations, like Tennessee, where apportionment plans violate state constitutions, or may they strike down discriminatory plans required by such constitutions? May an apportionment originally valid become unconstitutional by reason of the passage of time or changed circumstances? Is an apportionment constitutional because it is rational, i.e., based on some plan or principle, such as geography, even though it is obviously inequitable and discriminatory? And, finally, and perhaps most difficult: How discriminatory must a system be to violate the Fourteenth Amendment?

Some courts have been beguiled into sanctioning the so-called federal plan under which one house of a state legislature is apportioned on the basis of geography, not population. Others have explicitly rejected the federal analogy, pointing out that while a sovereign state may be entitled to equality of representation in the U.S. Senate, a political subdivision, like a county, is not. After all, small states gained equality in the original Constitution because, without such representation, there would have been no union. But our notions of voting equality have advanced since the eighteenth century and no such sacrifice of principle is required now.

Apart from the sixteen states which sanction the federal plan, there are twenty-five others in which the population basis of apportionment is qualified, usually by the requirement that each county, no matter how small, is entitled to at least one representative in one or both houses. The inevitable result of such qualifications is rural over-representation.

Some lower courts have struggled to find a numerical formula for voting inequality. A federal district court in Georgia indicated that it would sanction discrepancies in voting power provided the ensuing discrimination did not exceed the disparity that exists against any state in the Electoral College. But Alaska has one vote in the Electoral College for each bloc of 75,000 persons, whereas California has one elector for each 393,000. Thus the Electoral College analogy would sanction districts having a five-to-one advantage over others. On the other hand, a three-man federal court in New York found no constitutional discrimination in the 1894 apportionment under which it was alleged that state senate districts varied in population from 146,000 to 344,000 and assembly districts from 14,000 to 115,000.

"Paw, I've come back for Sis."

Congressional districting presents simpler problems. The apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives among the states is done automatically each decade in accordance with census figures. But each state legislature is then free to draw its own Congressional district lines, dividing the seats allotted to it. Rurally dominated legislatures then proceed to gerrymander, diluting the value of urban and Negro votes. In Michigan, Congressional districts range in population from 177,000 to 802,000; in Texas, from 216,000 to 951,000; in Georgia from 272,000 to 823,000. In Florida, the state supreme court last October found nothing improper in a system whereby Congressional districts varied from 237,000 to 660,000.

Wherever there are large blocs of Negro voters, they are concentrated in one Congressional district instead of being dispersed among several which they might control or carry. According to a study published in *Ebony* magazine, Negroes constitute 17.8 per cent of the population of our thirty largest cities, yet there will be only five Negro Congressmen in the 88th Congress.

But Congress has the power not only to require "compact and contiguous" districts, but to forbid large population variances. Congressman Celler's bill, which will undoubtedly be pushed in 1963, forbids any Congressional district to vary from a state-wide average by more than 20 per cent, a minimum range enjoyed today in only a dozen states.

Perhaps the best way of appreciating the speed and forthrightness of the courts in coping with these unprecedented problems is to describe some of the most striking cases. On April 14, 1962, a three-judge federal district court, having before it an application for a temporary injunction to prevent the holding in Alabama of the state primary elections of May, 1962, and the general elections of November, 1962, did not wait for the introduction of evidence. It quoted the Alabama constitution requiring that "representation in the legislature shall be based upon population" and revised decennially, and took judicial notice of an Alabama state court decision that there had been no reapportionment based on population changes since 1901. It then postponed the suit until July 16, 1962, to give the Alabama legislature opportunity to comply with the state constitutional mandate.

The Alabama legislature was called into special session on June 5 and on July 12, four days before the judicial deadline, approved a proposed constitutional amendment (subject to popular ratification) reapportioning the state senate and lower chamber. It also adopted a stand-by statute, apportioning each chamber on a different basis to become effective if the constitutional amendment were rejected by the federal court or the people.

On July 21, the federal district court found that both the constitutional amendment and the stand-by measure were inacceptable and voided both. It then promulgated a temporary reapportionment plan solely to elect the 1963 legislature, incorporating the house apportionment of the constitutional amendment and the senate apportionment of the stand-by measure, choosing for each house the plan closest to

true equality of representation. The court specifically rejected a "federal plan" which, indeed, would have been worse than the existing malapportionment. This was the first time a federal court had ever actually reapportioned a state legislature and was the first reapportionment in Alabama since 1901. Two days later, Gov. John Patterson (who has earned national notoriety for his intransigence on Negro suffrage and desegregation) accepted the order of the federal court. An effort to obtain a stay of the order from Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black proved unsuccessful and a second primary election was held in August, 1962.

The representation of urban areas has been increased in the new legislature, the Birmingham delegation being enlarged from seven to seventeen and that from Mobile County from three to eighteen. Nevertheless, 27.6 per cent of the people of Alabama still elect a majority of the Alabama senate.

The district court has meanwhile retained jurisdiction of the case (*Sims v. Frink*) in order to give this year's Alabama legislature an opportunity to provide for a true reapportionment of both houses and to break what the court called "the strangle hold." But the court warned that if the 1963 legislature failed to act, it would exercise its "solemn duty" to prevent a denial of the equal protection of the law.

Not all courts have been as forceful in seeking to achieve equality of representation. On July 23, 1962, a federal district court invalidated Florida's 1961 reapportionment and ordered a new plan to be promulgated for the 1962 elections, warning that if it were not done, the court would itself "fashion a remedy of judicial apportionment by judicial decree." The legislature met in special session in August, 1962, and drew up a new plan, which the court approved on September 6.

The apportionment plan was, however, rejected by the voters, the opposition being greatest in the more populous counties and cities. The Florida legislature was again called into special session to draft a new apportionment, but after twenty days of deadlock it adjourned without any action, leaving the matter once more in the hands of the federal court.

State courts were no less forceful than federal courts. On April 23, 1962, the U. S. Supreme Court, in a one-sentence opinion, reinstated a complaint in an apportionment suit brought by August Scholle, head of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, which the Michigan supreme court had dismissed (by a 5-to-3 vote) in 1960. On July 18, 1962, Michigan's highest court invalidated (by a 4-to-3 vote) the apportionment for the state senate which had been frozen into the constitution and approved by the voters in 1952. It also enjoined the primary election only three weeks off. The court "respectfully advised" that a new apportionment was urgently required, but warned that if it were not forthcoming, state senators would be chosen at large in a state-wide primary to be held on September 11.

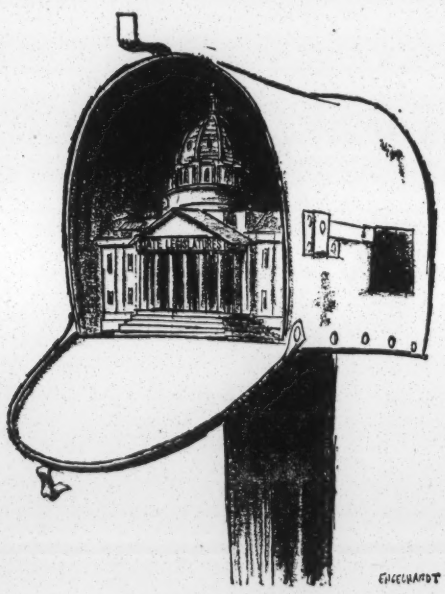
The majority of the court found the largest senate district contained twelve times as many people as the smallest, and that 53 per cent of the state's population chose only 29 per cent of the senate. It ruled that such a discrepancy violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

At this juncture, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart stayed the Michigan court's ruling pending an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, thus reinstating the August primaries and making impossible any revision of Michigan apportionment until 1963. If the Supreme Court now agrees to hear *Scholle v. Hare*, it will have to decide whether one house of a state legislature may be chosen on the basis of geography, not population.

The litigation in Maryland demonstrates that rural domination of a state's legislature can only be broken by a court or the threat of court action. The Maryland constitution allots one senator to each county and six to Baltimore City, and also apportions the 123 members of the House of Delegates. The state legislature is given no express power to apportion. As a result, Baltimore and its four suburban counties, which contain 76 per cent of the state's population, elected only 34 per cent of the senate and 49 per cent of the house. Bills to call a constitutional convention have repeatedly failed because of rural opposition, even after proposals for such a convention had been approved by the voters.

On April 25, 1962, after reciting the above facts, the Maryland supreme court directed a lower court to receive evidence whether unconstitutional discrimination existed in the apportionment of either Maryland house. On May 24, 1962, Chancellor Duckett ruled that the Maryland senate might properly be chosen on the basis of geographical areas, but that the house apportionment was illegal. On May 24, the Maryland General Assembly met and reapportioned the Maryland house by creating nineteen new seats, which for the first time gave Baltimore and its four suburban counties control of that chamber. On July 23, the Maryland supreme court approved the house reapportionment, but ruled that the senate did not have to be chosen on a population basis. An appeal has been taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The litigation I have described above and the other cases for which a detailed description is impossible because of space limitation demonstrate that all of Justice Frankfurter's gloomy prophecies in his *Baker v. Carr* dissent have been disproved. The state legislatures have not played "ducks and drakes with the judiciary." The same courts which acquiesced in the patent circumvention of the Supreme Court's mandate in the school-segregation cases were quick to see and forceful to reject counterfeit reapportionment. The legislatures have heeded the courts' "admonitions." The courts have not been sunk in a "mathematical quagmire" because of the lack of judicial standards on voting inequality. There has been no flouting of any court's decision.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Rural Free Delivery

And most important, there has been no weakening of the popular will in exclusive reliance on the judiciary. On the contrary, the litigation has revealed the extent of urban disfranchisement and released pent-up resentment.

Legislative redistricting referenda were on the ballot in twelve states in the last elections. In seven states, the voters approved easier procedures for future apportionments or defeated plans unfair to urban voters. In five others, however, including California, voters either rejected plans to give urban areas more representation or else approved plans unfair by population standards.

A great debate is now developing and political scientists and good-government groups can testify that more hard thinking is being done about legislative apportionment than the country has witnessed in decades. "One man, one vote" is becoming a rallying cry. Voter apathy is being replaced by voter determination and the courts are playing a catalytic role in stimulating legislation, shaping popular attitudes and preserving the fundamental principle of our democracy: the equality of man under the rule of law.

Much remains to be done. A recent study by the National Municipal League shows that less than 30 per cent of the population is able to elect a majority of the lower house in thirteen state legislatures and a majority of the upper house in twenty states.

This year's state legislative sessions—if they heed the responsibilities imposed on them by the courts and the Fourteenth Amendment—must address themselves to the ultimate goal: A system of legislative apportionment that is as automatic and mechanical as possible, in which rural domination of our state and federal legislatures is broken and in which the needs of the people, by now primarily urban, are filled by a legislature that is responsible, and responsive, to them.

NYT 11/11/63

Legislative Balance Shifts Under Redistricting Ruling

Reapportionment Gen.

High Court to Begin Hearing Arguments on Whether Apportionment Must Be Based on Equality in Population

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10—The Supreme Court's decision in the Tennessee legislative districting case, still less than two years old, has had an extraordinary impact on the country's law and politics.

A survey of the 50 states shows repercussions on a scale that few had foreseen. These are some of the survey's findings:

¶Lawsuits have been brought in 39 states to challenge existing legislative apportionments.

¶In 20 states legislative districts have been revised by legislative action or constitutional amendment, usually under the compulsion or threat of a court order.

¶The courts have found a number of the new apportionments still inequitable and have struck them down. In three cases a court itself has drawn new district lines.

The final result of these developments is still uncertain. It is not yet clear, for example, whether the United States Constitution requires the districts in either house of a state legislature, or neither, or both, to be approximately equal in population.

That large question is now back on the doorstep of the Supreme Court. The Court will explore it in a series of apportionment cases to be argued beginning Tuesday.

The cases come from New York, Alabama, Maryland and Virginia. Another, from Delaware, will be heard in December. Together, the cases could produce definitive constitutional guidelines for districts in every state.

It is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that these cases may

Continued on Page 36, Column 1

Supreme Court Decision on Redistricting Found to Have Wide Impact in Nation

POPULATION ISSUE BEFORE TRIBUNAL

Survey Shows Lawsuits in 39 States and Revisions of Boundaries in 20

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

significantly shape state politics into the indefinite future. For the districting system goes a long way toward deciding what kind of legislature a state has—rural or urban in outlook, Republican or Democratic, moderate or intransigent on racial issues in the South.

The current ferment on legislative districting is the more remarkable in light of past history. Until 1962 it was a history of legislative inactivity and judicial forbearance.

Urban Areas Disregarded

For years those in control of state legislatures—mostly rural politicians—had simply refused to draw new district lines to reflect population changes. The fast-growing cities and suburbs had been frozen out of power.

In many states there had been no redistricting for 30 to 50 years, or longer. Rural control reached such extremes as the situation in Florida, where districts including only 12 per cent of the state's population elected a majority of the State Senators and 15 per cent a majority in the House.

The courts had said that it was not their business to remedy the condition. The Supreme Court seemed to put its seal on this view when it said, in 1946, that it would not enter the "political thicket" of districting.

Then, on March 26, 1962, the Supreme Court changed its mind. In the Tennessee case it held that the Federal courts were free to examine the constitutionality of state legislative districts.

The court did not then give any hint of what standards would decide whether districts were constitutional. That is the question in the new cases.

But the lower courts did not wait for guidance from above. They moved ahead in the expansion of a new constitutional doctrine with a speed for which legal observers can find no recent parallel.

Tennessee Case Discussed

Both state and Federal courts have been involved. There have been Federal court suits, so far, in 39 states and state court

percentage of population needed to elect a majority in the House from 15 to 27 but increased the Senate figure from 12 to only 14.

In 1962, Colorado voters adopted a "Federal plan" that holds down urban influence in the Senate. Iowans will vote Dec. 3 on a proposal to have Senate districts equal in population but give each of the 99 counties one seat in the House. Several other states have similar propositions pending.

The explosion of reapportionment activity involves all sections of the country. In Mississippi a state court has forced the first redistricting since 1916. In Vermont an apportionment unchanged since 1793 is before a Federal court.

Suits have been brought by state officials, by state legislators and by individual voters. There has been support from such groups as the League of Women Voters, the American Civil Liberties Union and labor unions.

In addition to state legislative districts, the Supreme Court will consider what constitutional standards, if any, cover Congressional districts. Two cases are scheduled for argument next week.

The first case, from Georgia, attacks gross inequalities in that state's Congressional district populations. In the second, from New York, the assertion is that the Legislature unconstitutionally drew Manhattan's 17th, or "silk stocking," District to bar most Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The survey by The New York Times dealt with apportionment of the state legislatures. The information was gathered from correspondents, political scientists and public officials.

The general trend reported was toward some reduction in rural overrepresentation. But several sources made the point that rural legislators were retaining much of their power through other means—their seniority, cohesiveness and parliamentary skill.

There follows a summary of the apportionment situation in each state.

In each state figures indicate the smallest percentage of the population that could elect a majority of the members in each house. Experts regard this as the best test of the representative quality of legislatures.

For example, a 10 per cent figure would indicate that the inhabitants of sparsely settled districts elect a majority in that house. In a legislative house with districts of equal population, it takes something near 50 per cent of the public to elect a majority.

NEW ENGLAND

CONNECTICUT

The main issue here is the House, which represents townships instead of people. Hartford, population 162,000, has two members; so does Union, pop-

Justices May Upset New York's Balance of Power

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

"The average citizen in the rural districts," said a delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention, "is superior in intellect, superior in morality, superior in self-government, to the average citizen of the great cities."

Because most of his fellow delegates agreed with him, they wrote into the state Constitution a series of unusual apportionment formulas designed to give the virtuous country man a commanding voice in the Legislature.

That was in 1894. Ever since, the city dwellers of the state have been complaining, to little effect, that they are denied their proper role in the management of its affairs.

Tomorrow the Supreme Court will hear arguments in the case of WMCA v. Simon. Should the court decide, as WMCA has asked it to, that the formulas established in 1894 are unconstitutional, the effect could be revolutionary.

"It would change the whole balance of power in this state," Senate Minority Leader Joseph Zaretski asserted last week. "For the first time, the urban and suburban areas would have their proper voice in Albany."

The Prevailing Opinion

Said Controller Abraham D. Beame:

"Reapportionment would go further toward solving New York City's chronic financial problems than any other single thing that could be done."

Theirs is the prevailing opinion—that court-ordered reapportionment, by increasing the legislative leverage of the city and its suburbs, would tend to ease, if not solve, many of the problems that plague the metropolitan area.

State Senator Robert C. McEwen, the Ogdensburg Republican who heads the Joint Legislative Committee on Reapportionment, holds the contrary view:

"Any benefits that would flow to the cities and the suburbs, and I don't think there would be very many, would be far, far outweighed by the destruction of representative government upstate.

"I don't care whether a man lives in Canarsie or in Plattsburgh, he ought to have someone from his immediate area to speak for him in the Legislature. If the Supreme Court moves in on us, the man from Plattsburgh will be out of luck."

City Has 43 Per Cent

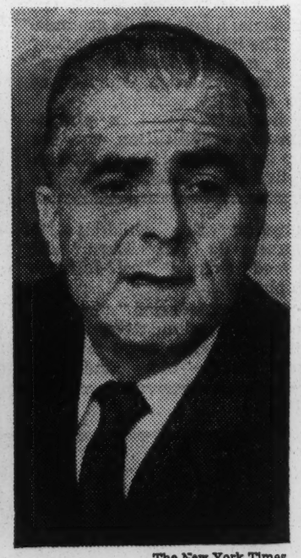
At the moment, with another apportionment based on the old formulas due sometime before 1966, this is the situation in the Assembly:

New York City, with 47 per cent of the state's population

The New York Times

Associated Press

Senator Robert McEwen, left, and Senator Walter J. Mahoney, both upstate Republicans, are in favor of present system. Mr. McEwen is head of Joint Legislative Committee on Reapportionment. Mr. Mahoney is Senate majority leader



The New York Times

Joseph Zaretzki, at left, and Abraham D. Beame, both Democrats, are opposed to the present allottment of legislative seats. Mr. Zaretzki, from Manhattan, is the Senate Minority leader. Mr. Beame is the City Controller.

suburbs are under-represented (that is, their share of the seats is smaller than their share of the population), and the rural counties upstate are over-represented.

Proponents of reapportionment like to point out that Assemblyman Jerry W. Black, who represents the 14,974 people of Schuyler County, had an equal vote with Assemblyman Edwin J. Fehrenbach, who represents the 314,721 people who live in Nassau County.

Those on the other side, including Senate Majority Leader

available to it dozens of model formulas. One document alone, a report prepared in 1960 for the Peck Commission by Dr. Ruth C. Silva of Pennsylvania State University, contains 34 plans.

Still another proposal has been advanced by the New York State Committee for Fair Representation, a committee including representatives of civil, labor and minority groups.

Link to Population

It would tie Senate representation directly to population

growth of those counties, the size of the Nassau and Suffolk delegations would be doubled. And because this plan would abandon the rule of at least one Assemblyman for each county, the upstate rural areas would lose strength.

The political implications of all this, however, are considerably less clear than is generally thought.

Under the old system in 1958, 1960 and 1962, the Democratic candidates for the Senate and the Assembly had a larger total vote than the Republicans. Nevertheless, the Republicans won control of both houses.

System Favors G.O.P.

So strongly does the system favor the G.O.P., in fact, that only once since 1894 (in 1935) have the Democrats been able to win control of the Legislature—even though during the same period they have occupied the Governor's Mansion for 30 of 69 years.

The Wagner administration considers reapportionment the closest thing yet to a municipal panacea. Mr. Beame has been especially outspoken on the subject.

"All our financial problems stem from the Legislature," he said last week, "whether you're talking about its failure to grant us adequate powers to raise money as we see fit or its inequitable distribution of state aid."

"If the city and its suburbs, which have the same problems, were given fairer representation, we would make progress on these problems," he went on. "For example, we'd have no trouble at all getting off-track betting."

In an affidavit prepared last year in connection with its suit, WMCA described instances of what is called "legislative discrimination against New York City."

School Aid Cited

"New York City," the affidavit said, "received $197 in school aid for each student in its public schools [in the fiscal year 1961-62]. The average for each student in the rest of the state was $314." Republican legislators, however, insist that there is ample justification for the difference.

Three national organizations — the American Jewish Congress, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the American Civil Liberties Union — have been allied with WMCA in its reapportionment campaign. They joined in an amici curiae brief for the appeals to be argued tomorrow.

R. Peter Straus, the slight, energetic, 41-year-old president of WMCA, explained that the station had begun its campaign because "everything our public affairs department looked into led us back to this community's

vetoed by the Democratic Governor, Matthew E. Welsh. The Legislature proposed the same plan as a constitutional amendment, which would require repassage in 1965 and then approval by the voters.

Last Friday, a three-judge Federal court held unconstitutional the present districts, drawn in 1921. It gave the Legislature two years to redistrict, enjoining any elections under the 1921 apportionment after that. Current electoral percentages: Senate 35, House 38.

IOWA

A three-judge Federal court has held the present apportionment unconstitutional but has delayed a final order to see what Iowa's voters say Dec. 3 about a proposed amendment to the state constitution. The amendment would make Senate districts equal in population but depart entirely from population as the basis of House districts, giving one member to each of the 99 counties. Gov. Harold Hughes is fighting the amendment; its principal support comes from the Iowa Farm Bureau. Present electoral percentages: Senate 35, House 27.

KANSAS

The state courts held the Senate districts invalid, and the Legislature promptly revised them strictly on the basis of population. The change raised the percentages necessary to elect a Senate majority from 27 to almost exactly 50. The House figure remains at 19.

MICHIGAN

After Baker v. Carr the State Supreme Court held the Senate districts invalid. But this decision was stayed by Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart and was presumably superseded this year when Michigan adopted a new constitution. This constitution apportions House seats mainly, though not entirely, by population, but for the Senate uses a formula giving population four-fifths weight and area one-fifth. A new Federal court suit challenges the Senate formula. The electoral percentages are now 29 in the Senate, 44 in the House. The districts to be drawn under the new constitution are expected to raise these to 40 and 45, respectively.

MINNESOTA

Judicial action brought some reform here before Baker v. Carr. A three-judge Federal court in 1958, perhaps looking ahead to the new constitutional doctrine, suggested that it might take action. Reapportionment followed. The electoral percentages: Senate 40, House 35.

NEBRASKA

The state's one-house Legislature was theoretically required to be strictly representative of population but had not been redistricted since 1935. After a Federal court suit was filed, the Legislature proposed,

rural weight in the Senate. This raised the electoral percentages from 30 to 36 in the Senate, 32 to 45 in the House. But the Senate percentage will decline in the future if urbanization continues. A three-judge Federal court has sustained the new apportionment, but an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court.

IDAHO

In an effort to indicate good faith to the courts, the Legislature this year redistricted the House, raising the necessary percentage of the voters to control from 33 to 44. The figure remains 17 in the Senate. The new apportionment has been challenged in a suit now under consideration by a Federal court.

MONTANA

Regular reapportionment of the House in 1961, no further legislative or legal action. Electoral percentages: Senate 16, House 37.

NEVADA

A pending Federal suit attacks the most unequally apportioned State Senate in the country, in which 7.6 per cent of the voters can elect a majority. In the House the figure is 35.

NEW MEXICO

A state judge, denouncing the Supreme Court for "judicial legislation," has nevertheless directed the Legislature to redistrict its House by Dec. 1. The House electoral percentage is 27. The Senate, with one member a county and a percentage of 14, is not under legal attack.

UTAH

The Legislature redistricted both Houses this year under the threat of judicial action, but made no significant alteration in the urban-rural balance. The electoral percentages remain at 21 in the Senate, 34 in the House. A suit has been filed in Federal court against this apportionment.

WYOMING

A reapportionment this year made the Senate less representative of population, the House more. Electoral percentages moved from 27 to 24 in the Senate, 36 to 47 in the House. The new apportionment has been challenged in a Federal court suit to be argued next month.

PACIFIC

ALASKA

No legal or political action since Baker v. Carr. Automatic reapportionment provision of the state constitution revised House districts in 1961; Senate lines are fixed in the constitution. Electoral percentages: Senate 35, House 49.

CALIFORNIA

A state court suit has been dismissed, but an action brought by Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles is pending in the Fed-

The court did not then give any hint of what standards would decide whether districts were constitutional. That is the question in the new cases.

But the lower courts did not wait for guidance from above. They moved ahead in the expansion of a new constitutional doctrine with a speed for which legal observers can find no recent parallel.

Tennessee Case Discussed

Both state and Federal courts have been involved. There have been Federal court suits, so far, in 30 states, and state court actions in 14. (The total of 44 is five more than the 39 states with apportionment litigation because five states face suits in both state and Federal courts.)

The interplay between legislature and court can be illustrated in the Tennessee case itself. Before the decision of 1962, in the case known as Baker v. Carr, the Tennessee Legislature had not redistricted since 1901.

Shortly after Baker v. Carr, a special session of the Tennessee Legislature passed a reapportionment act. It made some concessions to urban voters but it still gave them fewer representatives in each house than their numbers would indicate.

A three-judge Federal District Court ruled that the Legislature could, constitutionally, deviate somewhat from strict population representation in the House. But it found the new Senate districts invalid.

The Legislature had given Tennessee's five urban counties, with 46 per cent of the state's population, 12 of 33 Senate seats. In 1963, after the Court's judgment, a new bill was passed giving the urban counties one more seat, a total of 13.

The urban voters went back to court. Last Oct. 10 the judges approved a plan giving the urban counties the 16 seats they were demanding. The Court said that it would issue a final order Feb. 3 making this the new Tennessee apportionment unless something happened to change the situation before then.

Convention Is Called

A Times correspondent in Tennessee drew this moral from the record there:

"The refusal of rural legislators to give up some of their power led to the present litigation and court orders. Many people regret that the final decision on apportionment seems now to have passed permanently from the legislative to the judicial branch.

"But the rural bloc has demonstrated that it will seek every means of avoiding compliance—or cheating, even by a few seats—in an effort to preserve as much of its authority as possible."

The correspondent noted that rural legislators had set up a convention to revise the Tennessee Constitution in 1965. Of the 99 delegates only 9 will be from urban areas—unless the courts again intervene.

A number of states have reacted to judicial pressure for reapportionment by adopting a "Federal plan" in which one house represents population more or less equally and the other house gives extra weight to sparsely settled areas.

The analogy is drawn to the Federal Congress, in which the House of Representatives represents people and the Senate the states. Whether this analogy meets the 14th Amendment's requirement that the states afford "the equal protection of the laws" will be decided by the Supreme Court.

In Florida, for example, a redistricting this year raised the figure would indicate that the inhabitants of sparsely settled districts elect a majority in that house. In a legislative house with districts of equal population, it takes something near 50 per cent of the public to elect a majority.

NEW ENGLAND

CONNECTICUT

The main issue here is the House, which represents townships instead of people. Hartford, population 162,000, has two members; so does Union, population 383. The apportionment has not been changed since 1876. A three-judge Federal court head argument Oct. 22 on suits to compel redistricting of both Houses. The Democratic and Republican parties were represented and agreed that there should be changes in the Senate, last revised in 1903. But the Republicans defended the township basis of the House. Electoral percentages: Senate 33, House 12.

MAINE

The Legislature did not wait for litigation, although Maine's districts were among the country's more representative of population. The electoral percentages were 47 in the Senate, 40 in the House. Last week the voters approved a constitutional amendment to make House district populations more equal. The Legislature will draw the new districts next month.

MASSACHUSETTS

A state court has forced action on new House districts, which are now being drawn by a commission. The present electoral percentage is 45 in both House and Senate.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The state courts have upheld the state's unusual constitutional provision apportioning the Senate on the basis of direct taxes paid. A constitutional convention next May is expected to consider a change to population as the basis of apportionment. Electoral percentages: Senate 45, House 44.

RHODE ISLAND

Litigation has focused on the House, where 47 per cent of the population elect a majority but where there is some bias against some fast-growing suburbs. Thus far there has been no challenge to Senate districts fixed in the state constitution, although the percentage for control is only 18.

In 1962, in a suit brought by two legislators from the suburbs, the State Supreme Court said that the House districts were so unequal as to violate the Federal Constitution. It noted especially a state provision that every town must have at least one seat. To be equitable, the Court said, that rule must be abandoned and small towns lumped into one district, or else the House must be increased to a point where the smallest town would be entitled to a seat—perhaps 800 members.

The Legislature passed a reapportionment act depriving some small towns of their House seats. But Gov. John H. Chafee vetoed it on the ground that it violated the state constitutional formula. The issue is now in a Federal court.

VERMONT

Under compulsion of a state court suit, one Senate district has been changed; but the real issue is the House, apportioned by towns and unchanged since 1793. A three-judge Federal court heard argument Oct. 29 on the House districts. A recent study shows that 40 towns are so small that the state income taxes paid by their residents do not even cover the salaries of the legislators they elect. The electoral percentages are 47 in the Senate, 12 in the House.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC

DELAWARE

In the hope of avoiding court action, the Legislature approved a constitutional amendment this year to make the first reapportionment since 1897. It raised the electoral percentage in the House from 19 to 28 but reduced it in the Senate, from 22 to 21, by giving each of the state's three counties seven Senators. A three-judge Federal court held the new apportionment unconstitutional and enjoined any election under it. This order was stayed pending review in the Supreme Court.

NEW JERSEY

Before Baker v. Carr, the State Supreme Court forced the Legislature to revise Assembly districts in 1961. It now takes 47 per cent of the voters to elect an Assembly majority. The Senate has one member for each county, and the disparities in county populations allow 19 per cent of the voters to control it. The Senate provision is under attack in a suit now before the State Supreme Court.

NEW YORK

The state's intricate apportionment formulas are based partly on population but limit the seats for more populous counties in both Houses. Electoral percentages are 37 in the Senate, 38 in the Assembly. In practical terms, the effect is to freeze the Democrats out. In this century, though often electing a Governor, Democrats have controlled the Legislature for only two years. A three-judge Federal court upheld the system, took a fresh look on the Supreme Court's orders after Baker v. Carr, upheld it again. The appeal is about to be argued in the Supreme Court.

PENNSYLVANIA

Gov. William W. Scranton has called the Legislature into special session tomorrow under the compulsion of a state court promise to act if necessary. Electoral percentages: Senate 33, House 38.

BORDER

KENTUCKY

After the filing of a suit in Federal court, but before decision, the Legislature passed the first reapportionment act in 20 years. It raises the electoral percentages from 42 to 45 in the Senate, 34 to 47 in the House.

MARYLAND

Under a state court order the Legislature gave urban and suburban areas more seats in the House, raising the percentage of voters needed to control from 25 to 35. The Senate was left unchanged, with 15 per cent of the population electing a majority. The state's highest court upheld the new apportionment, the majority embracing the "Federal analogy" and the minority urging that the Senate should also reflect population more closely. The case will be argued in the Supreme Court this week.

MISSOURI

Two Federal court suits are pending, both aimed at the House. Electoral percentages: Senate 48, House 20.

OKLAHOMA

A three-judge court held the districts invalid in August, 1962, but gave the Legislature until March, 1963, to act. Legislation did pass, but the court found it inadequate. Last July 1, it ordered into effect a reapportionment plan of its own. State officials are seeking review in the Supreme Court. The old electoral percentages were 25 in the Senate, 30 in the House. Under the 1963 legislation they would have been 33 and 31, respectively. The court's plan makes them 50 and 42.

WEST VIRGINIA

Under the pressure of a Federal court suit, the Legislature reapportioned this year, leaving the percentage of voters needed to control the Senate at 47 but raising the House figure from 40 to 44. In addition to the Federal suit, new districts are under challenge in the state courts on state constitutional grounds.

SOUTH

ALABAMA

In 1962 the districts, unchanged since 1901, allowed 25 per cent of the state population to elect a Senate majority and 26 per cent a House majority. A three-judge Federal court indicated shortly after Baker v. Carr that it would strike the districts down.

The Legislature, under that pressure, proposed a constitutional amendment to equalize House districts somewhat but to base the Senate on one member from each county. It also passed standby legislation, in the event the voters rejected the amendment, to make Senate districts slightly more representative.

The court found both plans inadequate. It adopted its own scheme, combining the House features of the proposed amendment and the Senate provisions of the standby bill. This raised the electoral percentages to 28 in the Senate, 42 in the House.

This apportionment was used in last year's elections. The lower court's order will be considered by the Supreme Court next week.

ARKANSAS

No action. House redistricted under automatic provision in 1961, Senate lines frozen. Percentages: Senate 44, House 33.

FLORIDA

Under pressure of a lawsuit the Legislature this year redistricted both houses but left power firmly in the hands of the rural voters. Electoral percentages rise from 12 to 14 in the House, 15 to 27 in the Senate. A three-judge Federal court upheld the new apportionment. Review is being sought in the Supreme Court.

GEORGIA

Immediately after Baker v. Carr a Federal court ordered that at least one house be reapportioned. The Legislature thereupon revised the Senate districts to make them almost exactly equal in population. The electoral percentage rose from 23 to 49 in the Senate but remains at 22 in the House.

LOUISIANA

After a Federal suit was filed, the Legislature revised the House districts for the first time in 32 years, but made no significant change in urban-rural balance. Electoral percentages remain at 33 in both Senate and House. The suit is still pending.

MISSISSIPPI

A state court held existing districts invalid in 1962. The Legislature first proposed a plan that would have given underrepresented urban areas even fewer seats, but that was defeated at the polls in 1962. A second plan was approved this year. Electoral percentages are raised, as a result, from 35 to 37 in the Senate, 29 to 41 in the House.

NORTH CAROLINA

On Oct. 17, with a group of Republicans threatening to sue, the Legislature revamped the Senate districts to give cities and suburbs more voice. The Senate electoral percentage was raised from 37 to 47, the House left at 27. At the same time, a constitutional amendment was proposed to drop population altogether as the basis of the House apportionment, allotting one member to each of the 100 counties. The amendment goes to a popular vote Jan. 14.

SOUTH CAROLINA

No action. Electoral percentages: Senate 24, House 46.

TENNESSEE

The apportionment under attack in Baker v. Carr allowed 27 per cent of the voters to elect a majority in the State Senate, 29 per cent in the House. Legislation passed this year put the percentages at 45 in the Senate and 40 in the House. The Federal court has now revised the Senate districts further, raising the percentage of voters needed for control to nearly 50. The court order becomes effective Feb. 3 unless there is legislative action first, or a judicial stay.

TEXAS

A Federal suit is pending. The electoral percentages: Senate 30, House 39.

VIRGINIA

A reapportionment in 1962 raised the electoral percentages from 38 to 41 in the Senate, 37 to 41 in the House. A three-judge Federal court found the new districts still unconstitutionally disparate in population and enjoined any election under them. Chief Justice Earl Warren stayed the District Court decision pending Supreme Court review. The case will be argued this week.

MIDWEST

ILLINOIS

The state constitution calls for a bipartisan commission to redistrict the House if the Legislature fails. Such a commission is now wrestling with the problem, and it is making so little progress that there is talk of having to elect all 177 House members at large. Senate seats are fixed in the constitution, but this provision is under attack in a Federal court suit. Present electoral percentages: Senate 29, House 40.

INDIANA

A Republican bill to reapportion along "Federal" lines, with one House based on area, was

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I don't care whether a man lives in Canarsie or in Plattsburgh, he ought to have someone from his immediate area to speak for him in the Legislature. If the Supreme Court moves in on us, the man from Plattsburgh will be out of luck."

City Has 43 Per Cent

At the moment, with another apportionment based on the old formulas due sometime before 1966, this is the situation in the Assembly:

New York City, with 47 per cent of the state's population, holds 65 of 150 seats, or 43 per cent; the four suburban counties—Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland—with 17 per cent of the population, hold 16 seats, or 11 per cent.

The nine urban upstate counties—Erie, Monroe, Onandaga, Albany, Oneida, Niagara, Broome, Schenectady and Rensalaer—with 20 per cent of the population, hold 25 seats, or 17 per cent; all the others, with 16 per cent of the population, hold 44 seats, or 29 per cent.

In the Senate, the picture is similar. Again, the city and its suburbs are under-represented (that is, their share of the seats is smaller than their share of the population), and the rural counties upstate are over-represented.

Proponents of reapportionment like to point out that Assemblyman Jerry W. Black, who represents the 14,974 people of Schuyler County, had an equal vote with Assemblyman Edwin J. Fehrenbach, who represents the 314,721 people who live in Nassau County.

Those on the other side, including Senate Majority Leader Walter J. Mahoney of Buffalo, make a point of observing that New York City and its suburbs already have between them a majority of the seats in both houses. Why do they need more?

If the Supreme Court does throw out all or part of the present system of apportionment, it will probably be up to the Legislature to draft, or have drafted, a new one. Although they disagree on details, spokesmen for the two parties agree that in that event, the rural areas upstate will lose votes.

The Legislature would have available to it dozens of model formulas. One document alone, a report prepared in 1960 for the Peck Commission by Dr. Ruth C. Silva of Pennsylvania State University, contains 34 plans.

Still another proposal has been advanced by the New York State Committee for Fair Representation, a committee including representatives of civil, labor and minority groups.

Link to Population

It would tie Senate representation directly to population in such a way that New York City and its suburbs would elect 64 per cent instead of 56 per cent of the chamber, with 60 instead of the present 58 seats.

In the Assembly, under the committee's plan, the city would retain its current 65 seats; but because the new Assembly would be slightly larger, New York's share of the total membership would decline. If the Assembly were reapportioned according to the old formula, the city's loss would be much more severe.

Reflecting the rapid post-war

Three national organizations—the American Jewish Congress, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the American Civil Liberties Union—have been allied with WMCA in its reapportionment campaign. They joined in an amici curiae brief for the appeals to be argued tomorrow.

R. Peter Straus, the slight, energetic, 41-year-old president of WMCA, explained that the station had begun its campaign because "everything our public affairs department looked into led us back to this community's lack of effective influence in Albany."

"Underlying it all—housing, city finances, education—was this one big disease," he said.

It has been a difficult and expensive campaign, with out-of-pocket expenses so far amounting to more than $50,000.

WMCA v. Simon was originally filed on May 1, 1961. It bears the name it does because Caroline K. Simon, the Secretary of State, was the first of many public officials listed as defendants.

Court here before Baker v. Carr. A three-judge Federal court in 1958, perhaps looking ahead to the new constitutional doctrine, suggested that it might take action. Reapportionment followed. The electoral percentages: Senate 40, House 35.

NEBRASKA

The state's one-house Legislature was theoretically required to be strictly representative of population but had not been redistricted since 1935. After a Federal court suit was filed, the Legislature proposed, and the voters approved, an amendment requiring that area be given between 20 and 30 per cent weight in drawing districts. Even with this factor, new districts were more equal in population than the old, raising the electoral percentage from 37 to 44. The Court has been asked to hold the new formula unconstitutional.

NORTH DAKOTA

The House was reapportioned in 1963 to give urban areas more seats. The electoral percentage rose from 40 to 47. The Senate, with a figure of 32, was not touched. A Federal court dismissed an attack on the apportionment as it stood after the new legislation.

OHIO

An attack on a constitutional provision guaranteeing each county a seat in the House regardless of population was rejected by a Federal court. An appeal has been filed in the Supreme Court. Current electoral percentages: Senate 41, House 30.

SOUTH DAKOTA

No action. Electoral percentages: Senate 38, House 39.

WISCONSIN

A Federal court dismissed a suit brought by the state's Democratic Attorney General, John Reynolds, in 1962 but told him to return in August, 1963, if the Legislature had not acted. This year the Republican-controlled Legislature passed a bill but Mr. Reynolds, now Governor, vetoed it as unfair to Milwaukee. The Legislature then passed a joint resolution purportedly reapportioning without his approval. Mr. Reynolds has asked the State Supreme Court to hold the Legislature's resolution ineffective and to force redistricting by statute. The electoral percentages are: Senate 39, House 42.

MOUNTAIN

ARIZONA

No action. Automatic redistricting of the House in 1961. Senate fixed at two seats a county. Electoral percentages: Senate 13, House 46.

COLORADO

After Baker v. Carr a constitutional amendment was adopted to force reapportionment but to allow some extra

PACIFIC

ALASKA

No legal or political action since Baker v. Carr. Automatic reapportionment provision of the state constitution revised House districts in 1961; Senate lines are fixed in the constitution. Electoral percentages: Senate 35, House 49.

CALIFORNIA

A state court suit has been dismissed, but an action brought by Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles is pending in the Federal courts. The issue is the State Senate, which is based more on area than on population. Los Angeles County, with two-fifths of the state's population, has only one of 40 Senate seats. Proposals to change the Senate districts were defeated in statewide referendums in 1960 and 1962. Electoral percentages: Senate 11, House 45.

HAWAII

No action. Electoral percentages: Senate 23, House 48.

OREGON

No action since Baker v. Carr in the country's most equitably apportioned state. Electoral percentages: Senate and House 48.

WASHINGTON

A Federal court has held the apportionment invalid and enjoined future elections except at large or in new, more equal districts. An appeal has been filed in the Supreme Court. The percentages: Senate 36, House 38.

NEGRO EDUCATOR OPPOSES SHIFTS

Calls Harlem Schools Unfit for Pupil Transfers

By IRVING SPIEGEL

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Negro educator, yesterday rejected suggestions for sending children of white and Negro middle-class parents to Harlem schools. He described these schools as "clearly and woefully inferior."

If such an attempt to send them by buses were made, Dr. Clark said, it will be done "only under conditions of intense and prolonged protest." It will "clearly lead to a disruption of the educational process, and will not affect positively the education of any child," he added.

Dr. Clark, whose research into the psychological evils of school segregation was cited in the 1954 Supreme Court decision, spoke at a luncheon meeting of the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee at the Plaza Hotel.

Dr. Clark, professor of psychology at City College, asserted that the suggestions "are unrealistic, irrelevant, emotional and diversionary." He said that "they do not meet the central problem of integration and the high quality of education to be provided for all children."

Attitudes Are Criticized

Dr. Clark also criticized educators for their attitudes toward Negro and Puerto Rican children. He compared the tendency of those responsible for the education of these children "to blame the children and their parents for the pervasive educational retardation with the earlier argument that Negroes were biologically or innately inferior."

Dr. Clark said that the reading and arithmetic skills of the children of these schools "are consistently below city and national norms."

"This disparity," he added, "increases with grade. The evidence adds up to a pattern of criminal neglect, educational inefficiency and a major social disgrace having all of the ingredients of a future political crisis."

The educators, Dr. Clark asserted, act according to the assumption that Negro and Puerto Rican children "are unable to learn."

He said that since the curriculum was based on this assumption the children "of course, do not learn." He termed this a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

"The retardation," he continued, "is cumulative. As the children become more retarded, they become more and more disaffected from school—they become restless, often unmanageable over discipline problems, or withdrawn, seeking escape with lowered motivation, and desire to leave school at the earliest opportunity."

Dr. Clark said that the taxing problems in the Harlem public schools could be resolved "with maximum positive effect only by the development of a program which makes effective teaching the exclusive concern of these schools."

He urged a better quality of education in schools now predominately attended by Negro students as the first step in the realistic integration of the schools. He urged a "thorough reorganization of these schools in terms of personnel, curriculum, teaching methods, supervision and accountability."

Dr. Clark deplored that nothing had been done in the last several years to rectify teaching conditions in Harlem schools. "It is a normative, consistent pattern of criminal neglect," he added.

Historic Virginia Plantation Will Be Open to Public

Carter's Grove, historic plantation near Williamsburg, Va., which will be opened to public

Plans for Carter's Grove, historic James River plantation near Williamsburg, Va., to be open to the public were announced yesterday by the Sealantic Fund, Inc. The fund has arranged to purchase the 400-acre property.

The plantation house is noted for its beauty. It once belonged to the Carter and Burwell families, who were related to many prominent Virginians.

According to tradition, Washington and Jefferson proposed to early sweethearts and were turned down in the drawing room of the 20-room Georgian mansion.

David Rockefeller, president of Sealantic, said the purchase had been arranged with the estate of Mrs. Mary C. McCrea, who died in 1960. Her husband, the late Archibald McCrea, Pittsburgh industrialist, acquired the property in 1927.

The executors will soon petition the Circuit Court of James City County for approval of the sale.

In her will Mrs. McCrea asked that Carter's Grove be sold to a Government agency or a foundation to preserve and display to the public the Colonial house and its grounds.

The house stands on part of the original Robert "King" Carter plantation, which dates to the 17th century.

Sealantic Fund, a philanthropic organization, was set up by the late John D. Rockefeller Jr. in 1938.

Zuber to Enter Primary For President in March

Paul B. Zuber, Negro civil rights lawyer, disclosed yesterday that he was making plans to enter the New Hampshire Republican Presidential primary on March 10.

Mr. Zuber, who has played a key role in several school integration cases in the North, said his aim was to conduct an "educational campaign setting forth the Negro's position on civil rights" to New Hampshire voters.

"No one is better equipped to do this," he insisted, "than a Negro, who is more affected by it than anyone else." He contended that neither Governor Rockefeller nor his prospective rival in the primary, Senator Barry Goldwater, was qualified to discuss the civil rights issue.

DRIVE WILL OPEN ON JAYWALKERS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

planned the safety campaign before he had a heart attack on Oct. 24, issued a statement asserting that "jaywalking is worse in New York than in any other city where I've worked."

Mr. Barnes noted that he had received assurances from Assistant Chief Inspector John J. King, who commands the Police Department's Safety Division, that his men would pay special attention to jaywalking summonses.

As part of the campaign, the Traffic Department will post 40,000 signs warning of the danger of jaywalking. The posters will illustrate the theme of the drive—"Cross at the Green, Not in Between"—with another showing a father and daughter walking hand in hand.

Figures on Summonses

Some prodding for the safety drive has come from the Automobile Club of New York. In an appraisal of the pedestrian program here, it showed that deaths and injuries dropped sharply in 1960 when an intensive campaign was in progress, which included the issuance of 100,000 jaywalking summonses. In 1961, only 46,000 summonses were issued, and in 1962 the number dropped to 40,000.

A spokesman for the Automobile Club said that though pedestrians' awareness of traffic laws had increased somewhat, the drop in summonses resulted largely from a gradual let-down in enforcement of the laws. Great numbers of pedestrians, in short, have still been jaywalking and getting away with it.

Those guilty of jaywalking must pay fines of $2, by mail if they wish, and may have to pay more if the judge decides for higher penalties.

Under the anti-jaywalking statute, wich became effective here in December, 1958, pedestrians receive summonses for crossing against Don't Walk signs and for crossing intersections diagonally. Those who cross against a red traffic signal can be given either a warning or a summons. Persons crossing in midblock can be given a summons for failing to yield the right of way to vehicles.

The Toll in 1962

Last year 435 pedestrians were killed and 14,566 injured. Of these, 91 were killed and 2,362 injured in November and December.

The Police Safety Bureau reported last Tuesday that 26 persons were killed in traffic in the previous week, 5 more than in the similar 1962 period. Injuries rose by 179 to 1,364. Since Jan. 1, 525 persons were killed in the city; of this figure 327 fatalities were ascribed to pedestrian accidents.

The pedestrian safety campaign may result in less noise from car, truck and taxi horns. Under city law motorists may not blow their horns except when they are in danger or to give warnings, often to jaywalkers.

The police report that the provision for not blowing horns is strictly enforced around hospitals and similar institutions, but that the law is less rigidly enforced elsewhere. Unofficial estimates are that about 25,000 summonses or arrests involve horn-blowing each year.

The minimum fine for unnecessary horn-blowing is $5, but the judge can order higher penalties.

The early safety campaign, which lasted from July, 1958, to December, 1960, was credited with preventing 101 pedestrian fatalities. That campaign, like the one starting next week, was preceded by an educational drive.

The early phase of the current campaign got under way several weeks ago. The Traffic Department enlisted the aid of 6,000 teachers in the first three grades of public and parochial elementary schools. They gave pupils pedestrian safety pledges to take home for their parents' signatures.

The return of the signed pledges entitles the youngsters to wear a lapel pin as members of the "New York City Traffic Safety Corps," and thus prod adults into being good examples.

"When adults jaywalk," Commissioner Barnes said, "they are not only staking their own lives on a sucker bet but they are putting the lives of their children in jeopardy by setting them a foolhardy example of carelessness. To teach a child to jaywalk is to make him a statistic on its way to a pedestrian accident."

Benefit Brings In $1,500 For Library at Palisades

Special to The New York Times

PALISADES, N. Y., Nov. 10—A benefit show and food sale last night raised $1,500 toward the $10,000 needed to enlarge the library and cultural center here.

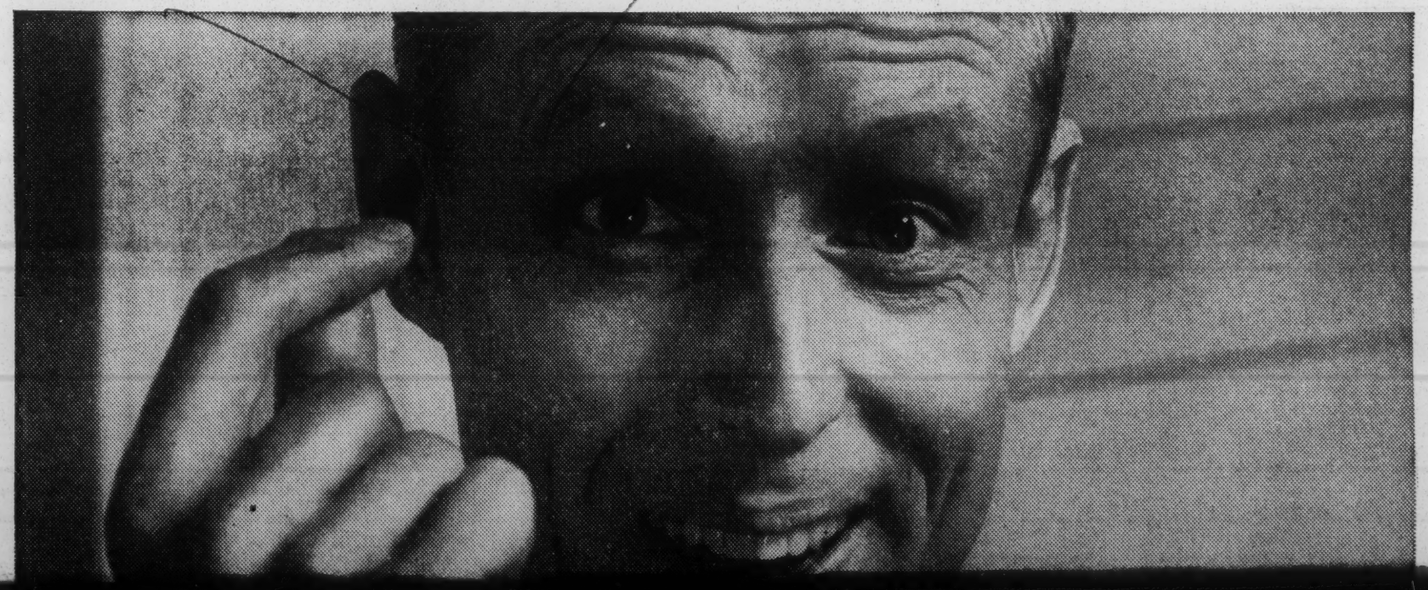
More than a third of the village's 1,300 residents took part in the benefit, held at the American Legion Hall.

The proceeds brought to $3,800 the amount collected thus far. A new wing for the library has been designed, which among other things, will provide more space for children's reading classes.

Since 1891, the library has been the center of the residents' cultural activities. Concerts, wildflower contests, a cooking school, amateur theatricals and lectures have been held there at various times.

TRAVEL TRAVEL

You're always among friends in Ireland



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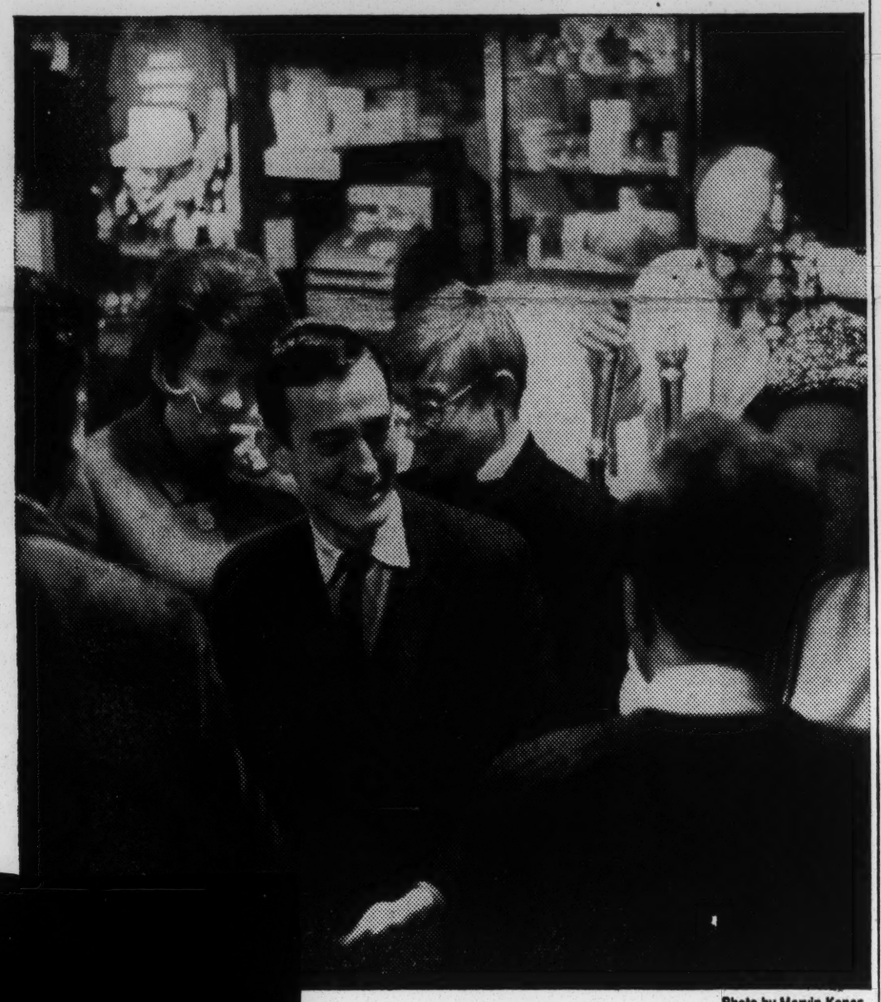

Photo by Marvin Koner

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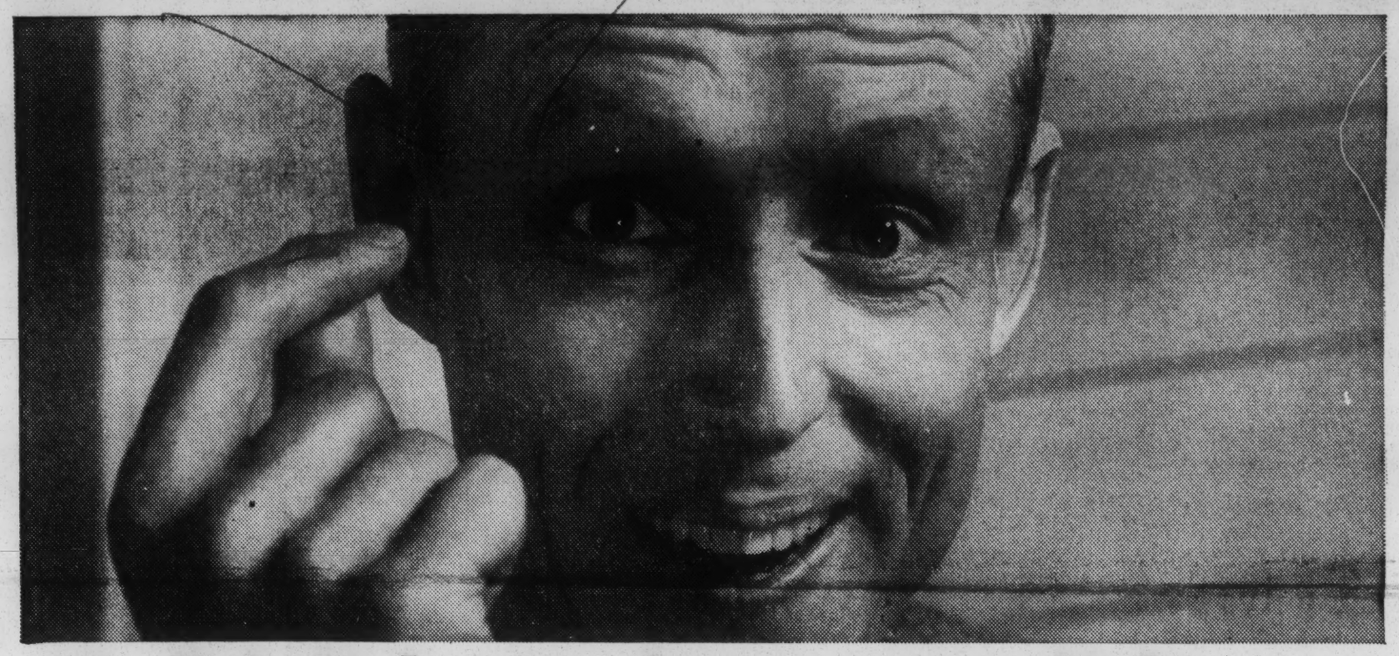
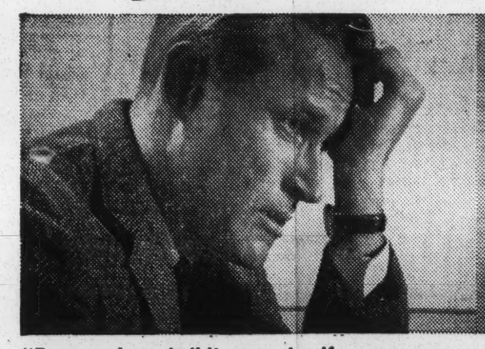


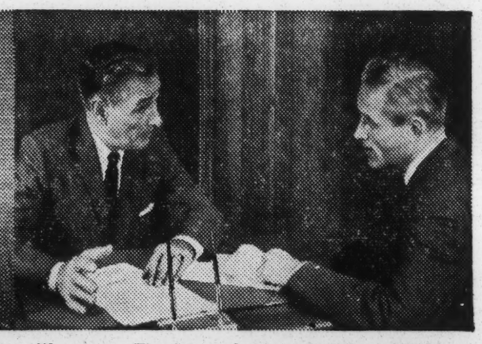
"I didn't know how easy it is to borrow thousands of dollars from The Dime if you own a home!



"Boy, was I worried! It seemed as if every expense possible had happened all at once. Among other things, we had back bills to pay, there were repairs to the house, and my son starting college. I didn't need just a few hundred dollars. I needed thousands!

"I thought of taking out another personal loan. But the monthly payments were high. I might only be jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

"Then I heard about how homeowners are 'preferred borrowers' at The Dime, whether their current mortgages were held by The Dime or not.



"I went to The Dime. I discovered I could borrow up to 90% of the **current** appraised value of my home — enough to pay off all my debts and cover all my other cash needs, too! It didn't matter what the price of my home was when I bought it. What counted was its current appraised value.

Compare The Dime way with the higher monthly payments of other plans

AMOUNT NEEDED	DIME'S MONTHLY PAYMENTS* TO PAY OFF LOAN IN		
	10 Yrs.	20 Yrs.	30 Yrs.
$ 1,000	$ 10.86	$ 6.88	$ 5.68
5,000	54.27	34.40	28.39
10,000	108.53	68.79	56.78
20,000	217.06	137.58	113.56
40,000	434.11	275.16	227.12

*These same low monthly payments apply for regular mortgages if you plan to buy or build a home as well as for refinanced mortgages. Payments figured at 5½% interest. Payments will be slightly higher for loans made at 5¾% or 6%. Liberal pre-payment terms. Taxes and fire insurance can be included in the single monthly payment.

"I found out too that the interest rate was low. And was I surprised how low the monthly payments were! I wouldn't have any trouble meeting the one low payment each month.

"I arranged with The Dime to re-finance my present mortgage. There was a small closing fee. Within 24 hours after I walked into the bank, my home was appraised and soon after I had a check for $8,000—the amount I needed. It was easy as pie.

"My advice to homeowners who need money is this: Don't pay costly financing charges. Don't take on high monthly payments which will be difficult to meet. Don't pay higher interest rates than you need to. Compare The Dime's low monthly payments with other plans before you borrow anywhere else. You'll be glad you did."

For more information about how you may be able to get the money you need from The Dime, visit any of our five conveniently located offices. Or telephone TRiangle 5-3200 (that's the number of our Main Office in Brooklyn). If you live on Long Island, telephone LOcust 1-6000.

If You Need Money to Buy or Build a Home – you can't do better than come to The Dime for your mortgage. Same low interest rates, same low monthly payments shown in the table apply.

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CONEY ISLAND–Mermaid Ave. and West 17th St. • **GREEN ACRES**–Green Acres Shopping Center, Sunrise Hwy., Valley Stream, N. Y.

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The Nation 11/16/63

Showdown on Reapportionment . . . South

Will Maslow

The United States Supreme Court has on its docket no less than nine cases arising in six different states (Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware, New York, Virginia) challenging the apportionment of state legislatures and the districting of Congressional seats. The Court was to hear arguments on them during the week of November 12. Although appeals in some of these cases were filed as early as September, 1962, the Court deliberately let almost nine months pass before it announced which appeals it would allow. It followed a similar strategy in 1952 when, after some delay, it agreed to hear five school-segregation cases from four states and the District of Columbia, presenting a variety of problems. The advantages of such a strategy are that the Court can consider various aspects of the problem of reapportionment and also have the benefit of the soul-searching of many lower courts, not merely one.

Since the order issued by the Supreme Court last June granting review in eight cases, new appeals have been filed, and others are on their way, in reapportionment litigation arising in Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma and Washington. The only new issue is that of a Federal District Court in

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Will Maslow is the executive director of the American Jewish Congress.

the state of Washington, requiring elections-at-large for members of both houses. It is the first such order issued since *Baker* v. *Carr*, and came down only after the state legislature was unable to agree upon a reapportionment plan which the court had required in an earlier decision.

It will be recalled that the Supreme Court's decision in *Baker* v. *Carr* (the Tennessee reapportionment case) merely held that "invidious discrimination" in the apportionment of state legislature seats constituted a violation of the "Equal Protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that federal courts had jurisdiction to enjoin such discrimination. But, like other landmark decisions, it raised more questions than it answered. The courts of the country thus found themselves without guide lines when there developed an unprecedented wave of apportionment litigation — eighty cases arising in forty-one different states. Not unexpectedly, the lower courts disagreed. Conflicts among them must now be resolved.

Three main questions (and a host of subsidiary ones) must now be decided by the Supreme Court. Perhaps the most momentous is the validity of the so-called "Little Federal Plan." Must both houses of a state legislature be apportioned on the basis of population? Or may states, following the example of the federal government, apportion one house on other than population standards — for example, can they allot seats to counties regardless of population or deliberately enhance the representation of rural areas?

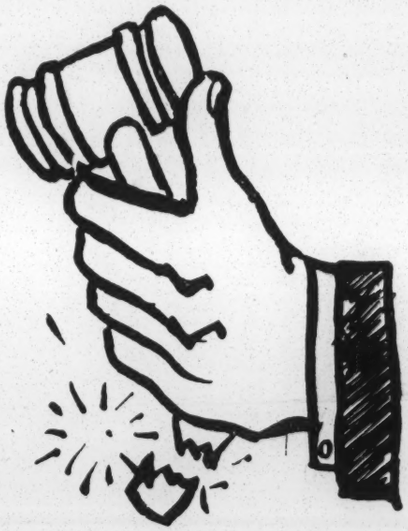
The Maryland Supreme Court, by a 4 to 3 vote, upheld the allotment of one seat in the Maryland Senate to each of the state's counties, although the most populated county in the state contained 32 times as many people as the least populated area and 14 per cent of the state's population could elect a majority of the Senate. On the other hand, a three-judge Federal District Court in Virginia rejected the federal analogy and found the state Senate to be malapportioned. Similarly, a Federal District Court in Alabama found invalid a proposed amendment to the state constitution that would have allotted one Senate place to each county. Pointing out that existing discrimination would have become worse under the new plan and that Senators elected by 20 per cent of the population could block any legislation, the District Court declared that the analogy with the United States Senate "cannot survive the most superficial examination," since a county is a creature of the state possessing only those powers conferred upon it by the state.

At stake are state Senate apportionments throughout the country. In twenty-one states, the disparity between the most-populated and least-populated Senate district exceeds 10 to 1, and in twelve states, less than one-fourth of the population can elect a majority of the state Senate.

The second great task of the U.S. Supreme Court is to clarify the meaning of "invidious discrimination." What variances are allowed from a strict population standard even in one house before the apportionment becomes constitutionally unfair? The issue is presented squarely in the New York case, *WMCA* v. *Simon*, to be reviewed by the Supreme Court. There, a Federal District Court had upheld New York's complex apportionment formula which allowed a disparity of 2 to 1 in Senate districts and 15 to 1 in Assembly districts, and which gave control of the Assembly to 34.7 per cent, and of the state Senate to 41.8 per cent of the population. The federal court rejected strict population standards, upholding New York's formula on the basis of its "rationality," its historic origin and the opportunity voters have of deciding every twenty years whether to convene a state constitutional convention. The federal court relied heavily upon a 1948 dictum of the Supreme Court that the Fourteenth Amendment does not "deny a state the power to assure a proper diffusion of political initiative as between the thinly populated counties and those having concentrated masses, in view of the fact that the latter have practical opportunities for exerting their political weight at the polls not available to the former."

In Virginia, the Federal District Court took a different tack. It held that population, while "predominant," was not the "sole or definitive measure" of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court ruled, however, that where the plaintiff has proved malaportionment on the basis of population, the burden of justifying such disproportions passes to officials of the defending state. Such a procedural ruling considerably lightens the task of those challenging grossly unequal legislative districts.

The Supreme Court is not likely to devise a mathematical formula by which constitutional inequality can be determined. Absolute equality of legislative districts is impossible, if for no other reason than that constant shifts of population



occur. It may follow Solicitor General Cox's view that at least one house of a state legislature should be apportioned strictly on a population basis and that in the other house, apportionment may take into account historic, political and geographical subdivisions, "provided that the departure from equal representation in proportion to the population is not too extreme." Less likely is the acceptance of the Michigan Supreme Court's holding that whenever apportionment results in some districts having more than double the population of others, "the range of discretion is violated." Judging by past experience, a definition of what constitutes "invidious discrimination" is likely to result from a process of exclusion and inclusion, each case helping to fix the boundary line of what is constitutionally permissible.

The third great issue is whether federal courts have the authority to correct gross inequalities in Congressional districting. The apportionment of seats in the House of

Representatives among the fifty states is done automatically each decade in accordance with census figures. (But each state is entitled to at least one representative, regardless of population.) Each state legislature is then free to draw its own Congressional district lines, dividing its allotment as it sees fit. As a result, Congressional districts vary enormously in population — in Michigan, from 177,000 to 802,000; in Texas, from 216,000 to 951,000. Eighty districts are now more than 15 per cent larger in population, and ninety districts more than 15 per cent smaller, than the state-wide numerical average for a Congressional district.

From 1862 to 1929, a federal statute required Congressional districts to contain "as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." (From 1901 on, these districts were also required to be "compact" and "contiguous.") However, the 1930 Federal Apportionment Act failed to repeat this triple standard of equality, compactness and contiguity, and in 1932 the Supreme Court held that Congress had thereby intended to repeal these requirements. In the Georgia case, *Wesberry* v. *Vandiver*, which the Supreme Court will hear in December, a Federal District Court had dismissed a challenge to Georgia's Congressional districts, which range in population from 272,000 to 833,000. The court action was taken to allow the Georgia legislature and/or the U.S. Congress a reasonable time (unspecified) to correct the obvious inequalities.

A Florida state-court decision (not before the United States Supreme Court) gave shorter shrift to a suit challenging that state's Congressional district lines. It simply held that such districting was a "political question" and that *Baker* v. *Carr* did not apply to Congressional seats. To date, not one court, federal or state, has sustained a challenge to Congressional district lines.

Therefore, the issue before the Supreme Court is whether the theoretical possibilities of corrective legislation by Congress are sufficient to immunize Congressional districting from judicial supervision.

The last issue before the Supreme Court, arising in the challenge to New York's 17th "silk stocking" Congressional District, is a charge of gerrymandering, the manipulation of boundary lines to effectuate a partisan result. It is not enough to have districts approximately equal in population if district lines can be drawn like jigsaw puzzles to exclude or include blocs of voters. In *Wright* v. *Rockefeller*, a Federal District Court, by a 2 to 1 vote, held that the plaintiffs had failed to prove that the boundaries of the 17th Congressional District had been juggled to exclude Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The population of the 17th consisted of 5.17 per cent Negroes and Puerto Ricans, contrasted with the nearby Harlem district which had 86.3 per cent Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The issue was complicated by the intervention of Adam Clayton Powell and other Negro and Puerto Rican Democratic district leaders, who saw in the litigation a plot to disperse Negroes and Puerto Ricans among the four Congressional districts in Manhattan and thus diminish their political influence.

During the sixteen hours allotted for the argument of the eight cases in December, the Supreme Court will ponder not only its decision in each case but, more significantly, its role in the entire problem of apportionment. Ideally, the democratic process would be most strengthened and the most durable results achieved if popular movements in the various states themselves compelled reapportionment of state legislatures. But always in the background to goad recalcitrant legislatures must be the threat of quick and effective judicial intervention. These pressures are most effective if they come from the lower courts. The Supreme Court must, therefore, avoid its colossal errors in the school-segregation litigations and encourage the lower federal and the state courts to intervene in apportionment controversies whenever the democratic process is blocked or unduly delayed. To do so, it must now lay down guide lines to correct misconceptions of these courts and be ever ready to correct their mistakes. Above all, it must affirm as a democratic principle of the twentieth century that the Fourteenth Amendment stands as a bulwark to protect voters against any contrivance that would deny them their fair representation in the legislative process.

SIR ALEC TAKES OVER . . . . . Norman Birnbaum

The Conservatives, someone observed during the battle for Macmillan's succession, have ceased to be gentlemen but have not become democrats. The discretion and circumspection with which the British elite usually conducts its affairs has indeed been missing for the past fortnight. Lord Home became Prime Minister after a semi-public process which combined the rancor of a family quarrel with the arrogance of a court intrigue. At first glance, he owes his success to his appearance of ineradicable mediocrity. The race, in Great Britain, often goes to the contender who evokes no strong negative responses. The Tories, in rejecting the three more talented and experienced contenders (Butler, Hailsham and Maudling) in favor of the least promising one, were behaving in accordance with prevailing standards of selection elsewhere in British life. However, since the result of the next General Election may be determined by their decision, we ought to examine it more closely. It is not, upon a second look, without a certain political logic.

Macmillan's own role in the succession was enormous. His hospitalization, on the eve of the party's annual conference, threw the party into disarray. He allowed the struggle to dominate the conference and then took charge of the selection from his hospital bed. Nothing as vulgar as an election among Con-

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Norman Birnbaum, who has previously contributed to The Nation, *is a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford University.*

A·CHARTER·OF·RACIAL·POLICIES

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE

BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

·WE BELIEVE·

1. We Believe that God is the Father of all people and all are His children in one family.
2. We Believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.
3. We Believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.
4. We Believe that the visible church of Jesus Christ must demonstrate these principles within its own organization and program.
5. We Believe that the Woman's Division as an agency of The Methodist Church must build a fellowship and social order without racial barriers in every area it may touch.

·WE WILL·

a fellowship and social order without racial barriers in every area it may touch.

·WE WILL·

1. Commit ourselves as individuals called by Jesus Christ to witness by word and deed to the basic rights of every person regardless of cost.

2. Unite our efforts with all groups in the church toward eliminating in The Methodist Church all forms of segregation based on race whether in basic structure or institutional life.

3. Create in local churches opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership without restriction based on race.

4. Act with other groups and agencies to involve families in new experiences with other races and cultures.

5. Share in creative plans that challenge youth, students and young adults of all races to new understanding of the Church's mission and ministries.

6. Interpret and strengthen recruitment and employment practices of the Woman's Division consistent with our belief in the oneness of God's family.

7. Open the facilities and services of all Woman's Division institutions without restriction based on race and make such policies clearly known.

8. Establish all Schools of Missions and Christian Service and all leadership development and enrichment programs on a regional basis without restriction based on race.

9. Seek to change community patterns of racial segregation in all relationships including education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.

10. Work for national policies that safeguard the rights of all the nation's people.

11. Support world-wide movements for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms for peoples everywhere.

12. Join with others who seek in church and community justice and freedom for all members of the family of God.

As we begin this New Decade, the Woman's Division of Christian Service calls with new urgency on the Woman's Society of Christian Service and Wesleyan Service Guild to study the principles and goals stated in this Charter, looking toward early ratification. Such ratification will constitute a commitment to work for the speedy implementation of those principles and goals within jurisdiction, conference, district and local Woman's Society or Guild.

Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters: 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio.
5/62 Price, 5 cents; 6 for 25 cents.

7-62 Religion 1962

At a Brooklyn Hospital

The Bishop & Bias

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN,

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1961

Race Charge At Hospital Investigated

St. John's Episcopal Accused of Bias; L. I. Diocese Acts

A charge that St. John's Episcopal Hospital, Bedford-Stuyvesant, segregates Negro patients is being investigated by the Long Island Episcopal Diocese, the World-Telegram learned today.

A church official in charge of the probe emphasized that the investigation started only two weeks ago and that no findings had been presented to either confirm or disprove the complaint. A hospital spokesman denied the charge.

St. John's, a 275-bed institution at 480 Herkimer St., is run by the Church Charity Foundation of Long Island, associated with the Episcopal Church. The Rt. Rev. James P. DeWolfe, bishop of the Long Island Episcopal Diocese, is president of the hospital's board of managers.

Chapter Made Charge.

The discrimination charge was made by the Long Island chapter of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, which is not an official agency of the church. The group said Negro and white patients were segregated in private and semi-private rooms at the hospital.

Lloyd A. Johnson, Brooklyn vice chairman of the chapter, told this newspaper that a continuing investigation by the group since March has shown that white and Negro patients are mixed only in wards at the hospital. He charged, on behalf of the chapter, that "very rarely" were white and Negro patients put together in semi-private rooms.

"And there seemed to be a pattern in private and semi-private quarters to keep Negroes at one end of a corridor and whites at the other," he told a reporter.

Panel Gets Report.

He said the chapter had notified Bishop DeWolfe that there were race relations problems at St. John's and that the matter had been turned over to the diocese's Committee on Race Relations.

The Rev. Canon R. Thomas Blomquist, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Forest Hills, head this committee. He told the World-Telegram that the complaint was referred to his unit two weeks ago.

Canon Blomquist said he had appointed a two-man investigating team to study the charge. He said the investigators—one white and one Negro—might report to him in a week or two weeks. He stressed that the final report on the study would have to come from Bishop DeWolfe.

A spokesman for the hospital said: "St. John's does not practice segregation. We have had good race relations here."

100 Ward Beds.

The four-story institution has about 100 ward beds. A hospital official said these were occupied nearly exclusively by Negroes and Puerto Ricans from the low-income Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

He said about 75 percent of the patients in the private and semi-private rooms were white and 25 percent Negro. He said rooms were assigned by ability to pay and not by race.

The hospital has 20 Negro doctors in a regular staff of 135. A spokesman said there had been reports that the institution had more Negro doctors than all other voluntary hospitals in Brooklyn combined.

Mr. Johnson's group, which he said was formed in February to fight discrimination and now has 200 members, charged that on the fourth floor of the hospital there were only one or two Negroes and about 75 whites at any one time. Mr. Johnson called this floor "the most desirable" and said it consisted only of private and semi-private rooms.

NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 1, 1962

Bishop Rejects Plea to Integrate Semi-Private Rooms in Hospital

The Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island has overruled a recommendation by a Diocesan Committee on Race Relations that all semi-private rooms in St. John's Episcopal Hospital, Brooklyn, be integrated.

The Right Rev. James P. DeWolfe, in a statement issued yesterday, said that the hospital "provides a constant demonstration of integration of integration in the mixing of the races" in almost all its facilities.

"On the other hand," he said, "many of the patients referred to us, for one reason or another, would enjoy greater peace of mind if placed in semi-private rooms with members of their own race."

Bishop DeWolfe, who is chairman of the hospital's board of managers, said the board had voted to adopt his statement as its policy.

Critics of the hospital administration had charged that Negro patients were not placed with white patients in semi-private rooms on the fourth floor, and that Negro patients had difficulty getting private rooms on this floor.

Bishop DeWolfe appointed a Committee on Race Relations last October to investigate the charges and make recommendations. The committee, which reported in March, said that in the admission of patients from the predominantly Negro community around the hospital "some segregation results." The hospital is at 480 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn.

While praising the church-supported hospital for steps it had taken to end segregation, the committee urged "the elimination of any and all practices which do not promote racial unity, but tend to destroy the brotherhood of man."

Bishop DeWolfe said he did not believe the charge of segregation was fair. In a telephone interview from his residence in Garden City, he said:

"It is my opinion that this is the most integrated hospital in New York."

He pointed out that when he came to the diocese twenty years ago, there were no Negro physicians or nurses on the staff, and he had fought successfully for their inclusion.

But, he said, the hospital's administrators report that Negro patients seem to show more improvement when they are placed together, and whites when they are placed together.

The Bishop said "the principle of consent" had to be regarded in assigning a white or Negro to a room with a person of the other race. The principle, he said, "has been widely and dangerously overlooked in the present agitation regarding racial segregation in this country."

THESE CLIPPINGS SHOW THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS NECESSARY TO BRING CHANGES AT A CHURCH HOSPITAL...A QUIET EFFORT WAS BEGUN IN THE SPRING OF 1961. IT FAILED. A MORE ACTIVE INTEREST (See November 28 story to the left) BROUGHT THE APPOINTMENT OF A DIOCESAN COMMITTEE. WHEN ITS RECOMMENDATIONS WERE PUBLICLY REJECTED BY THE BISHOP, AND OTHER APPEALS HAD FAILED, THERE WAS LITTLE ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PURSUE THE MATTER IN THE MANNER SET FORTH HEREIN. NOW THE NECESSARY CHANGES WILL BE MADE. COPIES OF THE BISHOP'S STATEMENT (As noted above), WHEREIN THE DISCRIMINATORY PATTERNS ARE ACKNOWLEDGED AND DEFENDED, AND COPIES OF THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT MAY BE HAD ON REQUEST: ESCRU,5 Forsyth St.,Atlanta,Ga.

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JULY 3, 1962

Church Group Asks DeWolfe To Relent on Hospital Bias

A Long Island Episcopal group yesterday expressed its "shock" and "deepest regret" over Episcopal Bishop James P. DeWolfe's refusal to act on charges of racial discrimination at St. John's Episcopal Hospital in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

On Saturday, Bishop DeWolfe of the Long Island diocese, who is also chairman of the board of managers of the hospital, told the Diocesan Committee on Race Relations that he did not believe a charge of segregation at the hospital "is fairly applied." The committee had contended that "some segregation" exists in admission of patients; that Negro and non-Negro patients are seldom mixed in private and semi-private rooms and that both Negro patients and doctors had difficulty obtaining rooms on the hospital's fourth floor.

Bishop DeWolfe had replied that "to recognize racial differences is not to deny the equality of all men under God nor is it to impute or imply superiority or inferiority."

On Sunday, the Rev. George Lawrence, pastor of Antioch Baptist Church, Brooklyn, called the Bishop's statement "un-Christian and unGodly" and "unworthy of a distinguished high churchman." He called for the Bishop's resignation from the hospital's board of managers.

Yesterday's statement from the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity, Long Island chapter, said the group had conducted its own investigation at the hospital a year ago, had found racial discrimination there, and met Bishop DeWolfe in May "in an effort to terminate this abominable practice."

This group, headed by Lloyd A. Johnson, of 264 New York Ave., Brooklyn, is composed of white and Negro clergy and laymen.

ESCRU said that "the practice of discrimination at St. John's Hospital, in terms of room assignment of non-white patients, is illegal, immoral and inefficient." It held that such practices conflict with the State Anti-Discrimination Law, "which forbide owners of a place of public accommodation to deny its occupancy to anyone because of race" and the State Civil Rights Law "which provides that all persons should be provided with full and equal facilities in places of public accommodation."

The ESCRU statement held that discrimination at the hospital "is immoral because it encourages hospital staff to lie in implementing this practice of segregation" and "inefficient" because "it involves considerable administrative detail and double-checking as a means of insuring that this policy be carried out in secrecy and avoid embarrassing incidents."

The group asked Bishop DeWolfe to reconsider the policy and "maintain the integrity of the Church which for so many years has provided leadership in the area of social justice."

Bishop DeWolfe was reported to be on vacation in North Carolina and unavailable for comment yesterday.

The Urban League of Greater New York also issued a statement yesterday condemning Bishop DeWolfe's action as "a particularly horrifying disclosure since the Episcopal Church itself has been in the vanguard of the integration struggle" and because the Bishop was "on record as supporting integration."

"It is therefore beyond our comprehension that the leader of the Church in Long Island would in this instance seize upon the old, old segregationist falsehood that the races fare better when kept apart to support a ruling against total integration of patient services at St. John's Hospital," the Urban League statement said.

The statement was signed by Edward S. Lewis, executive director.

NEW YORK TIMES
JULY 5, 1962.

PICKETS AT HOSPITAL OPPOSE SEGREGATION

Pickets, including a group from the Antioch Baptist Church in Brooklyn, marched in front of St. John's Episcopal Hospital yesterday to protest segregation there.

The marchers demonstrated against the recent refusal by the Right Rev. James P. DeWolfe, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, to order the integration of semi-private hospital rooms.

Among the 150 demonstrators were groups from the local chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employes Union.

The march continued for about 45 minutes along Herkimer Street in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. The marchers from Antioch Baptist Church were led by their pastor, the Rev. George Lawrence.

In ruling against a recommendation to integrate semi-private rooms, Bishop DeWolfe had declared on June 30 that the "principle of consent" was to be observed in assigning a room to a white or Negro patient with a person of the other race.

He said later that he did not consider charges of segregation fair. He said St. John's was "the most integrated hospital in New York."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JULY 5, 1962.

Church Hospital Faces Bias Inquiry

By JOHN WICKLEIN

The City Commission on Human Rights has begun an investigation into charges of racial discrimination at St. John's Episcopal Hospital in Brooklyn, a commission official said yesterday.

Madison S. Jones, executive director, said the commission had sent a telegram to the Right Rev. James P. DeWolfe, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island, requesting an immediate conference with him.

Last Saturday Bishop DeWolfe, who is chairman of the hospital's board of managers, overruled a recommendation by a Diocesan Committee on Race Relations that all semiprivate rooms in the hospital be integrated. He said that "the principle of consent" had to be regarded in assigning a white or a Negro patient to a room with a person of another race.

Mr. Jones remarked that "in this day and age it is just a little ridiculous" to have an institution in New York exercise such a principle. He continued:

"In a city where people of all creeds and ethnic groups are working and getting along together, and where we have a city Commission on Human Rights to further this kind of understanding, to have this kind of thing happen is just unthinkable."

Bishop DeWolfe was unavailable yesterday for comment.

Role of the Commission

Mr. Jones said the commission was looking into the hospital's practices in light of a newspaper account of the Bishop's statement.

Under Local Law 55, he pointed out, the commission has the right "to initiate its own investigations of racial, religious and ethnic group tensions, and prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and disorder occasioned thereby."

Where it finds discrimination exists, the commission tries to adjust the situation through its good offices, he said. It does not have the power to force an institution to discontinue discriminatory practices.

Last fall, after Bishop DeWolfe had received complaints of racial discrimination at the hospital, he appointed a special committee on race relations to investigate. The committee reported that "some segregation results" from the hospital's policy of assigning only persons of the same race to semiprivate rooms on the fourth floor. It urged that the practice be ended.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 1962.

HOSPITAL FACING AN ANTI-BIAS VIGIL

Church Unit to Act Today in St. John's Dispute

By JOHN WICKLEIN

Clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will mount a vigil outside St. John's Episcopal Hospital in Brooklyn this afternoon.

The group—unofficial though sanctioned by high officials of the denomination—is protesting what it says is the hospital's policy of keeping Negroes from being placed with white persons in semi-private rooms on the fourth floor.

A hospital official declared yesterday that this was not the hospital's policy. The admitting office, he said, places patients on the basis of availability of beds, without regard to race. This means, he explained, that Negro patients have been placed with white patients involuntarily on the fourth floor as well as on all other floors of the hospital.

On July 1, the Right Rev. James P. DeWolfe, Episcopal Bishop of the Long Island Diocese and chairman of the hospital's board of managers, overruled his own race-relations committee, which had found discrimination in placing white and Negro patients on the fourth floor—the most expensive area—of the hospital. The Bishop said he considered that in most of its facilities, St. John's was "the most integrated hospital in New York."

"On the other hand," he said, "many of the patients referred to us, for one reason or another, would enjoy greater peace of mind if placed in semi-private rooms with members of their own race."

It is this stand that the Episcopal Society, and the New York City Commission on Human Rights, are protesting. On Monday the commission sent a telegram to the Right Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, asking that he use his influence to make certain that there would be no discrimination at the Brooklyn hospital.

The Presiding Bishop, who is out of the city on vacation, authorized the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, associate director of the denomination's Department of Christian Social Relations, to make this reply:

"The position of the Episcopal Church opposing segregation in church institutions and elsewhere has been made clear by our General Convention and other bodies. The situation at St. John's Hospital in Brooklyn is a direct responsibility of the Diocese of Long Island and the board of the Church Charity Foundation [which governs the hospital].

"The appropriate authorities to carry on conciliation proceedings are the Bishop of the Diocese and the officers of the board. We hope this matter can be brought to a swift resolution."

Madison S. Jones, executive director of the Human Rights Commission, said the city's investigation at the hospital was continuing. The commission offers its good offices for conciliation in instances of discrimination, and if that fails, is empowered to hold public hearings on charges.

Bishop DeWolfe, who is traveling on vacation in North Carolina, could not be reached yesterday for comment.

The executive director of the Episcopal Society, who has arrived here from its headquarters in Atlanta, said the group had negotiated with Bishop DeWolfe to change his stand and the hospital's admission policies.

"We regret that negotiation and appeal have failed," the executive director, the Rev. John B. Morris, commented. For this reason, he said, clerical and lay members of the race relations group "will express their concern for the bishop's intransigence" by the vigil. He said he hoped that the protest at the hospital, and possibly a later demonstration outside Bishop DeWolfe's diocesan office in Garden City, L. I., would be "efficacious for effecting change."

THE NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN, THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1962

Prayers Replace Picketing As DeWolfe Indicates a Shift

By LEE TOWNSEND,
World-Telegram Staff Writer

". . . Then shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked and sinners shall be converted unto Thee . . ."

Fifty worshipers spoke these words aloud yesterday as they knelt in the chapel of St. John's Episcopal Hospital to pray for an end to the segregation which, it has been charged, exists in the Bedford-Stuyvesant institution.

Then the worshipers—some white, some Negro; some clergymen, some laymen -- sang Hymn No. 263 and quietly filed out of the peaceful, spacious chapel, ending what had been advertised as a "demonstration" protesting alleged segregation of Negro patients in semi-private rooms at the hospital.

Message From Diocese

The group, mostly members of the Long Island chapter of the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity, had received a message relayed by the office of the Long Island Diocese of the Episcopal Church minutes before the start of the planned demonstration.

The message came from the Rt. Rev. James P. DeWolfe, bishop of the diocese, who is enroute to New York from a North Carolina vacation.

It read:

"If there is any purposeful segregation at St. John's Hospital of any kind on the part of anyone, director, doctor, board, nurse or anyone on the staff, the bishop will take immediate steps to stop and prevent this condition and to use his office to see that this is corrected."

Offer of Meeting

It also said that the bishop would be willing to meet with clergymen from his own diocese on the segregation charges upon his return, scheduled for sometime this weekend.

The chapter, which, along with the city's Commission on Human Rights, has been trying in vain for more than a week to reach the bishop, viewed the message as "giving some hope that accord can be reached."

Therefore, the Rev. John B. Morris, of Atlanta, Ga., national executive director of the cultural and racial unity group, announced that a planned march on the diocese office in Garden City would be postponed, as well as another demonstration scheduled for Saturday in front of the hospital.

'To Enter Chapel'

"Today, we shall merely seek permission to enter the chapel here at the hospital and pray for an end to the segregation," he said.

Hospital officials granted the permission and the small, quiet group walked inside to pray.

Before they did, however, Father Morris read aloud a statement that had been issued at a press conference earlier in the day.

It was a lengthy criticism of Bishop DeWolfe's statement made public July 1, in which he refused to seek changes in the hospital's admission policy even though the bishop's Committee on Race Relations found that segregation did exist at the institution, "consciously or not."

The bishop said patients had the right to choose with whom they wished to share a room and called this the "principle of consent."

The society's answer asserted that the bishop's stand violated state and federal discrimination laws and added:

(Story continued on next page...)

"It is evident . . . the 'principle of consent' is for whites only. Whites only are asked whether or not they prefer convalescing with other whites. Whites only have free access to the choicer fourth floor . . ."

Hospital officials have repeatedly denied any policy of segregation. Even the group bringing the charge of segregation in semi-private rooms admits that the hospital - 60 percent of the patients of which are non-white—in many ways is one of the "most integrated" in the city. It has, for instance, more Negro doctors than all other private hospitals in Brooklyn combined.

While the small group stood in front of the hospital, at 480 Herkimer St., nurses and doctors glanced casually at them through windows. A few members of the hospital staff came to the front steps to listen to the brief speeches. There were no police stationed in front of the hospital.

One of the speakers was William M. Chisholm, an attorney and one of the two investigators appointed last fall by the diocesan Race Relations Committee to study the segregation charge.

He called Bishop DeWolfe's latest statement a "step in the right direction," but added he thought it was "rather innocuous."

THE NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN, THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1962

(This appeared with preceeding account)

Here's Part of Report Criticizing St. John's

Here, made public for the first time, are detailed excerpts from the church report which concluded that segregation existed, "consciously or not," at St. John's Episcopal Hospital in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Mimeographed copies of the report were circulated at a news conference yesterday of the Long Island chapter of the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity, which first brought the segregation charge.

The report was written by William M. Chisholm, an attorney and one of the two investigators who studied the charge for the Race Relations Committee of the Long Island Church.

The World-Telegram showed Chisholm a copy of the report, and he identified it as the one he wrote and the one which was later adopted by the committee and sent to the Rt. Rev. James P. DeWolfe, Bishop of Long Island.

In his decision on the segregation question, the bishop included highlights from the report. The following are sections not before made public:

". . . At a meeting with the Negro members of the staff of the hospital, the doctors agreed that a problem does exist concerning the admission of Negro patients to the fourth floor, and the assignment of Negro patients to certain wings of other floors.

"It would appear from statements made to this committee that these doctors must make strong protestations to the admitting office, and even to the medical director to have a qualified Negro patient [admitted] to the fourth floor. It is their considered opinion that a policy definitely exists to exclude non-white patients from this floor.

"These doctors further stated that many of them had spoken to Mr. Connor (the hospital director, who was not available for comment yesterday) about this situation and had also spoken to a member of the board of managers about this situation, but that the conditions continue to exist

"A further contention of the doctors is that on the first and third floors, Negro patients are assigned primarily to wings which have but one bath for the entire wing while other wings have share-bath accommodations. Also that on the obstetric floor, the policy seems to be assignment of white patients to even numbered rooms and Negro to odd numbered rooms . . .

"It was also stated that some white physicians insist on having a "lily-white" floor, and sections of some floor, and are unsympathetic to mixing of patients, either private or semi-private.

"These (the Negro) doctors contend that as a result of these alleged practices, many of their patients refuse to be admitted to St. John's and, indeed, according to the doctors, many of the Negro personnel of the hospital refuse to become patients . . ."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1962.

Bishop Will Confer on Hospital Racial Issue

DeWolfe Will Review Policy With City Rights Unit

Bishop James P. DeWolfe, responding to public protests against segregation in semi-private rooms at St. John's Episcopal Hospital in Brooklyn, told the City Commission on Human Rights yesterday that he would be willing to meet with it to review the situation.

The commission's executive director, Madison S. Jones, had sent two telegrams to the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island at his office in Garden City, requesting a conference.

Mr. Jones acted after Bishop DeWolfe had announced he would not move to change the hospital's practice of putting only patients of the same race in the semi-private rooms on the fourth floor. Mr. Jones said it was "a little ridiculous" to have a hospital in New York carry out such a practice.

On Wednesday, about fifty clergy and laity of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity held a protest vigil outside the hospital at 480 Herkimer Street.

The Bishop, who expects to return from a vacation over the week-end, sent word to the group that he would use his office to correct "any purposeful segregation" at the institution.

Yesterday he asked the office of the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church here to send the human rights commission the following message:

"In response to public concern I will review the situation at St. John's Hospital in consultation with the city and state commissions on human rights and will report to the public at the earliest opportunity in concert with these commissions."

The Rev. Arthur Walmsley, acting for the Right Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, the Presiding Bishop, addressed the telegram to Mr. Jones, adding: "We trust conciliation proceedings will begin immediately and that a satisfactory solution will be found for the disputed issue."

He explained that the Bishop had mentioned the state commission, which has not acted in the case, to indicate that he wished to cooperate with any official agencies that might become interested.

At the office of the State Commission for Human Rights a spokesman said that it could act only if a complaint were placed officially before it, and that no complaint had been filed.

A spokesman for the City Commission on Human Rights said it had not yet received the telegram. It is not empowered to act jointly with the state commission, the spokesman said, but will meet separately with the Bishop.

The city commission's procedure in a case of this kind, it was noted, is to investigate the situation on a confidential basis and then offer its services of conciliation. Should conciliation fail, public hearings could be authorized.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, JULY 19, 1962.

BISHOP URGES END OF HOSPITAL BIAS

De Wolfe Calls on St. John's to Bar Segregation

Bishop James P. De Wolfe requested the board of managers of St. John's Episcopal Hospital in Brooklyn yesterday to direct the staff to carry out a policy of assigning patients to all rooms without regard to race.

The Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island made known the request after he had met in his Garden City, L. I., office with representatives of the City Commision on Human Rights.

The commision had requested the meeting to discuss accusations that the Brooklyn hospital assigned patients to semi-private rooms on the fourth floor on a segregated basis.

Bishop DeWolf's statement said in part:

"It is the policy of St. John's Episcopal Hospital not to practice any kind of segregation based on race, creed, color or national origin in any of its departments and facilities. It has ben stated that semi-private and private rooms on the fourth floor are denied in some instances to people because of race, creed, color or national origin. No segregation concerning their use is or will be a matter of hospital policy."

On June 30, the Bishop, commenting on hospital practice, said the "principle of consent" had to be regarded in assigning a white or Negro to a room with a person of the other race.

Vigil Held at Hospital

The Protestant Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, which had brought the charges of discrimination to the Bishop's attention, held a vigil outside the hospital last week to protest this practice. The hospital is at 480 Herkimer Street.

The Bishop sent word to those protesting that he would use his ofice to correct "any purposeful segregation" at the institution.

That was followed by yesterday's meeting with the Human Rights Commission and the Bishop's statement. Madison S. Jones, executive director of the commission, hailed the agreement reached.

The city's Human Rights Commission is empowered by law to investigate charges of discrimination in public and private institutions. It first offers conciliation where discrimination is found, and then may hold public hearings if the discrimination persists.

11-23-62

Religion

NCCJ's NEW DIRECTION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS • 43 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Interfaith "Dialogues" Ease Religious Conflicts In U. S.

DAYTON, OHIO
JOURNAL-HERALD
Nov. 23, 1962

By George W. Cornell
Associated Press Religion Writer

They were men of different religions, discussing their opposing policies. But they found that they agreed on basic purposes and principles, and that they also were concerned with the same problems.

This was the result of an interfaith "dialogue," a spreading practice in America today, aimed at easing community conflicts related to religion.

It is an approach to troublous issues such as religion and schools, birth control policies and Sunday closing laws, that involves talking plainly with each other, instead of one-sidedly about each other.

And the ensuing better understanding, and extent of shared views, often surprises even the participants.

"The difficult problems can be ameliorated through patient and honest exchange of ideas and the intelligent analysis of issues," says Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

* * *

The agency, including representatives of Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism, is engaged in a far-reaching, new project to bring the groups together, nationally and locally, to seek solutions to points of friction.

Set to run for five years, or longer, the program is called the "religious freedom and public affairs project."

This week it held its first national institute in Washington, D.C., dealing with religious liberty, and to a large degree, the Jewish, Protestant and Catholic experts found themselves voicing common basic ideals—and objectives.

The same underlying concordant note has turned up in many local interfaith sessions, now increasing across the country.

"In several communities there was clear evidence of a changed atmosphere within the community as a result of the understanding and the good feeling that had emerged from the dialogue," a project report said.

* * *

This doesn't mean differences in policies are overcome, but it does offer fuller joint understanding, and often brings out that the principles behind the differing policies correspond.

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES,
President, NCCJ

"The nature of the conflict is changed," said Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, project consultant. "It allays the mistaken, hysterical stereotypes, and to a large extent, makes clear that the differences are not in principles, but only in applications of them."

So far, in its beginning year, the project reports that regular meetings are going on between the three faiths in 30 communities, and the number is increasing. Clergymen and lay civic leaders meet monthly or more often.

Unlike the theological "dialogue" now expanding between Protestants and Catholics, the three-way talks are concerned with public and social questions arising from different religious approaches to them.

Such questions as religious observances in the public schools, textbooks for parochial schools, gambling laws, religious political pressure and other matters producing disputes are among those taken up.

"It is time we got beyond the interfaith smile," said Dr. Jones, an Episcopalian. "It is time we got down to facing the hard questions of what it really means to practice our respective faiths in a free society."

* * *

In addition to forming the "dialogue" groups, the project also sponsors special seminars in major cities, and a broad program of studies, both of specific situations and general subjects.

It also has launched a number of publications, including "Background Reports," on current problems, and has plans under way for university seminars for professional groups, such as lawyers and church publishers, who deal with the issues.

A Ford Foundation grant of $325,000 helped finance the start of the project a year ago, and other foundations also are expected to provide further support as it goes along. President Kennedy has hailed the plan.

At the Washington meeting, the key addresses, from the different religious leaders, often had a common ring. For example:

"Religious liberty is fundamental," said the Jew, Rabbi Robert Gordis, of New York. It is "an absolute need of the human spirit," said the Protestant, Rev. Dr. Roger L. Shinn, also of New York. "The citizen's civil rights are not and cannot be conditioned by his confessional allegiance," said the Catholic, Rev. Edward Duff, of Weston, Mass.

* * *

Dr. Gordis said Judaism is deeply worried about "widespread religious illiteracy." Father Duff expressed fear that America is excluding the "religious dimension from the training of its young." Dr. Shinn said Protestants also were worried about schools "excluding Judaeo-Christian traditions that are authentic elements in our history."

Their concerns were similar. The question is how to deal with them.

Said Dr. Jones:

"The goal of our program is to work out the difficulties in a truly democratic manner—not asking anyone to sacrifice his religious convictions, but perhaps to modify his demands about the public applications of those convictions."

PUBLIC LIFE and MORALS

BOSTON, MASS.
PILOT
Nov. 24, 1962

This week in Washington a couple of hundred people gathered together to talk about the relationship between religion and public life. The meeting was sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the thirty-year old agency which works for improved interreligious relations in the United States. It was, by design, a heterogeneous assembly representing all religious groups on the American scene and even those who had no religious affiliations whatever. The discussions covered a wide range of topics—nearly every subject that is a source of community abrasion on the American scene. The central point is worth considering.

The background of the discussions is the indisputable fact of a changing America. Formerly, in our country, the religious commitment was for the most part totally Protestant. It is still true in larger areas of the rural midwest and south that the Protestant church is so strong a force in the local community that the public life and action reflect Protestant values, and in some measure, even sectarian practice. For the most part the cities and the urban areas in general have ceased to be Protestant, and are now made up of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and the un-churched. Some cities have become predominantly Catholic and at least one—New York City—heavily Jewish. In those areas the size of the Catholic (and Jewish) community is a force to be reckoned with in public affairs.

The present problem that seeks solution is in its simplest terms—what should be the influence of religious bodies in the formation of law and public administration? Should public life reflect the specific religious views of the majority group, whatever it may be? Or should it be independent of all religious groups? In this last case is it not the easiest thing for government to be neutral, to be essentially secular and leave religion to the churches?

An affirmative reply to this last proposition is especially attractive to many Americans. Instead of choosing among competing religious allegiances, keep all religion out of public life. Those who feel this way are pleased with every effort that can be made to remove what vestiges of religion remain from earlier traditions and they labor to see that no new incursions become successful. This solution has of course the advantage of simplicity, but this is practically all that can recommend it. For the rest, it relegates religion—all religion—to the sanctuary and suggests that our public institutions are independent of any religious claims whatever. It "establishes" secularism on the official public attitude of this country and sets out to remove whatever traditions may conflict with this proposition.

It should be possible, in the face of this proposition, for religiously minded people to find some acceptable formula which would return religion to its proper place in the public life of America. Such an effort would be faithful to our best traditions as a nation and not at all inconsistent with the demands of religious freedom. Our laws and administration should seek to reflect the moral consensus of the community without at the same time favoring any specifically sectarian practice. Not in any sense seeking a lowest common denominator of religious acceptance, we should seek to discover and formulate that body of moral values which are accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans. Once this consensus is found—and we presume that it is possible—we should unashamedly express it in our public life and institutions in the manner of our fathers in an earlier time in this republic. Not secularism, then, but moral values should undergird the official and public life of America. Unless we are prepared to set our minds and hearts to this task we will have soon lost by default what first set this nation on the road to greatness.

A Study of Freedom

FAIRMONT, W. VA.
TIMES-WEST VIRGINIAN
DEC. 2, 1962

Americans like to talk about religious freedom, and to swear allegiance to this principle. The fondness for insisting that the principle must be upheld is not matched by popular knowledge as to what religious freedom entails.

This heightens the importance of a broad undertaking, by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to study the attitudes and practices of various faith groups in relation to public questions. The First National Institute on the Responsibilities of Religious Freedom, held in Washington for three days, is a part of this project.

The institute can only be a beginning, clearly. The NCCJ is aware of this, and has mapped out a long-range effort intended "to raise the general level of public discussion and understanding among religious groups differing on issues of public concern." It is expected that this will continue for a number of years. The project should do a great deal to clarify thinking on a question of great importance.

HOW DO YOU ACCOUNT FOR IT?

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
NATIONAL JEWISH
POST AND OPINION
Nov. 9, 1962

An odd occurrence—the Jewish attitude towards the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

For a while, the NCCJ was so apologetic and so careful to do nothing except make pretty speeches—it changed its title from National Conference of Jews and Christians because of this attitude—that knowledgeable Jews lost faith in it.

The fearful Jews—who believed in Jews hiding behind the ramparts instead of speaking out as Jews—loved the NCCJ then.

Now that the NCCJ has become vigorous in the fight to eliminate prejudice and has not been afraid to take controversial positions, it seems to have little impact in the Jewish group. A year or so ago we wrote an editorial praising the NCCJ for this courageous shift when this new policy became obvious. Yet one hears little of the NCCJ in Jewish circles now.

Our remarks now are prompted by the forthcoming first national institute of the NCCJ Nov. 18-21 in Washington, D.C. A parade of the subjects shows that the NCCJ now goes where angels fear to tread. Among these subjects are: Controversy over Christmas Celebration in Schools, Birth Control, Gambling, Sunday Closing, Religion a Factor in Conditioning Attitudes That Reflect Themselves at the Ballot Box, A Look at Religious Pressure Groups at the Level of City Government and A Jew, A Catholic, A Protestant Look at Religious Liberty, and so on.

Where can you get more dangerous subjects?

Their airing is the best catharsis, and the NCCJ is the ideal body before which these controversial subjects can be aired and still avert internal civic explosions.

In view of the value of the NCCJ to a pluralistic society today, how do you account for the apathy to it of the Jewish community?

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N.C.C.J.'s NEW DIRECTION

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Nov. 21, 1962

Church-State and interfaith relations are entering a new phase in the U.S. Up to now most of us have been living on the complicated middle ground that lies somewhere between "the more we get together the happier we'll be" and "familiarity breeds contempt." In the past, when Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and the nonreligious led their separate lives, each group condoned any myth about the others. In the present, when citizens of all faiths and nonfaiths live in closer physical and psychic proximity, new patterns of competition and understanding are developing.

Early in its history, the National Conference of Christians and Jews took its stand on that complicated middle ground and devoted itself to promoting "brotherhood." As the years went by, however, this N.C.C.J. stance came under criticism. The sentiment of brotherhood did not seem by itself to have enough durability, boldness or energy to cope with interfaith tensions. That the N.C.C.J. became aware of this fact and has set out in a new direction is proved by the First National Institute on Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, which it convened in Washington, D.C., this week.

Backed by Ford Foundation funds, President Lewis Webster Jones and Staff Consultant Rabbi Arthur Gilbert of the N.C.C.J. brought together at Washington's Mayflower hotel a hard-working hard core of people who have special interest in religious liberty and affairs bearing on church-state conflict. While it built on the theoretical basis of institutes of the type initiated by the Fund for the Republic four years ago, this institute differed from them in its practical concern. The accent, Rabbi Gilbert reminded the conferees, should be on process and method, on the dynamics of alleviating tensions. Representatives of many interest and pressure groups were on hand, and this was all to the good. The tone of the meeting was a curious combination of amiability and frankness, acceptance of persons and rejection of positions.

To promote frankness, an agreement was made not to quote participants without permission. Hence any report on the institute may make it appear that the ideas it considered were shots into the wild blue. They were anything but that! They were contended for warmly and vigorously by people who had much at stake. On no issue was this personal interest more clear than when the various Roman Catholic spokesmen argued for federal aid to parochial elementary schools. In an N.C.C.J. occasional paper George La Noue referred to the fact that no case brought before the Supreme Court in its first 158 years tested the First amendment; but in its 1961-62 session alone the court rendered seven decisions bearing on that amendment, and many more cases involving it are on the docket.

The institute emphasized that we can expect life in the church-state realm to look like that for some time to come, with schools the chief focus of contention. The Supreme Court decision on the New York regents' prayer colored everything said here, just as talk of the election of a Roman Catholic as chief executive would have done two years earlier. This preoccupation with the actual marks a basic change in the legal and theological interpretation of the American religious and educational experience. It also sets the agenda for interfaith discussions.

The more secular wings of Judaism, the more belligerent elements of Catholicism were underrepresented at the institute. But urban American religion, with which "power" now lies, was certainly treated fairly. In the four days November 18-21 an accurate picture of the complaints and hopes of religious groups emerged. As a matter of fact, the institute may have given outsiders the impression that all American religious groups do is fight. But the agenda called for discussion of conflict, and so reservoirs of good will in the laity and the more fair-minded clergy were not often drawn upon. It was the competitive elements of institutional religion that were revealed in clear detail.

On Sunday night Father John Tracy Ellis set out to prove that the consistent strand of American Catholic thought, official and unofficial, has been in support of the American pattern of church-state relationships. Professor Franklin H. Littell concentrated on Protestantism's burden of reinterpreting itself now that the Protestant cultural hegemony is being replaced by a generalized national religion. Later in the week, Rabbi Robert Gordis tried to deal with the embarrassments to religious liberty where Jews are in control, as they are in Israel. These speakers made it clear that each tradition has its uncertainties and ambiguities.

Moreover, in America each tradition finds it difficult to understand why its own moral-legal concerns are not fully grasped by others: Catholics on legislation effecting birth control; Protestants, on gambling; Jews, on Sunday closing. There seemed to be a three-way or four-way parity of conflict and concern in regard to every legal illustration presented during the institute.

In my oral summary to the conference I suggested that the changes in church-state relations we are experiencing today are largely the result of the general trend toward centralization. Issues that were once settled on a regional or local basis are now given national publicity and tend to land in the lap of the federal government. A corollary to this trend, I believe, is overexpectation as to what part elementary schools, both public and private, ought to play in the interpretation of the American experience. Can the school, should the school carry all the burdens? Are the religious groups abdicating because of their own inability or unwillingness to teach, to hold loyalties? I see the beginnings of a mystique which implies that the pluralist process should acquire a new theological justification and a new practical part in settlement of conflict.

One can take heart from the consistent criticism of ideologies, the general interest in theories that do not harden into dogmas, the painstaking concern for legal redress, the openness with which various positions in American life were discussed at this institute. The church-state and interreligious fields have become highly complex, highly technical. Conviction that the American laity can and will solve these problems by "brotherhood" alone is disappearing: the good will across lines of religious institutions tends to dissipate when tested. Technical skill is needed, in addition to good will. The decade ahead will call for restraint, closer study, an occasional moratorium on debate, moderation in pressing of claims. Nobody at this institute expected a utopian breakthrough. But everyone left with a clearer conception of the hopes that America's religious and nonreligious groups bring to a time of rapid change.

Martin E. Marty

NCCJ PROJECT —
Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

Since its founding, NCCJ has been deeply concerned about those matters of public policy in which religious differences threaten to divide the American people. Failure to find some consensus on such church-state issues as public support of parochial schools, religion and public education and Sunday closing laws, to mention but a few, pits American against American at a time when, as a nation, we should be working together as never before to combat threats to our freedom at home and abroad. A solution to these difficult problems can only be brought about through patient and continuing conference and confrontation and exchange of ideas—which is the program method of the National Conference.

The National Conference has expanded its work in the field of *interreligious* relations by the inauguration of a new project: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS. This project is designed to raise the general level of public discussion and understanding among religious groups differing on issues of public concern.

To this end, the NCCJ is sponsoring a series of conferences, institutes and seminars that will allow civic leaders, scholars and clergy of various faith groups to discuss together specific problems of religious and political action. Each of the sixty-five NCCJ regional offices assists in the program.

The NCCJ is planning a program of sufficient intensity and excellence to exert appreciable influence on American public opinion. The Ford Foundation has generously appropriated $325,000 over the first four years for partial support of the program. It is hoped that other foundations, and philanthropic individuals, will join in providing the additional necessary funds.

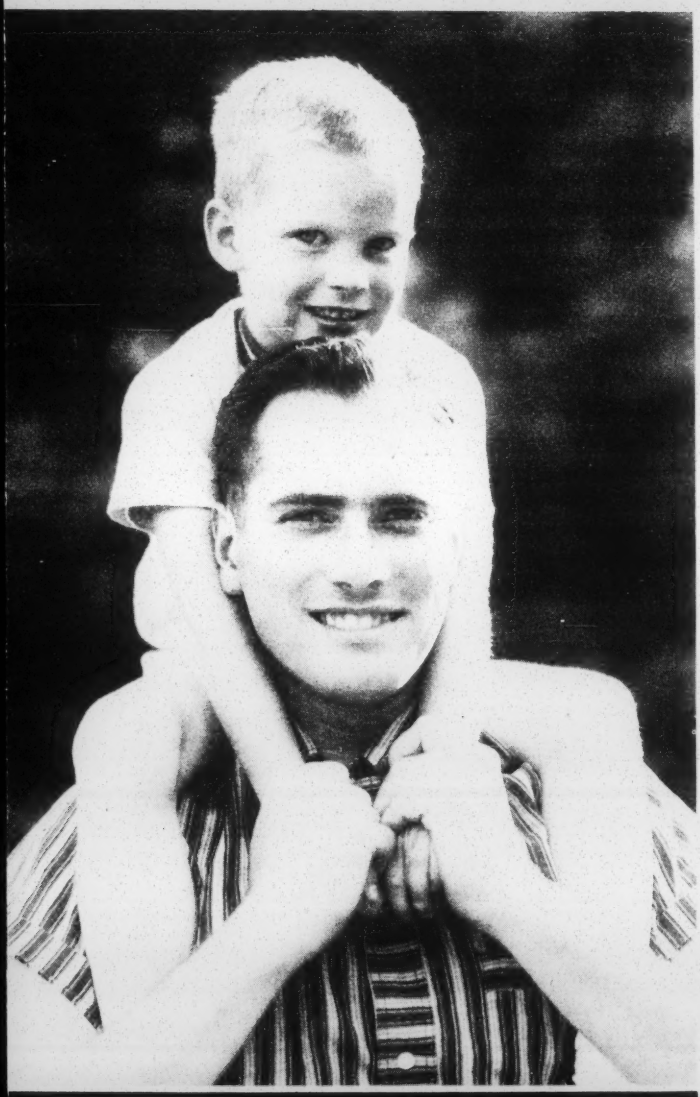
LEWIS WEBSTER JONES
President

DUMONT F. KENNY
Vice President for Program Development

ARTHUR GILBERT
Staff Consultant Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

CLAUD D. NELSON
Consultant Religious Liberty

Members of the Council on Religious Freedom and Public Affairs gather in New York to discuss plans for the four-year project. Attending the meeting were (from left): Dr. Dumont Kenny, NCCJ vice-president for program development; Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, NCCJ president; Dr. Herold C. Hunt, professor of education at Harvard University; Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, NCCJ staff consultant to the council; Dr. John C. Bennett, dean of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York; Dr. Edward W. Barrett, dean of the graduate school of journalism at Columbia University; Dr. Wilber G. Katz, professor of law at the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Robin M. Williams Jr., chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at Cornell University; Dr. Claud Nelson, NCCJ consultant on interreligious affairs. Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., of the School of Divinity at Woodstock (Md.) College; and Father John S. Romanides, assistant dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School.



Your Child

Your Child and His Attitudes

By DONALD M. MAYNARD

Once upon a time there was a father who had no interest in bugs or crawling things. In fact, he didn't like them. To him they were objects to brush quickly from one's clothes, and to avoid when possible. One evening his young son, who was having his first experience with catching fireflies, rushed up to him and asked him to hold a firefly he had just caught. The father's first inclination was to withdraw his hand quickly and to refuse his son's request with an exclamation of disgust and irritation. Fortunately, he caught himself just in time, and gingerly held the firefly in his hand, and then another, and then still another, as the son delightedly continued what was to him a thrilling experience.

It is worthy of note that this young boy continued his interest in all phases of nature, and today, many years later, is carrying on significant research in the field of zoology and teaching in one of the great universities of our land. The father has been grateful through the years that in this every-day, and yet crucial experience with his son, he did not pass on to him his own attitude of dislike for bugs. How easy it would have been for him to transmit the feeling to his son that bugs and crawling things were to be avoided, or to be crushed and killed. And how impoverished the life of the son would have been had the father's attitude been passed on to him.

The purpose of this illustration is to remind us that it is during the formative years of a child's life that many of his basic attitudes are established, attitudes that will do much towards determining whether or not he has confidence in himself, whether or not he has wholesome attitudes towards others and can get along with them, and the kind of values around which he builds his life. As a parent contemplates this responsibility, it is almost frightening.

But it is equally important that we do not let this illustration give us the wrong impression. Important as the parents may be in the formation of children's attitudes, he is not the sole determiner of them. Other people, the child's peers, and his first hand experiences with objects and people in his environment, all influence him. This particular boy, for example, even though he had at first caught from his father a dislike for bugs, might have changed when he discovered that many of his peers were interested in objects of nature. A teacher in the school might have directed him into many interesting contacts with, in this case, bugs, and later on the teaching of science in school might have created an interest in the whole field of zoology. Nevertheless, the influence of parents, especially during the earlier years, is likely to be more important than any other factor.

By the term "attitudes," we are thinking primarily of the feeling that a child or a person has towards objects, events, people, or ideas. It is the feeling aspect of attitudes that is as important. And although it is true that we feel more intensely about some things than others, we think of an attitude as having an intensity of emotion connected with it that leads to a certain type of behavior. Attitudes give direction to our behavior and our lives. If I have a favorable attitude towards someone, I want to be with that person, in my behavior I tend to approach him. If I have an attitude of dislike, I try to avoid the person, and I tend to go away from him. I tend to be favorably inclined toward the ideas of people whom I admire and like; I tend to be critical of the ideas of those whom I do not like or admire.

It is important, then, for you to ask yourself two basic questions: What are the more basic attitudes I want my child to develop? And second, what part do I have to play in the development of my child's attitudes?

The child is not born with attitudes about people or ideas. He is not born with prejudices toward others; he is not born with a deep-seated sense of inferiority. These are attitudes that are acquired, that grow out of his experiences. Because they are acquired, they may either be prevented in the first place, or changed after they have been developed. This, of course, is why you, the parent, have such a significant role to play. Your child is in your care during the formative years when many of the most basic attitudes are created.

As you think of your child and his attitudes, keep in mind the following:

I. Your child, very early in life, learns to behave in ways that bring about the gratification of his needs, some of which are physical, others psychological and social. He discovers that how well they are satisfied depends upon how well he gets along in his interpersonal relationships which, for a small child, means with you, the parent. The behavior that he discovers is pleasing to you becomes associated with certain attitudes. These attitudes consequently influence his future interpretation of his environment and create within him a readiness to act in a certain way.

Your child, for example, has a great need for your approval. If he discovers that whenever he exercises initiative and resourcefulness in his play, or manifests great curiosity about the world of nature and of people, you seem to be a bit irritated and express your disapproval, he may decide that it is better to stifle creative thinking and curb impulses to express himself freely and enthusiastically. He is likely to develop a basic attitude towards life that says life must be lived cautiously, rather than with an adventuresome spirit. In the future, therefore, he responds negatively to creative opportunities.

Again, in his play with his peers it is inevitable that he should run into conflicts and difficulties. This is a normal part of the process of learning how to get along with others. But one evening he comes home and says he has been in a fight, and he speaks disparingly of his adversary. It soon is revealed that the boy is one of another race, or creed. You may not realize it but this may be a very crucial moment in your child's life. How you respond to the situation may determine whether your child develops racial prejudice or exemplifies a feeling of tolerance and appreciation for others. If you, too, speak with contempt for the lad of another race, and encourage your son to feel that he is "no good" or inferior, the seeds of racial prejudice may be firmly entrenched. On the other hand, if you show disapproval of such evidences of racial prejudice, your child's attitude towards others may become one of respect and appreciation. Behavior, you see, helped influence the development of attitudes, which attitudes, in turn, influenced future behavior.

II. Although your child's attitudes may be affected by what you say, other means of communication are likely to be more effective. And of course what you do is more important than anything else. But do not forget that it is important that you offer verbal expressions of approval and appreciation to your child. Do not take for granted that he knows you love him and are proud of him. Tell him so, in no uncertain terms.

Far more important than your words, will be the more subtle means of communication. The smile on your face and the light in your eye as you congratulate your son on something he has done, are far more significant than the words you may utter. And a scowl, or a shrug of the shoulders, or the pursing of the lips when your child shares with you a mediocre report card conveys your disappointment more eloquently than scolding or recrimination. Saying nothing in such a situation may be more devastat-

ing to the spirit of your child than the honestly facing of the facts in the situation.

Actions have special significance as you try to help your child develop wholesome attitudes toward religion. You can tell your child that you believe in God, but if in the telling you are unenthusiastic and seem to be expressing shibboleths that you have learned, your child is not fooled. If, in addition, he sees no evidence that you ever pray to God; if you never speak of Him in connection with the ongoing life of the family; and if your grace at the table is purely perfunctory, he soon senses the fact that God isn't a very vital factor in your life. You can take your child to church school and tell him it is good for him, that you went as a child. If you then return home to read the Sunday paper, and do not bother to attend the services of your church, your son will look forward to the time when he is big and can stay home. In other words, your child's attitude toward religion is likely to reflect your own.

III. Your child will tend to assume the attitudes of persons and groups with which he identifies himself. When he is small, you may note that he frequently expresses the attitudes of a beloved character in his favorite story. Later on he tends to emulate the athletic heroes with whom he identifies himself. There is considerable evidence that children who watch television extensively reflect the attitudes of their favorite characters.

In later childhood, and especially during adolescence, your child will be particularly concerned about the approval of those who belong to a special group of which he is a part. Sometimes the expectations and attitudes of these peer groups are quite different from your own. Your child thus finds himself in a quandary. He wants to please you—although this may be news to you—and he also wants the approval of his group. He may find himself vacillating between espousing the attitudes of the group, and those of the home. He may be genuinely concerned as to what is right or wrong, as attitudes are closely related to values. Try to be as sympathetic as possible with him in his predicament. Watch for moments when you can share with him the reasons for your attitudes; give him a chance to express his own viewpoints, and encourage him to make up his own mind.

Recognizing the importance of peer groups upon the formation of attitudes, it is perfectly proper that you should be concerned about the groups to which your child belongs. You will try to provide for your children friends and companions whose basic attitudes you deem to be commendable, although they may not always be identical with your own.

IV. Far less important than the influence of peer groups, is the influence of logical argument, or the acquisition of factual information, although they both have some influence upon attitudes. Encourage your child to think logically and to get the facts that form the basis of judgment and thus of attitudes. Remember, however, that these are not all important. It may be well, also, to remember that the attitudes of your child will not be markedly changed by threats or punishment.

V. Your child's first-hand experiences with his environment help determine his attitudes toward himself and others. A child who is guided into a creative activity in which he achieves something that seems to him and to others to be significant, develops confidence in himself. Happy experiences with those of other races provide a foundation for attitudes of respect and appreciation for them. A role-playing experience in which he tries to feel as others feel, may bring about changes in his attitudes.

VI. Do not forget the influence of the community in which you live upon your child's attitudes. In your efforts as a citizen to see to it that you have honest officials, that your schools and teachers are held in high regard, and that throughout the community there is respect and appreciation for the various racial and religious groups, you will be trying to provide your child with that kind of an environment which will help produce wholesome, worthwhile attitudes.

Department of the Christian Family
in cooperation with
Department of Christian Education of Children
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education, The Methodist Church
Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee

No. 3109-C 100M - 1962

THE VATICAN COUNCIL 1962
Robert A. Graham, S.J.
Claud D. Nelson

SECTION B
Dr. Claud D. Nelson

THE DIALOGUE

A PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS

PA

Research if you need it

EDITORIAL

The National Conference of Christians and Jews takes pleasure in bringing to "Dialogue" readers of all religious groups the articles sent from Rome during the eight weeks October 11 to December 8, 1962, by Religious News Service's two special correspondents, Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J., and Dr. Claud D. Nelson. These articles do not constitute complete news coverage, but are of a supplementary and interpretive character, often including European comments; Roman Catholic, Protestant, and secular.

They constitute an illuminating background for understanding the proceedings of the second round of Council sessions, scheduled to begin on September 8.

For convenience, the reports of the two correspondents are printed as separate sections of this enlarged issue of the Bulletin.

Lewis Webster Jones
President, NCCJ

VATICAN COUNCIL MAKES DEEP IMPRESSION ON DELEGATE-OBSERVERS

ROME (RNS) 10/19/62 – For the non-Catholic delegate-observers and guests, the pomp and splendor, not to mention the high spiritual fervor, attending the opening of the Second Vatican Council added up to an unforgettable experience.

But far more memorable, by common agreement, was their personal encounter with Pope John XXIII, the great dominant figure of the Council, whose irenic spirit and broad human understanding have won him universal admiration and respect.

Some of the Protestant observers remarked to this correspondent that since they were all seated very close to His Holiness, they were able to observe the expression in his eyes as he read various parts of the opening services in St. Peter's Basilica, and then delivered the address in which, as many times before, he voiced his deep personal interest in the cause of Christian unity.

What they saw in the Pope's eyes, they said, was a profound benevolence and sincerity. Later, the observers, mostly from major Protestant Churches and international bodies, but with a sprinkling of Eastern Orthodox, were received in a special audience which confirmed and deepened their original impression.

As the Council began its work, much emphasis was placed on evidences that Pope John, in his person and through the history-making assembly which he convened, may well prove to be the introducer of a new era and a new spirit in Roman Catholicism which – it may well be added, would be of maximum interest to Christians of other confessions.

In looking beyond Rome toward a Christianity surrounded by a world in political ferment, Pope John was not anxiously defensive. "There have been worse times than these," he said in his address to the members of the foreign missions in Rome for the opening of the Council. He made it clear he wishes to proceed by persuasion, exhortation, trusting to the power of truth and love, not resorting to denunciation or anathema.

The Pope's words were held by many to presage Catholic support for a peaceful co-existence among the nations rather than a reinforcement of the West in the cold war. They also raised, inevitably, certain questions. One Italian newspaper, for example, felt moved to comment that if Christians must indeed turn the other cheek, men who carry political responsibility must all the more look after national defense.

The Italian press, whether of the right or the left, was properly respectful in its reception of Pope John's allocution on the opening day of the Council. That and the proceedings and processions were well presented also on television for several hours. One leftist paper applauded the way in which, it said, the pontiff left the Council free to determine its own attitudes and approaches, being content merely to indicate areas of urgent and general human concern. However, the paper

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Rel - Gen
1963

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

From the National Conference
on Religion and Race
January 17, 1963
Chicago, Illinois

Continuation Committee
National Conference on Religion and Race

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

FROM THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE
JANUARY 17, 1963, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

✦ *We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation in our society. Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together.*

I

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots; it will not be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence did declare "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," slavery was permitted for almost a century. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, compulsory racial segregation and its degrading badge of racial inequality received judicial sanction until our own time.

We rejoice in such recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life as the Supreme Court decisions against segregation and the heroic, nonviolent protests of thousands of Americans. However, we mourn the fact that patterns of segregation remain entrenched everywhere—north and south, east and west. The spirit and the letter of our laws are mocked and violated.

Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil.

II

Our appeal to the American people is this:

SEEK *a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.*

SEEK *a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother—his rights, your rights; his pain, your pain; his prison, your prison.*

SEEK *a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.*

SEEK *a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshiped as the Lord of the universe, before whom all racial idols fall, who makes us one family and to whom we are all responsible.*

In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

We call upon all the American people to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God.

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Religion

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January 17, 1963, Chicago, Illinois

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1-23-63

Interracial Ministry in North Carolina

What it was like for a southern white church to have a Negro assistant on its staff one summer.

Religion

ROBERT SEYMOUR

✦ IN the March 16, 1962, issue of this magazine readers were introduced by Stephen C. Rose to the Student Interracial Ministry, the creative movement wherein young seminarians spend the summer as assistants to ministers of churches whose members are wholly or predominantly of another race than their own. As one who had participated in the project as a student, Mr. Rose wrote from the "sending" viewpoint. Now, as pastor of a southern white church which has participated by welcoming a Negro seminarian to its summer staff, I can testify to what it can be like on the "receiving" end.

My first contact with the movement came one morning late in May when I answered the telephone in the office of the Olin T. Binkley Memorial Baptist Church, which was organized four years ago in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and—until we are able to build on our own property—carries on in facilities offered by the University of North Carolina.

The caller got right down to cases. "Can you make a place for a Negro on your church staff?" he asked, and proceeded to explain that the ministry he represented is designed to bring Negroes and whites together in leadership of the local church.

I waited a moment before replying. "I cannot answer for our congregation," I finally said. "But it sounds like an opportunity we ought to consider." After I put the receiver back on its hook I wondered whether I should have been at all encouraging; I was not sure that our people were ready for such a move.

A New Situation

The time was short, so events had to move quickly. I learned that our prospective guest's name was James Forbes, that he had just been granted the B.D. degree, that he was a member of a Pentecostal church, and that he hailed from Raleigh, North Carolina. That last bit of information was providential, for southerners are sensitive to the intrusion of "outsiders" where anything having to do with race is concerned. But what about Forbes's Pentecostal background? Would that prove a stumbling block for our Baptist congregation?

We had faced the racial issue before. Four months after the congregation was organized a Negro freshman at the university had applied for membership and been received. That first step had proved a traumatic experience, even though all were convinced that we had acted in the right. Later two more Negroes joined the church, and several others regularly attend our worship services. But the proposed arrangement posed a new situation: we would be *receiving* a ministry from a Negro, not simply offering it to him.

At a called meeting of the deacons only two reservations were voiced—whether there would be enough work during the summer to warrant adding *anyone* to the staff, and whether we could afford the financial cost. One deacon did say he was "less than enthusiastic" about the proposal, but he agreed to stand with the others in recommending to the church council that we enter into the program.

Approval from the council followed immediately. We arranged for Mr. Forbes to live with two white students in the church's activities house, and several families promised to play host to him at mealtime. The recommendation then went to a congregational meeting for final consideration. It was adopted with one negative vote and several abstentions. So the Rev. James Forbes came to Chapel Hill.

'Feeling Each Other Out'

It happened that on the day our new assistant was introduced to the congregation more guests than members were present. Chapel Hill was host to 300 high school students at a state choral clinic, and they made up our choir that Sunday. When Forbes walked forward to be received "under watchcare," along with a white student making the same request, disbelief could be read on many young faces.

Vacation church school was the first responsibility assigned to Forbes. Immediately the children fell in love with him; they couldn't stop talking about "Jim," as they called him at his invitation. One mother told me that her young son had served notice that he would not attend vacation church school another year, but then he met Jim and nothing could keep him away. The children's acceptance naturally predisposed their parents in Jim's favor and almost every day he was asked to someone's home for dinner. Many of his hosts had never before had a Negro in their home except as a servant, but if there was awkwardness in the new relationship it failed to show itself.

I made a special effort to prepare Jim for the gam-

Robert Seymour is pastor of the Southern Baptist church whose experience he recounts in his article.

ut of response he would meet in the church and the community at large. I sensed that though he knew he was officially accepted he was apprehensive about the reaction of individual members to his presence. There was an initial period of "feeling each other out" in relationships that were as new and strange to him as to anyone else. We decided that it would be wise for Jim to establish personal ties with our members before taking over major leadership responsibilities. So he and I together visited in the homes of the parish. He sang in the choir, taught a class in the church school, attended all meetings of the diaconate, council and committees. I apologized for not being able to make full use of his ability at once, and I kept reminding him that the fact of his presence was in itself of incalculable importance.

Unprecedented Participation

Observance of the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday in July seemed a good occasion to have Jim share the service with me. So he and I walked into the sanctuary and took our places together. He read the Scripture and offered the prayer of thanksgiving. Then, standing together behind the table, we served the elements to the congregation. As we did so I felt the miracle of reconciliation as I have seldom felt it before, and it was apparent that the worshipers shared my feeling. In the witness of our standing side by side the Word was preached, and the singing of "Who loves my Father as a son is surely kin to me" resounded like a hearty Amen. Most of the people in the church that day had never seen a Negro and a white man sharing in a situation of this kind, and their appreciative comments afterwards suggested that this experience satisfied a hunger of which they had been unaware.

Forbes's leadership those months brought about unprecedented participation in our Sunday evening ministry to summer school students. He was invited to give two lectures at the Baptist student center on the campus. As he prepared his material on the assigned topic, "Social and Political Movements in the Negro Community," he complained that every Negro is expected to be an authority on everything that has to do with race. Students on the campus sought him out.

Inevitably, perhaps, there were regrettable incidents. The chairman of one of our committees invited Jim to lunch with him at an establishment he mistakenly believed to be "open"; as a result, they inadvertently staged a sit-in! My wife, confident that he would be welcome, asked him to go with our family to the community Fourth of July celebration. But it turned out that he was the only Negro present, and we were embarrassed on his account when teen-agers taunted us with "Nigger-lovers!"

Such incidents, however, made our people more aware than they had ever been before of how restricted is the world in which the Negro lives. Jim's presence confronted them with the need to think twice before suggesting that he join them for this or that occasion, lest they create a crisis in the larger community. They began to understand in a more personal, direct way what it means to be a Negro in a southern town. As their color-consciousness lessened through their friendship for him, they were increasingly incensed by customs of the community which they had theretofore taken for granted.

The genuineness of the congregation's warm response to James Forbes was put to a test during my month's vacation. The diaconate and the church council asked him to assume responsibility for both pastoral and administrative leadership during my absence, and the pulpit committee invited him to take his turn at preaching along with other ordained ministers in the congregation.

His acceptance was most dramatically revealed in pastoral relationships. The parents of a new baby welcomed his visit to the hospital's maternity wing and expressed deep appreciation of his prayer of thanksgiving for their child—though the nurses stood in the hall outside, shocked that a Negro minister should be calling on a white woman. Another family —recently come to the city from Mississippi—turned to Jim for support in the crisis that arose when both husband and wife were unexpectedly hospitalized. In talking about that situation with me later Jim said, "I could have wished for you, but I would take nothing for their looking to me; I have never felt so completely a person!"

A Vital Witness

The community as a whole was not aware of the interracial nature of our summer ministry. We were glad that it escaped the notice of the press, for wide publicity might have generated unpleasant repercussions. Two groups in town were, however, very much aware of what was happening in our church: the Negro community and the foreign students on the university campus. The local Negroes were obviously proud of all James Forbes and his ministry symbolized; the students from overseas saw in his acceptance evidence of a new south in the making.

Our summer activities were climaxed by a retreat at the beach attended by 60 members of the congregation. Jim led a discussion group and conducted the evening vesper services. A football team from Columbia, South Carolina, happened to be on the grounds for preseason practice, and they asked permission to join in our final worship service. When Jim stepped forward to conduct the service they were obviously surprised, but no one was anything but cordial.

Realizing that this was Jim's last weekend with our church, members of the group at the retreat made the final meal a time for informal testimony to him. A recurring theme was "Your coming has been the best thing that has ever happened to us." Some ex-

pressed the wish that there were some way to continue the relationship on a permanent basis. In the weeks that have followed I have continued to hear such sentiments from members of the congregation, and I have yet to hear a dissenting opinion. I have been particularly gratified that people who early in the summer were apprehensive about the ministry speak of it now with unqualified praise.

And what of James Forbes's response? In the following excerpt from his midsummer report to the sponsoring agency he spoke for himself:

> This is very much like the work I would be doing if I were working in a church predominantly of my race, but because most of the members of this church are white I have had an opportunity to approach my work from a slightly different perspective. . . . One thing has become increasingly clear, and it is that real understanding requires genuine confrontation. . . . I feel that my working at this church in a leadership role has been a vital Christian witness to the larger Chapel Hill community.

A vital Christian witness indeed it has been! And though his own Pentecostal church has assigned James Forbes to a congregation in Wilmington, North Carolina, Binkley Memorial Baptist will continue to regard him as a member of its larger fellowship. We look forward to his being our pulpit guest in the days ahead.

Reader's Response

So Nobody Knows!

Refuting Conclusions on Seminary Enrollment

✦ YOUR EDITORIAL "Ministers Are Not Quitters" (Dec. 5, 1962) asserts that there has been this year "an increase in Protestant seminary enrollments," in refutation of reports to the contrary in recent issues of *Look* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. As evidence you cite an increase in enrollments of member schools of the American Association of Theological Schools—which is almost, but not quite, the same thing. The "whole truth" is more difficult to ascertain than you imply. An "erroneous impression" is not necessarily a result of "indifference to the facts."

Jesse H. Ziegler, associate director of the A.A.T.S., includes in his annual tabulations and press releases detailed warnings against hasty interpretations. His suggestions for careful analysis regularly note that the list of A.A.T.S. members changes from year to year with effects on statistics which must be taken into account in responsible interpretation and reporting.

Dr. Ziegler's final report on 1962 enrollments (released Dec. 6, 1962) indicates a total of 20,729 students registered this fall in member seminaries in the United States and Canada. (This is an adjusted total, higher by 33 students than his preliminary report cited in your editorial and in a news note in the following issue.) The corresponding figure for 1961 was 20,466. The increase hailed by the *ad hoc* committee, and uncritically reported in your editorial, is created by counting 515 students in four new member schools for the first time in 1962. (Another school which had 14 students in 1961 has since been dropped from membership, leaving a net gain of 501 from the five schools which are not listed in both years.) If we refer only to schools listed both in 1961 and 1962, we find that the 121 so listed *decreased* in their total enrollments by 238 students (1.16 per cent).

Those who would argue that this decrease as reported in the official tabulation is more than offset by increases in the four new member schools and in some nonmember schools unlisted in either year will need to produce the figures. On the basis of those now available, the case for a slight decrease this year looks better than the case for a slight increase. In either case, Dr. Ziegler's description of seminary enrollments as having been on a "plateau" for the last few years has the advantage of not attaching great significance to small changes. His press release this year stated that "there is no basis for complacency." Relative to population and other educational indexes, "to maintain the same absolute numbe means relatively to move backward."

In previous years Dr. Ziegler has warned that even when there are increases in seminary enrollment, they may be more apparent than real. The 1961 tabulation showed an increase in students from other lands, most of whom will not become ministers in the United States and Canada. If increases in this category have continued, there were corresponding hidden decreases in the number of United States and Canadian students studying for the parish ministry. If last year's increase in unclassified and part-time registrants is repeated, total enrollments are th reby inflated. As more men enter internship programs requiring a fourth year, they too are counted again. It is not yet clear whether registering for more terms improves the educational programs of the students who, for various reasons, prolong their education. From the standpoint of the seminaries, this may seem to be a desirable trend. However, an increase in extended registrations by the same students should not be interpreted as an increase in the number of men deciding to train for the Protestant ministry.

Perhaps you have been misled by a partial reading of what Martin E. Marty wrote on the subject in your Nov. 7 issue. Unwilling to wait for "the I.B.M. machines of the A.A.T.S.," he did his survey, but did not claim for his findings the accuracy you ascribe to them. What you describe as the "seminaries sampled"—actually those reporting from a number of "representative" seminaries—were less representative than he assumed. The 23 A.A.T.S. members he lists had an increase this year of 54 students (0.7 per cent), while the 98 schools which were not included in his responses had a decrease of 292 (2.25 per cent). This gives weight to his own suggestion that nonresponding presidents might be off recruiting for next year.

Dr. Marty added other qualifications, making the las: two-thirds of his balanced report as sobering as anything in the *Look* and *Post* articles. He gave reasons for the "almost universal uneasiness expressed" in the presidents' letters —the apathy of the churches and an image of the ministry that is "obscured, diffuse, undramatic, purposeless"; "none of the respondents really feels that the problem of downward trends has been fully solved"; "many of the respondents declared that things will get worse before they get better." This is less optimistic than the interpretation supported in your Dec. 5 editorial.

Regarding dropouts from the ministry, there is a natural tendency to interpret any newly observed phenomenon as if it were a trend and to hail or deplore it depending on one's values. Laymen apparently find it shocking that any ministers quit. You protest that a minis-

1-28-63

Religion

The Ethical Demands of Integration

By MARTIN LUTHER KING

IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION that men often hate each other because they fear each other and they fear each other because they don't know each other and they don't know each other because they fail to communicate with each other, and they don't do that because they are separated from each other. God grant that something will happen so that we will be able to bridge these gulfs and these barriers and bring about real brotherhood.

I have been asked to speak from the subject, "An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration." The problem of race- and color-prejudice remains America's greatest moral dilemma. When one considers the impact it has upon our nation both internally and externally its resolution might well determine our destiny. History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important task—to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly but which is our most powerful weapon for world respect and evaluation. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world. The shape of the world today does not afford us the luxury of an anaemic democracy. The price that America must pay for the continued oppression of the Negro is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late and the clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now before it is too late.

Marks of Progress

Happily we have made some meaningful strides in breaking down the barriers of racial segregation. Ever since 1954 when the Supreme Court examined the legal body of segregation and pronounced it constitutionally dead, the system has been on the wane. Even the devout diehards who used to cry "never" are now saying "later." Much of the tumult and the shouting, interspersed with tirades against race-mixing, mongrelization of the races, and outside agitators, represent the fanatical death-throes of a dying system. As minimal as may be the across-the-board statistics, desegregation is in process. The bells of history are definitely tolling for segregation. And while I hope I am not a superficial optimist, I am convinced that in less than ten years desegregation will be a reality throughout most of the South. However, when the desegregation process is 100% complete the human relations dilemma of our nation will still be monumental unless we launch now the parallel thrust of the integration process.

Although the terms "desegregation" and "integration" are often used interchangeably, there is a great deal of difference between the two. In the context of what our national community needs, desegregation alone is empty and shallow. Therefore the theme of this conference goes to the heart of the matter. We must always be aware of the fact that our ultimate goal is integration, and that desegregation is only a first step on the road to the good society.

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A significant conference was held in Nashville, Tenn., at the end of 1962, summoning people of religious motivation to consider "The Ethical Demands of Integration." The conference was sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council. Some of the addresses and reports presented at that conference appear in these columns.

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Perhaps this is the point at which we should define our terms. And now I become a victim of the "paralysis of analysis" that is sometimes spoken of. The word "segregation" represents a system that is prohibitive. It denies the Negro equal access to schools, parks, restaurants, libraries and the like. Desegregation is eliminative and therefore negative, for it simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative and is therefore more profound and far-reaching than desegregation. Integration is a positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activity. Integration is genuine inter-group, interpersonal living. Desegregation then is rightly only a short-range goal. Integration is the ultimate goal of our national community. Thus, as America pursues the important task of respecting the letter of the law, that is, compliance with desegregation decisions, she must be equally concerned with the spirit of the law; that is, commitment to the democratic dream of integration.

We do not have to look very far to see the pernicious effects of a desegregated society that is not integrated. It leads to physical proximity without spiritual affinity. It gives us a society where men are physically desegregated and spiritually segregated, where elbows are together and hearts are apart. It gives us spatial togetherness and spiritual apartness. It leaves us with a stagnant equality of sameness rather than a constructive equality of oneness. Therefore our topic leads us to an analysis of the "oughtness" of integration. On the basis of what is right, why is integration an end and desegregation only a means? In the context of justice, freedom, morality and religion, what are the basic ethical demands of integration?

Personality

First, integration demands a recognition of the sacredness of human personality. Deeply rooted in our political and religious heritage is the conviction that every man is an heir to a legacy of dignity and worth. Our Hebraic-Christian tradition refers to this inherent dignity of man in the biblical term, "the image of God." This innate worth referred to in the phrase, "the image of God," is universally shared in equal portions by all men. There is no graded scale of essential worth, there is no divine right of one race which differs from the divine right of another. Every human being has etched in his personality the indelible stamp of the Creator. This idea of the dignity and worth of human personality is expressed eloquently and unequivocally in the Declaration of Independence—"All men are created equal," it says. "They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Never has a socio-political document proclaimed more profoundly and eloquently the sacredness of human personality. Frederick Douglas stated the same truth in his lecture on "The Constitution of the United States," when he said, "Its language is, 'We, the People,' not, 'We, the white people,' not even, 'We, the citizens,' not, 'We, the privileged class,' not, 'We the high,' not, 'We, the low,' but, 'We, the people,' We, the human inhabitants. And if Negroes are people they are included in the benefits with which the Constitution of America was ordained and established."

Segregation stands diametrically opposed to the principle of the sacredness of human personality. It debases personality. Immanuel Kant said in one formulation of the categorical imperative that all men must be treated as ends and never as mere means. The tragedy of segregation is that it treats men as means rather than ends and thereby reduces them to things rather than persons. To use the words of Martin Buber, segregation substitutes an "I-It" relationship for the "I-Thou" relationship. The colloquialism of the Southern landed gentry that referred to slavery and our Negro labor as "hands" betrays the "thing"

DR. KING has become a national figure in his leadership of Negroes of the South, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is the author of **Stride Toward Freedom,** telling of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott experience.

quality assigned to Negroes under the system. Herein lies the root of paternalism that persists even today. The traditional Southerner is fond of "his Negro" as he is of a pet or a finely tooled firearm. It serves a purpose or gets a job done, the only concern is performance, not well being. But man is not a thing; he must be dealt with not as an inanimate tool, but as a person sacred in himself. To do otherwise is to de-personalize a potential person and desecrate what he is. So long as the Negro is treated as the means to an end, so long as he is seen as anything less than a person of sacred worth, the image of God is abused in him and consequently and proportionately lost by those who inflict the abuse. Only by establishing a truly integrated society can we return to the Negro the quality of "thou-ness" which is his due because of the nature of his being.

Denial of Life

A second ethical demand of integration is a recognition of the fact that a denial of freedom to an individual is a denial of life itself. The very character of the life of man demands freedom. In speaking of freedom at this point I am not talking of the freedom of a thing called the will. We have had endless debates between the determinists and indeterminists and it usually turns out that they are arguing over something called "the will." Now in such an argument the determinist always wins because the very phrase, "freedom of the will," abstracts freedom from the person to make it an object, and an object, almost by definition, is not free. But freedom cannot be thus abstracted from the person who is always subject as well as object, and who himself still does the abstracting. So I am speaking of the freedom of man, the whole man and not one faculty called the will. Neither am I implying that there are no limits to freedom. Always freedom is within predestined structure. Thus a man is free to go north from Atlanta to Washington, or south from Atlanta to Miami, but he is not free to go north to Miami or south to Washington except by a long around-the-world journey. And he is not free to go to both cities at one and the same time. We are always free and destined. Freedom is the chosen fulfillment of our destined nature.

With these qualifications we return to the assertion that the essence of man is found in freedom. This is what Paul Tillich means when he declares, "Man is man because he is free." Or what Tolstoy implies when he says, "I cannot conceive of a man not being free unless he is dead."

What is freedom? It is, first, the capacity to deliberate or weigh alternatives. Shall I be a teacher or a lawyer? Shall I vote for this candidate or the other candidate? Shall I be a Democrat, Republican or Socalist? Second, freedom expresses itself in decision. The word, decision, like the word, incision, involves the image of cutting. Incision means to cut in; decision means to cut off. When I make a decision I cut off alternatives and make a choice. The existentialists say we must choose, that we are choosing animals, and if we do not choose we sink into thing-hood and the mass mind. A third expression of freedom is responsibility. This is the obligation of the person to respond if he is questioned about his decision. No one else can respond for him. He alone must respond, for his acts are determined by the totality of his being From this analysis we can clearly see the evil of segregation. It cuts off one's capacity to deliberate, decide and respond.

The absence of freedom is the imposition of restraint on my deliberation as to what I shall do, where I shall live, how much I shall earn and the kind of tasks I shall pursue. I am robbed of the basic quality of man-ness when I cannot choose what I shall do, or where I shall live, or how I shall survive. It means, in fact, that someone or some system has already made these *a priori* decisions for me and I am reduced to an animal. I do not live, I merely exist. The only resemblances I have to real life are the motor responses and functions that are akin to humankind. I cannot adequately assume responsibility as a person because I have been made a party to a decision in which I played no part in making. Now, to be sure, this is hyperbole in some degree, but only to underscore what actually happens when a man is robbed of his freedom. The very nature of his life is altered and his being cannot make the full circle of person-hood because that which is basic to the character of life itself has been diminished.

This is why segregation has wreaked havoc with the Negro. It is sometimes difficult to determine which are the deepest, the physical wounds or the psychological wounds. Only a Negro can understand the social leprosy that segregation inflicts upon him, the suppressed fears and resentments, and the expressed anxieties and sensitivities make each day of life a turmoil. Every confrontation with the restrictions imposed is another emotional battle in a never ending war. He is shackled in his waking moments to tip-toe stance. Never quite knowing what to expect next in his subconscious he wrestles with this added demon. Is that any argument to support the withdrawing of life quality from groups because of the color of their skin or the texture of their hair, or any external characteristic which has nothing at all to do with the life quality? Certainly not on the grounds of morality, justice or religion. Nothing can be more diabolical than a deliberate attempt to destroy in any man his will to be a man and to withhold from him that something which constitutes his true essence. Desegregation then is not enough for it only travels a part of the distance. It vouchsafes the lack of restraint against one's freedom, but it does not prohibit the blocking of his total capacity. Only integration can do this for it unchains the spirit and the mind and provides for the highest degree of life-quality freedom. Integration demands that we recognize that a denial of freedom is a denial of life itself.

Human Solidarity

A third ethical demand of integration is a recognition of the solidarity of the human family. Integration seems almost inevitably desirable and practical because basically we are all one. Paul's declaration that God has made of one blood all nations of the world is more anthropological fact than religious poetry. The physical differences between the races are insignificant when compared to the physical identities. The world's foremost anthropologists like Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Melvin Hershkovitz and others, all agree that there is no basic difference in the racial groups of our world. Most deny the actual existence of what we have known as race. There are four major blood types found in every racial group. There are no superior and inferior races. . . .

The next truth is evidential in the history of mankind. Not only are all men alike, generically speaking, but man is by nature a societal creature. Aside from the strength and weakness found in homosapiens, man has been working from the beginning at the great adventure of community. Whenever Cro-Magnon under whatever strange impulse decided to put away his stone axe to cooperate with his neighbor, it marked the most creative turn of events in his history.

That seemingly elementary decision set in motion what we now know as civilization. At the heart of all that civilization has meant and developed is community—the mutually cooperative and voluntary venture of man to assume a semblance of responsibility for his brother. What began as the closest answer to a desperate need for survival from the beast of prey, the danger of the jungle, was the basis of present-day cities and nations.

Man could not have survived without the impulse which makes him the societal creature that he is. The universe is so structured that things do not quite work out rightly if men are not diligent in their concern for others.

The self cannot be self without other selves. *I* cannot reach fulfillment without *thou*. Social psychologists tell us that we cannot be truly persons unless we interact with other persons. All life is inter-related and all men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single bundle of destiny. This is what John Donne meant when he wrote, "No man is an island entire of itself.

Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main," and toward the end he goes on to say that any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind. "Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Now let me hasten to say, while all of the three aforementioned points are basic, they represent Christianity's minimal declaration of human unity. In the final analysis, the Christian ethic says every man must be respected because God loves him. Man's worth is derivative. The worth of an individual does not lie in the measure of his intellect, his racial origin or his social position. Human worth lies in relatedness to God. An individual has value because he has value to God. Whenever this is recognized, whiteness and blackness pass away as determinants in a relationship, and son and brother are substituted.

For me, this is a welcome conference. In the last few years we have had to face admittedly some very sharp changes in our customs and mores in the South. They have been difficult changes, not only to whites, but also at times to Negroes. Nevertheless, as difficult as the changes may be, it is change produced by that which is right. Yet it is a simple truth that has escaped the focus of the nation and the South's attention. It is sad that the moral dimension of integration has not been sounded by the leaders of government and the nation. During the Little Rock and Oxford, Mississippi, crises they staunchly supported the principle of the court's decision, but their rationale fell far short of being prophetic. They sounded the note that has become the verse, chorus and refrain of the so-called calm and reasonable moderates: *We must obey the law.* The temper of acceptance might be far different if our leaders would say publicly to the nation: "We must obey the mandate of the court because it is right."

Experience in India

Some years ago I had the privilege of visiting the great country known as India and I spent a great deal of time studying their problem of caste and untouchability which is quite similar to our own internal problem in race relations. And I discovered that India had made much more progress in grappling with this problem than we have made in grappling with our problem in the United States. In trying to determine why, I discovered two or three things. Of course, caste untouchability is a crime in India; it is a crime to discriminate against an untouchable, a crime punishable by imprisonment. But it is deeper than that. The leaders in India have made it powerfully clear that caste untouchability is morally wrong. Mahatma Ghandi went to the point of adopting an untouchable as his daughter. And while I was in India I remember reading several speeches of Nehru and, though I was there only six weeks, I remember five different speeches that Prime Minister Nehru made in which he morally condemned untouchability.

One day this will have to become a reality in the United States. Yes, we must insist on obeying the court's orders and the desegregation decisions. We must insist on that at every point. But on the other hand someone must remind the nation that this must be done because it is morally right. Someone must remind the mobsters of Mississippi as a James Meredith seeks to attend the university not only that the court has issued an order, but that James Meredith is your brother and that as you throw stones at James Meredith you throw stones at your brother; that integration is not only a decision of a court, but it is a part of the ethical demands of the universe.

Let me hasten to say that despite the tremendous difficulties that integration imposes, nonetheless work toward its implementation is not to be abandoned for the sake of approximating the more accessible goal of desegregation. Further, a word of caution might be said to those who would argue that desegregation should be abandoned and all of our energies invested in the integration process. It is not an either-or, it is a both-and undertaking. Desegregation is the necessary step in the right direction if we are to achieve integration. Desegregation will not change attitudes, but it will provide the contact and confrontation necessary by which integration is made possible and attainable.

I can summarize all that I have been saying on this issue by affirming that the demands of desegregation are enforceable demands, while the demands of integration fall within the scope of unenforceable demands. Some years ago Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick made an impressive distinction between enforceable and un-

CHURCH STAND IS NOT EXPECTED

Williams Says Church Is Not Brave Enough to Meet Need

Sam Williams, who is pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, made a report to the Nashville conference on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta." This had been assigned as a group project for study and report, but Mr. Williams indicated that his remarks represented only his own point-of-view. He also explained that his observations referred to white and not Negro congregations. He said in part:

"It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial.

"The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for.

"The burden of the desegregation problem rests upon the white churches because they are the ones who started and maintain the system of discrimination.

"The white church is the segregated church. Segregation has been created and preserved by white Christians and when it goes it will have to go in the main through the action of white Christians."

The "Manifestos"

Discussing two "manifestos" prepared and signed by white ministers in Atlanta in 1957 and 1958, Mr. Williams said both statements "were prepared too late, were too tame to come from Christian ministers and neither was a Christian statement.

"Both deplored 'extremism' without ever defining what they meant by this, both asked that all efforts to 'preserve the integrity of the race' be made and the final appeal in both was to 'law and order.'

"The latter is the argument one would expect to be the core of that of the police department, but not of the argument of the Christian community. Nowhere did they say anything about the wrongfulness, sinfulness or immorality of segregation."

He dealt with Atlanta's "newest innovation—the Atlanta Wall which has the support and defense of the mayor and which consists of a wooden barrier set up across streets to indicate where housing is to be segregated. Not a single white church has said a word of condemnation of this insult by the mayor and the board of aldermen." He said so-called token integration has become the policy in Atlanta's public schools, "but not a single white church has come out against this un-Christian practice." He had special praise for the Society of Friends and the Unitarians. The first, particularly, he said "have done more Christian work and practiced more Christianity than all the other white church groups in Atlanta.

"I don't think the churches are brave enough or believe in God or Jesus enough to take the stand they should take in regard to race relations.

The Church Will Wait

"The church will wait, as it always has, until the time is safe. Once the political and social institutions announce the 'all clear' signal, the churches will speak out and speak out fervently.

"The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it."

enforceable obligations. The former are regulated by the codes of society and the vigorous implementation of law enforcement agencies. Breaking these obligations spelled-out on thousand of pages in law books has filled numerous prisons. But unenforceable obligations are beyond the reach of the laws of society. They concern inner attitudes, genuine person-to-person relations and expressions of compassion which law books cannot regulate and jails cannot rectify. Such obligations are met by one's commitment to an inner law, a law written on the heart. Man-made laws assure justice, but a higher law produces love. No code of conduct ever compelled a father to love his children or a husband to show affection to his wife. The law court may force him to provide bread for the family but it cannot make him provide the bread of love. A good father is obedient to the unenforceable.

The Role of Law

And so in our nation today a mighty struggle is taking place. It is the struggle to conquer the reign of an evil monster called segregation and its inseparable twin called discrimination, a monster that has wandered through this land for well nigh one hundred years, stripping millions of Negro people of their sense of dignity and robbing them of their birthright to freedom. Let us never succumb to the temptation of believing that legislation and judicial decrees play only minor roles in solving this problem. Morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. Judicial decrees may not change the heart but they can restrain the heartless. The law cannot make a man love me but it can keep him from lynching me—and I think that is pretty important also. The habits, if not the hearts of people, have been and are being altered every day by legislative acts, judicial decisions and executive orders. Let us not be misled by those who argue that segregation cannot be ended by the force of law.

But acknowledging this, we must admit that the ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of man to obey the unenforceable. Court orders and federal enforcement agencies are of inestimable value in achieving desegregation, but desegregation is only a partial, though necessary step to the final goal which we seek to realize—genuine intergroup and inter-personal living. Desegregation will break down the legal barriers and bring men together physically, but something must touch the hearts and souls of men so they will come together spiritually because it is natural and right. A vigorous enforcement of civil rights laws will bring an end to public, segregated facilities which are barriers to a truly desegregated society, but it cannot bring an end to fears, prejudice, pride and irrationality which are the barriers to a truly integrated society. These dark and demonic responses will be removed only as men are possessed by the invisible inner law which etches on their hearts the conviction that all men are brothers and that love is mankind's most potent weapon for personal and social transformation. True integration will be achieved when men are willingly obedient to unenforceable obligations.

Discipline

I cannot conclude without saying that integration places certain ethical demands on those who have been on the oppressed end of the old order. Perhaps this is why it is my personal conviction that the most potent instrument the Negro community can use to gain total emancipation in America is that of non-violent resistance. The evidence of the last few years supports my faith that through the use of non-violence much can be done to raise the Negro to a sense of self-respect and human dignity. The Gandhian concept of non-injury parallels the Hebraic-Christian teaching of the sacredness of every human being. In the context of the Negro's thrust for the full exercise of constitutional privilege, non-violence has introduced an additive that has helped the Negro stand taller. When a library is declared to be desegregated the presence and practice of non-violence allows him to seek the use of these facilities without fear and apprehension. More than this, it has instilled in him the nerve to challenge segregation and discrimination in whatever form it exists. Non-violence in so many ways has given the Negro a new sense of "somebody-ness." The impact of the non-violent discipline has done a great deal toward creating in the mind of the Negro a new image of himself. It has literally exalted the person of the Negro of the South in the face of daily confrontations that scream at him that he is inferior because of the accident of his birth.

Non-violence has also helped the individuals to adhere to proper means and proper goals. If we are to move into a truly integrated society it must always do this, for the Negro must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, thus subverting justice. He must not seek to rise from or substitute one tyranny for another. That is why I am convinced that black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy and God is not merely interested in the freedom of black men and brown men and yellow men, but God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and the creation of a society where all men will live together as brothers and very man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality.

Means and Ends

The non-violent method helps us not only to be concerned with proper goals but with proper means for achieving these goals. The means must be as pure as the end. Throughout history men have debated the whole question of ends and means and there have been those who have argued that the end justifies the means. But non-violence goes to the point of saying that in the long run destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends because the end is pre-existent in the means and the means represent the ideal in the making, the end in process. This is why we can say to our most violent opponents that in the process of our struggle toward an integrated society, we will match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul-force. Do to us what you will, we will still love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws because non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. So, even though you throw us in jail, we will still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities at the midnight hours and drag us out on some wayside road and beat us and leave us half-dead—and we will still love you. But be assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and one day we will win our freedom. But we will not only win freedom for ourselves; we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process and the victory will be a double victory. I believe this is the message and this is the method that will take us on and lead us into that integrated society which is the dream of our nation.

The Assurance of Faith

In conclusion, let me say that we must have faith in the future, the faith to believe we can solve this problem and the faith to believe that as we struggle to solve this problem we do not struggle alone; we have cosmic companionship. There is a little song that we sing in our movement and it has become something of a theme song. It goes like this:

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
Deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall overcome.

Well, this is my faith and those of you who are engaged in this difficult and yet challenging task of making brotherhood a reality in this nation must somehow believe this. Before the victory is won, some will have to get scarred up a bit, but we shall overcome. Before the victory of brotherhood is won, some will lose their jobs, but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some may have to face physical death, but if physical death is the price some must pay to free their children from a permanent psychological death, then nothing can be more redemptive.

Somehow we must believe we shall overcome. We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it

bends towards justice. We shall overcome because Carlyle is right: "No lie can live forever." We shall overcome because there is something in this universe which justifies this faith. As William Cullen Bryant says, "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again." We shall overcome because there is something in the structure of the cosmos which justifies James Russell Lowell in saying, "Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown, Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

This is our faith. And with this faith we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our Southland into a beautiful symphony. This will be the day when all of God's children, right here in the South and all over the nation, will be able to join hands—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—and sing, in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

"Free at last, free at last;

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune

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Exodus to Genuine Freedom

We cannot ask the peoples who are moving toward freedom to turn back on their road. Theirs, too, is an exodus and, if we believe in the ancient exodus, I think we should believe in these modern ones as well, and try to help. ¶ There is also an exodus of the Negro people in the United States of America. Theirs has been a notable movement up from slavery, but a movement which, even here, is yet far short of its proper goals on the way, with a kinship of experience with the ancient Israelites, they have put the inmost meaning of the story of Moses and the exodus into their spiritual song: Go down, Moses, Way down in Egypt land, Tell ole Pharaoh, Let my people go. . . . ¶ If we believe in the ancient exodus, I think we should believe in the exodus of the Negro people from the land of oppression, and help them too. ¶ What, then, are the elements in a real exodus? According to Exodus 3:9, it was God who heard the cry and saw the oppression of his people. Therefore, in the last analysis, it is God whose purpose and intention it is that men should be free. In Exodus, too, it is people in whom—no matter how oppressed and how lacking in opportunity they are—there is still some spark of freedom's light, some desire to be free and to have what freedom means. God—even if sometimes he is not recognized—and people—even if sometimes they are pitifully confused and badly mistaken: these are the indispensable elements in every exodus. Therefore, if any exodus is really to succeed, the people who become free must also become the people of God. "Let my people go" was only one part of what God said; "that they may serve me" was the other part of what he said. If poor, ignorant, and misguided folk become free and then use their freedom as occasion for new injustice against their fellows, they have not yet made any true exodus. They must yet learn to be God's true people. "Let my people go," says the Lord God, "that they may serve me." Until they do that they have not found real freedom. It is the business of the church, therefore, in all lands, to help men become free physically and also spiritually—for only then will exodus be really accomplished.

—JACK FINEGAN in **Let My People Go, A Journey Through Exodus,** just published by Harper & Row Co., New York.

 More letters, page 14

Infallible Bible, Pro and Con

Opportunity and a Need

The articles in the symposium, "Do We Need an Infallible Bible?" (OUTLOOK Dec. 14) are a clear and cogent exposition of the point-of-view maintained today not only by the authors but also by thousands of teachers, ministers and laymen in the Presbyterian Church, U.S. The doctrine here represented is based upon a scholarly and devout approach to the Scriptures, and stresses the vital authority of both Old and New Testaments for Christian faith and practice.

Let us recognize that a large number of men and women support this position and that they are in good standing with their presbyteries and local churches. Let us recognize too the fact that another considerable segment in the church holds to a stricter and more literal interpretation of Biblical inspiration. These members of our communion believe sincerely that the Bible is verbally inspired in every detail and kept free from any kind of human limitation and error.

Our church should be great, mature, and charitable enough to include both the liberal and conservative viewpoints. We need conversation and open discussion, not simply on generalities but also on specific questions of Biblical exegesis and exposition. We need to learn humbly, one group from the other. We need to seek together the illumination of the Spirit who will "guide us into all the truth." We need to avoid "heresy hunting" and to emphasize our "unity in Christ," based on our common faith in the fundamentals of the gospel. Let us pray that all the speaking and writing on this vital question of Biblical revelation and authority may not divide us as a church but may bring us closer together in mutual understanding, confidence, and Christian affection.

FRANK WILSON PRICE.

Lexington, Va.

Continuing Discussion

I want to thank you for the symposium on "An Infallible Bible." . . . I feel that this presentation by the selected professors of our seminaries is a good thing to clear the air so that there may be a more objective discussion within our church.

In reading the opinions of these men, some questions come to mind that I would like to lay before them for their clarification. With your permission I would like to ask:

1. How do you deal with the statements of Jesus Christ equating quotations from the Old Testament with the Word of God?
2. What do you think of the Confession of Faith when it describes the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments as being "the Word of God written"? (Conf. of Faith, Ch. I, p. 2)
3. Is there any objective revelation? If so, would a righteous God give an erroneous revelation of himself?
4. If we accept the Bible as our source of doctrine about our faith, what do you consider its teachings about itself to be?

You have the beginnings of an engaging gentlemen try to prove the unprovable. see encouraged. You are to be commended for initiating and fostering it, and if you would do so by considering these questions, I would appreciate it very much. . . .

JOHN C. NEVILLE.

Prattville, Ala.

Dissent Is Expressed

In response to the invitation to express reaction to THE OUTLOOK symposium on the question "Do We Need An Infallible Bible?" we offer the following brief comments:

1. The real issue is what the Bible claims for itself. And this is nothing less than infallibility. We are not wiser than our Lord, who said, "The Scripture cannot be broken" (John 10:35); nor should we try to be.
2. A readiness to accept the Bible's testimony to itself is not embarrassed by scholarly investigation. Every negative point raised or suggested in the symposium has been faced, dealt with and soundly answered by competent students of the Scripture.
3. The symposium opens the door to skepticism. All the facts and teachings of the Bible become subject to the individual's judgment. The symposium thus invites the rule of an unbounded subjectivism.
4. The Confession of Faith, in chapters I and XIV, declares that the Scripture is the very and pure Word of God and is to be believed in whatever it says. This is the historic Presbyterian position and to it ministers, elders and deacons should with sincerity of heart subscribe. We are ourselves happy to do so.

Harry N. Miller, Jr., Tyler, Texas
Robert Strong, Montgomery, Ala.
Brister H. Ware, Philadelphia, Miss.
Adrian De Young, Hazlehurst, Miss.
Robert G. Balnicky, Pensacola, Fla.
Robert J. Ostenson, Brookhaven, Miss.
Donald B. Patterson, Pensacola, Fla.
Morton H. Smith, Jackson, Miss.
Leland C. Jorgensen, Yazoo City, Miss.
J. Lewis Baker, Huntsville, Ala.
Frank R. Morse, Brent, Ala.
Robert Rumley Wallace, Sr., Blair, S. C.
James G. Spencer, Crystal Springs, Miss.
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John Reed Miller, Jackson, Miss.
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James E. Moore, Macon, Miss.
Jack R. Tackett, Ackerman, Miss.
Robert Moody Holmes, Chattahoochee, Fla.
Dwyn M. Mounger, Jackson, Miss.
B. I. Anderson, Jackson, Miss.
Hubert C. Stewart, Jackson, Miss.
Elders: Charles H. Thomson, Barney M. Alford, Jr., George L. Lemon, D. E. Hoffman, Robert G. Kennington.

If a Woman Were Called

As usual your excerpt from a current book on the front page of the January 7th OUTLOOK was thought provoking. I wondered as I read what would happen to a young girl in the Presbyterian Church, U. S., if she were to hear a "still small voice" leading her into the ministry. That "still small voice" would have to lead her out of her church into another denomination.

Who is to say whom God will call or how he will make use of their talents?

NORMA T. (Mrs. Edward) KATZ.

Williamsburg, Va.

Prescription Offered

What is wrong with the Presbyterian Church? It might be very presumptuous for anyone to give a categorical answer; and who could give an answer satisfactory to everybody—even if true?

However, to study again the Ten Commandments, giving thoughtful attention especially to the first and the tenth, might be revealing.

Rose Hill, N. C. N. P. FARRIOR.

SMOG IS NEVER WHERE YOU ARE

By HARRISON RAY ANDERSON

Smog is smoke under fog and it is never where you are. Today it was down in the valley. Yes, up where we were our eyes burned, but we saw no smog. It was over there in the valley or on those other hills. Said the lawyer's wife in Long Beach, "We have no smog." Said the ex-Middle Westerner in Santa Monica, "We have no smog." Said the real estate man in Riverside, "No smog here"—of course not! Smog is never where you are. It's always where you can see it—over there. In a summer of forest fires (1961) in Western Montana, the smoke was always over there—on another mountainside—in another valley. Then we went for a drive and looked back and there it was where we had been—only we had not seen it!

Paganism is never where you are, in your cultured set. It's over there in an African jungle.

Juvenile delinquency is never in your comfortable suburbs. It's only in the city.

The alcohol problem is not in your group of social drinkers. It's on Rush Street or in the night clubs or taverns.

Racial intolerance is not where you are, with only a handful of people unlike you. It's in the South—always over there!

Communism (atheistic materialism) is never where you are, in your political party, in your union, in your patriotic society, in your business association. It's only over there in the Communist Party or in Russia.

Yes, even the hypocrites are never where you are. They are always in the church—over there!

Let us all rise and sing, "It's me, it's me, it's me, O Lord, standin' in the need of prayer."

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The Presbyterian Outlook

OLD IN SERVICE — CONTINUING THE PRESBYTERIAN TRIBUNE — NEW IN SPIRIT

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● NEWS ROUNDUP...

WASHINGTON RIOT. A citizens' committee which investigated a Thanksgiving Day riot following a traditional parochial-public high school football game in Washington, D. C., blamed drinking in the stands, lack of discipline among students and "over-commercialization" of the annual championship contest for the incident.

CONVERSATIONS. Representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Assemblies of God have held two informal conversations, primarily to discuss the work of the Holy Spirit in the contemporary church. A joint statement reporting the meetings stressed that the talks were "not aimed at arriving at doctrinal agreement between our two churches or at negotiating any ecclesiastical arrangement." The conversations were said to have led to "a deep sense of Christian understanding and mutual trust. We found ourselves a fellowship, open to the leading of the Holy Spirit to a degree which we had hardly dared to expect." (*Editorial, page 8.*)

VISITORS. Two prominent Roman Catholic leaders from abroad will visit the U.S.A. this spring for a series of conferences. Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J., president of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, will participate in a Boston College convocation March 26. Cardinal Cushing, who is sponsoring the visit, said the two would "go anywhere to anyone who will accept us." Father Hans Kueng, a young Swiss theologian, who is dean of the Catholic faculty at the University of Tuebingen, Germany, will also be in this country, speaking at Boston College Apr. 15-16, and elsewhere.

BAPTISTS. Southern Baptists gave a total of $32,647,126 to their national convention in 1962 through its Cooperative Program and designated gifts, for a $2 million increase over 1961.

OPPOSED TO HUAC. Charging that the House Un-American Activities Committee has made "irresponsible attacks upon churches and church leaders," the Department of Church and Society of the National Capital Area Council of Churches has called upon the U. S. House of Representatives to abolish the group. Continued existence of the committee, it said, is "an implied reflection on the FBI and other security agencies specializing in this field."

Special Service Held As Congress Is Opened

The annual service of intercession and Holy Communion was held in the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., on the morning before Congress convened, with members of all branches of government responding to the invitation extended by Assembly's moderator, Marshal L. Scott, "to come to the holy table of the Lord to find rest and refreshment for the soul."

Other ministerial participants included Bernard Brunsting, president of the Reformed Church in America; John W. Melton, First church, Baton Rouge, La., representing the Presbyterian, U. S., moderator; Bishop Zoltan Beky of the Hungarian Reformed Church of America; Virgil E. Lowder, executive of the Council of Church's National Capitol area; Stated Clerk Eugene Carson Blake and Edward L. R. Elson, the National church's minister.

Among the ruling elders taking part were Judge Homer Ferguson of the U. S. Court of Military Appeals; Senators Carl T. Curtis and John C. Stennis; Commissioner Robert E. Wilson of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, former moderator Paul D. McKelvey; and President Franc L. McCluer of Lindenwood College (Mo.).

Two U.S. Observers Are Named to Merger Talks

Presbyterian, U. S., observers are to be present when the Consultation on Church Union convenes March 19-20 in Oberlin, Ohio.

The General Assembly's Inter-Church Relations Committee has named Stated Clerk James A. Millard, Jr., of Atlanta, and Judge John A. Fulton, Jr., the Inter-Church Relations chairman, of Louisville, Ky., as the observers. This follows a directive of the 1962 Assembly.

Also at the mid-winter meeting of the committee, members were particularly critical of the small amount of money contributed by the denomination to the support of the National Council of Churches and urged a $2,100 increase.

One member was quoted as saying he is "ashamed" of the fact that his church is paying only 15% of what is requested by the NCC, while the average for other denominations is 70%. The increase would raise the amount of support from $12,200 to $14,300 while the NCC asks for $58,280.

Heidelberg Catechism Marks 400th Anniversary

NEW YORK (RNS)—A new translation of the Heidelberg Catechism has been published here by the North American Area Council of the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the historic Reformation document.

Called "the most ecumenical of the confessions of the Protestant Churches," the catechism was written in an effort to bring Lutheran and Reformed groups together in 16th Century Germany. It was first published on Jan. 19, 1563, in the city whose name it bears.

The translators wrote in the foreword to the new volume:

> "We are hopeful that this summary of evangelical teaching may, in our time, become a unitive confession not only for Lutheran and Reformed theologians as it already was in the sixteenth century but also for Congregational Christian and Evangelical and Reformed people in the United Church of Christ, for Presbyterian and Reformed Churches within the Alliance, and for an even wider fellowship of churches committed to the twentieth-century venture of reuniting the church, catholic, reformed and evangelical."

Other events besides the publication of the new translation were scheduled to mark the quartocentenary of the catechism. They included an earlier celebration Jan. 14-17, at Lancaster Theological Seminary in Lancaster, Pa., where the tercentenary was observed in 1863, and observances at Eden Theological Seminary in Webster Groves, Mo., and at a meeting of the General Synod of the

Meeting Held for UPUSA Theologians, Sociologists

More than 100 sociologists and theologians from colleges related to the United Presbyterian, USA, Board of Christian Education, met recently in Evanston, Ill., to discuss the "possibilities of conversation" between their respective disciplines.

Chief speakers were Philip Rieff of the graduate school of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and Benjamin Reist of San Francisco Seminary.

Out of the meeting it was reported that "significant agreement was reached on one main area of common concern which is perhaps best expressed by Bacon's concept of the purpose of science as a means of alleviating the miseries of mankind."

Another conference is planned for next year.

United Church of Christ in Denver, Colo., to be held in July.

Celebrations were also scheduled in Heidelberg, and the West German government planned to issue a stamp commemorating the anniversary.

Allen Miller Is Chairman

The new translation, published by the United Church Press, an agency of the United Church of Christ, was done by Allen O. Miller of Eden Theological Seminary and M. Eugene Osterhaven of Western Theological Seminary in Holland, Mich.

Other members of the committee responsible for the translation were Aladar Komjathy, pastor of the Hungarian Reformed church in Roedling, N.J.; and James I. McCord, president of Princeton (N.J.) Theological Seminary and secretary of the North American Area Council of the Alliance.

Published along with the new translation was a companion volume with a laymen's commentary to be used for adult education.

In addition to the 129 questions and answers which make up the catechism, the new translation contains the biblical texts cited by the authors in connection with each topic.

The catechism was written by Zacharias Ursinus, 28, a professor of theology at Heidelberg, and Caspar Olevianus, 26, a preacher, at the request of Frederick III, elector of the Palatinate region of Germany at that time, who was attempting to end the controversy between Lutherans and Reformed Church members.

Although the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches had been recognized in Germany, the publication of the catechism marked the first official recognition of the reformed teachings of Huldreich Zwingli and John Calvin. The catechism was attacked immediately, but Frederick III defended it before the Diet at Augsburg in 1566, and it was soon used widely in Germany and other nations.

McCord Comments

In commenting on the catechism's significance today, Dr. McCord noted that on a recent preaching mission in Hungary he had been told that one of the reasons for the large number of young people in the churches, in spite of Communist pressure, was the fact that each minister used the Heidelberg Catechism to instruct his young people every Sunday afternoon.

"Here is a living symbol that it is accomplishing in its 400th year that for which it was first prepared in the 16th Century," Dr. McCord said.

"This 400th anniversary celebration, then, is more than a memorial. It is a reaffirmation by one of the great wings of Protestantism of the historic faith of the Bible and of the Reformation."

ANY QUESTIONS?

Questions are answered here by persons serving on a radio-telephone panel: Most questions are submitted by telephone; some by mail (to The Outlook). Answers are recorded and then submitted for amendment or revision. Participants here are: **James P. Martin** of the faculty of Union Seminary in Virginia; **S. Evans Brown,** director of family education for the Presbyterian Church, U. S.; **Hunter B. Blakely,** secretary of higher education for the Presbyterian Church, U. S. (just retired); and **James G. Carpenter,** missionary-appointee to the Congo. **Mr. X,** a layman, speaks for laymen.

CHURCH BUILDINGS

Bible studies in the churches recently dealt with the call to rebuild the ancient temple. Do you think there is a tendency today for too much to be spent on church buildings?

BLAKELY: The questions arise out of a Sunday school lesson calling for the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple. When we consider building churches in our country today, we can spend too much on them and we can also spend too little. A church building should be in keeping with the quality of the buildings that we put up for other than religious purposes, schools or homes or public buildings. The church should be a beautiful building, attractive, appropriate. I do not believe that churches should overspend, in view of the great needs that are present in the world, on the mission fields, in the support of new churches in needy areas in our own country, and all the great work that the church is called upon to do. The answer to this question cannot be an overall reply applicable to any situation; it must be decided in each individual situation.

WHO IS GOD?

When someone honestly and earnestly asks you, What or who is God? how can you give an acceptable answer that is not based on such abstractions as love, good and justice?

MARTIN: It seems to me that if one turns to the Bible one can find the answer because, while the Bible does not speculate about God or use abstractions, it does speak of his love, his goodness and his justice. It speaks of them, however, concretely in terms of God's works and God's acts towards his people, Christians look at the life and the work of Jesus Christ and there we see what God is like, or better, who God is. We could say, I think, that God is Jesus Christ, and if we want to know about the love or goodness or justice of God, we look at the works that Jesus performed, and we see love in action, we see goodness in action, we see justice in action; in concrete dealings with ordinary mortal human beings like we are. To those who are outcast, to those who are sick, to those who are oppressed, to those who have no social privilege, to those who want forgiveness of their sins—Jesus comes and brings gifts which only God can offer. So, I think that when we turn to the Bible and seek Jesus Christ we can answer our question about who God is, because we find God revealed to us in Jesus. What this means we find, for example, in John's first epistle, where he says, "Behold the manner of love the father has bestowed upon us that we should be called the children of God" and also "In this the love of God was manifested, in that God sent his only Son into the world." It is in this concrete action of God in coming to us in Jesus Christ, that we find, I think, the place in which we can answer the question of "who is God." I would turn the person to the Biblical record.

MR. X: Don't you think it takes a certain amount of blind faith with our materialistic society to completely accept something that we can't see other than manifestations of it?

MARTIN: I would think so; Jesus Christ is the manifestation of God's love, goodness and justice in personal form.

BROWN: Christians have a hard time to think about God except in terms of Jesus Christ. We speak of him as the one who is the revealer, and when we think about what God is like we say that he is like Jesus Christ in his love, in his understanding, and in his mercy, and we believe in a God who is personal. So when we think about God we don't think about abstractions. We think about One who has personality, One who knows, One who cares, and One who does something, and what he does and how he does it we see most plainly in Jesus Christ.

ALCOHOLIC

Is the term "alcoholic" just a dressed-up word for what the Bible calls a drunkard?

CARPENTER: The term "alcoholic" is relatively new even to our age. We differentiate and try to draw a clear line between a plain ordinary drunk and an alcoholic. Generally, they define a drunk as one who occasionally over-indulges to the point where he loses self-control. An alcoholic is often defined as one who takes one drink and can't stop until he or she is fully under the weather. Those individuals who acknowledge they are alcoholics have a little saying, "One million drinks are not enough and one is too many." It would appear to me from all the Biblical evidence that the Scriptural term, "drunkard," includes both drunkards and alcoholics.

During the next ten years LAFAYETTE College (Pa.) will engage in a plan for the gradual increase of its enrollment by approximately 300, so that this may reach 1,900 by 1972.

The Ethical Demands of Integration

By MARTIN LUTHER KING

IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION that men often hate each other because they fear each other and they fear each other because they don't know each other and they don't know each other because they fail to communicate with each other, and they don't do that because they are separated from each other. God grant that something will happen so that we will be able to bridge these gulfs and these barriers and bring about real brotherhood.

I have been asked to speak from the subject, "An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration." The problem of race- and color-prejudice remains America's greatest moral dilemma. When one considers the impact it has upon our nation both internally and externally its resolution might well determine our destiny. History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important task—to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly but which is our most powerful weapon for world respect and evaluation. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world. The shape of the world today does not afford us the luxury of an anaemic democracy. The price that America must pay for the continued oppression of the Negro is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late and the clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now before it is too late.

Marks of Progress

Happily we have made some meaningful strides in breaking down the barriers of racial segregation. Ever since 1954 when the Supreme Court examined the legal body of segregation and pronounced it constitutionally dead, the system has been on the wane. Even the devout diehards who used to cry "never" are now saying "later." Much of the tumult and the shouting, interspersed with tirades against race-mixing, mongrelization of the races, and outside agitators, represent the fanatical death-throes of a dying system. As minimal as may be the across-the-board statistics, desegregation is in process. The bells of history are definitely tolling for segregation. And while I hope I am not a superficial optimist, I am convinced that in less than ten years desegregation will be a reality throughout most of the South. However, when the desegregation process is 100% complete the human relations dilemma of our nation will still be monumental unless we launch now the parallel thrust of the integration process.

Although the terms "desegregation" and "integration" are often used interchangeably, there is a great deal of difference between the two. In the context of what our national community needs, desegregation alone is empty and shallow. Therefore the theme of this conference goes to the heart of the matter. We must always be aware of the fact that our ultimate goal is integration, and that desegregation is only a first step on the road to the good society.

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A significant conference was held in Nashville, Tenn., at the end of 1962, summoning people of religious motivation to consider "The Ethical Demands of Integration." The conference was sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council. Some of the addresses and reports presented at that conference appear in these columns.

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Perhaps this is the point at which we should define our terms. And now I become a victim of the "paralysis of analysis" that is sometimes spoken of. The word "segregation" represents a system that is prohibitive. It denies the Negro equal access to schools, parks, restaurants, libraries and the like. Desegregation is eliminative and therefore negative, for it simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative and is therefore more profound and far-reaching than desegregation. Integration is a positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activity. Integration is genuine inter-group, interpersonal living. Desegregation then is rightly only a short-range goal. Integration is the ultimate goal of our national community. Thus, as America pursues the important task of respecting the letter of the law, that is, compliance with desegregation decisions, she must be equally concerned with the spirit of the law; that is, commitment to the democratic dream of integration.

We do not have to look very far to see the pernicious effects of a desegregated society that is not integrated. It leads to physical proximity without spiritual affinity. It gives us a society where men are physically desegregated and spiritually segregated, where elbows are together and hearts are apart. It gives us spatial togetherness and spiritual apartness. It leaves us with a stagnant equality of sameness rather than a constructive equality of oneness. Therefore our topic leads us to an analysis of the "oughtness" of integration. On the basis of what is right, why is integration an end and desegregation only a means? In the context of justice, freedom, morality and religion, what are the basic ethical demands of integration?

Personality

First, integration demands a recognition of the sacredness of human personality. Deeply rooted in our political and religious heritage is the conviction that every man is an heir to a legacy of dignity and worth. Our Hebraic-Christian tradition refers to this inherent dignity of man in the biblical term, "the image of God." This innate worth referred to in the phrase, "the image of God," is universally shared in equal portions by all men. There is no graded scale of essential worth, there is no divine right of one race which differs from the divine right of another. Every human being has etched in his personality the indelible stamp of the Creator. This idea of the dignity and worth of human personality is expressed eloquently and unequivocally in the Declaration of Independence—"All men are created equal," it says. "They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Never has a socio-political document proclaimed more profoundly and eloquently the sacredness of human personality. Frederick Douglas stated the same truth in his lecture on "The Constitution of the United States," when he said, "Its language is, 'We, the People,' not, 'We, the white people,' not even, 'We, the citizens,' not, 'We, the privileged class,' not, 'We the high,' not, 'We, the low,' but, 'We, the people,' We, the human inhabitants. And if Negroes are people they are included in the benefits with which the Constitution of America was ordained and established."

Segregation stands diametrically opposed to the principle of the sacredness of human personality. It debases personality. Immanuel Kant said in one formulation of the categorical imperative that all men must be treated as ends and never as mere means. The tragedy of segregation is that it treats men as means rather than ends and thereby reduces them to things rather than persons. To use the words of Martin Buber, segregation substitutes an "I-It" relationship for the "I-Thou" relationship. The colloquialism of the Southern landed gentry that referred to slavery and our Negro labor as "hands" betrays the "thing"

DR. KING has become a national figure in his leadership of Negroes of the South, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is the author of **Stride Toward Freedom,** telling of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott experience.

quality assigned to Negroes under the system. Herein lies the root of paternalism that persists even today. The traditional Southerner is fond of "his Negro" as he is of a pet or a finely tooled firearm. It serves a purpose or gets a job done, the only concern is performance, not well being. But man is not a thing; he must be dealt with not as an inanimate tool, but as a person sacred in himself. To do otherwise is to de-personalize a potential person and desecrate what he is. So long as the Negro is treated as the means to an end, so long as he is seen as anything less than a person of sacred worth, the image of God is abused in him and consequently and proportionately lost by those who inflict the abuse. Only by establishing a truly integrated society can we return to the Negro the quality of "thou-ness" which is his due because of the nature of his being.

Denial of Life

A second ethical demand of integration is a recognition of the fact that a denial of freedom to an individual is a denial of life itself. The very character of the life of man demands freedom. In speaking of freedom at this point I am not talking of the freedom of a thing called the will. We have had endless debates between the determinists and indeterminists and it usually turns out that they are arguing over something called "the will." Now in such an argument the determinist always wins because the very phrase, "freedom of the will," abstracts freedom from the person to make it an object, and an object, almost by definition, is not free. But freedom cannot be thus abstracted from the person who is always subject as well as object, and who himself still does the abstracting. So I am speaking of the freedom of man, the whole man and not one faculty called the will. Neither am I implying that there are no limits to freedom. Always freedom is within predestined structure. Thus a man is free to go north from Atlanta to Washington, or south from Atlanta to Miami, but he is not free to go north to Miami or south to Washington except by a long around-the-world journey. And he is not free to go to both cities at one and the same time. We are always free and destined. Freedom is the chosen fulfillment of our destined nature.

With these qualifications we return to the assertion that the essence of man is found in freedom. This is what Paul Tillich means when he declares, "Man is man because he is free." Or what Tolstoy implies when he says, "I cannot conceive of a man not being free unless he is dead."

What is freedom? It is, first, the capacity to deliberate or weigh alternatives. Shall I be a teacher or a lawyer? Shall I vote for this candidate or the other candidate? Shall I be a Democrat, Republican or Socalist? Second, freedom expresses itself in decision. The word, decision, like the word, incision, involves the image of cutting. Incision means to cut in; decision means to cut off. When I make a decision I cut off alternatives and make a choice. The existentialists say we must choose, that we are choosing animals, and if we do not choose we sink into thing-hood and the mass mind. A third expression of freedom is responsibility. This is the obligation of the person to respond if he is questioned about his decision. No one else can respond for him. He alone must respond, for his acts are determined by the totality of his being From this analysis we can clearly see the evil of segregation. It cuts off one's capacity to deliberate, decide and respond.

The absence of freedom is the imposition of restraint on my deliberation as to what I shall do, where I shall live, how much I shall earn and the kind of tasks I shall pursue. I am robbed of the basic quality of man-ness when I cannot choose what I shall do, or where I shall live, or how I shall survive. It means, in fact, that someone or some system has already made these *a priori* decisions for me and I am reduced to an animal. I do not live, I merely exist. The only resemblances I have to real life are the motor responses and functions that are akin to humankind. I cannot adequately assume responsibility as a person because I have been made a party to a decision in which I played no part in making. Now, to be sure, this is hyperbole in some degree, but only to underscore what actually happens when a man is robbed of his freedom. The very nature of his life is altered and his being cannot make the full circle of person-hood because that which is basic to the character of life itself has been diminished.

This is why segregation has wreaked havoc with the Negro. It is sometimes difficult to determine which are the deepest, the physical wounds or the psychological wounds. Only a Negro can understand the social leprosy that segregation inflicts upon him, the suppressed fears and resentments, and the expressed anxieties and sensitivities make each day of life a turmoil. Every confrontation with the restrictions imposed is another emotional battle in a never ending war. He is shackled in his waking moments to tip-toe stance. Never quite knowing what to expect next in his subconscious he wrestles with this added demon. Is that any argument to support the withdrawing of life quality from groups because of the color of their skin or the texture of their hair, or any external characteristic which has nothing at all to do with the life quality? Certainly not on the grounds of morality, justice or religion. Nothing can be more diabolical than a deliberate attempt to destroy in any man his will to be a man and to withhold from him that something which constitutes his true essence. Desegregation then is not enough for it only travels a part of the distance. It vouchsafes the lack of restraint against one's freedom, but it does not prohibit the blocking of his total capacity. Only integration can do this for it unchains the spirit and the mind and provides for the highest degree of life-quality freedom. Integration demands that we recognize that a denial of freedom is a denial of life itself.

Human Solidarity

A third ethical demand of integration is a recognition of the solidarity of the human family. Integration seems almost inevitably desirable and practical because basically we are all one. Paul's declaration that God has made of one blood all nations of the world is more anthropological fact than religious poetry. The physical differences between the races are insignificant when compared to the physical identities. The world's foremost anthropologists like Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Melvin Hershkovitz and others, all agree that there is no basic difference in the racial groups of our world. Most deny the actual existence of what we have known as race. There are four major blood types found in every racial group. There are no superior and inferior races. . . .

The next truth is evidential in the history of mankind. Not only are all men alike, generically speaking, but man is by nature a societal creature. Aside from the strength and weakness found in homosapiens, man has been working from the beginning at the great adventure of community. Whenever Cro-Magnon under whatever strange impulse decided to put away his stone axe to cooperate with his neighbor, it marked the most creative turn of events in his history.

That seemingly elementary decision set in motion what we now know as civilization. At the heart of all that civilization has meant and developed is community—the mutually cooperative and voluntary venture of man to assume a semblance of responsibility for his brother. What began as the closest answer to a desperate need for survival from the beast of prey, the danger of the jungle, was the basis of present-day cities and nations.

Man could not have survived without the impulse which makes him the societal creature that he is. The universe is so structured that things do not quite work out rightly if men are not diligent in their concern for others.

The self cannot be self without other selves. *I* cannot reach fulfillment without *thou*. Social psychologists tell us that we cannot be truly persons unless we interact with other persons. All life is inter-related and all men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single bundle of destiny. This is what John Donne meant when he wrote, "No man is an island entire of itself.

Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main," and toward the end he goes on to say that any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind. "Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Now let me hasten to say, while all of the three aforementioned points are basic, they represent Christianity's minimal declaration of human unity. In the final analysis, the Christian ethic says every man must be respected because God loves him. Man's worth is derivative. The worth of an individual does not lie in the measure of his intellect, his racial origin or his social position. Human worth lies in relatedness to God. An individual has value because he has value to God. Whenever this is recognized, whiteness and blackness pass away as determinants in a relationship, and son and brother are substituted.

For me, this is a welcome conference. In the last few years we have had to face admittedly some very sharp changes in our customs and mores in the South. They have been difficult changes, not only to whites, but also at times to Negroes. Nevertheless, as difficult as the changes may be, it is change produced by that which is right. Yet it is a simple truth that has escaped the focus of the nation and the South's attention. It is sad that the moral dimension of integration has not been sounded by the leaders of government and the nation. During the Little Rock and Oxford, Mississippi, crises they staunchly supported the principle of the court's decision, but their rationale fell far short of being prophetic. They sounded the note that has become the verse, chorus and refrain of the so-called calm and reasonable moderates: *We must obey the law.* The temper of acceptance might be far different if our leaders would say publicly to the nation: "We must obey the mandate of the court because it is right."

Experience in India

Some years ago I had the privilege of visiting the great country known as India and I spent a great deal of time studying their problem of caste and untouchability which is quite similar to our own internal problem in race relations. And I discovered that India had made much more progress in grappling with this problem than we have made in grappling with our problem in the United States. In trying to determine why, I discovered two or three things. Of course, caste untouchability is a crime in India; it is a crime to discriminate against an untouchable, a crime punishable by imprisonment. But it is deeper than that. The leaders in India have made it powerfully clear that caste untouchability is morally wrong. Mahatma Ghandi went to the point of adopting an untouchable as his daughter. And while I was in India I remember reading several speeches of Nehru and, though I was there only six weeks, I remember five different speeches that Prime Minister Nehru made in which he morally condemned untouchability.

One day this will have to become a reality in the United States. Yes, we must insist on obeying the court's orders and the desegregation decisions. We must insist on that at every point. But on the other hand someone must remind the nation that this must be done because it is morally right. Someone must remind the mobsters of Mississippi as a James Meredith seeks to attend the university not only that the court has issued an order, but that James Meredith is your brother and that as you throw stones at James Meredith you throw stones at your brother; that integration is not only a decision of a court, but it is a part of the ethical demands of the universe.

Let me hasten to say that despite the tremendous difficulties that integration imposes, nonetheless work toward its implementation is not to be abandoned for the sake of approximating the more accessible goal of desegregation. Further, a word of caution might be said to those who would argue that desegregation should be abandoned and all of our energies invested in the integration process. It is not an either-or, it is a both-and undertaking. Desegregation is the necessary step in the right direction if we are to achieve integration. Desegregation will not change attitudes, but it will provide the contact and confrontation necessary by which integration is made possible and attainable.

I can summarize all that I have been saying on this issue by affirming that the demands of desegregation are enforceable demands, while the demands of integration fall within the scope of unenforceable demands. Some years ago Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick made an impressive distinction between enforceable and un-

CHURCH STAND IS NOT EXPECTED

Williams Says Church Is Not Brave Enough to Meet Need

Sam Williams, who is pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, made a report to the Nashville conference on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta." This had been assigned as a group project for study and report, but Mr. Williams indicated that his remarks represented only his own point-of-view. He also explained that his observations referred to white and not Negro congregations. He said in part:

"It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial.

"The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for.

"The burden of the desegregation problem rests upon the white churches because they are the ones who started and maintain the system of discrimination.

"The white church is the segregated church. Segregation has been created and preserved by white Christians and when it goes it will have to go in the main through the action of white Christians."

The "Manifestos"

Discussing two "manifestos" prepared and signed by white ministers in Atlanta in 1957 and 1958, Mr. Williams said both statements "were prepared too late, were too tame to come from Christian ministers and neither was a Christian statement.

"Both deplored 'extremism' without ever defining what they meant by this, both asked that all efforts to 'preserve the integrity of the race' be made and the final appeal in both was to 'law and order.'

"The latter is the argument one would expect to be the core of that of the police department, but not of the argument of the Christian community. Nowhere did they say anything about the wrongfulness, sinfulness or immorality of segregation."

He dealt with Atlanta's "newest innovation—the Atlanta Wall which has the support and defense of the mayor and which consists of a wooden barrier set up across streets to indicate where housing is to be segregated. Not a single white church has said a word of condemnation of this insult by the mayor and the board of aldermen." He said so-called token integration has become the policy in Atlanta's public schools, "but not a single white church has come out against this un-Christian practice." He had special praise for the Society of Friends and the Unitarians. The first, particularly, he said "have done more Christian work and practiced more Christianity than all the other white church groups in Atlanta.

"I don't think the churches are brave enough or believe in God or Jesus enough to take the stand they should take in regard to race relations.

The Church Will Wait

"The church will wait, as it always has, until the time is safe. Once the political and social institutions announce the 'all clear' signal, the churches will speak out and speak out fervently.

"The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it."

enforceable obligations. The former are regulated by the codes of society and the vigorous implementation of law enforcement agencies. Breaking these obligations spelled-out on thousand of pages in law books has filled numerous prisons. But unenforceable obligations are beyond the reach of the laws of society. They concern inner attitudes, genuine person-to-person relations and expressions of compassion which law books cannot regulate and jails cannot rectify. Such obligations are met by one's commitment to an inner law, a law written on the heart. Man-made laws assure justice, but a higher law produces love. No code of conduct ever compelled a father to love his children or a husband to show affection to his wife. The law court may force him to provide bread for the family but it cannot make him provide the bread of love. A good father is obedient to the unenforceable.

The Role of Law

And so in our nation today a mighty struggle is taking place. It is the struggle to conquer the reign of an evil monster called segregation and its inseparable twin called discrimination, a monster that has wandered through this land for well nigh one hundred years, stripping millions of Negro people of their sense of dignity and robbing them of their birthright to freedom. Let us never succumb to the temptation of believing that legislation and judicial decrees play only minor roles in solving this problem. Morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. Judicial decrees may not change the heart but they can restrain the heartless. The law cannot make a man love me but it can keep him from lynching me—and I think that is pretty important also. The habits, if not the hearts of people, have been and are being altered every day by legislative acts, judicial decisions and executive orders. Let us not be misled by those who argue that segregation cannot be ended by the force of law.

But acknowledging this, we must admit that the ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of man to obey the unenforceable. Court orders and federal enforcement agencies are of inestimable value in achieving desegregation, but desegregation is only a partial, though necessary step to the final goal which we seek to realize—genuine intergroup and inter-personal living. Desegregation will break down the legal barriers and bring men together physically, but something must touch the hearts and souls of men so they will come together spiritually because it is natural and right. A vigorous enforcement of civil rights laws will bring an end to public, segregated facilities which are barriers to a truly desegregated society, but it cannot bring an end to fears, prejudice, pride and irrationality which are the barriers to a truly integrated society. These dark and demonic responses will be removed only as men are possessed by the invisible inner law which etches on their hearts the conviction that all men are brothers and that love is mankind's most potent weapon for personal and social transformation. True integration will be achieved when men are willingly obedient to unenforceable obligations.

Discipline

I cannot conclude without saying that integration places certain ethical demands on those who have been on the oppressed end of the old order. Perhaps this is why it is my personal conviction that the most potent instrument the Negro community can use to gain total emancipation in America is that of non-violent resistance. The evidence of the last few years supports my faith that through the use of non-violence much can be done to raise the Negro to a sense of self-respect and human dignity. The Gandhian concept of non-injury parallels the Hebraic-Christian teaching of the sacredness of every human being. In the context of the Negro's thrust for the full exercise of constitutional privilege, non-violence has introduced an additive that has helped the Negro stand taller. When a library is declared to be desegregated the presence and practice of non-violence allows him to seek the use of these facilities without fear and apprehension. More than this, it has instilled in him the nerve to challenge segregation and discrimination in whatever form it exists. Non-violence in so many ways has given the Negro a new sense of "somebody-ness." The impact of the non-violent discipline has done a great deal toward creating in the mind of the Negro a new image of himself. It has literally exalted the person of the Negro of the South in the face of daily confrontations that scream at him that he is inferior because of the accident of his birth.

Non-violence has also helped the individuals to adhere to proper means and proper goals. If we are to move into a truly integrated society it must always do this, for the Negro must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, thus subverting justice. He must not seek to rise from or substitute one tyranny for another. That is why I am convinced that black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy and God is not merely interested in the freedom of black men and brown men and yellow men, but God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and the creation of a society where all men will live together as brothers and very man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality.

Means and Ends

The non-violent method helps us not only to be concerned with proper goals but with proper means for achieving these goals. The means must be as pure as the end. Throughout history men have debated the whole question of ends and means and there have been those who have argued that the end justifies the means. But non-violence goes to the point of saying that in the long run destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends because the end is pre-existent in the means and the means represent the ideal in the making, the end in process. This is why we can say to our most violent opponents that in the process of our struggle toward an integrated society, we will match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul-force. Do to us what you will, we will still love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws because non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. So, even though you throw us in jail, we will still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities at the midnight hours and drag us out on some wayside road and beat us and leave us half-dead—and we will still love you. But be assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and one day we will win our freedom. But we will not only win freedom for ourselves; we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process and the victory will be a double victory. I believe this is the message and this is the method that will take us on and lead us into that integrated society which is the dream of our nation.

The Assurance of Faith

In conclusion, let me say that we must have faith in the future, the faith to believe we can solve this problem and the faith to believe that as we struggle to solve this problem we do not struggle alone; we have cosmic companionship. There is a little song that we sing in our movement and it has become something of a theme song. It goes like this:

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
Deep in my heart,
I do believe
We shall overcome.

Well, this is my faith and those of you who are engaged in this difficult and yet challenging task of making brotherhood a reality in this nation must somehow believe this. Before the victory is won, some will have to get scarred up a bit, but we shall overcome. Before the victory of brotherhood is won, some will lose their jobs, but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some may have to face physical death, but if physical death is the price some must pay to free their children from a permanent psychological death, then nothing can be more redemptive.

Somehow we must believe we shall overcome. We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it

bends towards justice. We shall overcome because Carlyle is right: "No lie can live forever." We shall overcome because there is something in this universe which justifies this faith. As William Cullen Bryant says, "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again." We shall overcome because there is something in the structure of the cosmos which justifies James Russell Lowell in saying, "Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown, Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

This is our faith. And with this faith we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our Southland into a beautiful symphony. This will be the day when all of God's children, right here in the South and all over the nation, will be able to join hands—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—and sing, in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

"Free at last, free at last;

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

SOME GAINS IN MERIT EMPLOYMENT

Inequities Being Removed in a Number of Plants

IN THE GREENSBORO AREA, one would find Negroes employed in approximately twenty to thirty job categories which were closed to them eight or ten years ago. These are in the technical, skilled, clerical and sales job classifications.

The greatest amount of progress has been made with some of the larger industries such as Western Electric and P. Lorillard. At Western Electric Negroes are employed as engineers, draftsmen, chemist, clerk-typists, electronic technicians, machinists, inspectors, librarian, and bench production workers. P. Lorillard has employed an IBM key punch operator, clerk-typist, junior and senior laboratory technicians in its research division, and an accounting clerk. Burlington Industries hired its first Negro secretary over a year ago in its Executive Offices; Blue Bell likewise hired two clerical workers in its executive offices. For the past several years Acme Engineering Company, makers of surgical implants, has employed highly skilled machinists for precision work. At the present time, its foreman is a Negro. Cone Hospital has two tissue technicians who are well integrated in their pathology department. Loewenstein-Atkinson, architects, has had for many years a Negro architect and draftsmen. Within the past year, several of the retail stores in downtown Greensboro have employed Negro sales clerks and a few clerical workers.

In addition to the specific cases mentioned above, Negroes have a large representation in the post office department and the mail terminal. Several clerks in the district office of Internal Revenue Service, tax listers in the county tax department, a typesetter, one bus driver for public transportation, several craftsmen who design ornamental iron, meter readers, and route salesmen have been employed in recent years in the Greensboro community.

Still Pioneers

With few exceptions, however, the majority of the individuals placed in these positions are still pioneers. For the most part, there has not been the total acceptance and full participation of these persons into the mainstream of company activities. In some instances, certain concessions are made in restroom facilities and in social and recreational activities. Most of the route salesmen cater solely to the Negro community. In firms like Western Electric, many of the Negro employees say that promotions and upgradings are too slow and too few. While most of the cafeterias in larger firms are desegregated, there is great reluctance on the part of white employees to initiate friendliness. This reluctance creates a defensive reaction on the part of Negroes who often seek to save themselves anxiety and embarrassment, and retaliate against the white employees by isolating themselves from the group. This tendency is not difficult to understand as it is the usual response of minorities to prejudice. However, it remains an obstacle to the fuller development of the Negro potential. . . .

Unfinished Business

While it is true that Negroes have moved into some of the non-traditional jobs in the Greensboro area, and have enjoyed occupational status in the skilled and white collar jobs, there is much to be done toward closing the gap which exists between the Negro and white worker. Many firms, agencies and institutions have not begun to tap the Negro labor market for non-traditional employment: Southern Bell Telephone Company, municipal government (in clerical, professional and technical jobs in City Hall), banks, insurance companies, State Highway Patrol, television and newspapers. While recent changes in union practice and apprenticeship training have resulted in some improvement, inequities remain and there is yet a long way to go before complete equality between Negro and white workers can be achieved.

Because the bulk of the Negro work force is unskilled, and automation is cutting wide inroads into unskilled labor, the plight of the Negro worker as a whole is becoming worse. The lack of adequate training facilities, both on and off the job; inferior schools, crowded classrooms, outmoded curricula, and inadequate counseling all serve to increase the handicaps Negro youth must face.

In addition to the physical handicaps, there is the psychological barrier which prevents Negroes from preparing themselves for fields in which doors have long been closed. Paradoxically, opportunities are beginning to open up, but qualified candidates are not available.

North Carolina Industry

Former Governor Luther Hodges started a successful campaign to attract new industries to North Carolina. This has resulted in approximately 500 new firms entering the state each year. The North Carolina Employment Security Commission recently stated that 8,000 technical workers will be needed in the state within the next five years.

In spite of the industrial developments and manpower projections, this has not really penetrated the Negro community. A program of re-education which convinces the entire Negro community is needed to motivate youth to prepare for a new place in American life. Their horizon needs to be broadened to include, not more jobs, but all jobs. The task ahead requires the cooperative efforts of the entire community.

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Excerpts from two of the reports made to the Nashville Conference appear here. One on the movement toward equal employment opportunities in Greensboro, N.C., was made under leadership of the American Friends Service Committee, with Tartt Bell and Mrs. Charles Herbin, presenting the case, with the assistance of James A. Nelson, manager of administration, Douglas Aircraft Corp., Charlotte, N.C., and Geraldine Siler, first Negro secretary to be employed in the executive offices of Burlington Mills in Greensboro.

Paul Gaston and Thomas T. Hammond of the University of Virginia made a study of public school desegregation in Charlottesville, with a 44-page report of findings and analyses. From Mr. Gaston's presentation, only "some general observations which we hope will shed light on the direction of events in the future" are given here.

For these conclusions to the Charlottesville report, see next page.

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CHANGES IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY

Continued School Desegregation, "Slow but Steady"

NEARLY ALL SIGNS point to a continued and slow but steady advance of desegregation. In the first place, recent School Board actions give some cause for encouragement. Before the decision had been reached to appeal the lastest decision of the Fourth Circuit Court (a political decision in which Richmond played a part), the School Board chairman indicated his feeling that it would be a waste of money and effort to appeal. The Board also requested—and City Council enacted—a compulsory school attendance ordinance, even though the assignment plan had been upset. The apparent switch of the Board away from the new high school to the junior-high school idea was made despite the fact that the latter plan will involve more desegregation considerations.

In the past, the School Board has been accustomed to receiving criticism primarily from segregationists. This situation has changed markedly as educational matters have come to the forefront. Many parents, no longer fearful of desegregation, criticize the Board for what they consider to be lack of Board leadership in school problems. They maintain that school decisions based primarily on racial considerations frequently interfere with constructive planning. Continued desegregation, they point out, is inevitable, and greater educational gains will be made by accepting it rather than by seeking further useless means of resisting it.

P-TA Attitudes

The shifting attitude of the P-TA is another indication of the general change in viewpoints now being expressed to the Board. When the public schools were closed in 1958, a resolution protesting school closing died in one P-TA meeting for lack of a second. The subject was considered too controversial to discuss at P-TA meetings. Today, the P-TAs have lost their hesitancy, and, under active leadership, play an important role in leading community acceptance of desegregation. For example, last year the School Board banned all school dances when they heard that Negroes were to attend a high school dance. The high school P-TA executive committee protested to the Board, and the P-TA members overwhelmingly supported the protest.

The firmness of Negro leadership, backed by an NAACP branch with over 1,400 members, is another factor which indicates continued expansion of desegregation. To date, the NAACP's principal role has been in keeping the Charlottesville case in federal court, where the School Board's containment policy has been subjected to continuous scrutiny. A possible step in the future (although not now apparently under serious consideration) would be to request rezoning of the elementary school districts on the grounds that the present lines have the effect of containing nearly all of the Negroes in one school—a school which has 40% more students than any other city elementary school. The size of the Jefferson district might be reduced, with the result that more Negroes would be assigned to desegregated schools.

Continued Growth

In conclusion, then, shifting sentiments within the white community and continued firmness in the Negro community indicate a steady and continued growth in desegregation. For many years to come, however, there is likely to be a considerable amount of voluntary segregation, especially among those who have had several years of segregated school experience. True integration — defined as the glad welcoming and full participation of Negroes in the public schools—is not just around the corner.[1] Progress toward that end is apparent, but its achievement will depend heavily upon strong support for public schools and upon the extent to which those who understand the goal are willing to work for it.

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[1]It should be noted that, so long as public schools are supported, there is little reason to expect that complete integration would result in what some segregationists refer to as "engulfment." Only about 25% of the city school children are colored, and Negroes will, therefore, always be a distinct minority in the school system.

Race Relations Sunday Message for February 10

"... The Truth Will Make You Free"

"Jesus then said to the Jews who had believed in him, 'If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.'"—John 8:32.

FREEDOM IS DEAR to the hearts of men everywhere in the world today. The search for freedom and the effort to preserve it have one thing in common. The common element is the universal stress upon deliverance from that which binds or threatens to bind. Very few men in any community are in search of genuine freedom. But multitudes want to be released from or to remain independent of historic institutions or powers which they judge to be binding. In short, most people define freedom in negative terms.

Release from that which binds is only the beginning of freedom. It only makes possible that true self-determination which is freedom. Release from that which binds is not self-determination; it is only the removal of the barrier to it. True self-determination is the expression of inner power.

"Jesus . . . said to the Jews who had believed in him, 'If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.'"

What Truth?

What is the truth of which Jesus speaks? What is this new determining and directing power for life? It is Jesus Christ himself. The eternal reality is manifested through Christ. It is through him that men know the truth. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life . . ." (John 14:6).

The knowledge of God involves acknowledging him in his works and responding to his claims. God discloses his love and man responds in faith. We reach the truth which makes us free by doing it. And doing the truth does not mean mere obedience to commandments, but rather living *from* him who is the truth. It means abiding in him, participating in him, continuing in his word, being determined in our very being by the grace of God through Christ.

During this year, we observe the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The United States has the peculiar history of being a modern country settled by Europeans in search of freedom, many of whom in turn became slave masters. Slavery is, of course, the lowest point of unfreedom. But it was not the slaves alone who were unfree; it was also the masters. The masters were also unfree because master and slave are correlatives. Neither of them can exist without the other. The master was just as dependent upon the slave for his being as the slave was dependent upon the master. In other words, formerly free Americans created an unfree system of meaning, value and loyalty. Thereafter the lives of those who lived on the system were determined by the values and pur-

This annual message has been issued by the executive board of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches. It was prepared by George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics at Drew University.

poses of the system. The system constituted a new center of meaning, value and direction. Only a few rare spirits found the freedom to transcend the system. Others became slaves to it and all that it stood for, whether their roles were those of master or slave. They were slaves because they lived by the untruth—a system of pride and domination.

The Root Remains

We can now thank God, on this one hundredth anniversary, that chattel slavery has been legally abolished. But racism, the false religion which remains, is at the root of all forms of racial segregation, discrimination and doctrines of racial superiority. The racist, like the slave master, makes himself a correlate of the object of his hatred and pride. He says that he hates the object because the object is hateful; but the fact is, hatefulness is the product of the presence of hate, and it is hate which fills the racist's own heart. We are that in which we abide, in which we participate.

Racism must be understood for what it is—a religion competing with the Christian faith. The racist affirmation of superiority and inferiority is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a social theory. Rather, it is an affirmation of faith, a declaration concerning the nature of human being. The racist consciousness affirms the condemnation of one race and the creative destiny of another by Nature. This is conviction concerning the nature of human being, concerning the giveness of human nature. As such it is an ultimate claim.

In contrast to the Christian faith, the racist faith asserts that the essence of man is his own possession. Racism is self-deification. The power of being is man's own possession.

In God's Image

This view is diametrically opposed to the insights of Christian faith. According to Christian faith, man is made in the image of God. Herein lies his dignity. The gift of the image is an act of pure grace. The dignity of man is accordingly bestowed. It is not an acquisition, nor is it a quality which he possesses. The glory of the image of God is only reflectively in man. Man finds his life as man only in so far as he lives by love, the Divine Word. The idea that man is created in the image of God means that he is created in, by, and for love. Man is a being-in-relation. He is truly man and is truly free when he responds to God in obedient love.

". . . you will know the truth and the truth will make you free."

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

Prepared by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations

The 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation challenges churches and community groups to take more vigorous action to achieve genuine freedom for all people without regard to race or color to participate in all aspects of society.

I. Local church groups can take community action by:

1. Working to bring about desegregation and integration of public schools through (a) securing facts about the situation; (b) discussing, formulating and evaluating concrete proposals for constructive action; (c) making the facts and proposals known to the community; (d) cooperating with other community organizations which work to improve race relations.
2. Supporting legislation designed to guarantee full opportunity for all people regardless of race, color or nationality.
3. Protesting against legislation aimed at maintaining segregation and racial discrimination.
4. Urging the elimination of segregation on buses and public transportation.
5. Supporting the movement to eliminate racial discrimination at lunch counters, restaurants and other places of public accommodation.
6. Working with employer's groups, professional organizations and unions to establish employment practices based on character and ability rather than on race, color, creed or national origin.
7. Discussing the facts regarding segregation in housing and cooperating with agencies working to develop "open occupancy" housing.
8. Working to assure all persons the opportunity to register and to exercise the right to vote.

II. Local churches can take action within their own organization by:

1. Re-examining continuously in the light of the gospel their attitudes and behavior regarding race relations and committing themselves to carry out their Christian responsibility.
2. Finding out what the policy of their denomination is regarding race relations and studying the implications of the policy statement in the light of the Christian gospel.
3. Organizing a church committee to develop and carry out a program of race relations.
4. Opening membership in the local church and its organizations to all people, making this fact known in the community and seeking to win others to Christ regardless of race.
5. Exhibiting firm behavior patterns of acceptance when the question of a racially inclusive fellowship is discussed in the church and when the first persons of another race visit or are received into the church.
6. Selecting professional and volunteer church leadership on the basis of qualifications rather than race.
7. Conducting study groups, forums and other activities to gather the facts about race relations in the community, and making plans for a race relations program that runs throughout the year.
8. Conducting worship services for God's guidance in the improvement of race relations. (A "Worship Program for Race Relations Services" is available from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. 4¢ each; $3.00 per hundred.)

CAMPUS NEWS

Among the grants totalling more than $1,780,000 awarded to 168 universities and colleges in the Du Pont Company's annual aid to education program are those going to the following Presbyterian colleges:

DAVIDSON (N.C.) and LAFAYETTE (Pa.), $4,000, to support teaching in scientific and related fields.

CENTRE (Ky.), KING (Tenn.), LAKE FOREST (Ill.), MUSKINGUM (Ohio), OCCIDENTAL (Calif.), SOUTHWESTERN (Tenn.), $5,000 each to help continue strengthening their chemistry departments.

WOOSTER (Ohio), HOPE (Mich.), $3,000 each to enable and encourage able young people to undertake careers in teaching science and mathematics in high schools.

MONMOUTH (Ill.), $10,000 toward an addition to the science hall and renovation of space; TARKIO (Mo.), $10,000 toward a new science building.

* * *

President Arthur G. Coons of OCCIDENTAL College (Calif.) has been named Churchman of the Year by the United Presbyterians of Southern California. Dr. Coons is a ruling elder in the Pasadena church.

* * *

QUEENS College (N. C.) sociology students during the next few months will serve as a task force for the Charlotte Crime Prevention Committee by collecting and analyzing data on the local crime problem.

* * *

In the fifth annual Lay School of Theology, sponsored by the Council of Churches of the Pittsburgh area, in cooperation with PITTSBURGH Seminary, 141 persons enrolled in two courses which extended over a period of six weeks. . . . The seminary scheduled two separate weeks during the past term for reading, the second one allowing for the completion of papers and preparation for examinations.

* * *

Andrew T. Hanes, former executive of Dye-Stuff Marketing Co. of New York, has become vice president in charge of development for the Edgar Tufts Memorial Association (N. C.) and its three affiliated institutions: LEES-MCRAE College, Charles A. Cannon, Jr., Memorial Hospital, and Grandfather Home for Children. Mr. Hanes served as an officer in the First church, New York City.

* * *

College housing loans have been approved by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency for LAKE FOREST College (Ill.), $1,075,000 for two dormitories housing 120 men and 120 women; and to CENTRE College (Ky.), $410,000 for a four-story residence hall for 92 women.

The Presbyterian Outlook

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EDITORIAL

For Open Channels

What the Episcopalians and representatives of the Assemblies of God have been doing (see page 3) in their discussions of the work of the Holy Spirit in the contemporary church appeals to us as something that is right and proper that should be done in many other relationships. Too long have doors been closed and conversations made impossible between those who profess a common commitment. It is not required that anyone be able to predict what might or should happen as a result of such an exchange. It is not required that anything that could ever be publicized to the outside world must take place.

This is simply a symbol of a willingness to follow the divine prompting, to admit that we have not yet arrived at some lodging place, that we recognize our need of others along the way.

Whatever may or may not come out of what began as a possible four-way merger in which Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and the United Church of Christ are participating, a significant opportunity for meaningful conversations is being provided. If God can use this to his glory, who should not rejoice?

All this serves to underscore a more pressing local question: With whom are you in vital conversation in your community, reaching across lines that may not have been broken in the past, seeking out those who share a common concern and a common hope, and talking together in earnest conversation about some of the deeper issues of life and destiny?

Right Ideas and More

It is doubtless a widespread temptation for many people to feel that they have the "right" attitude on race relations. Others may be too far to the right or to the left, too active or too passive. If they could only be brought to the vantage point which "we" have attained, many of the most critical problems might well be on their way to a fair solution!

We are pointing up a danger that may be faced when people have had what might be called an "intellectual conversion" on this matter. They come into new territory; they are glad they have moved from a position which they see to be no longer tenable, and they may even be tempted to congratulate themselves that they have reached what they feel to be "the" or "a" Christian position on race. They may even find themselves in harmony with and in genuine support of what most church bodies around the world have long been saying on the issue. If we can do this without self-righteousness or smugness, it may mark a genuine attainment that deserves commendation—but is that the end of it all?

The enlargement of one's point-of-view and the expansion of his concern should never be minimized, but it is possible for people to reach such a point and be completely detached from any objective in the great struggles that are in progress. The result is that they find themselves involved in no meaningful or significant movement to fulfill the implications of their convictions. With great issues at stake, they may never be among those who can be identified actively with a group moving on toward attainable objectives of social justice. They are well-wishers but that is about all. In our cover quotation for this issue, Jack Finegan underscores the reminder that it is not enough to be delivered from a cramped, confining past; we must move up and out into a true and relevant identity with the people of God who are seeking to realize his purposes at the frontier.

There is a much unclaimed territory ahead. It is to be hoped that emphases made in churches across the land on Feb. 10 will help many more of us to see the place of relevant witness which we are being called to take at this time—beyond simply holding to "right" ideas about race.

* * *

MAN'S capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.
—REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

IN PASSING

Editorial Notes

A UPUSA publication raises questions as to what church members watch on television, what effect this has upon their Christian faith and life, and what local groups might do to capitalize on some aspects of television for Christian training and mission. The twelve-page booklet is called *Television and Christian Training*. Among other things it suggests that with the application of intelligent criteria many of the most popular television programs (like, it says, "The Defenders") can become occasions and springboards for study and discussion. Other specific ideas are advanced with reference to different types of programs. The publication is offered free from Presbyterian Distribution Services.

* * *

The December issue of *Social Progress* deals with problems made critical by anticipated population trends that will be faced by American society. A USA population of 342 million is forecast by demographic experts by 2000 A.D.—in 37 years. By 2050 it is predicted that there will be one billion people in the USA.

PONDERABLES . . .

Although the ceremony [of public school prayer] is in form voluntary, the atmosphere of the schoolroom and the conformist psychology of school children are such that in a meaningful and realistic sense such exercises are in fact coercive. They are thus interferences with the free exercise or non-exercise of religion on the part of non-conformist groups.—PAUL A. FREUND, *Harvard University legal scholar and authority on constitutional law.*

* * *

Church and ministry are thought to exist on behalf of the worshiping devotees of a god who is to be at our beck and call, answering our needs, pandering to our undisciplined desires, and keeping our American way of life intact and free from harm. . . .

The finance reports of our flourishing churches on the American scene can tell an embarrassing story. Self-preservation of the church as an institution receives unquestioned priority—more and more comfortable pews and more and more comfortable kneeling cushions . . . for less and less painful prayers of repentance.

It may shock us to be told that many a congregation of our time is, in the Biblical view, guilty of idolatry.

—THEODORE O. WEDEL, *Harry Emerson Fosdick visiting professor at Union Seminary, New York.*

FELINE SOCIETY

By KENNETH J. FOREMAN

"God made the beasts of the earth . . . and God saw that it was good."—Genesis 1:25.

"A just man cares for the safety of the beasts he owns; the wicked are heartless through and through." — Proverbs 12:10, R. Knox translation.

FOR $250 you can be a life member of the American Feline Society. On a scale running down to $5 a year, you can choose one of various grades of memberships down to a humble subscription. The great aim of the Society is to abolish the surplus cat problem. It appears, from the official literature, that there are in America twenty-one million cats; and that one-half this number, or ten and one-half million cats are homeless. The society optimistically believes that if 20% of all American families could be persuaded to adopt a cat, America would no longer have this cat problem.

Now before the Feline Society writes me off as a heartless cat-hater for anything I am about to say, let me say that I like cats very much, though having no ambition to own one, especially not one from the alley. I even know one word in the cat language. It is unprintable for two reasons, one purely linguistic, and the other being that I don't rightly know what it means. I said it to a cat sitting on a paving block one night, and that cat got off its perch and followed me through city traffic for blocks; what the word meant I never knew, but perhaps it had something to do with fish.

However, while able to speak to a cat's condition, I do not mistake cats for human beings. A cat is (or can be) beautiful, graceful, affectionate, and as smart as he needs to be; but he is a beast all the same. For a week I once had the gift of a house, with the sole stipulation that I should feed the two cats who for twelve years had observed (if not shared) their owner's joys and sorrows. Now those two cats had lived together for twelve mortal years; but not once in that week did either of them show the slightest consideration for the other, especially not at meal times. God made cats; but he made mice too, and also sharks. How many homeless mice there may be, or wandering unwelcomed sharks, nobody knows; but I am not going to contribute to a fund to make them more comfortable; and the same goes for cats.

NOW HERE is the point: one human being is of more worth than ten million cats. Or if that seems an exaggeration to you, then let us be modest and say that one human being is worth more than one cat. (Just how many cats, on this reckoning, would equal one human being, is your guess.)

Let it be granted that owning a cat is owning a good thing; caring for a cat is a kind act. It should also be added that cats are easier to take on or take in, easier to take care of, and easier to get rid of, than human people are. A cat owner who turns the cat loose to become a member of that ten-million-cat horde of alley haunters and night fighters, is doing a disservice to society and really doing the cat a great injustice. Contributing to the delinquency of cats is nothing to be proud of. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, a Christian should not forget the divine commonsense of Jesus. "You are of more value than many sparrows!" "Of how much more value is a man than a sheep!" Jesus said these things, each one against a background of concern for animals. It is not callousness to brute suffering that leads to human compassion. One who hates and mistreats animals is not likely to be a friend to man. But for all that, if you have a hundred dollars for the homeless, do remember that there are more important animals than cats going hungry tonight. There are more refugees, among your own humankind, than among the felines of America. If you want to adopt a living thing, why not a child? And if you have no room in your home, nor time on your schedule, for the homeless, then you must be a very busy person and presumably making lots of money. If you are a reader of this paper then your church operates a home for the homeless, or tries to find homes for them, and is doing this on funds never quite sufficient to do all that is needed. Why not pay that orphanage a visit? It is more important to keep a child out of the alley than to keep cats out of there; and your church offers you the opportunity to do just that.

AND IF YOU really can personally give a home to the homeless, there are Korean children and children in other tragic lands who desperately need you. To love a child is (as I have admitted) more demanding on heart and mind, and muscles too, than devotion to any cat that ever was. There is possibility of sorer heart-break, there is longer strain upon the goodwill, in adopting a child of your own human race than in caring for a pet.

But ask the families who have adopted orphans, from nearby or overseas. Would they exchange this human child for something cute from the pet shop? They would not; and they would think you rather soft in the head for asking.

VATICAN. The Vatican's diplomatic corps now includes a record number of 50 missions to the Holy See: 37 embassies, 11 legations and two charges d'affaires. Twelve new ambassadors and two ministers presented their credentials in 1962.

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CAMPUS NEWS

A series of Monday Morning Lectures is being offered at UNION Seminary, New York, this month as follows: "What I Believe it Means to Be Saved," John C. Bennett and James Muilenburg; "What I Believe About Christ," Edmund A. Steimle and Daniel D. Williams; "What I Believe About the Activity of the Holy Spirit and Prayer," Wilhelm Pauck and Douglas V. Steere; "What I Believe About Death and the Life to Come," James M. Ault and Henry P. Van Dusen.

* * *

The A Cappella Choir of ALMA College (Mich.) has been named this year's "Official Broadcasting Choir" for the United Presbyterian Church, USA. It was featured in a "Voices of Christmas" program and will be heard on four NBC "National Radio Pulpit" programs and four "Church of the Air" programs for the Columbia Broadcasting System in addition to the Protestant Hour series.

* * *

What is considered as possibly one of the earliest provincial Roman theaters excavated may have been unearthed by the party led by PRINCETON Seminary's Professor Philip C. Hammond in his American expeditions to Petra in 1961-62. Dr. Hammond has released his final report of the investigations which were formally sponsored by PRINCETON Seminary, with the assistance of archaeologists from other institutions.

* * *

The faculty of LAKE FOREST (Ill.) College has voted to provide an "extra-curricular" senior reading program as a requirement for graduation. Groups of approximately 15 will meet during fall and winter terms to discuss eight important contemporary books. No grade will be given beyond the certification of completing the program.

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Nichols Surprised at Vatican Council Attitudes

IOWA CITY, IOWA (RNS)—A Protestant delegate-observer to the Second Vatican Council said here that the observers had been taken into the deliberations of the Council to such an extent that they were "almost unofficial consultants."

James H. Nichols of Princeton (N.J.) Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian observer at the Council, made this statement during a discussion here with Roman Catholic Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge, La.

The two churchmen participated in "A Report and Dialogue on the Vatican Council" sponsored by the State University of Iowa's Committee on Lectures and Vespers.

Bishop Tracy said the Council Fathers "are a lot more willing to entertain change than people expected them to be."

As an example of this attitude, the bishop said the schema on the liturgy, which he called "a very liberal document," drew only 11 votes in opposition.

"My question is: Where are all the conservatives?" he asked.

Unsurpassed Courtesy

Dr. Nichols said the non-Catholic observers at the Council were "treated with courtesy that could not have been surpassed" and were informed about proposals that were to go before the Council and then asked to comment on them.

The most striking impression that Dr. Nichols gained at the Vatican was of "the maturity, depth, intellectual grasp and spiritual discipline" of the Catholic theologians assigned to brief the observers.

"I hadn't realized that anything like this existed," Dr. Nichols said. "I thought the Roman Catholic Church was a very closed, complacent and sectarian body that had nothing to learn from anybody else. I know now that this is no longer accurate, if it ever was."

Dr. Nichols added:

"In two months of speeches at the Council, there was not one single phrase calculated to affront or humiliate Protestant or Orthodox Christians. All the differences are still there. I don't think any major problem is in any sense solved. Nevertheless, the whole atmosphere is so different that as Cardinal Bea says, it is a 'real miracle.' One would never have believed that this could happen."

Bishop Tracy said that while the Council has actually voted on only one schema so far, many of its accomplishments have been in intangible areas, such as contacts with the Protestant and Orthodox churchmen, and the chance for the prelates themselves to get a "re-education" and to get to know each other better.

Going Back to School

Referring to the educational aspect of the Council—hearing speeches by "the Catholic Church's most brilliant minds" and reading countless documents—Bishop Tracy said "it's like going back to school."

He said the contact with prelates from throughout the world and with his fellow-American bishops "have given me my first good insight into what the Catholic Church is all about."

Bishop Tracy predicted that when the Council reconvenes again in September, the proceedings will go much faster and that it will be concluded by December as Pope John XXIII hopes.

Presbytery Requires Gift By Departing Churches

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS)—The Presbytery of Washington City has agreed to permit a once-prosperous mid-city Presbyterian congregation to move its house of worship to suburban Montgomery County, Md., but only after exacting a precedent-making condition—that the departing congregation make a gift of not less than $50,000 to the community it is leaving behind.

The presbytery, which consists of more than 50 churches affiliated with the United Presbyterian Church in Washington and its suburbs, told the congregation of Gunton-Temple Memorial Presbyterian Church that a relocating church must contribute to the community it leaves.

That donation will be used, said the presbytery, "to provide a responsible ministry to all persons regardless of race, nationality, culture, or geographical location."

Gunton-Temple, a congregation formed by a merger nearly 40 years ago, has arranged to sell its present church building on Sixteenth Street to the Canaan Baptist Church, a Negro congregation.

Although many residences and apartments on Sixteenth Street still house white tenants, the neighborhood nearby has become almost entirely Negro in the past decade.

The church has suffered a sharp membership decline and most of its present members come from a distance.

Originally, the resolution placed before the presbytery called for the payment of $90,000 by the departing congregation. This sum would have represented 25 per cent of the $360,000 which it expects to receive from sale of its present property.

The amount was scaled downward, however, when members of the congregation, after a two-hour meeting with presbytery leaders, said it would interfere with plans of the congregation—which has only 291 active members left—to relocate in the suburbs and develop a new church.

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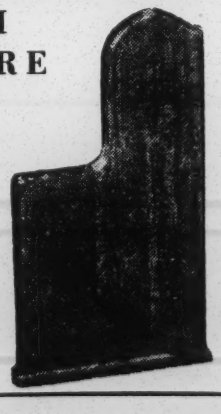

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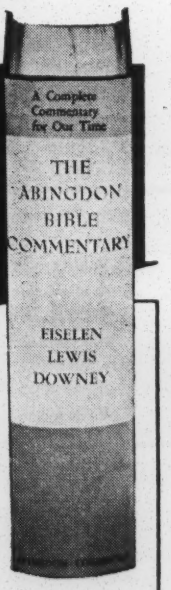

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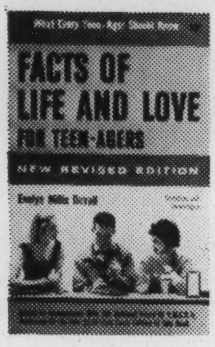

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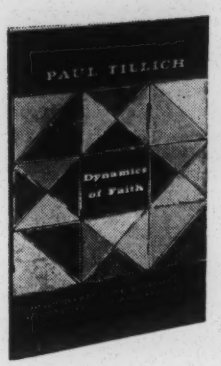

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Mark 6. Printed Lesson: Mark 6:7-13, 34-42

I.

Jesus was no longer content to depend on his own efforts to evangelize the villages of Gaililee. He called unto him the Twelve and began to send them forth by two and two. It may be that Jesus was moved to send them on this mission because of the pressing spiritual needs, which he alone could not satisfy, or because he wished to train them for the fuller work which would devolve upon them after his death. Very likely, however, it was due in large part to the growing opposition, which indicated that his ministry was now approaching its crisis. As Denny says (*The Career and Significance of Jesus*): "It was now a race against the enemy for the mastery of public opinion, and the apostles as well as Jesus seem to have felt the urgency of the situation." Branscomb says the significance of this mission must not be overlooked. "Jesus undertook to arouse the nation. To his own efforts he added those of such followers as he could trust."

The directions which Jesus gave to the evangelists on this occasion were not intended for all disciples, or even to be permanent for the Twelve. They were adapted to the haste and intensity demanded by this particular mission. They were to go forth two by two, that one might help and encourage the other, and that their testimony might be more telling. They were commissioned not only to preach, but also to work miracles of healing. Of the latter Mark specifies the one which to him was typical. He gave them authority over unclean spirits. As today, a ministry of healing would manifest the spirit of Christ, would open the way for his message, and confirm it in the minds of the people.

They were to take nothing for their journey save a staff only. That is, they were to be content with the simplest equipment. They were to go forth promptly, and as they were—traveling light that they might travel fast and give the impression of urgency of their message. Hence they were to take neither bread, nor bag (a small leather sack for carrying provisions), nor money, nor anything beyond the staff which every traveler carried. They were to go shod with sandals, the simplest covering for the feet, and typical of the traveler (shoes were also worn by Jews, furnished with upper leather and most costly). They were not to wear two coats.

"The dress of an ancient Oriental was quite simple, consisting, aside from sandals for the feet and a turban for the head, of a tunic (coat), a garment in form not unlike a long shirt, around which the girdle was bound, and a cloak which was of the simplest construction, scarcely more than a large square piece of cloth. To wear two tunics was a sign of comparative wealth (Luke 3:11) and it was this which Jesus forbade. He himself apparently wore but one (John 19:23)."

The purpose of all these injunctions was to secure simplicity and freedom from hindrance in their work. They were not to burden themselves either to get or to carry anything unnecessary. The customs of the land made it unnecessary to provide for traveling expenses, since they went afoot and could obtain free entertainment everywhere.

Furthermore, Jesus instructed them that they were to have but one stopping place in each village (not to waste time seeking for better quarters), and if a place would not receive them, they were to shake off the dust, as a sign of disapproval and protest against their conduct. Snowden remarks:

"Ministers and missionaries are to do all they can and go to the last limit of patience and sympathy and love in endeavoring to win the attention and confidence and conversion of unbelievers. But there may come a point of refusal and persecution when further efforts would be useless and harmful, and then the Christians may withdraw. We may do harm in pressing our Christian faith too persistently on others. Their sovereign right to decide their own faith and action must be respected. We may grieve over their unbelief, but we must leave them alone."

In accordance with Jesus' instructions, the disciples went out and preached and healed, anointing the sick whom they healed with oil. Oil was much used by the physicians of the day. It seems that in healing the sick, the disciples used, as Jesus did not, the regular remedies of the day. On their return they told Jesus all things that they had done, and what they had taught (vs. 30). Marcus Dods says that the words suggest that they had great things to tell. The teaching element would not have been extensive in the range of topics. Yet if it took the form of personal narrative concerning Jesus it might be copious enough, and really the principal feature of the mission.

Jesus relied on his disciples even during the days of his flesh. At the present time he depends upon us even more. As St. Teresa once said:

"Christ has no body on earth now but yours, no hands but yours, no feet but yours; yours are the eyes through which is to look out Christ's compassion to the world, yours are the feet with which he is to go about doing good, and yours are the hands with which he is to bless us now."

In the particular mission which we have just studied, there was need for haste. What need for haste is there now?

Is there any value for us in the instructions which Jesus gave to his disciples? Do his words, for example, indicate that his followers in general, or his ministers in particular, should live moderately, avoiding luxury, or were they merely directions for a specific emergency? Should we concern ourselves only with the souls of men, or also with their bodies? Does Jesus' mission require evangelists only, or lawyers, doctors, business men and artisans? What instructions do you think he would give these various groups now?

II.

The disciples, returning from their preaching mission, told Jesus what they had done and taught. Ever sensitive to the physical needs of those about him, Jesus suggested that they go with him to a quiet place where they might find rest. It was not to be found where they were. Streams of visitors, drawn by the fame of Jesus' works, kept them ever in movement and broke in even on their meals. According to the literal rendering of the Greek, they had no "opportunity or leisure for anything."

Jesus' plan to be alone with the Twelve was frustrated by the people who recognized his intentions. They went around the northern end of the lake by foot, and when Jesus and his disciples landed they found the usual throng of people awaiting them. But though Jesus' expectations of quiet were defeated he did not give way to a sense of disappointment. Instead his compassion was stirred by the spectacle of the eager interest of the crowd, whose needs had not been met by the recognized teachers of religion. As Mark puts it: "He had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd." Crowds affect people in various ways. Some look upon them with amusement, some with cynicism, some with careful calculation of financial gain, some with scorn, or even with hatred, some with careless indifference. But Jesus looked upon them with compassion, stirred by a sense of their physical and spiritual needs (See Matthew 9:36). So, giving up the rest which he had sought for himself and his disciples, he began to teach them many things.

When the day was far spent the disciples came to him with a suggestion. It was time to think of food. The country was barren. It might be well for Jesus to dismiss the crowd, so that they could go into the country—that is, to the farms and villages round about—and buy themselves something to eat. But Jesus turned to them and said, "You give them something to eat."

The disciples were startled by such a suggestion. They said to him, "Shall we go and buy two hundred denarii worth of bread?" The word "penny" in the King James Version is misleading. A denarius was the day's wage of a laborer. Whether the disciples had this much is

not clear. Probably not. They meant to say that Jesus was asking the impossible. But Jesus was insistent. He said, "How many loaves have you? Go and see." They came back and reported, "Five, and two fish." A loaf in Jesus' day was a thick scone, not enough for a full meal for one hungry man. The fishes would be of a dried sort, used as a relish for the bread.

In his *American Translation of the New Testament* Goodspeed graphically describes what followed:

"He directed them all to sit down in parties on the fresh grass [this would prevent a scramble for the food]. And they threw themselves down in groups, in hundreds and in fifties. Then he took the five loaves and the two fish and looked up to heaven and blessed the loaves and brake them in pieces and gave them to the disciples to pass to the people; and be divided the two fish among them all. And they all ate and had enough. And the pieces they gathered up filled twelve baskets, besides the pieces of the fish. There were five thousand men who ate the loaves."

Mark offers no explanation as to how the miracle was performed. He does not even hint. A popular commenator, Lenski, offers the traditional interpretation: "The miracle was not wrought by the words, but . . . by the will of Jesus . . . Always there were more pieces to break off; the bread grew in Jesus' hands."

J. Vernon Bartlett in the *New Century Bible* offers a more "rational" explanation:

"What Jesus actually aimed at and achieved was the turning of the mixed multitude, composed of innumerable personal and family units, each with their own self-regarding interests and impulses, then and there into a single brotherhood or union of social groups, for the purpose of sharing in common what was to begin with the property of a few. Thus those before strangers to most of their fellows, under the spell of Jesus' message of divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood, were one and all brought to feel of one soul, a single family of God."

This, according to Bartlett, was the real miracle. And under the influence of this new spirit, those who had provisions, led by the example of Jesus, divided with those who had none, so that all were satisfied.

This line of explanation does not satisfy. Most of us, with Theodore H. Robinson, prefer to take the Gospel stories as they stand, recognizing in Jesus a person so unique that he had powers beyond the reach of ordinary men and a control over the physical world which others have not possessed.

And now what is the meaning of this incident for us?

The Compassion of Jesus

The key that unlocks the passage is found in Mark 6:34: "He saw a great throng and had compassion on them."

Says W. J. Dawson:

"The general attitude towards the multitude in Christ's day was harsh and scornful. All the splendid intellectualism of Greece existed for the favored few; beneath that glittering edifice of art and letters lay the dungeons of the slave. It was the same with Rome—it was an empire of privilege, in which the multitude had not part. Jewish society was built after the same pattern, except that with the Pharisees the sense of religious superiority bred a kind of arrogance much more bitter than that which is the fruit of intellectual or social exclusiveness."

Jesus looked with compassion on the crowds. How do we look on people today —white people, yellow people, black people—in our own land, in other lands, including Russia and China? What is there about them to excite our compassion? Jesus had compassion for people—

1. Because they needed rest. "They had no leisure. . . . And he said to them, Come away by yourselves . . . and rest" (6:31). To live the fullest life we must balance work and play, toil and rest. Jesus knew that men needed relaxation. "God is not a hard task-master," Dwight L. Moody once said, "and in later years I have learned that to do your best work you cannot afford to neglect the common laws of health." Have we learned that lesson? Is Jesus concerned with those who have no leisure, with those who have not learned how to use their leisure? How about us? Are we concerned?

2. Because they needed bread. The disciples said, "Send them away, to go and buy themselves something to eat." But he answered, "You give them something to eat."

"A French queen said of the hungry in her realm who couldn't get bread, 'Then let them eat cake,' and outraged friends of the poor started the French Revolution. A foolish British king tried to tax the American colonies without allowing them a voice in the matter—and we had an American Revolution. Profit-mad industrialists in England worked little children to death for a pittance and sacrificed the lives of fathers and mothers on the altars of their greed—and soon there was an industrial revolution. . . . After long, fearful years of starvation, poverty and persecution, the Russian people revolted in 1917; they broke into the Church of the Kremlin, and found almost twenty million dollars worth of gold, silver and precious stones. The bells of the Kremlin had been melted down to help the Czar fight his war, but not one penny of the twenty-million-dollar treasure of the church had ever been used to help feed a nation of starving people, or to ease their poverty and suffering in any way whatsoever. The people of Russia almost destroyed that church." (Frank Mead in *Tarbell's Teachers' Guide.*)

John C. Bennett, writing in *Theology Today* (October, 1950), said:

"We must see the rise of an anti-religious Communist movement as a judgment upon the church, upon the comfortable middle class world to which we belong. It is one of the most tragic facts of modern history that in the 19th century the working classes especially in continental Europe 'came to believe that the churches were against them or indifferent to their plight'" (Report of the Third Section of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches).

He went on to quote Professor Jacques Maritain, famous Roman Catholic philosopher, then lecturing at Princeton University. After pointing out that the movements of social protest were led not by saints but by atheists, Maritain asked, "Why such a tragic defection? I consider it hard not to see in it a kind of punishment of the Christian world, which for a long period had more or less betrayed Christianity in its practical behavior, and despised the lessons of the saints, and forsaken the immense herd of the hopeless."

Bennett continued:

"We should never lose sight of the conviction that the only effective resistance to Communism is the effort to discover better solutions to the problems which give Communists their opportunity. . . . The power of Communism is not primarily military power. It is the power of an idea, the power of propaganda, the power of a program that is designed to overcome the poverty of nations. We might conceivably defeat Russia as a nation by military force but that would not mean the defeat of Communism. That defeat can only come by the presentation of another positive program backed by an idea and a faith that have more truth than the idea and the faith of communism."

The gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it by word and deed, possesses that idea and offers that faith. And this leads us to note that Jesus had compassion on the multitudes.

3. Because they need God. As Mark tells us: "He had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd, and he began to teach them" 6:34. "Like sheep without a shepherd." Can this be said of masses of people today, in our land, in other lands? Some years back, before Communism had become the menace it now is, Pearl Buck wrote:

"The hunger in men everywhere now is the supreme tragedy of our times—the hungry who are not fed, the groping who look for goodness, the hopeless who look for cause to hope. But religion as it is organized today cannot feed them, nor lead them, nor save them. Its only valuable function, speaking in non-religious terms, seems to be to give refuge."

Is this true? What should we do about it? Should we be satisfied to offer the conventional religious services which so many do not attend? What other techniques could you suggest?

John C. Bennett predicts:

"Sooner or later there will be a new openness to Christian evangelism of the right sort, of the sort that deals rigorously with the problems of justice and that also meets the deeper needs of men for light, for divine grace and spiritual power. Many of the people who accept Communism have never heard Christ presented in a way that makes him relevant to their questions and their needs. The time of openness will come because the Achilles heel of Communism is that it has no understanding of the dimensions of evil in human life. . . . When this becomes more apparent than it is now, we may expect to see much of the human self-sufficiency of Communism overcome and

BOOK NOTES

The controversial Ralph Elliott book on *The Message of Genesis* which brought about his dismissal from a Baptist seminary will be published by Bethany Press, St. Louis, an agency of the Disciples of Christ denomination. It is scheduled for Feb. 1 publication in the new Abbott paperback series. When the first edition was sold out, Broadman Press (Southern Baptist) decided not to publish a second edition.

* * *

CAROLINGIAN PORTRAITS: A Study in the Ninth Century. By Eleanor Shipley Duckett. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. 311 pp., $5.95.

One great advantage of a knowledge of history is that it provides perspective on our own time and problems. Thus a new book on ninth-century Europe, written by an eminent medieval historian, should be called to the attention of readers who enjoy the serious study of past ages, especially what were once called "the dark ages." Like us, Europeans of the ninth century felt that they lived in a time of unprecedented danger and distress, as Viking raiders savagely pillaged their society from without while civil war and dynastic ambition threatened it from within. Men, women, and children could with as good cause as now fear a violent and painful death, while slow and lingering misery was probably even more widespread. Much of the trouble arose from the attempts of Charlemagne's son and heir, Louis the Pious, to rule his empire by a policy of extreme mercy and forgiveness, as a result of which the order established by Charlemagne was replaced by what at times came close to anarchy and life was often reduced to the lowest levels of poverty and subsistence. Readers of this comprehensive history will be reminded of Luther's conviction that since Everyman is no Christian, the attempt to govern him by purely Christian ethics may yield surprisingly un-Christian results. They will be reminded, too, that fortitude was as necessary a virtue in the past as it is today, and that despair was as real a temptation.

In addition to the accounts of political, economic, social, and military affairs, detailed insight is provided into the affairs of the church, the development of theology, the interpretation of the mass, and the management of monasteries. Again, we are often reminded that the confusions and failures of our own age are neither new nor unique.

Miss Duckett has told her story through intimate portraits of eight leading figures of the time. She writes in a clear and readable style. Though her book will not have a wide audience, it will be enjoyed by those who are interested in the development of medieval Europe, whether they are amateurs or professionals.

ROLAND MUSHAT FRYE.
Folger Shakespeare Library,
Washington.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Let's Return to the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch. E. Zollicoffer Browne. Greenwich Book Publishers, New York. $3.50.

The Sermon on the Mount. Roger L. Shinn. United Church Press, Philadelphia. $1.45, paper.

Classics in Logic. Dagobert D. Runes, editor. Philosophical Library, New York. $10 .

World Without Want. Paul G. Hoffman. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York. $3.50.

Mark Twain: Letters from the Earth. Bernard DeVoto, editor. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York. $5.95.

The Person You Can Be. Roy A. Burkhart. Harper & Row, Publisters, New York. $4.50.

The Best of the Sanctuary. Charles Crowe. Abingdon Press, Nashville. $2.25.

The Secret Life of the Good Samaritan. Robert John Versteeg. Abingdon Press, Nashville. $2.

New Testament Heritage. Roger Hazelton. United Church Press, Philadelphia. $1.45 paper.

Luther: Early Theological Works. James Atkinson, Editor. Westminster Press, Philadelphia. $6.50.

Why I Am at the Seminary. Thomas W. Wersell, editor. Augustana Press, Rock Island, Ill. $1.75, paper.

Symbols: Signposts of Devotion. Ratha Doyle McGee. The Upper Room, Nashville. $1.

Selections from the Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes. Arranged & edited by Thomas A. Kepler. The Upper Room, Nashville. 15¢, paper.

John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and Message. John C. Ramsay. Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Mass. $3.95.

we may find many who now are quite closed to the gospel ready to hear it. May the church be there at the right moment and with a message that grows out of a true understanding of the gospel and out of love for the people who have been so tragically misled."

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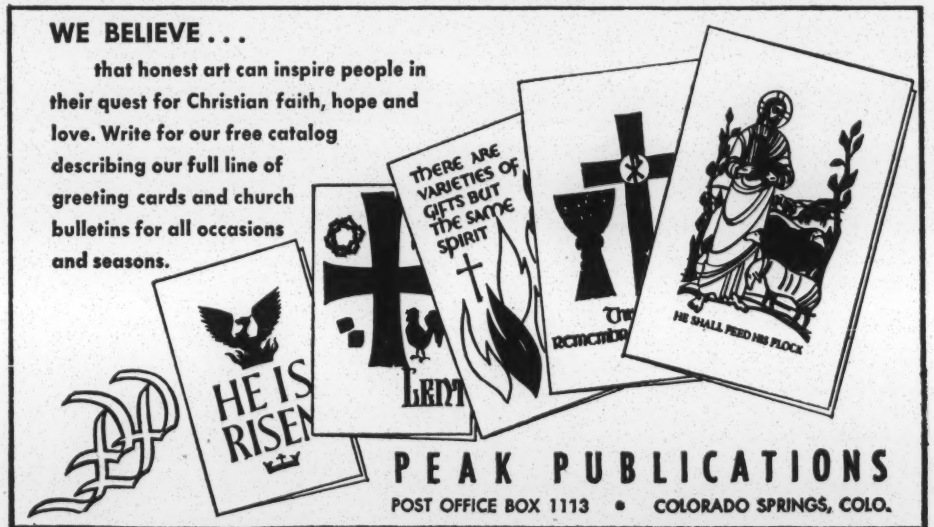

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MINISTERIAL MENTION

CHANGES

Presbyterian, U. S.

Elwyn H. Roberts from Bramwell, W. Va., to the Alderson, W. Va., church, Box 95. Mr. Roberts is stated clerk of the Synod of West Virginia.

F. Clay Doyle from Tucker, Ga., to the First church, Oakland, Fla., Feb. 1.

Carl H. Stark, Jr., from Burlington, N. C., to 302 Madden Ter., Churchland, Chesapeake, Va.

James L. Moss from Campinas, Sao Paulo, Brazil, to the Back Creek church, Rt. 1, Mt. Ulla, N. C.

S. C. Farrior from Montreat, N. C., to 4427 Woodside Haven Dr., Columbia, S.C.

Milner S. Ball, who has been studying at the University of Tuebingen, Germany, has become pastor of the Manchester, Tenn., church, 1003 Glenwood St.

David N. Daniels from Monroe, Ga., to the First church, Port Gibson, Miss., Church St.

Charles E. Cook, Jr., from Williston, S. C., to the First church, Washington, Ga., Box 409.

Baxter P. Cochran from Atlanta, Ga., to the Cornelia, Ga., church, 153 Chenocetah Dr.

Robert F. Clayman, retired, from Houston, Miss., to 632 Chestnut St., Henderson, Ky.

William M. Randolph, from Jackson, Ga., to the Stockbridge, Ga., church.

Finley C. Patton from Winnsboro, La., to the Overlook church, 5412 Overlook Rd., Mobile, Ala.

F. Hollingsworth Mitchell, who has been studying at the University of Edinburgh, has become pastor of the First church, Madill, Okla.

Eric McQuitty from Leaksville, N. C., to the First church, 318 Woods Ave., Oak Hill, W. Va.

Chalmers G. Long, retired, from Navasota, Texas, to Box 454, Hempstead, Texas.

H. Earl Woodall from McLeansville, N. C., to the Mt. Carmel church, Steeles Tavern, Va.

Francis M. Womack, Jr., from Wilmington, N. C., to the Robinson church, Rt. 8, Box 293, Charlotte, N. C.

Edmund D. Viser, Jr., formerly of Cowan, Tenn. (UPUSA), has become pastor of the Oakland Heights church, 417 55th Ave., Meridian, Miss.

Joseph T. Sefcik from Kansas City, Mo., to the First church, 650 Ott St., Harrisonburg, Va.

Grantland M. Groves from Elsa, Texas, to associate pastor of Westminster church, 3321 33rd St., Lubbock, Texas.

Donald M. Covington from Ft. Bevens, Mass., to Office of Protestant Chaplain, South Area Chapel, Ft. Meyer, Arlington 8, Va.

United Presbyterian, USA

Merle S. Arnold from Staatsburg, N. Y., to 833 Arch St., Williamsport, Pa., Feb. 1.

Charles A. Surber from Palmdale, Calif., to 11601 Capri Ave., Sun City, Ariz., Feb. 10.

William A. Minteer from Pittsburgh, Pa., to 144 Jamison Lane, Monroeville, Pa.

Richard C. Moore, former USNR chaplain, will become pastor of the Galeton, Pa., church, Feb. 1.

Franklin L. Artley, Bloomsburg, Pa., is serving as interim pastor of the First Reformed Church, Berwick, Pa.

James F. Nelson, Pasadena, Calif., is serving as stated supply for the Templeton, Calif., church.

Harvey M. Throop from Kansas City, Mo., to the First church, Omaha, Nebr., Feb. 1.

James L. Thomson from Urich, Mo., to the Beaver City, Nebr., church.

Robert Walton Jones from Fairbury, Nebr., to the First church, Oskaloosa, Kans.

DEATHS

Leslie L. Van Dine, 43, died suddenly Dec. 7 in a Marquette, Mich., hospital of a massive blood clot following an operation for a spinal disc.

AUSTIN SEMINARY

Three faculty appointments at Austin Seminary (Texas) include: **Charles L. King,** formerly of Houston, who has taught at the seminary since 1961, will continue as visiting professor of homiletics for another term; **Keith R. Crim,** visiting professor of missions (507-A Bellevue); and **George S. Heyer, Jr.,** who is completing work for his Ph.D. at the Yale Divinity School, will become assistant professor of the history of dogma next September.

YALE DEAN

Robert C. Johnson, professor of systematic theology at Pittsburgh Seminary, will become dean of the Yale Divinity School effective July 1.

ENDORSEMENTS FOR MODERATOR

Among those endorsed by their respective presbyteries for nomination as moderator of the UPUSA General Assembly to convene in Des Moines are the following:

Platte: **Silas G. Kessler,** First church, Hastings, Nebr.

Washita: **G. Raymond Campbell,** Westminster church, Oklahoma City.

Des Moines: **Arthur H. Cruickshank,** Central church, Des Moines, Iowa.

Cincinnati: **Henry Carter Rogers,** Mt. Auburn church, Cincinnati.

Detroit: **John Arthur Visser,** Westminster church, Detroit.

North Florida: Ruling Elder **Mrs. J. Morton Douglas,** president of North Florida Presbyterial.

CHAPLAINS

Bernard Braskamp, retired pastor of the Gunton Temple Memorial Presbyterian church, Washington, D. C., who has served as chaplain of the House of Representatives since 1950, has been re-elected to the same post, as was **Frederick Brown Harris,** as chaplain of the Senate.

APPALACHIAN MISSION

Among the Feb. 10-17 preachers at the Appalachian Preaching Mission, Kingsport, Tenn., will be three Presbyterians: **John F. Anderson, Jr.,** Orlando, Fla., **George H. Vick,** Atlanta, Ga., and **Gary W. Demarest,** Hamburg, N. Y.

MISSIONARIES

Vivian Hodges of the West Brazil Mission is now on furlough at 122 Sunstede Rd., Warner Robbins, Ga.

The **Charles Ross** family has returned to the Congo following furlough in this country.

The **John Milton Kelleys** have been appointed by the UPUSA Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations to assist in the development of church music in South Asia for the next three years. Dr. and Mrs. Kelley spent some time in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Thailand. They helped develop the East Asian hymnal. Dr. Kelley went to this assignment from the faculty of San Francisco Seminary, having taught earlier at Westminster Choir College.

DCEs

Marilyn J. Laughbaum from the St. Andrews church, Oklahoma City, to administrative assistant in church extension and Christian education for the synod's office, Feb. 1.

Julia Toten, from Phildelphia, Pa., to director of Christian education in the Flossmoor Community Church, Chicago, Ill.

CHAPMAN BOOK

John C. Ramsay, who died last March 26, has written a book on John Wilbur Chapman, the noted evangelist, which is just being published by Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Mass. ($3.95).

MANUSCRIPT SOCIETY

David H. Coblentz, Jamestown, Va., pastor, is the new president of the Manuscript Society, an international organization of about 1,000 members who are particularly interested in acquiring and studying autographed letters, documents and manuscripts of famous people.

CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

Recent Church World Service assignments include the following Presbyterians: **Julius I. Fuller** of Providence, R. I., as CWS representative in Jamaica. **James Cavin** missionary to Venezuela, has been loaned to CWS to serve in the Dominican Republic for three years.

LAY SERVICE

Paul A. Hopkins, an elder in the Tenth church, Philadelphia, who has been executive secretary of the Evangelical Foundation, Inc., has been elected secretary for Africa by the American Bible Society.

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_____ THE LAW AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, Harris Wofford, Jr.

_____ A MINISTER'S GROUP DECLARES ITSELF (Richmond, Va.)

_____ CHALLENGE OF THE NEGRO TO THE CHURCH, J. Sherrard Rice.

_____ SEGREGATION AND THE WILL OF GOD . . Gillespie, Miller, Marion, 15¢ each.

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Editorial Correspondence

Religion and Race

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In the depth of the planning for the conference, the efficiency of its machinery, the comfort and conveniences of the housing provided for it, the mood of congeniality and cooperativeness which pervaded it, the earnestness of the delegates in grasping the problems which called them together, the auspices under which it met—in all of this the National Conference on Religion and Race was extraordinarily successful. But the tests of the true success of this gathering run deeper.

Whatever the values of the conference in the solution of the racial problem, it made a deep and far-reaching contribution to the solution of the interfaith problem. This was the most cosmopolitan gathering of religious leaders under religious auspices in American history. What Will D. Campbell said and William Stringfellow and others implied was in some measure accomplished: it is more realistic to seek a true inner life for church and synagogue through the race problem than to seek a solution to the race problem through the inner life of church and synagogue. The nation's number one domestic problem called together and introduced to each other people who on religious grounds have long been estranged. What else could have put in one room representatives of the American Ethical Union, the Christian life commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, the Polish National Catholic Church, the Rabbinical Council of America, the Unitarian Universalist Association, the National Council of Catholic Men?

If a family so big is to gather in peace in one room, it has to be a room big enough to hold all its members. Particularities had to be submerged; generalities had to be avoided and the greatest common denominators sought. The harmony and the mutual dedications which were achieved were paid for in patience, restraint, understanding, courtesy, and a willingness not to say everything that could be said. It was an open conference, but the delegates operated on the healthful Pauline principle that though all things are lawful, not all are expedient. Brought together by a great cause, the delegates stayed together and arrived at mutual dedications despite the theological chasms dividing them.

But was it a successful conference on race? No, if it is supposed that such gatherings solve problems. Yes, if it is assumed that the meeting of minds and hearts on a vast and grave human problem is a beginning rather than an ending. Such conferences do not solve problems; they discover problems. They lift up the unresolved issues, identify the unused talent and resources, dramatize the unfinished business, renew the faltering commitments. In these respects the National Conference on Religion and Race was successful not only in the interfaith but also in the interracial quest. Two, three, five years from now will be soon enough to ask what good came of it.

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and implicitly that what is lacking in human relations is not ideas, instructions, resolutions, but deeds—deeds such as picket lines, sit-ins, freedom rides; the less dramatic but equally creative deeds of love and justice in our homes, our neighborhoods, our churches and synagogues, our public and private facilities; the personal deeds of prayer, faithful obedience, courageous individual witness to the will of the God who set the solitary in families and made all men one.

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There were more serious omissions. A conference on religion and race should not—as this one did—ignore the Indian and other minority racial groupings. It would have been fitting to have paid some attention to the plight of Spanish Americans in the United States. Although most Spanish Americans are identified as Caucasians, their speech and physical traits subject them to the same kind of oppressions suffered by Negroes in American society. But even more serious was the failure to give recognition, credit and responsibility to women. With the exception of Mahalia Jackson, who sang, and the Rev. May Yoho Ward, who gave an invocation, no woman appeared anywhere on the program. Yet the fact, which some of the delegates and participating groups seemed not to realize, is that the women of the United States have been far in advance of men in the field of interracial activity. This was a regrettable oversight, but fortunately it will not halt the courageous, far-sighted services of women and women's organizations.

The conference, tied to the nationwide celebration of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, was the brain child of a young Roman Catholic layman, Mathew Ahmann of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, who deserves immense credit for the quiet, efficient work which brought this meeting to fruition. With the cooperation of Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee and J. Oscar Lee, executive director of the department of racial and cultural relations of the National Council of Churches, he initiated, planned and directed the development of this historic gathering. He placed himself—and often the religious group to which he belongs—in the background and brought off without bitterness, rancor or envy on the part of anyone an interreligious gathering which may prove to be epochal.

KYLE HASELDEN.

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JANUARY 30, 1963

The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

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parents in the education of their children, a better understanding of the constitutional provisions which guarantee freedom of choice in education and equal protection under the law, and a better understanding of the role of the independent, nongovernmental schools in a pluralistic society." But C.E.F. seeks offices as well as understanding. It claims that six of the eight candidates it endorsed in New York state last year on the basis of their pledge "to work for federal aid to private school pupils" were elected. One candidate it helped re-elect was Representative James J. Delaney, Brooklyn Democrat who sponsored a bill in the House which would grant to parents, from federal funds, $20 for each child they have in school. In the nine states in which it has branches C.E.F. is now concentrating on promotion of legislation to provide for nonpublic schools bus transportation, textbook funds and other "auxiliary services." Its ultimate aim, according to the *St. Louis Review,* is to obtain for parents of children attending nonpublic schools federal funds in an amount equal to the $450 spent in the U.S. annually on each child in the public schools. If the C.E.F. achieves this aim it will be scrapping the freedom of the individual, undermining the public school system and enlisting the government as the chief supporter of the church. This is an organized effort that cannot be met by denunciations or individual forays. It takes organization to beat organization.

Which Way British Labor Party?

✦ UNDER THE LATE Hugh Gaitskell the British Labor party took an unexpected turn toward nationalism and was gaining a cheap and deceptive popularity as a consequence of its opposition to British entry into the Common Market. At the time of Gaitskell's death polltakers were predicting that Labor would win if a national election were held soon. Prime Minister Macmillan's determination to take Britain into Europe had run into President de Gaulle's veto, laid down in the interest of his fantastic dream of a Francocentric, Bonapartist Europe. On January 14 the French leader flatly opposed British entry, even though the Treaty of Rome on which the Common Market is based says that the community is open to "any European state." Previous to that development President Kennedy had administered an unnecessary humiliation to Mr. Macmillan at Nassau in abruptly withdrawing U.S. support from the Skybolt missile program on which the British air defense system had depended. The Labor party, aided by those sections of the British press with which it was once most in disfavor, was benefiting from the American rebuff as well as from French shortsightedness. Hugh Gaitskell's death creates a new situation the key to which is the Labor party's capacity to maintain its unity. Events may demonstrate that no other leader can hold the party together. Labor's left wing advocates nuclear disarmament so far as Britain is concerned, with a consequent loosening of the tie to the United States. Its leader is Harold Wilson, the party's foreign affairs spokesman. His chief rival for party leadership, George Brown, a conservative somewhat to the right of Gaitskell, is believed to oppose Common Market entry somewhat less strenuously than did the late leader. In the meantime, while Labor is settling the often disruptive question of succession, Mr. Macmillan continues to press for clear definition of the direction Europe is going to move. It is inconceivable that the other Common Market nations will at this late date settle for a Bonapartist Europe. The decision will probably come soon after resumption of talks in Brussels. If our hopes are fulfilled, the French attempt to isolate Britain will fail.

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KYLE HASELDEN.

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People

FROM THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE
JANUARY 17, 1963, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

✦ *We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation in our society. Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together.*

I

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots; it will not be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence did declare "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," slavery was permitted for almost a century. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, compulsory racial segregation and its degrading badge of racial inequality received judicial sanction until our own time.

We rejoice in such recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life as the Supreme Court decisions against segregation and the heroic, nonviolent protests of thousands of Americans. However, we mourn the fact that patterns of segregation remain entrenched everywhere—north and south, east and west. The spirit and the letter of our laws are mocked and violated.

Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil.

II

Our appeal to the American people is this:

SEEK *a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.*

SEEK *a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother—his rights, your rights; his pain, your pain; his prison, your prison.*

SEEK *a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.*

SEEK *a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshiped as the Lord of the universe, before whom all racial idols fall, who makes us one family and to whom we are all responsible.*

In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

We call upon all the American people to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God.

Comments . . .

from the CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL

"Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth . . ." — MATTHEW 6:10

VOL. VII, NO. 1 JANUARY, 1963

INAUGURAL DAY PRAYER BREAKFAST

Dr. Archie Ellis (left) greeting Lt. Gov. and Mrs. Robert McNair at the Prayer Breakfast. Nearly 250 other Christian laymen and ministers gathered at the Jefferson Hotel in Columbia on the morning of the Inauguration for prayer in behalf of the governor and other elected state officials.

A very meaningful series of prayers were led by Dr. Ellis, with the following participants: for the state, and out-going governor and lieutenant-governor — Rabbi David S. Gruber; for the citizens of South Carolina — The Rev. James Stirling; for the Constitutional officers, members of the General Assembly, and other elected officials of South Carolina — Monsignor Martin C. Murphy; for the Lieutenant Governor — Dr. Carl Honeycutt; for the Governor — Dr. R. Archie Ellis; for the Church — Dr. Francis Cunningham.

President Neil Truesdell of the Christian Action Council presided. "This was one of the most significant occasions ever sponsored by the Council," was a frequent comment.

(The prayers, at the request of many, have been mimeographed and are available on request.)

ALCOHOL EDUCATION WEEK

Bobby Richardson Says . . .

"My suggestion to young people is to seek out truths through study of available materials about alcoholic beverages — truths from scientists who have studied this subject carefully through experimentation and research and tell how alcohol affects the central control system of man, how it weakens self-control, causes people to say and do things which they would not do if they did not have alcohol in their blood.

As an athlete I'm here to say that alcoholic beverages are harmful to your body and to urge you to abstain from their use.

I say that, even though a friend and teammate owns and runs a liquor store in the off season. But he doesn't visit the alcoholic homes such as Peace Haven and Fairview here in South Carolina. Oh, he does have a sign in his store that says,

"If the kids need shoes,
Don't buy booze"

but the people buy it and the world suffers.

The story is told of two soldiers recently celebrating Christmas. It was Christmas Eve in Nashville, Tennessee — but it could have been Columbia or Sumter. There was no place to go, so they had just bought a bottle of whiskey. They passed in front of a store window to see the nativity scene there,

"The longer we looked,
the more beautiful it became,"

one of them said. Without a word they walked to the nearest alley and smashed the bottle of whiskey.

Thus — when spiritual values are exalted in any person's life, liquor will be "busted." The best "intoxication" comes from dedication to Christian ideals. When people are led to Christ and into Christian service, there will be no place for alcoholic drinks".

Bobby Richardson, star 2nd baseman of the New York Yankees, provided this statement especially for the Christian Action Council to make available to the churches. To use this in the churches on Sunday, Feb. 10, would be a good emphasis at the conclusion of this special week in the public schools.

Christian Action Seminar

Camp Gravatt — the Episcopal campsite near Batesburg — is the place where the 10th CHRISTIAN ACTION SEMINAR will be held on February 22-24.

Dr. Everett Tilson, an outstanding Biblical scholar, and Lloyd Wright, Peace Corps information director and Baptist layman, will be the main speakers for this statewide intercollegiate conference.

Dr. Neely McCarter, professor of Christian Education at Columbia Theological Seminary (Decatur, Ga.), will lead the CAMPUS CHRISTIAN WORKERS SEMINAR at the same time and place. "The New Image of our Campus Ministry" will be the theme for this first Seminar for faculty, chaplains, and other adults interested in Christian higher education.

Legislative Committee Appointed

The appointment of a special "Legislative Committee" to guide the Christian Action Council's activities related to the General Assembly has been announced by Dr. R. Wright Spears, Citizenship Chairman.

Members include Porter Anderson, Jr., Henry Wingard, Tom McMahan and Neal Wyndham.

This committee will assist in planning the regular legislative reports in **YOUR STATE HOUSE (sent free on request)** and study measures before the state for action.

Social Welfare Forum

"The Mission of the Church, in cooperation with its allies, to Persons of Special Need" is to be the theme for the Church and Social Welfare Section of the state's Social Welfare Forum to be held in Columbia on March 13-14.

Executive Director Howard G. McClain of the Christian Action Council, chairman of the section, has said that special attention would be given to "The Family and the Unwed Mother" and "The Church and the Ex-prisoner."

Christian laymen, as well as ministers, have been especially invited to attend the Forum and participate in it.

In Baptist Building

A REMINDER — the Christian Action Council offices are now located in the new Baptist Building — **907 Richland Street**, Columbia.

Please remember this new address when you write — and especially, COME TO SEE US in our attractive new location!

DOCUMENTS OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN on Religion Desegregation

Editor's note: Monday, January 28, 1963, was a memorable day when South Carolina took "a step into the future" with the orderly, non-violent admission of a Negro student into Clemson College. Ministers, church groups, and many individual Christians aided in creating the climate of opinion which made this possible. Below are given excerpts from several representative expressions. The more complete text of these and other statements are available on request.

Dr. Neil Truesdell, president of Christian Action Council — Oct. 6, 1962:

"Great issues call for great principles. A strong principle of Judeo-Christianity is the obedience to the supreme power of government . . . Otherwise, there is always the danger of lawlessness, confusion and anarchy . . .

Under God, we are a state and nation of law. The Federal decrees are the ultimate governing and legal power. As citizens we have no choice but to obey . . . Once law is taken lightly the liberty and freedom of every citizen is threatened . . .

The Christian Action Council calls upon every Christian, every citizen within the State, to proclaim to the world that we are a State of law, that we are motivated by the highest of all laws — the royal law of love."

Columbia White Ministers (121 of 13 denominations) — Jan. 20, 1963:

". . . We affirm that the Christian view of man includes recognition of each person as a child of God having dignity and worth imparted to him by God himself . . . This belief demands that we aid our fellow-man especially whenever his God-given rights are limited or denied.

We confess that we ourselves stand under the judgment of God for our failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in our personal lives and in the churches we serve.

We declare our conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. Christians of our beloved state are presently being confronted with opportunities to witness to their affirmation that all citizens be given equality of opportunity for full development of their capacities as children of God . . . for example . . . in education and in employment opportunities.

As Christians, we must be found in the ranks of those who lead our city and state in orderly obedience, in justice and brotherhood."

S. C. Baptist Convention's **Christian Life and Public Affairs Committee,** Jan. 21, 1963:

"We heartily commend the public officials of our state for their wise and consistent efforts to preserve order and to encourage respect for the law during the difficult period of racial re-adjustment . . .

We earnestly and respectfully urge that the public schools be kept open and that every effort be made to prevent the interruption of normal educational processes . . .

It is imperative that we face these differences in a spirit of mutual respect and positive good will; that we seek to find constructive means of resolving our differences in accord with the teachings and the Spirit of Christ. Whatever legal measures are taken in dealing with the problems . . . the burden of working out a . . . relationship of good will between the races . . . rests most heavily upon the churches . . ."

Ten executive and spiritual leaders of denominations, Jan. 22, 1963:

". . . It is our duty by this law of love of God and neighbor to avoid every form of violence and hatred in our relations among ourselves and to use peaceable means to reach conclusions founded on justice and order and the universal law of Christian love . . ."

Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns (Section on Human Relations and Economic Affairs), Jan. 23, 1963:

". . . We strongly affirm that such adjustment to new conditions is consistent with our state's honorable traditions and illustrious past, her citizens' allegiance to the nation, and her peoples' faith in the providences of a just and holy God . . ."

Fountain Inn-Simpsonville Ministers' Fellowship statement on "A Christian Stand on Violence," Jan., 1963:

". . . A Christian citizen does not encourage, or approve of, or take part in, the use of violent action as a substitute for, or in defiance of established laws.

He will refrain from any action which violates the safety, dignity or property of another person . . . he will refrain from so-called 'non-violent' demonstrations which intrude upon the affairs of a community other than his own . . .

A Christian citizen makes use of every opportunity to pray that the justice and love of God will prevail over injustice and hatred . . ."

COMMENTS is the information bulletin on Christian Citizenship and public affairs published by the Christian Action Council, 907 Richland St., Columbia, S. C. It is issued each month, except July. Second class postage at Columbia, S. C. Neil Truesdell, President; Howard G. McClain, Editor; Eben Taylor, Associate Editor.

Christian Action Council
907 Richland St. — Columbia, S. C.

AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

—YOUR STATE HOUSE (regular legislative reports)

—Prayers and program, Christian Action Council's

INAUGURAL DAY PRAYER BREAKFAST

—"Church and Social Welfare" program of the S. C. SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, March 13-14

—Free Packet, Alcohol Education Information

Mr. Harold Fleming
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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Religion

DEPARTMENT OF THE URBAN CHURCH

highlights

Board of
National Missions

United
Presbyterian
Church
in the U.S.A.

Room 1151
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

JANUARY 1963

DOWN WITH ALBANY

by Charles W. Rawlings

Those of us who didn't go to jail in Albany last summer probably feel guilty about this since a number of other important persons did so deliver themselves. "Urban Church Highlights" and other church journals have carried numerous articles about the wonderful spiritual values and insights gained from this incarcerating experience. Surely it must have been a therapeutic experience since most of those involved were able to relieve their frustrations over northern urban problems by helping the South with its difficulties.

The intriguing thing about the "first hand" reports that have come in from the August gathering in Albany is their predictable stress on the charismatic aspects of the venture. To be sure, one writer sees a social revolution in it but he spent most of the time talking about the theological "feelings" and epochal thrill he derived from this vision of the revolution. The damnable thing for all of us in urban church work is that we enjoy emoting with this subject matter. We tend, it seems to me, to spend a good bit less time looking at the hard realities of the revolution and prefer preoccupation with the poetic heights that our sermonic style of writing can create. Specifically, I would raise the following objections to the exultation over the Albany movement.

First, in spite of the generic nature of the "Negro problem" the Albany situation is a limited and regional experience. I have not heard one layman in the city of Cleveland or anywhere else mumble one word about our brave clergy brethren who ventured to the South; and it strikes me that our two quite diverse Cleveland newspapers paid little attention to it. It may have done something for Albany but not one school or discriminatory practice in Cleveland has been improved by the noble witness, and I venture to say the same might be true of our other northern cities.

Second, the particular perspective of the "Negro problem" in the southern community is quite different from the northern urban setting. The Caucasian in the South struggles to retard history; we often speak of it as "the inevitable." However, in the North, the Caucasian is making a new reality and a new history. He is hardening his resistance to the movement for integration. He is beginning to speak in a carte blanche way about the undesirable characteristics of the aggressive Negro. In his suburban planning, in his political maneuvering within the metropolity, in his method of handling conflict, the northern, urban Caucasian is creating vast barriers against racial integration and social justice that make the riot on the Ole Miss campus look like a dance around the Maypole.

On the Cleveland scene this past year I saw a whole neighborhood of 500 middle class Caucasian fammlies leave almost "overnight" as it were. We saw the tax payer reject levy issues that would enable the society to enhance integration, education or governmental process. Moreover, in our little Presbyterian families it

(Continued on p. 5)

Meryl Ruoss ..... Acting Director
Catherine Cottingham ..... Assistant to the Director
Bryant George ..... Associate Director
G. Daniel Little ..... Associate Director
Charles G. Chakerian ..... Administrator, Office of Church and Community
Marshal L. Scott ..... Administrator, Office of Industrial Relations
Robert Thom Whitcomb ..... Associate Administrator

POLITICS, PEOPLE, AND RENEWAL

THE POLITICS OF URBAN RENEWAL, by Peter H. Rossi, and Robert A. Dentler (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, $6.00; 308 pages.)

The central purpose of this study is to assess the contributions of citizen participation to urban renewal planning in the city. It reads like a suspense novel.

This is an excellent book, one that every pastor in an urban area should have on his active bookshelf. Pastors should read it and should see that the trustees and the session read it. It can serve as a primer on what to do and what not to do if they want to participate actively in the renewal of the city, or if they want to keep a given church building, manse, or home standing, in place of having it bulldozed for urban renewal.

This is a case study of the Hyde Park Kenwood Renewal program in Chicago, and it is mercilessly objective. It indicts equally the local community organization, Hyde Park Kenwood Conference, the University of Chicago, the cardinal's Archdiocesan Conservation Committee, minority groups, bureaucratic governmental structure and many others.

The authors recognize that certain conflicts are endemic to renewal activity; the need for increased housing in urban areas, and the need for reduced population density in deteriorating areas, the need for institutional expansion (defined as a public use) and the shifting definition of the "public good" with the attendant use of the right of eminent domain, the need for the individual citizen to have safety in making his major investment in life, the purchase of a home. One Negro block leader, a widow with four children, testified, "Must we always be on the move, must we always be afraid to invest in anything except expensive cars...?"

Hyde Park Kenwood is in the neighborhood of the University of Chicago, on Chicago's South Side. The author estimates the value of the University of Chicago physical plant at $200-million...the physical plant that the university has gone to great lengths to protect.

The university's interest was partly bound up in the fact that between 60% and 80% of the faculty members have always lived within a square mile radius of the campus (page 66), and they wanted to keep the resident character of their faculty. It is partly bound up in the $200 million investment in building and real estate of the University proper. The author states, page 68, "The University's assets lie behind much of what was accomplished in the process of renewal planning in Hyde Park and Kenwood. We know that other institutions and organizations played very important roles, but the university played the most important one."

The executive of the Southeast Chicago Commission which was effectively financed by the University of Chicago, Julian Levy, lobbied before the state legislature to change the Redevelopment Corporation Act to make it possible to acquire land more easily.

He (Levy) persuaded the state legislature to amend the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act. Originally the law permitted a redevelopment corporation to be organized only for the purpose of eliminating slums. Under the amendments that Levy personally represented before the Legislature in 1953, the public purpose for which redevelopment corporations might be used were broadened to include conservation of deteriorating housing in commercial sites. The original act held constitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court permitted any 3 residents and citizens to organize a private corporation with a capital of not less than $1,000 and then to carry out a redevelopment plan. The local corporation was authorized to make mortgages and prop-

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HOUSING, PEOPLE, AND CITIES, by Meyerson, Terrett and Wheaton. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962, New York - $9.75, 386 pages.

For the parish in the city a great deal of interest and time *must* be put in the housing around it. Housing is the key to the whole community - schools, churches, public facilities, and to the less tangible but very real quantities in a community. Housing is one of the major factors determining whether or not your parishioners live within a half mile of the church, or six miles from it. We have passed forever the stage when the church could say "We have no interest in our physical environment; we are here only to preach the Gospel."

This book is written for the layman. It is a compilation of a five-year investigation of impediments to the improvement of housing, and the urban environment. This study was financed by the Ford Foundation, and was done by ACTION. The authors find that one of the major impediments to good housing for all in America is that the technology of housing industry in America is still primitive. It is a rare builder who innovates, simplifies, standardizes or improves technology at rates corresponding to that of other industries. The housing industry has been organized on too small a scale to secure the economies of purchasing, offsite assembly, mechanized site preparation, research and designing material, market analysis, and merchandizing that are available to other industries.

Expenditures on residential buildings account for half of all construction outlays in this country and a third of total new private investment in this country. Accumulated investment in housing constitutes a third of our national wealth. Family expenditure on housing is second in size only to that for food.

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PUBLIC HOUSING - A FERTILE FIELD FOR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

by Robert Davidson

"He that has ears to hear, let him hear - what the spirit speaks to the Churches."

Because the patterns of life and the physical surroundings of public housing projects are not familiar to most traditional Presbyterians and other main-line denominations, we have accepted too many premature conclusions and stereotypes about the quality of life within public housing, and the ability of Presbyterians to serve in these areas. On the basis of seven years experience with one public housing project, I would like to suggest that there are more positive possibilities than we have usually been willing to accept.

Certainly there are many differences between and even within projects.

Various *external regulations make a difference*. For instance, the maximum income limits both for entry and continued occupancy make substantial difference, determining whether there is to be a relatively broad or narrow income sweep among the tenants. Federal regulations give local housing authorities considerable latitude in income standards and rental charges. (Perhaps there is a need for Presbytery and Church Councils to give attention to the narrowness with which some public housing authorities interpret the income requirements for occupancy.)

The attitude of the local project manager can make a significant difference. Does he administer for human beings or for "efficiency"? What efforts are made for tenant housekeeping education? What orientation does he give to the project police about the goals of their work? What is his attitude toward problem families? With one manager, upon my visiting him in behalf of families scheduled to be evicted, I was told "I must abide by the rules." Contrast this with the second manager who called me with this urgent plea, "Will you please call upon Mrs. X. She is in serious trouble and so are the children. Perhaps, as a minister, you could persuade her to go to X clinic for psychiatric counseling. If she is receiving counseling help, then I can use this in my report to justify maintaining the family in the project. She really needs help." The other administrative personnel, who take their cues from the manager, also contribute or detract from the quality of life.

While the opportunities for anonymity are great, there are also strong possibilities for many meaningful friendships. In "X" houses there were certain structures that contributed to a sense of community. There is the huge child population which breeds an inter-dependence among women as they share in playground watching, baby sitting, shopping and school escort pools (unlike the suburbanites usually on foot instead of by car). As in any community there were many sub-communities within this large project of 1250 families. Some buildings had a deeper common life, usually traceable to a gregarious family within it. It was in these buildings that the most significant house church meetings were held.

Jane Jacobs in her external observations in "Death and Life of Great American Cities" stated that there were no *neighborhood gathering places* within public housing projects. In our project for over a year, a strong primary group of unemployed and out of school teenagers were a part of the community. I could usually find them on any good day *at a particular lamppost*. In their "lost" state, they were a source of mutual strength. If all the world thought they were bums, at least they had a minimum status of belonging to a group of bums. (Out of this crowd, we recruited three released-time teachers for our weekly religious instruction program. Their need for something to do was wedded to our need for teachers.)

There are really very few barriers to the church which wants *to be a part of a project community*. Most doors would open at the announcement that Rev. "X" was knocking. Pastoral counseling was frequent though much more haphazard, less orderly, usually taking place within the apartments, or on a playground bench or on the sidewalk.

As experience grew, we came to know the natural leaders and the centers of communication within each building. (They were not always the same person.) Some buildings either did not have these important agents or else we did not ever come to know them. Announcements of activities or fishing expeditions for information concerning the latest rumor of a rumble could be carried out through these persons.

MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

There were several important factors in membership recruitment.

1. Since most of the Protestants were Negroes, the *identification as a "civil rights church"* provided a framework for our acceptance. (This "image" was not projected by overt verbal testimony during visits, but by constant identification through N.A.A.C.P. and by acting on various civil rights issues.)
2. *The House Church* - irregularly, improperly and unsystematically operated - was still the most effective channel for reaching the unaffiliated. It was one of the few ways to reach the husbands (when there were functioning husbands). Neighbors, who would not have come to the church building, did come to meetings in the homes of friends. As in most other types of membership recruitment, the most effective forms are indirect.
3. *Playground Evangelism* - The project community center and the playground were good places for developing contact with unchurched youth. Our colleague, the late Rev. Edicer Rodriguez, was a specialist at this task. He carried lollipops or balloons in his

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POLITICS, PEOPLE, AND RENEWAL

POLITICS OF URBAN RENEWAL

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erty loans, propose street closings, propose new construction, call for demolition of old buildings. In brief, to undertake a great variety of redevelopment operations.

Incredible as it seems, under the law three people could incorporate and redevelop an area, using the power of eminent domain.

In the process of this renewal operation it became apparent that those who sought to have the area renewed introduced facts that actually were not facts.

The authors charge that "The plans for southwest Hyde Park however involved the removal of structures not clearly deteriorrated with university facilities replacing them."

Politics, this book says, are involved in urban renewal from top to bottom. Whether or not the final plan will be a plan that removes you from the community, and/or removes beauty from the community, worthwhile uses from the community, diversity from the community, is dependent upon citizen participation. This citizen participation cannot be Milquetoast. It must be active fighting participation. If eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, it is also in part the price of retention of, or creation of community. Since this case study, the Housing Act has been changed. One of the requirements now is citizen participation. Citizens would be well advised to know how to call the Urban Renewal commissioner about even the tiniest specific in urban renewal plan. Political process breaks down if you as a citizen do not operate responsibly. If you operate irresponsibly, or not at all, you may find yourself renewed out of the community.

If you read no more in this book, read chapters 5 and 6 which compare one community in which citizen participation was unsuccessful and another in which it was successful.

HOUSING, PEOPLE, AND CITIES

(Continued from p. 2)

The authors list four major schools of thought about the housing market vis-a-vis Federal governmental action: One particularly popular in depressions and recessions is that housing should be employed essentially for purposes of offsetting swings in the business cycle; that is, that housing should be a countercyclical industry. Opponents of this position of course contend that continuous and wide swing in housing construction is the thing basically responsible for the inefficiency of the high cost, spasmodic, and inadequate progress in housing standards. Another widely held idea is that people should be encouraged to buy rather than rent houses. FHA of course has greatly favored the building of houses for sale, and many consumers who would prefer to rent are forced to buy because of the shortage or the low quality of rental accommodations. These social engineers believe that the transition of the United States to a country of home owners will be the most significant of the social revolutions that could take place. Still another idea is to eliminate risk for the produce of housing in much the same way as it has been eliminated for the commercial farmer, by government guaranteed profits, easy credit, a kind of "crop" insurance, and technical assistance in the form of publicly supported materials testing and market analysis.

And a fourth theory is that all governmental policies to date may have only subsidized marginal producers who might have gone out of business and thereby strengthened the stronger producers. What is needed, this reasoning goes, is a policy that helps the consumer more directly; for example, as the TVA helps electricity consumers wherever the private market does not provide standard housing for all.

This is a good book to have for reference.

LOUISVILLE CHURCH PLANS NEW CENTRAL CITY STRUCTURE

Central Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Arthur Hall, pastor, plans to move downtown into a structure incorporating the facilities of a church, a high-rise commercial building and an underground parking lot.

Central Church has signed an agreement with Leonard Styche & Associates of Milwaukee for development of a valuable downtown corner lot in Louisville. No final determination has been made as to whether the buildings, apart from the church structure, when completed will consist entirely of office space or apartments or a combination of both.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

There will be a visible religious identity: This may consist of a chapel or a free standing nave. Whatever its position the nave, when completed, will seat 500 to 600 people. There will be a public lounge, library or reading room with easy access to the street, a chapel open 24 hours a day, a great hall for dinners, exhibitions, public meetings and forums, and group meeting rooms for study groups, committees, and Sunday church use. This Church is planned to be a service to the downtown area.

Styche, the developer, won the 1962 Progressive Architecture Magazine Design Award for one of his other projects.

ENCLOSURES

Enclosed in this mailing are: 1) An article by Howard Moody, pastor of Judson Memorial Church, New York, entitled "The City: Necropolis or New Jerusalem?" 2) An article by Matthew Ahmann, entitled "Catholics and Racism in the North." This is reprinted by permission from *THE CATHOLIC WORLD*, publication of the Paulist Fathers. 3) A Protestant position paper entitled "The Local Church and Local Community Organization," prepared and endorsed by The Department of Social Welfare, Church Federation of Chicago.

DOWN WITH ALBANY

(Continued from p. 1)

should be secretly stated (and you must not quote me) that almost every Presbyterian congregation facing the arrival of the Negro in its parish area is either making plans for protection, the moving van, or holding an eternal "wake."

Thus, I say down with Albany lest it delude us into thinking that we (a) understand the problem, or (b) have done something about it, or (c) improved our perspective.

We should be more radical about perspective and action related to a problem. For example, how many urban projects of the churches are related in depth and with effect to the legislative process that defines the rules of the game. Or, in what mechanism of church or sectarian community have the in-groups and out-groups of our society been brought together for confrontation or dialogue. Where, for example, would one expect to see in Presbyterianism (our little esoteric experiments excepted) the industrial leaders who are the laity of our upper middle class churches engaged in creative dialogue with the union boys. Upper class churches support projects for this purpose to keep such interaction out of their churches. Where in the churches would one expect to find the Baptist Negro leaders telling our clergy and elders what is really on their minds. Or where, outside the women's association programs, does one find even the mild inclination among Caucasian groups to listen to the problem of minority peoples or economically deprived groups.

If the truth is to be honestly confessed, we would admit that the most dynamic posture Protestantism has found in the urban scene rests on printed pages written by professionally trained preachers and analysts. Most of this group are primarily skilled in histrionic writing. At the action level we are a highly organized institution dedicated to disguising the fact that the urban problem has truly and fundamentally overwhelmed us all.

The Albany movement represents this disguise in one of its purest forms. We justify it by describing it in terms of intangible matters of the heart. Here's one vote for some urban church movement that is not centered in the endless cliches of the "preaching segment of our communities or in those delightful efforts of the Church to do social work and solve all the problems because it is the *Church* doing the job. Let's face it, aside from the men who attended, the Albany movement does not seem to have impressed many people. Aside from those of us who do urban church public relations work, most of the ADC families seem to be just as hungry as ever.

LET'S TAKE THE PLEDGE

Why not try something related to the points in our society where values are formative and decisions are made? Here is how I want to take the pledge from the sins (including my own) described above:

A. Let's put some urban church mission money into broad community organization and dialogue. From their initial encounter with urban problems let Presbyteries organize and participate in the dialogues that are desperately needed between industrialists and central city politicians; between militant urban leaders and the quiet but murderous organization man who objects to minority aggression. Let action pour from this if it will.

B. Let's be in politics up to our necks. We need mission staff personnel at urban presbytery levels who specialize in city hall power struggle analysis and action. This social action that reaches Presbytery in resolution form is as impotent and meaningless as last year's Easter eggs.

C. We desperately need staff at the state capitals for purpose of liaison on legislative issues and for "politicking" where we have real convictions.

D. More of the same is needed in Washington. (So it's a wild dream requiring a large staff! What economy do we find in a Church that continually acts on and affirms what it doen not even vaguely understand?)

E. We need to stop employing clergymen to do every kind of church work in the urban scene. If secular professionals in various areas will not work under church aegis it suggests to me that we don't really want what they have to offer. If we don't believe anyone else can do the job, well....

F. Finally, let's recognize that our failure since World War II to develop the church in the city is *a failure* not to be mitigated by the solace of our new knowledge about class and cultural differences or the spiritual power of those few who have found relief in the Gospel for the poor. Perhaps the mission of the Church today is not a return to the city but a transforming influence upon the city. Let's make the Word *live* before we build a house for it.

MINISTERS IN INDUSTRY

The PIIR program has been cut back to one Chicago term this year April 15 to May, because of the press of duties as Moderator on the Dean of the Institute. The Ministers in Industry program is scheduled May 31 to August 11 and the laymen's seminar is scheduled October 19-26 in Chicago.

OPEN COLUMNS

We invite comments on subjects of interest in the urban church field. Please feel free to react to the enclosed mimeographed material as well as material in the newsletter.

Please write your own response to the editorials and/or any other items of interest to those in urban church fields. We will publish all that we are able to accommodate.

GOVERNMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

From the beginning of the urban renewal program it was recognized that a major problem in making better housing available was the difficulty of obtaining mortgage financing for new or rehabilitated housing in deteriorating or deteriorated areas. To meet this problem the FHA Section 220 program was initiated in 1954.

Another problem confronting communities contemplating urban renewal activities was the relocation of displaced families into decent, safe, and sanitary housing, as required by Federal law. As a means of providing such housing, or supplementing relocation housing resources in a community, FHA Section 221 was also enacted in 1954 to provide special mortgage insurance for families whose income permitted the payment of economic rent. For those families whose income was below the economic rent level, preference for occupancy of public housing units was granted.

Since 1954, Congress has amended, expanded, and liberalized the housing assistance programs, most importantly in 1961, when a number of major new provisions were added. Of these, Section 221 (d) (3) appears to hold out greater promise for making low and middle-income rental housing available than any earlier enactment.

FHA PROGRAMS

Section 220 provides special mortgage insurance assistance in urban renewal areas. It may be used to assist in financing the rehabilitation and conservation of existing housing through the refinancing of an existing mortgage plus the cost of home improvements. It may also be used to assist in financing new sales or rental housing, on single or multi-family structures, in certified areas.

Before redevelopment, a 26-acre neighborhood in *Florence, Alabama,* called Handy Heights contained 86 substandard dwellings. All the families were low income, with more than two thirds receiving public assistance. Many could not afford to pay even public housing rents, let alone rents for standard private housing. Only 2 houses had indoor plumbing; there were no streets, gutters, or paving. About half the owner-occupied properties were worth between $1,500 and $2,500. Some ranged from $800 to $1,500; a few were valued as high as $3,500. Those renting were paying about $15. per month.

The urban renewal plan for the area called for the retention of a church and 16 homes. After replatting and subdividing, installation of gutters and sewers, and widening and paving of streets, a number of these homes were moved to new lots. With the money received from the sale of their property, many residents were able to pay for moving their homes within the project area and upgrading them. The local public agency provided guidance in do-it-yourself improvement.

In addition, 78 new single-family houses have been built. Each has 3 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bath, storage room, and carport. These houses were sold under the FHA Section 220 program at prices ranging from $9,700 to $10,700. Not only were the purchasers able to buy better housing than was ever before available to them, but they also can enjoy neighborhood amenities not formerly present - a modern, new school, a recreational area, garbage collection, fire protection, and a bus line. Water, electricity, sewer, and gas are in each house.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT DISPLACEMENTS

Section 221 authorizes FHA to insure mortgages on new or rehabilitated housing for sale or rent to families displaced from urban renewal areas or by other governmental action causing displacement, such as the construction of schools, highways, or other public improvements. Mortgage insurance is available for new homes, and for the purchase and repair of existing homes, containing from 1 to 4 units. Down payments are $200 per dwelling unit for displaced families, which may include legal fees and other items contained in closing costs. Section 221 also provides liberal terms for the purchase of houses and the repair of housing by any low or moderate income family.

Low Interest Rate Housing - The Housing Act of 1961 created FHA *Section 221(d)(3),* a below-market (low interest rate) rental housing program for displaced families and other low and moderate income families. The mortgage financing for a new or rehabilitated rental housing project can bear an interest rate below the market rate and FHA can insure the mortgage with reduced insurance premiums or no premiums. These mortgages are available in communities having a Workable Program for Community Improvement certified by the HHFA Administrator, and may be obtained by nonprofit corporations, or associations, limited dividend corporations, and cooperatives.

The most dramatic growth in the use of a new FHA program has been in 221(d)(3). Since its initiation in 1961, applications for over 10,000 units have been filed. The reason for the popularity of this program is quite obvious when the savings in rentals are analyzed. Through the lower interest rate (currently 3-1/8%) and no-premium financing it provides, a typical apartment rents for about 20% less than if regular market-rate financing were used. In the case of an apartment costing $10,000 to produce, the rental under 221(d)(3) is $84.74, in contrast to $103.79 under normal financing practices.

In *Atlanta,* the Wheat Street Baptist Church (a Negro Church) has formed a nonprofit corporation known as Church Homes, and construction in the Butler Street urban renewal area has begun on 65 structures, containing 8 units each, to rent for $65 to $70 monthly. The garden-type project will contain 2 swimming pools, stoves and refrigerators are furnished. This will provide the first moderate-rental apartments built in downtown Atlanta in many years.

NON-PROFIT HOUSING

In *Greensboro, North Carolina,* the first private corporation in the country to build low-cost, non-profit private housing received its charter from FHA. The corporation plans to build 182 units of

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Woodlawn Report

In April of 1959 the first Presbyterian Church of Chicago began discussion of a proposal to join with other churches and groups in the Woodlawn area of Chicago in a community organization and development project. In January of 1961 the Session of the Church requested support from the Department of Urban Church of the Presbytery for their involvement in the Woodlawn community organization project begun under the direction of the Industrial Areas Foundation at the request of the Woodlawn Pastors' Alliance. A special committee of the Department of Urban Church studied the proposal; upon their recommentation, the department approved a three year project to begin in June of 1961 and to be supported by a special grant from the Board of National Missions, the Department of Urban Church of the Presbytery of Chicago, and the resources of First Presbyterian Church.

After its first year of operation, the project was reviewed and evaluated at a consultation called by the Department of Urban Church. Upon the recommendation of the consultation, the department has reaffirmed the following goals and objectives of the First Presbyterian Church in their participation in the Woodlawn Organization:

1. The Church must evangelize in this kind of community in a way which is consistent with the dynamics of this urban situation, not only in the traditional individualistic way;
2. The Church must take the initiative in the development of this area so that adequate standards and values for community life are established and maintained;
3. The Church must avail itself of the opportunity for Roman Catholic and Protestant cooperation for *community renewal;*
4. The Church must support citizen participation in the planned redevelopment of a "disorganized" community;
5. The Church must support the development of independent and responsible Negro leadership in this urban Negro community;
6. There must be Protestant identification with legitimate Negro interest rather than with the traditional identification with exploitive forces;
7. This organizational work must attempt to become part of a larger strategy for the break-down of segregated patterns in the total Chicago Metropolitan area;
8. The whole Church, clergy, local lay people, youth, etc., must be involved in the work of solving some of the crucial problems of community life;
9. There must develop a strong enough organization to be able to adequately counteract the power of those interests which seek to continue to exploit segregated Negro neighborhoods.
10. As the Church participates in community life it must acknowledge its own guilt for present practices and accept its particular responsibility to create in the emerging new set of relationships a delicate balance between love and justice;
11. We have a positive responsibility to interpret correctly the full implications of our work within this community organization in order that greater public understanding may emerge.

The consultation affirmed the need for the Church to be involved in experiments in direct participation in community life and issues. As the urban society continues to undergo change and restructuring, the Church must be related to the change and restructuring in such a way as to make possible adequate value structures and structures of justice. Many of the responses to the changing society will of course be tentative and many times improper. It is, however, only as there is direct action and involvement (with proper evaluation and review) that the Church can learn how to minister responsibly and effectively to the city. The discussion which has developed concerning the appropriate role of the Church has served to clarify and identify many issues of significance both within the Church and in the society.

PUBLIC HOUSING - A FERTILE FIELD

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pocket which he dispensed to the younger children. The children would see him coming and go to meet him. Thus, contacts were established with the parents. The "Rodriguez Case Work Referral Service" operated more consistently on the playground benches than in his church study. Mothers with welfare problems, troubled youth, men with need for voter registration information, etc., were directed toward various agencies during these playground visits. Often the way was cleared by a phone call to the agencies by Mr. Rodriguez.

4. *Youth Outreach* – Most obviously the best evangelists among the teenagers were the teenagers themselves. Frequent dances were a point of contact between youth and clergy and other adults. The pattern of Sunday Evening Program developed by one of our seminary students was especially helpful. He usually began the program at 6:30 P.M. with the first arrivals. Various singing groups – quartets, trios, quintets, mambo bands, etc. would gather to sing in various rooms and various corners of our one larger room. Others would listen to records – a very few would dance. During the first hour the seminary student would work over program details for the evening meeting with those entrusted with the evening presentation. At about 8:00 P.M. the formal discussion began running until about 9:00 P.M. with most of the group. Toward 9:00 P.M. some would drift loose while those more interested and concerned would continue on, possibly even until 10:00 P.M. Those who drifted off from the discussion circle returned to the activities which they called "recreation." Then at 10:00 P.M. or later, there would be a closing worship service. This kind of flexible program provided "a place" for youth who wanted to gather; a *feeding of the souls* of those who were ready and able to be involved in serious discussion; an *experience of worship* for all. Many young people were funnelled into the membership and worship of the church through this program.

Reapportionment and the Churches

by Dan Little

The recent Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of state legislatures (Baker vs. Carr) has led many of us to respond in some such way as this: "Now that is settled. Things will work out more fairly."

A crucial step was taken in the Supreme Court decision, but rather than settling anything it only opened up many possibilities. These possibilities will not always exist in quite the way they do now, because anti-reapportionment forces are moving to limit the influence of the Supreme Court decision by Federal amendment and and by an unfair reapportionment process.

Among the possibilities which lie before urban areas are these:

1. The possibility of a basic public debate of the principles of state government: What is the purpose of state government, which we now can reshape? Such a debate has not been undertaken since the states were established.

2. The possibility of a basic discussion in state government of metropolitan issues. There is no such discussion now, because legislators cannot do anything about problems which are metropolitan in scope. Since there is not the opportunity for an effective coalition between representatives from the metropolitan areas, discussions now concern local neighborhood issues. Attention to metropolitan concerns could bring far greater suburban concern for the city.

3. The possibility of greater sensitivity to urban problems at all levels of government, as effective action concerning them becomes more and more likely. If reapportionment is equitably effected, governors will no longer be able to advance mock urban bills, which are sure to be defeated in the rurally weighted legislature. State government will have to wrestle more and more with urban problems as mayors find they do not have to run to Washington every time they want a sympathetic ear. Local city governments can be more effective and responsible as state-imposed restrictions on cooperatives, financial structure, administrative staff, urban renewal, etc. are removed.

The important thing to note is that these and other opportunities inherent in the reapportionment decision are not actualities now, nor automatically in the future. Furthermore, there is not an unlimited amount of time for urbanites to use their opportunities; new patterns will be shaped to the continued disadvantage of urban areas if several things do not happen:

(a) Full scale public debate and information concerning the problems and implications of reapportionment.

(b) Active participation by citizens in the political action necessary to bring off equitable reapportionment. It is particularly important that urban representatives now in office know that they have active, militant support out in the district.

Why address these thoughts to churches? Because churches *can* take responsible part in both (a) and (b) above, and *can* perform an important ministry in relation to this issue. The opportunity is before us as churches: a real, live, urgent, approachable, important issue, the implications of which relate directly to the concerns we have in our Christian mission in urban areas.

Most churches, denominations and councils of churches, however, will miss the opportunity entirely, because the national church machinery cannot operate on the local level, and the local church machinery is not related to local issues such as this. Beyond machinery, the church is ill-prepared psychologically to think (much less do something about) issues which have to do with other than private-residential or individual-personal concerns.

A sense of "golden opportunity" has to grip church forces if they are to overcome these handicaps. But for those with this sense of urgency, the first step is to get with as many other church forces as feel, or can be made to feel, this urgency. The next step is to define the issues as clearly as possible in terms of the concerns of the Christian mission. Some study on local education may be necessary here. Then legislative representatives and government officials will have to be approached in specific terms, so that a coordinated strategy can be worked out. If local representatives are not aware of the implications of reapportionment, then the churches will have to help educate them. On this issue church involvement can and must pass the workshop stage and get into specific local issues, as understood and affected by specific local politicians and citizens. Local denominational executives and councils of churches staff can do much to alert their constituencies to the opportunity which lies before them. Such an issue might provide a much sounder basis for relations between urban and suburban churches than the usual attempt at good intentioned helpfulness that now exists. In reapportionment, for once, there is a real issue that affects both urban and suburban groups.

The point is to begin debating and investigating and influencing the governmental processes, in relation to reapportionment. It has more to do with the future shape and life of our metropolitan areas than almost anything else about which the church may concern itself in the near future.

GOVERNMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE

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garden-type apartments in the Cumberland Redevelopment Project.

While churches and labor unions have organized similar corporations, this is the first instance of a group of private citizens forming one. Two whites and three Negroes, serving without compensation, make up the corporation's board of directors. The financing of the apartments will be under the terms of FHA Section 221(d)(3), and these apartments will rent for $57.50 a month for the 1-bedroom units and up to $75 a month for 3 bedrooms.

THE VANGUARD

. . . THE CHURCH IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Volume 10, Number 1 January, 1963

That the Church May Lead

19 Million Negroes -- Free True or False?

January 1, 1863, was the day of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Abraham Lincoln. A century has passed since then. As we look back over these one hundred years and try to see where we are in Negro-white relations in January, 1963, can we say, "Our 19 million Negro citizens are free"? Is the statement true or false? Should we celebrate or commiserate? The truth evidently lies somewhere between these two poles.

As a nation we got off to a fairly good start, race-relations-wise. We said it: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" (The Declaration of Independence). But that sometimes angelic and sometimes diabolical instrument called political compromise soon slowed us down. The Constitution did not specify the elimination of slavery — you know there were slaves in Northern as well as Southern states in 1776. And so we trudged along the greater part of the first century of our national freedom with the shackles of human bondage upon Negroes — and the rest of us as well. Wasn't it Lincoln himself who said something to the effect that a nation cannot remain half slave and half free?

But as people began to take sides, some for freedom and some for bondage, and as each side became more rigid in refusing to yield, war was inevitable.

Historians, economists, and others are still trying to find clear and true answers as to why the Civil War was fought. Perhaps at the time of the second centennial we may be sufficiently removed from the war itself to be able to evaluate it less emotionally, with the result that we shall have a more factual and objective answer. We know the result of the war, however — the end of legal chattel slavery in the United States.

The Proclamation was later undergirded by three post Civil War amendments to the Constitution, the first of which — the Thirteenth Amendment — declared: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Our Negro citizens are now legally free. But are they free indeed or are there chains other than those of slavery that rob them of their freedom? What progress has been made during the century now past?

Many Negroes are living in better homes than those of their parents and grandparents. A visit to Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and many other cities, with a tour through the better residential areas occupied by them — some for two or three decades — will reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt that there has been much progress since 1863.

I can recall that during my boyhood days there was a Negro settlement not far from my home. Many of the dwellings were mere shacks put together by unskilled hands and made out of shipping-box lumber. Many of the children who lived there at that time are now living in well-constructed and well-kept brick houses in other parts of the city, while the old shanties in which they lived as children have been torn down and replaced by respectable residences worthy of any middle-class American.

Other standards of living, including income and education, have risen to amazing heights when compared with what they were in 1863.

Negroes are now dignified as members of our armed forces as they put on military uniforms, no longer to be shunted to segregated units used largely to perform the more menial tasks and insulted by exclusion from the

Lincoln and his Cabinet Reading the Emancipation Proclamation
-- Library of Congress

ranks of those who in wartime do the actual fighting. Our military forces are integrated.

Negroes have advanced since 1863 to positions of high honor in the professions, in music, education, science, sports, and in politics.

All of this great progress must, in the final analysis, be ascribed to the blessing of God. But He works at least in many instances through the instrumentality of human beings.

Much of the progress enjoyed by our Negro citizens is a direct result of advances made throughout our nation and resulting from an industrialized society; there are more things; there is more food; there are more houses; and all these are more easily attainable now than they were in 1863.

During the darkest days after the Civil War and until now there has been a hard core of white people, both in the North and in the South, who have been concerned about the Negroes' plight and have worked long and hard to help them in their total human need.

The church in many places concerned itself with the spiritual needs of Negroes, bringing to them the Word and the Sacraments, sending to them dedicated, self-sacrificing teachers and missionaries. — Among the Lutheran church bodies of this country, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, through the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of which it is the largest constituent member, has carried on the most extensive church work among Negroes. Beginning in 1877, this work, originating in Arkansas, was extended to Louisiana, North Carolina, Alabama, and other states. At times the mission churches thus established had Christian day schools with enrollment in some individual schools running into the two or three hundreds.

In the 1940's, church bodies in the United States began to address themselves to the total needs of our Negro citizens. Since that time all major denominational groups have issued pronouncements setting forth the needs and the rights of Negroes in the church as well as in society in general and pointing out the challenge and the opportunity of the church and its people to establish an inclusive fellowship in the church and a society in which the dignity of Negroes as well as others is recognized, respected, and honored, so that they may enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of first-class citizens.

The Supreme Court in recent decades, with much scientific knowledge at their disposal which their predecessors in office did not have, and with the urgency forced upon them by the social and political revolution which began after World War I, began to hand down decision after decision clarifying the status of Negroes as full citizens of the United States with all the privileges and responsibilities pertaining to such citizenship.

There is hardly any aspect of life where the rights of citizens come into play which has not been spelled out by recent decisions of the Court. In fact, the Court has stated repeatedly that legal segregation is contrary to the Constitution of the United States. — In an **amicus curiae** brief recently submitted to the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, Albany Division, the office of the Attorney General said: "The Supreme Court and the lower federal courts have repeatedly held that racial segregation in facilities operated by or under the control of the state (or its officials) is illegal under the United States Constitution and under federal law."

Negroes themselves, however, have under the blessing of God done more for their own advancement than all our white citizenry combined. Among the Negro greats whose names should be worthy of the honor of all of us are: Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington (though some would question his right to such honor), W. E. B. DuBois, George Washington Carver, James Weldon Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, Marian Anderson, Martin Luther King, and a host of others.

Among organizations, besides the Negro churches which gave their members hope and a place to meet and to work for their own betterment, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League are worthy of the admiration and thanks of whites and Negroes for what they did for Negro progress and hence for all of us during the past century.

As a result of the self-sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Negro parents, their sons and daughters are pouring out of high schools and colleges with heads erect and singing "We shall overcome." They are challenging local discrimination that has its roots in illegal segregation. In dignity and restraint they are entering public places and private establishments licensed to serve the public. They are doing so with the full knowledge of the risks involved — the danger of physical violence and illegal incarceration.

Paula Snelling herself a Southerner, writes in **The Progressive** (Dec., 1962): "It is well for all Southern whites to realize that no important, no deep-rooted change could have come to the region (the South) without the Negroes' own recent non-violent and immensely brave protests."

The trend toward improved social and economic progress is good, and the progress already made is considerable and obvious.

But, Are Negroes Free?

A St. Louis school teacher made a trip abroad. In her book, **Black America Abroad,** she told of an experience she had in Switzerland at the ticket window of the railroad that took tourists into the mountains. The woman at the window was an American who refused to sell the tourist a ticket because she was a Negro American!

That incident might well be used as a symbol of the status of our Negro citizens 100 years after Emancipation. For they are not free. Wherever they go, especially in the United States, they can anticipate the possibility of being rejected because they are Negroes. They do not have free access everywhere to housing, no matter what their economic and social standards may be. They are not employed everywhere purely upon the basis of ability to do the job well. And, because of their racial identity, they stand in constant danger of police brutality in the North, the South, the East, and the West. In the South generally the courts of justice are less than impartial when a Negro stands before the bar.

All of these difficulties with which our Negro citizens are confronted daily involve more than a mere denial of certain physical needs or conveniences. They are the evidence of their rejection as persons. The subtle or overt discriminations practiced against Negroes are a conscious, or sub-conscious, endeavor to place them on a sub-human level. Until that demonic aspect of our society is eradicted, our Negro citizens, the 19 million of them, will not be free.

Sometimes Bitterness

Among the great boons that have come to our Negro citizens are better education and better income. But by virtue of the two, Negroes are more conscious of and sensitive to the discriminations practiced against them. They understand more fully the serious rejection involved in discrimination. They know it was bad enough not to have money to buy things and to go places. But now that they have more money so that they can buy and go, the feeling of rejection has become more intense because they cannot buy on the open market as others can buy — houses for example — because they cannot go where money will take others. Where? You name the places.

Is it difficult to understand, then, that there are Negro newspapers that exist and thrive because their one theme is the damnable discrimination inherent in racial segregation? Is it difficult to understand why one Negro member of the Valparaiso University faculty, though a theological seminary graduate, received his Ph.D. in the field of sociology and is now teaching, not religion, but sociology? And two of the few great American sociologists were Negroes. — E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson. — Dr. Frazier's book, **The Negro Family in the United States,** has been used as a text in some of our best universities.

Since human nature is what it is, it should not be surprising that the minds of some of the best Negro writers produce bitter attacks on our entire social system — and upon the organized

church. Two such writers are Richard Wright, the author of **Black Boy, Native Son,** and **White Man Listen,** and James Baldwin. For an example of the hopeless despair often found in the writings of such men, read **White Man Listen,** and a 20-thousand word article entitled, "Letter from a Region in my Mind," written by James Baldwin, appearing in the November 17, 1962, issue of **The New Yorker.**

When speaking of bitterness, though, one cannot bypass mentioning the Black Muslims, a Negro cult flourishing at the beginning of the second century of Negro "freedom."

It is good, however, that the writers of bitterness have written; and one must assume that the existence of that most bitter group, the Black Muslims, is an instrument of God's correcting judgment upon us. For both the bitter writers and the bitter Muslims are saying much that is true — ugly truth in all its ugly nakedness. When reading, the honest, knowledgeable person cannot but say, "It's only too true."

Blessed is he who, when reading, turns to God in repentance and prays that, by the new life that God gives us in Christ, he will lay aside his own discriminations and prejudice so that he might become the instrument of the Spirit of God working relentlessly for the physical, social, and spiritual well-being of all and especially of those whose freedom was guaranteed by the Emancipation Proclamation but largely denied them, lo, these many years.

Silver Lining

There is ample evidence that there are many Johnny-come-lately people. Seeing the danger to the institution, whether it be their business, school, ward, city, party or their congregation or denomination — and, incidentally, danger to themselves also — they suddenly jump on the bandwagon and cry, "Me too." From the Christian perspective this represents no real progress, especially when the change-over from racial discrimination to non-discrimination has to do with the church, either on a congregational or denominational level. For when the principle of what is moral, right, and pleasing to God has been by-passed, and for the purpose of saving something that one wants to save it suddenly becomes expedient that discrimination is laid aside, that's no real progress. Even as it may be expedient today, for the institution's sake, to lay aside discrimination, it may be expedient tomorrow or the day after or next year or the year after next once again to discriminate. — And the last state of that man will be worse than the first.

Whatever the motive may be in the kingdom of the left hand (using Luther's terminology) that is, in secular society, one should welcome the elimination of discrimination; in a sense, that's progress. But real progress in the spiritual realm is possible only where there is true repentance followed by the determination to "go and sin no more," to conform to the word and the will of God. — And there is evidence within the church of such repentance and progress.

One example comes to mind at this writing. The church had grown and prospered. It was strong financially and numerically. A cathedral-like house of worship was constructed. After a time the community began to change; Negroes began moving in as whites moved out. For years the congregation and the pastor did nothing. Then, after many of the congregation had moved out of the community and the financial as well as the numerical strength of the congregation had been reduced to a dangerously low level, God gave to the pastor of the church an experience that opened his eyes. In sincere repentance toward God, and acknowledged before men, the pastor began to lead the flock that still remained under his pastoral care on the same road that he had been led by the Spirit. With two walls of prejudice to be battered down — the one in the minds of his members and the other in the minds of the newcomers to the community — the pastor began to work with unrelenting zeal to witness to the Lord Jesus Christ to the people of his community and to lead his congregation toward a colorblind future. Praise God for every example of that kind. That's real progress. To help implement that kind of progress is one of the goals of **The VANGUARD.**

This writer believes himself to be qualified, because of many years of experience, much travel that takes him to every section of our nation, and an endless stream of correspondence, to say that, under God, the greatest hope for progress in race relations in the church is to be found in the younger ministers. There is a very noticeable and articulate concern on the part of many of them. And their concern is theological, that is, the Word of God as it relates to race relations is their concern. They are becoming more and more impatient with saving the institution — with its emphasis on dollars and numbers strength only — for the institution's sake. They are more and more raising their eyebrows as they see the institution mushrooming in the racially-exclusive, sprawling suburbs to where it has fled in fear with its fearful people, abandoning the thousands upon thousands in the city who so desperately need the witness of Christian strength and acceptance.

These "angry" young ministers, both pastors and theologians, are found in many of the major denominations. The

present writer has had ample opportunity to come into contact with and to understand this common concern for a faithful witness to Christ in the area of race relations cutting across all denominational lines and incidentally giving further hope to true Christian ecumenicity in the future.

It is possible that the following is an expression of bias recognized easily by non-Lutherans and just as easily participated in by Lutherans. It is offered to our readers for what it may be worth.

We have observed that many of the Protestant clergy, though they are committed to addressing themselves to the race issue with its many-faceted implications of the gospel, are often weak in defining the gospel itself, centered in the grace of God, forgiveness through the substitutionary atonement of Jesus Christ, and the new life that that we have in God through Him. These good men, who by virtue of their calling and deep personal commitment, find relevance between accepting people in their total selves and the church's profession of Christ, either take the gospel for granted or have such a vague understanding of what it is as to fail to speak it so that even the unlearned will know just what the gospel, grace, forgiveness, and the new life in Christ are. Lutheran ministers, with a clearly defined message of sin and grace, who are equally clear as to the implications of the gospel for all of life and are committed to a faithful witness to Christ in the area of race relations, have a unique opportunity and an urgent responsibility to help bring the church into the vanguard in human relations as we enter the second century after emancipation. We have no guarantee from God that the century now begun will be rounded out. Now is the time!

OTHER CENTENNIAL NOTES

I.

According to a United Press release, as the Emancipation Proclamation reached its 100th milestone, January 1, the President of the United States "called on all sections of the nation to hold special commemorative ceremonies."

II.

According to present plans, the fourteenth Annual Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, scheduled for July 5-7 of this centennial year, will highlight the Centennial. The program committee is at work trying to secure the best possible essayists and speakers. As soon as possible, **VANGUARD** readers will be given further information concerning this important institute program.

III.

As a significant observance of the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial, an important, perhaps historic, conference is to be held: The National Conference on Religion and Race, at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago, January 14-17. By the time this issue of **The VANGUARD** reaches our readers, the conference will no doubt have been concluded. **The VANGUARD** intends to report in detail on the conference in the February issue.

In the meantime, though, a few introductory words about the conference.

The convenors are the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches; the Social Action Commission of the Synagogue Council of America; the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

All major religious bodies and religious organizations specifically concerned with race relations have been invited. The committee has been making preparations for at least a year. Some 800 invited delegates are expected to attend. The National Lutheran Council is sending about twenty delegates. The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America will have four delegates in attendance and will take advantage of the opportunity to display, distribute, or sell some of its literature.

There are certain basic moral and ethical principles involved in race relations which the several religious bodies in the United States hold in common. According to the understanding of this writer, the conference is an attempt to gain a greater degree of cooperation from among the various groups for the elimination of the evils of racial discrimination, a legitimate concern of all.

Another hoped-for result of the conference is to focus the attention of the entire nation on the urgency of a religious conviction to a commitment for the eradication of racism. It is also quite probable that the Federal Government in all three of its branches as well as many state and local governments will either give up an attitude of bypassing the issue, or take courage, if they are already working on the elimination of the evil, to work at it with greater vigor and determination, because of the moral support that the conference will give them.

For Lutherans to participate in such an undertaking means to live dangerously. One cannot be blind to the fact that there may be an effort or a tendency on the part of some to make the moral issue involved the all-inclusive purpose of religion and to reduce everything to the least common denominator as far as faith and confession are concerned. On the other hand, not to work together with those with whom we can work in the interest of justice for all would be bypassing both the opportunity afforded and the responsibility incumbent upon all Christian citizens to work together for the common good, especially for those who by an evil and heartless society "are appointed to destruction." The conference could indeed offer an opportunity in a big way to "plead the cause of the poor and needy" (Prov. 31:8-9).

IV.

One may anticipate the publication of much reading material dealing with the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. There are at this time two such publications which we have read that may be of some interest to **VANGUARD** readers.

100 Years of Negro Freedom is a book by Arna Bontemps, librarian of

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INTERRACIAL GOOD WILL TOUR

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Leave New York City July 15 — Return to New York City August 18

Visit seven European countries - - - thrilling travel experience in company of Christian friends - - - develop the picture of racial acceptance - - - help Assembly delegates and the people of the seven countries to be visited to see the brighter side of racial relations in the church in the United States - - - return with a broadened outlook on life.

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For further information write:

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ON OTHER LUTHERAN FRONTS

By L. W. Halvorson

EPIPHANY VISITATION

As we came into the living room we were impressed with the over-all atmosphere of good taste and arrangement. It was not luxurious but it was better than average. It was well kept and it gave a sense of warmth and welcome. The people who met us at the door were intelligent, cultured, and gracious. The children in the home were well-mannered and obedient without giving the impression that they were so for the occasion. Had I been calling in any one of the parishes I have served in twenty-four years of pastoral ministry, this home with its outward appearance and appointments and occupants would have been among the best. This I say without qualification. However, the reason I was impressed, and my wife especially so, was because these people in the home were Negroes. The other two ladies along with us were likewise impressed with the home, the family, and the visit.

All of this was a part of a special visitation in Chicago sponsored by the Friendship House, Catholic lay organizations, United American Hebrew congregations, and the Chicago Church Federation. Our Lutheran churches were invited to take part as well in providing visitors and also Negro homes to visit. It just happened that the family we visited were Lutherans (LCA). Their congregation had about six Negro families that volunteered to open their homes for the visitation. Since this is being written on the Monday following the day of visitation, January 6, it is not possible at the moment to give the total number of Lutherans who took part. Over-all figures available show that approximately 500 Negro homes were open to 2,500 visitors.

In "A Guide for Visitors" it was stated that the need for such a special visitation is due to "the isolation of man because of race." Because of such isolation, this mass visitation was planned in order to set the stage "for open and frank discussion on racial issues." The setting for this discussion was the home of a Negro family. The visitors were "encouraged to bring up questions on your mind — or perhaps questions others have put to you." It was pointed out that although the Negro cannot possibly speak for all, he and his family can give "personal insights, feelings, and ideas, his own and others' experiences and offer his suggestions."

Mrs. Halvorson and I went to St. Thaddeus Catholic Mission at 2:00 p.m. on the afternoon of January 6. There were eight different meeting places throughout the city where people were assigned to the homes to be visited. We were pleasantly surprised to see so many people. "By actual count I estimate" about 240 visitors were there. We were sent out to various Negro homes in groups of four or five. Two ladies sitting next to us were sent along with us to the home assigned. It was but a short drive to the fine home I described at the beginning.

Mr. W., our host, is an official in the Social Security Administration offices here in Chicago. He and his wife and family moved here from Ohio about fifteen years ago. From the start they knew of the restrictions placed upon them in the field of housing. The area they now live in is primarily Negro — the Negro who can afford the better homes. He said that in their precinct with about 900 families there were only four now out of work. Mr. W. is a community leader — now a past president of one of the local congregations. He was one of several who took his children to white schools to protest segregation. He told of how this was the first time his children had been introduced to adult white prejudice against them. It all came as a real surprise to them and, to begin with, made for a disturbing disillusionment. But now he says they have come to understand the simple fact of prejudice and are learning to live with it.

In speaking of the church in relation to racial problems, Mr. W. lamented the fact that there is so much indifference and lack of concern. Where the Christians ought to be taking the lead in these matters, they rather turn out to be reluctant followers. His viewpoint is surely understandable and we realize that there is little that he and other Negroes can do about it. We who are "white" must be the ones within the church and community who are to be expected to take up the mantle of freedom. If we do not do so as Christian citizens, what can we expect of those who are not Christian in their attitudes to other people?

In looking back on this visit in a Negro home, I must say that it is so wrong of us to have our negative images of the Negro as such. They have different classes among them just as we do. The ones we saw do not like to be judged by the worst among them any more than we do. It is simply not fair for us as whites to persist in this negative image which we so unthinkingly attach to "Negroes." The "whites" are not nearly as good as we think nor the "Negroes" as bad. Many among them are as intelligent and as "good" as any to be found among the whites.

It would be an excellent project for the churches and synagogues of our city to sponsor such a visitation program as this. The total effort of all religious groups would, I believe, amount to more than the individual efforts of single church denominations. This is one place where we can cooperate with other religious groups in seeking to promote the understanding and good will which the Negroes have a right to expect of the truly American community. Christian citizens can do no less than seek every possible means of attaining such an objective.

CENTENNIAL NOTES

(Continued from Page 4)

Fisk University. It describes the ideologies of the great Negro leaders and how they helped to shape Negro thought and action in the interest of complete emancipation. Although less known personages are treated in the book, the main persons whose thought and life are detailed are Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. DuBois, for it was these three who were the greatest Negro spokesmen and whose theories were often in deadly conflict. The book is written in a popular vein and can help toward a better understanding of what went into the development of the body politic which resulted in the degree of progress gained by our Negro citizens since emancipation.

The book of 276 pages was published in 1962 by Dodd, Mead & Company. Price: $3.50.

The December issue of **The PROGRESSIVE** is devoted entirely to the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. This issue is a handy source of information on all phases of the historic development between 1863 and 1963. It furnishes authentic material on many phases of the whole question of Negro-white relationships at the present time. The magazine is to be congratulated on securing articles from interesting writers, leading authorities in the field of race relations. Among the contributors are Adlai Stevenson, Lillian Smith, James Baldwin, James McBride Dabbs, Martin Luther King, Jr., C. Vann Woodward, and C. Eric Lincoln. It will be well worth fifty cents for you to secure a copy of this important December issue of **The PROGRESSIVE.** The address is: Madison, Wisconsin.

As space permits, **The VANGUARD** will bring to the attention of its readers other worthwhile books or articles dealing with the Emancipation Centennial.

DATES TO BE REMEMBERED

At Valparaiso University:

I. The Workshop for Professional Church Workers — July 1-5

II. The Fourteenth Annual Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations — July 5-7

A LOOK AROUND

BY MARTIN H. SCHARLEMANN

1. A SEVENTEEN-FOOTER

T. V. Smith, once professor at the University of Chicago and later a Congressman from that area, used to say of Lincoln that he was a "starveling of fate who forgot himself into immortality." Lincoln was a man who did great things rather casually. He was big enough not to be concerned with the matter of getting proper credit.

A hundred years ago he prepared an emancipation proclamation — without benefit of a staff of professionals! He introduced it without fanfare to his cabinet, like a man who had long before thought through the moral issue of the War Between the States. At first it was a question of preserving the Union. This is what made secession a question to which he had to address himself under the Constitution. But long before that, in his debates with Douglas, for example, he had come to see the moral dimensions of the issue.

Some months after the Emancipation Proclamation had been signed, a reporter is said to have asked an Iowa farmer how Lincoln stood in his state. "He stands high," the farmer replied. "He stands seventeen feet higher than any other man in the United States." The century that has passed since the Proclamation was issued has in no way detracted from the stature of Lincoln. In fact, the size of his moral grandeur has increased just in these last few years, during which the Negro is beginning to enjoy some of the rights that no one ever had a right to deny him in the first place.

2. THE LOT OF SUFFERING

During the hundred years since the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued, Negroes have continued to suffer much. This is not the place to engage in criticism and recrimination. It may, in fact, be more constructive to reflect on suffering as part of a Christian's experience. Those individuals in our minority groups that had the benefit of a strong Christian faith did not forget that Christ once suffered not for the purpose of helping us to escape suffering but to show us how our suffering might be like his — redemptive, liberating! This did not dull their understanding of injustice; it sharpened their sensitivity by making them more fully aware of the fact that God did not create man to be the victim of another man's pride and greed. But their faith kept them from becoming bitter. In fact, they rejoiced at times to be counted worthy of suffering.

It is in this kind of context that we must understand and learn to appreciate the significance of the Incarnation. For in that event God Himself became part of the human situation, exposing Himself to the selfishness and callousness of men; and when these had done their worst, God raised Him from the dead. By emptying Himself, our Lord intended to create that kind of community where men, in imitation of their Lord, would be willing to put themselves at the mercy of men, offering their gifts and services without wanting to control or to take credit or to receive thanks. For that is the heart of redemptive suffering.

3. REVOLUTIONARY

During this anniversary year of the Proclamation, it may be well to remind ourselves of the revolutionary nature of the gospel. When, at Vespers, we sing the Magnificat, which reads in part: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats; He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts," we are not just mouthing pious words. The Biblical record is full of the evidence that God works just in this way. It may be argued, therefore, that the early church should have been more vigorous in her criticism of the institution of slavery as it was practiced in the Roman Empire. She should have agitated for a revolt, on the order of Spartacus.

But we must recall that the church works with a long future, despite her awareness that the end is near. And so the revolution she accomplished in human relations during the first centuries of her history has had a lasting effect. She was determined to treat slaves as people and not as chattel. She invited slaves and masters to the Lord's Table on an equal footing. She reminded masters that they, too, had a Master — in heaven! And she opened all the offices of the church to slave and free alike.

All this helped to change the course of history in the Western world. It tempered cold justice not only with equity but with clarity; and in the West the individual began to be treated on the basis of the doctrine of creation and of redemption. Life has not been the same since. Lincoln's moral sensitivity was a secular echo to this Christion concern. Without the church and her history there would not have been an echo. Nothing really revolutionary would have occurred through the centuries; and the emancipation of slaves might not even have suggested itself.

Ambassador to Finland

While engaged in proof-reading this issue of **The VANGUARD,** we heard the news broadcast: Carl Rowan has been appointed Ambassador to Finland.

To the best of our knowledge, Mr. Rowan is the first Negro ever to be named Ambassador to a European country. This news should be doubly interesting to Lutherans, since Finland is more than ninety per cent Lutheran.

Mr. Rowan is a long-time, close friend of Mr. Richard K. Fox, Jr., a deputy in the Personnel Division of the Department of State and a member of the Board of Directors of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. Wouldn't it be an interesting development if the newly appointed Ambassador, in the interest of even closer friendly relations between the United States and Finland, would personally welcome those participating in the interracial Good Will Tour mentioned on page 4? The office of LHRAA will work on it.

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Atlanta 3, Ga.

Religion and Race Meeting

From the 650 persons, representing some 68 religious bodies, who took part January 14-17 in the epoch-making First National Conference on Religion and Race, held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago, there was one general comment: We never before had anything like it in this country. Never before, on a national scale, have most of the major religious bodies of the United States—including the Greek Orthodox, in the gracious person of its Archbishop Germanos—united thus to perform a single task. This task was to implement the moral principles handed down to both Jews and Christians for the brotherhood of man, and thereby effectively combat the monstrous evil of racism. Incidentally, some twenty-five Catholic bishops attended the conference, and a large number of Catholic bishops sent personal representatives. I almost said, "never before in this country was there such a gathering of all outstanding religious bodies," but this would omit the impressive and unique World Congress of Religions which took place in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair, and was honored by a special message from Pope Leo XIII and by the presence of many of our nation's most distinguished prelates.

The 1893 Conference, however, concentrated upon no single outstanding problem, as did this event 70 years later, and was unsuspecting of later tragic national developments.

First proposed in August, 1960, at a directors' meeting in Chicago of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (an outgrowth of the series of Catholic Interracial Councils across the country first begun in New York City in 1934), the National Conference on Religion and Race was set up in view of the current centennial celebration of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. Though initiated without reference to the Second Vatican Council, the Conference's astonishingly open spirit reflected to a notable degree the Council's attitude.

Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago, who took part in all the proceedings, called the race issue the "nation's unfinished business," and said that "our whole future as a nation and as a religious people may be determined by what we do about the race problem in the next few years."

Rabbi Julius Mark, president of the Synagogue Council of America, said the conference was an effort "to impress the entire American people with the urgent necessity of translating into daily practice the noble concepts of human equality" proclaimed by religion. And Dr. J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, asserted that "this nation cannot continue to preach to the whole world . . . the brotherhood of man and equal opportunity" while at the same time denying these things "whenever it is convenient and pleasing to the majority to do so." As pointed out by the Most Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, who took the chairmanship of an important meeting (as did Archbishop Cousins of Milwaukee and Archbishop Cody of New Orleans): "Freedom is a human right and a moral condition. When it is diminished in any place, it is reduced everywhere."

If any doubt lingered as to the urgency of the racial problem in our nation, it was certainly dissipated by the stirring words of speakers like Dr. Franklin H. Littell, professor of church history, Chicago Theological Seminary; or R. Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps, who laid out a series of highly practical proposals; or the prophetic apostle of nonviolence, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. These and all other addresses will be issued this March in book form.

First and foremost, this national conference inspired its participants to a definite commitment of conscience, as expressed in its magnificent concluding declaration. Furthermore, it adopted plans for continuance, together with a concrete plan of action for specified regions and situations. Its aim above all was positive—to release the potential of millions of our fellow citizens for the defense, the welfare and the upbuilding of our nation. It is only sober truth to call it a turning point in our nation's history.

Time magazine (January 25) sneeringly quotes remarks of certain skeptical conference participants. But compromises shown by religious people, past and present, give no excuse to mock the efforts of those who today are determined to reverse the painful record.

JOHN LAFARGE

The New Negro and the Church

Religion
Christian
Century 2/6/63

Negroes are tired of bruising their knuckles on doors which white America refuses to open.

GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.

✦ THE SPIRITUAL unity of the church as the Body of Christ should not be permitted to obscure the sociological fact that in the United States there is a white church and a Negro church—with very little communication between them. There are some 12 million Negro Protestants and over 600,000 Negro Roman Catholics in the nation. Of the Protestants, 10 million hold membership in five denominations: the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.; the National Baptist Convention of America; the African Methodist Episcopal Church; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; and the Christian (formerly Colored) Methodist Episcopal Church. These, plus several smaller all-Negro denominations, pretty much constitute Negro Protestantism in the United States today. Less than 5 per cent of the nation's Negro Protestants are affiliated with predominantly white denominations.

Ghettoized Institutions

Despite their similarity to the typical American religious body and despite class differences within the Negro community, Negro churches are of a kind. That is, all of them are institutions of the Negro ghetto. Even the majority of the all-Negro congregations within white denominations have a style of Christian life that is freighted with memory of the religious traditions of a rural southern past. Regardless of the degree of his secularization and urbanization, the Negro has links with old homesteads and old friends, old hurts and old bitternesses which are continually being reforged by migrations from the south, the intermixing of family lines, and a common background and life-experience.

Much more so than the typical white urban church, the proud and substantial Negro churches have preserved the relatively unsophisticated American Protestantism of the 19th and early 20th century. I refer not to the biblicism and emotionalism of evangelical Protestantism—though both are present in many Negro congregations—but rather to the ethical revivalism of the latter part of the 19th century and the social gospel reformism which came later. The Negro churches have changed but little; what is different about them today is a new sense of power in the war against racial discrimination.

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No man is more responsible for the Negro church's new spirit of resistance than Martin Luther King, Jr.; nevertheless King is in reality a symbol of an ethos that has been coming to maturity in the Negro Christian community since New Deal days. The Albany Movement, the unseating of Detroit's mayor in 1961, the boycotts led by the Negro clergy of Philadelphia against the oil companies, the community organization movements spurred by Negro churches in Chicago and Los Angeles—all these are examples of what King has called the "new Negro" working for first class citizenship through the church. It is no accident that the new Negro has chosen the strongest and most familiar institution in his community to be the vanguard of this struggle. But it is also true that the Negro church has long been rich in the theological and ethical resources needed to undergird such a crusade.

Who is this new Negro and what does he want from the church? In *Stride Toward Freedom* King declares that the new Negro is a man who has acquired a sense of self-respect. "This growing self-respect," he writes, "has inspired the Negro with a new determination to struggle and sacrifice until first class citizenship becomes a reality . . . one can never understand the bus protest in Montgomery without understanding that there is a new Negro in the South, with a new sense of dignity and destiny."

Wanted: Prestige and Power

The new Negro is not always a churchman, in the usual sense of that term. He may be, but he may also be a college student in Greensboro, Nashville or Amherst who dislikes gospel songs and spirituals because they remind him of "jack-leg" preachers and the degradation of the Negro. He may be a member of the Congress of Racial Equality or the Fellowship of Reconciliation who long ago wrote off the church as a reactionary, war-mongering anachronism. He may be an attorney on the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who goes to church only because his pastor is an N.A.A.C.P. chapter president or because he needs names on a petition in a school desegregation case. He may be an agnostic writer living in New York city, or a Pittsburgh laborer who works too hard during the week or spends too many hours in bars on Saturday night

to get up on Sunday morning. The church-led desegregation movement has many fellow travelers. But even the new Negro who is a loyal churchman may not always be convinced that nonviolent resistance is the only Christian response to injustice; very likely he smiles to himself when Martin Luther King endorses the view that the Bible verse " 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord' might well be the motto of the Montgomery Improvement Association."

The close association of the new, self-respecting Negro with the church in the struggle for first class citizenship does not mean that we are witnessing a wholesale reconversion to Christianity—at least, not to Christianity as the white man understands it. It does mean that we are witnessing the emergence of a Negro church which is seeking alliances with thousands of "new" Negroes who have long wanted something from the church they have not heretofore been able to get—leadership and, in the broadest sense, political power. Not that these new Negroes want a church without religion or a religion without the God of the Bible (although such a desire would make them no different from many white Americans). Rather, they want a church which has divested itself of moralistic complacency about the status quo and become a revolutionary force revealing the true religious significance of human life in a world where naked power is rampant.

Increasing Estrangement

The "new Negro" movement includes not only the great mass of underprivileged Negroes but also the growing Negro middle class and intelligentsia. It is the latter two groups which are most alienated from organized Christianity, in large part because of the unsavory image of a racially segregated Protestant church—an image especially offensive to younger Negroes. Negro congregations in the predominantly white denominations—Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Disciples—have not been able to counteract the influence of that image by virtue of being a part of those denominations. According to a recent report, only 28 Negroes in the United Presbyterian Church—which has well over 55,000 Negro members—are currently preparing for the ministry. Of this number all but seven are enrolled at Johnson C. Smith, a Negro seminary in the south. Such is the situation in a presumably integrated denomination.

But for many Negro intellectuals an even more serious indictment of the church than segregation in pew and pulpit is what seems to them to be white Christians' timid acquiescence to, if not active participation in, discriminatory patterns of social and economic life in America and elsewhere. This is not only the primary reason for the black intellectual's growing tendency to reject Christianity; it is also the cause of the increasing estrangement of the whole Negro Christian community from the white Christian community. If the white Protestant church does not more speedily enter the struggle in which the Negro is engaged, the psychological and ideological distance between the two communities may become so great as to prevent authentic integration for years after the merely spatial distance has been closed.

This observation has no relation to the current fashion of holding the ax of black racism over the heads of white moderates and gradualists. It is unlikely that large numbers of what the late E. Franklin Frazier called "the black bourgeoisie" will rally to the cause of Malcolm X, Isaiah Poole and others calling for voluntary segregation on Negro terms. Nevertheless—and despite the denunciation of the Black Muslim movement by numbers of Negro clergymen—it is doubtful that middle class Negroes will expend much energy in opposing this antiassimilationist movement.

Though the new Negro may temper his frustration by joining a protest movement, the source of that frustration remains. The Negro's full integration into American society is still remote, and with every small advance in one area there seems to be a retreat in another—whether because of indifference in his own ranks, structural impediments, or his opponents' employment of new and more subtle forms of resistance.

In the nine years since the Supreme Court decision, desegregation—and only token desegregation at that—has been achieved in less than half of the south's school districts; the prediction of Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina that it will take 25 years for the court's decision to be implemented may well prove correct. *Crisis,* the magazine of the N.A.A.C.P., reported last May that at least five Negroes have been killed in the south and a number of others "shot, beaten, jailed and humiliated" as a result of attempts to register and vote. Housing and education facilities for Negroes are still a scandal in the great cities of the north. Staughton Lynd, writing in the *Nation* for July 28, 1962, notes that the unemployment rate among Negroes is roughly two and a half times that among whites. He compares the American economy "to a train in which the Negro is the caboose"—with "the number of cars between the caboose and the engine . . . constantly [being] increased."

A Cynical Refrain

The fact is that the white community's continued rejection of the Negro makes the most spirited Negro crusader feel like a displaced person. He is no less frustrated than those among the Negro masses who give way to apathy and resignation. "New" Negroes may not overtly support the pseudo-Muslim and black racist groups, but many are ready to take what they can of the material fruits of desegregation while spurning cultural and religious integra-

tion. In Negro middle class circles one hears the cynical refrain: "The only thing we want from Mr. Charley is his money."

It is rapidly becoming a simple matter of self-respect for the Negro to refuse to bruise his knuckles perpetually on doors that white America refuses to open. This is an intolerable state of affairs for the Protestant churches, which for about a decade have been beating drums for a "nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society." But it is nonetheless just such a state of affairs that the church faces in large sectors of the Negro community. In almost every major northern city some progress has been made toward a "nonsegregated church"—and stoical white congregations continue to be confronted with what amounts to "kneel-ins." Yet in terms of relevancy to the total problem, it is doubtful that congregational desegregation should have highest priority in the strategy of Protestant Christians.

The new Negro believes that desegregation of individual congregations will be of little consequence for the Negro and for the spiritual vitality of the society. To the extent that congregational life continues to revolve around platitudinous preaching, tired ritual and bland fellowship, racial integration in American Protestant churches will be irrelevant. Indeed, it might obscure the basic needs of both the Negro community as an alienated and exploited minority and the church as the agency through which God can address, judge and bless modern man in his life-situations.

Altering the Image

More important today than token desegregation of individual congregations is the kind of image that the Protestant church presents to the American Negro community and to the other colored peoples of the world. That image must of course communicate something about the openness, if not the *de facto* inclusiveness, of the church in regard to social integration and fellowship. But more than this, the church's image will have to challenge the new Negro's impression of the white Protestant as at best a condescending, paternalistic gradualist and at worst a vicious wielder of power who in the south opens White Citizens Council meetings with prayer and who in the north champions conservative Republicanism. In short, the image Protestantism must somehow convey to the new Negro is that of a revolutionary force committed to distinguishing and separating the Christian understanding of life from the idealizations and norms of middle class white society. This is what the new Negro wants from the church.

I do not wish to imply that the new Negro does not hanker after material blessings and social prestige. The Negro migrants to Atlanta, Washington, D.C., New York or Detroit, and even more certainly their children who will graduate from Morehouse, Howard, New York University and Wayne, are just as eager for a split-level suburban home and a foreign-made car as the next American. Indeed, many of them will have to experience the vacuity of suburbia and its prestige churches before being able to think of themselves as people who "have it made." But for many this is a social and personal, not a political and corporate, aspiration. To want Mr. Charley's money is to want his real estate and automobiles, but more than that it is to covet the power, dignity and self-determination which—or so our society has taught us—money buys.

These assets have largely been denied to Negroes, and there is no reason to assume that they will be bestowed upon them by white people. This sober realization, coupled with knowledge of what it means to be black in America and excitement over what is happening in Africa, has given to the Negro a sense of solidarity more potent than the drive for personal aggrandizement. And the potentiality of the Negro community is evidenced every day by expressions of penitence among relatively well situated Negroes who used to play golf while their slum-dwelling brothers demonstrated against rent-gouging and police brutality.

While the Negro's yearnings for material goods and the symbols of affluence will persist, they will not mitigate the growing sense of social and political solidarity with black people throughout the world. The real heroes of the American Negro in 1963 are not the Ralph Bunches and the Willie Mayses—though they are justly admired still—but the Martin Luther Kings, the Tom Mboyas and the Kwame Nkrumahs.

Whether the predominantly white Protestant churches can capture the imagination and loyalty of the new Negro may depend on whether a counterpart movement can arise within those churches—that is to say, whether that part of the white Protestant intelligentsia which has become disenchanted with middle class complacency and moralism can marshal sufficient resistance to the old ways to change the image of white Christianity. In the student Christian movement, in lay academies and renewal groups, among missionaries, staff members of inner city churches and some of the younger clergy, there are signs which suggest that a new kind of white Protestant is no more unthinkable than a new kind of Negro Protestant.

Building upon the Rubble

If a rapprochement develops between the revolutionary Negro laity and the white Protestant laity in the next few years, it will not be because the ranks have closed to protect America from communism, or because "creeping desegregation" has finally caught up with both white and Negro churches, or because through sharing white neighborhoods, schools and churches Negroes have become "acceptable" to whites. It will develop because Chris-

tian brotherhood in America has come to mean a relationship which seeks to build upon the rubble of an irrelevant spirituality a new barrier against the tragic disillusionments of a post-Christian age, and because white Protestants have finally realized the truth of Richard Wright's affirmation that "the ties that bind us are deeper than those that separate us." ("Look at us and know us and you will know yourselves, for *we* are *you,* looking back at you from the dark mirror of our lives.") Christian brotherhood will then mean something profoundly human and incisively political; it will mean standing with and for one another in the exasperating and bewildering realities of secular life. This is what the new Negro—and many "new" white Christians —want from the church.

Ave Maria
2-9-63

MOBILIZING THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

Special report on the National Conference on Religion and Race.

BY DENNIS CLARK

MANY a good soul was rocked at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago on the days of January 14 to 17 as the first National Conference on Religion and Race brought together 800 people from all parts of the country. For some, the rocking of the soul amid the sonorous oratory was a swing of harmony and a rhythm of common effort. For others the rocking prompted a hard pitch and tumble that could bring some discomfort. The conference was convened by three religious groups: the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America.

It was a driving attempt to match religious courage to religious conscience. It was an effort to pit theism against racism in the mind of the nation.

EVERYBODY from Bobby Kennedy to the brooding James Baldwin has slapped at religious leadership for its inability to shatter the voodoo of racial witchcraft in this country. As waves of enthusiasm moved the crowded conference sessions, souls were moved to a new struggle with this task. There was one breath-taking instant when a speaker shook the constructive cadence of things with a withering judgment that it was too late. The initiative has passed beyond the control of religious men, he said, and the remarks struck home, because they thrust forward a secret fear with which praying men have long lived. The conference delegates paused, and then moved on to a drama of moral affirmation that left any doubts stone dead.

As the delegates moved through the patiently developed sessions analyzing religious work for interracial justice, it became clear that for the first time in this country there is a religious consensus about race relations that is achieving broad practical gains. The stiffness is fading as the workers toil in the vineyard.

This is the first time this kind of consensus ever really moved in the land. In the early part of the last century there was a consensus among religions about race—a consensus of indifference. Then came the wracking spasms of racial heresy, biblical distortion, sectional estrangement and moody hypocrisy. Now, the religious men have come to know one another and to know themselves more truly. They are excited by the common tasks they share in promoting human unity.

My selection of high lights of the gathering will have to be subjective, for I was too busy tending to my little bits of conference responsibility to really stand off and survey the whole huge process. Here are some of the most appealing features of an intensive four days.

Interreligious Strength: Certainly, one of the most impressive facts of the meeting was the breadth of resources represented by the delegates. Twenty-four Roman Catholic Bishops and one Cardinal attended this meeting, perhaps the largest number to attend any gathering of interreligious import at any one time in memory. It was as if not only Bishops, but priests, nuns and lay people were cheerfully demonstrating gratitude to Pope John for his wonderful inspiration of the Church's ecumenical renewal.

The Protestant delegates, a free and hardy banding of clergy and lay people, brought a huge contribution of interracial history and experience to the sessions. Their scholarship was complemented by the creative programs in racial reconciliation that they described. Jewish leaders, remarkable in their gifts and organizational sensitivity, played a vigorous role. The moral and social strength represented at this conference could only be brought to bear in a country as big and diverse as ours. If all the constructive force represented at this meeting really rolls against racism, the old dragon will surely fall.

Competence: The workshops permitted over nine hours of discussion of problems ranging across the whole spiritual and social confrontation of religious groups with racial change in American life. The excellent first-hand knowledge of complex racial conditions revealed in these sessions would have chilled the hearts of the White Citizens' Councils. Government officials were not much in evidence. Volunteer leaders, church staff workers and representatives of special agencies predominated. A wide variety of case histories were prepared in advance for the conference, and they revealed a tremendous amount of dogged work for desegregation in the most tangled kinds of situations.

Eloquence and Insight: Rabbi Abraham Heschel, professor of Jewish mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary, gave an absolutely lyric address, brilliant with gem-cut phrases that shone from the meditative mind of a splendid scholar. "A prophet is a man who holds God and man in one thought. . . . the prophets' great contribution to humanity was the discovery of the evil of indifference," said Rabbi Heschel.

The paper delivered by Dr. Franklin Littell of Chicago Theological Seminary was an incisive look at American, and especially Protestant, religious history. His plea for discipline within the religious groups was echoed by at least one prominent rabbi. "We do not need any more general resolutions in the field of religion and race. What we need is disciplined witness backed by positions with binding quality," Dr. Littell stated. Pointing out several noted cases of public figures who were racists without fear of reproach from the religious groups to which they belonged, Dr. Littell said, "What would our situation be in America today, facing our most important internal crisis, if the Negro leadership were at the level of Ross Barnett, Orval Faubus, Jimmy Davis and Edwin Walker?"

The evening address by His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer linked with steel-bolt accuracy the moral and civic orders. The central practical issues of urban race relations, the Cardinal stated, are the expansion of employment training and opportunities for young people and the breaking of housing discrimination practices. "The problems that confront us in our great cities are too manifold and too deep-rooted in human passions and misunderstandings for any one of our great religious bodies to deal with alone," said His Eminence. This statement and a similar one by Archbishop William Cousins confirm the principle of interreligious action on major social issues in American life. Those portions of the Catholic community that are still content to go it alone must yield to such episcopal leadership.

Action Targets: Behind all the eloquence and the flashing spear points of the spirit, the workshops were lining up recommendations that would permit the churches and synagogues to back specific projects at the local level. The number of recommendations was like the bountiful harvest of Canaan. Here are some of the areas in which stepped-up religious action was called for:

- Total elimination of racial bars in church-related institutions and schools.
- Diligent work under religious auspices to help Negro families find houses in restricted white neighborhoods.

- Contract clauses in all religiously sponsored building projects that will demand nondiscrimination of contractors.
- More backing for minority voter registration.
- Interreligious task forces in the inner-city and suburban areas to work for housing improvement and freedom of residence.
- A service corps to aid in rural reconstruction.
- More religious representation with respect to urban planning decisions.
- Steady church and synagogue policy to fill the vacuum in civic life by developing community organizations where none exist now.
- Widespread home-visiting programs and other work to foster interracial association.

What must men like Father John LaFarge, S.J., and George Hunton, who had toiled for years on racial problems against stony indifference, have thought of this outpouring of examples of good work and good will? They could only be happily encouraged in the eminence of their years.

The Conference on Religion and Race, of course, did not just happen. It was originally the idea of Matt Ahmann, director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Rev. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches, Rabbi Philip Hiat of the Synagogue Council of America, Father John Cronin of NCWC and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of the American Jewish Committee headed the program committee. They worked furiously over a period of months with the aid of a great variety of people.

The task of piecing together a representative mosaic of leadership, with concern and experience in race relations, from dozens of religious groups was a masterwork of diplomacy. The inhibitions of protocol, distance, church organization and timing made the process a bit like catching birds without ruffling any feathers. The conference planning included a scheme for follow-up, and interest has been expressed in a dozen major cities in reproducing the conference format locally. The excellent materials and recommendations of the Chicago meeting will be printed soon for wide distribution.

Only Rabbi Tanenbaum can know the mountain of work that went into making the meeting possible, and only Matt Ahmann can count the sacrifices involved.

This conference will need follow-up. There is too much at stake to rely upon enthusiasm alone. Our reconstruction of race relations is vastly complex. There are many problems involved in religious exertions on this issue. The current religious contribution to race relations is quite uneven, poorly financed and fitfully supported.

How can a stable interreligious co-operation be built upon such a base? There were some heavily Negro groups that apparently did not initially think the conference was going to be so successful. They rather belatedly discovered the importance of the gathering and asserted their desire for representation with some embarrassment and distress. The shaping of a Declaration of Conscience proved to be quite a literary wrestling, due to differences of interpretation of word and principle growing out of diverse backgrounds. Will such differences continue to cause difficulty?

By dipping deeply into our understanding of democracy we may be able to overcome these weaknesses of interreligious cohesion. But, the massive apathy of our congregations remains. Can we stir them with programs? The skills to promote racial change are hard to develop. Hence, only small action groups can be put into such work as suburban desegregation projects or the upgrading of slum family life. Can these small groups move things fast enough to satisfy the sense of urgency among our Negro citizens?

People with even a little experience in race relations realize the crazy crossfire of contradictions that such involvement entails. Even the man who is patently without guile is suspect. The fight to maintain clarity of goals and motive is constant. Religious people, working on the basis of generous principle, are not usually prepared for the tortured drives and confusion of racial wrangles.

One of the real shortcomings of the conference was the inability of the delegates to come to grips with the subject matter of one set of workshops dealing with the inner life of the church and synagogue. The intention of the organizers was to provide in this segment of the program an opportunity for evaluation of the specific spiritual exercises of the religious groups in relation to the moral problem of racism.

The formulas for personal prayer, sermons, moral instruction and guidance, religious textbooks and observances were all to be examined. But this did not produce any clear conclusion. Perhaps the disparity of religious representation prevented this. The tendency appeared to be to consider social interpretations of the problems, rather than to dissect the spiritual nerves of the matter. The delegates were stronger on sociology than on the root processes of character building and the formation of conscience in these sessions.

It is often said that American social-action efforts differ markedly from those of Europeans. The philosophically keen Europeans analyze and refine ideas till the environment wastes away. The Americans do some job of social reform somewhere, and then can't repeat it because they never really figured out how to do it in the first place. We do not know if this interreligious attack upon racial injustice will prevail, or how it will work, but we have to go ahead and do it. We'll sort out the niceties later. We must do this because it is dreadfully urgent that social change in America be animated by a religious spirit.

As J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, put it: "We can abolish every system and practice and custom and regulation which now offends, and if we do not at the same time work with equal vigor and determination to eliminate the spirit which embraces and supports all these, then we will find that little has been accomplished and that somehow all the new regulations and programs have become the servants of the old spirit."

I came away from Chicago certain that the country's 50 Catholic Interracial Councils will avidly pursue the results of this conference. The gathering was probably the greatest expression of religious initiative in U.S. society in decades. It is a happy circumstance that the first impulse for the move came from a Catholic quarter. The sight of a big, ruddy monsignor sitting next to a Southern Baptist who was sitting next to a Negro Methodist, while all three boomed a basso chorus of "We shall overcome" was quite a side attraction. The mercury hit 20 degrees below zero while the lively discussions went on, but I'd have walked from Chicago's Loop to the Edgewater Beach Hotel to get to this conference. ●

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3/63

Methodist Layman
2/63 Religion

This Matter of *Integration*

by Roy Sano, *minister First Methodist Church, Loomis, Calif.*

Merger of 31 churches of the Pacific Japanese Provisional Conference with annual conferences of the Western Jurisdiction will take place in 1964. This will mark the end of "segregated" churches in the region.

The Japanese churches were organized with provisional conference status 23 years ago. This is the extension of a Japanese mission formed 63 years ago on the Pacific coast. This year all the churches of the PJPC are celebrating the 85th anniversary of Japanese Christian work in America which began in San Francisco. (For details on this origin, see *Methodist Story*.)

More than half of these churches, scattered in Arizona, California, Colorado, Oregon, and Washington, are now fully self supporting.

Membership in the Conference was 6,466 as of June, 1962.

Bishop Donald H. Tippett of the San Francisco Area says, "It is my considered opinion that our Japanese people are better prepared for integration than any of our other ethnic groups. . . . They do not want to be in any way second rate congregations or members."

During the heart-searching discussions at the last session of the last annual conference, a Japanese Methodist minister made an address on which this article is based, and which we believe has implications for any future desegregation in Methodism.—Ed.

At almost every major church gathering here on the West Coast, churchmen discuss the question of integration and make pronouncements. We are all for it. Lest our adoption of it be only a gullible acceptance, however, we ought to examine this goal with a combination of soft hearts and hard heads.

The Main Question

The main question for us to consider at the moment is not the advantage or disadvantage of integration, nor whether we are ready for it or not. The prior question for us to answer is whether the integration we propose is soundly conceived and will be responsibly implemented.

A responsible integration will bear in mind that we are basically disbanding a racial conference and merging the several churches into their respective geographic annual conferences.

When these churches separate themselves from their present association as a provisional conference, a *disbanding* of this conference ought not to mean an *abandoning* of specialized, but legitimate responsibilities, concerns, and aspirations.

A responsible integration will bear in mind that union of church bodies brings strength, but they must walk the tightrope by preserving adequate freedom for the specialist without jeopardizing the concrete, organic, and visible unity of the Church.

The Church must work within communities and to create a new community. One of the reasons we are hampered in our work with racial groups is that our work is not sufficiently within these communities. We are too eager to create new communities and do not want to appear segregated.

We are like a swimmer who complained that he could not swim well in the Dead Sea. His body was not sufficiently immersed in the water.

The Calling of God

There are two questions to answer if we are to work in and create a new community: What is the community to which we are called? And what is the calling of God we must proclaim to this community?

The community to which we are called as a provisional conference is the Japanese community, which is changing but still identifiable. The Japanese are among the most quickly assimilated or Americanized immigrants. They are rapidly losing their distinctive foreign traits. A large number, however, still ban themselves together for social, recreational, and religious purposes.

The best example is the Buddhist church. I do not mean to be facetious when I say that the Buddhist church in America is first Japanese, second American, and third Buddhist. She is not trying to be provincial or racially exclusive. She is only following a strong trend of the community to identify themselves racially by associating with their own kind.

A responsible integration will bear this trend in mind and work within this racial community. Through it they will proclaim the call of God to this community to become the people of God, a colony of heaven.

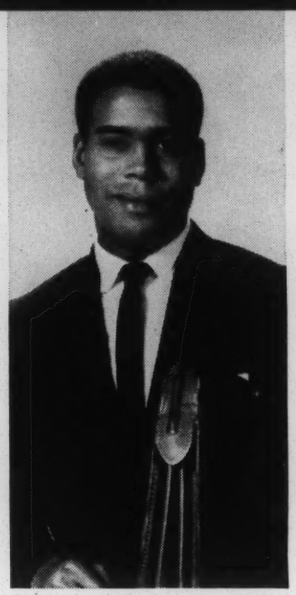
A Practical Strategy

What are the reasons for this strategy? For one thing, it is practical. This strategy is working in the case of the Buddhist church and among Japanese fundamentalistic groups who ignore the integration question.

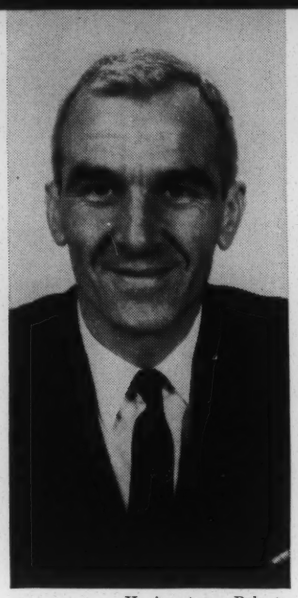
Second, a church that would allow racial churches and perhaps even allow them to band together within and across annual conferences could be said to be in harmony with St. Paul's teaching of the body. The unity of the Church retains multiplicity and specialization, but it is the multiplicity that does not jeopardize the concrete unity of the Church.

Third (and this is still an unexplored reason) we would only be following Christ. St. Paul tells us that although Christ was endowed with regal authority, he laid it aside and assumed the form of the servant and lived within human flesh subject to death.

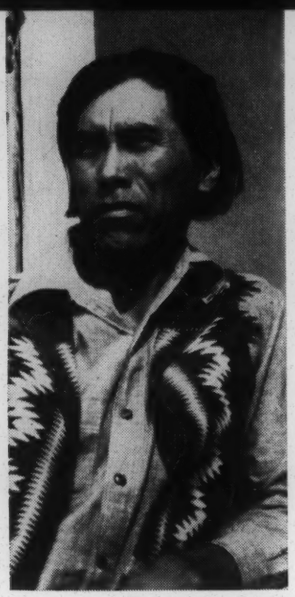
Fred Yamaguchi



H. Armstrong Roberts



H. Armstrong Roberts



H. Armstrong Roberts

Americans all: from many racial and cultural backgrounds.

If we take this passage with radical seriousness, I would take it to mean that the work of the Church is to live within the existing racial communities even if these communities are subject to a short life.

Many of us argue that *because* culture and racial communities are a passing thing, *therefore* we are not going to get involved. But our Lord Jesus Christ argued quite the opposite. *Because* these things are subject to sin and its consequence symbolized in death, *therefore* He decided to live in the flesh.

Although Christ is not a sanctioner of the existing order of things, he is the sanctifier, or the transformer. And he did it by living within it—not trying to avoid it, or belittle it.

We look on people who do not feel free with the majority of caucasians and pronounce judgment upon them as "awkward" and "backward," because they impose segregation upon themselves. A responsible integration does not hamper the free choice of human associations nor belittle the many who will work within these communities and associations.

Many of us are afraid to work with a separate Japanese church even in major centers of Japanese population, because this would make us vulnerable to criticism of segregation. Many of us feel guilty about the existence of such churches. But if we take the Incarnation of God to heart, we may move forward toward a responsible integration.

Finally, the Incarnation tells us that our Lord lives in and above. He is fully human and fully divine. That would mean that the Church can exercise the courage to live within the boundaries of human communities, without making barriers to communication.

The church ought to have the audacity to live within the dangerous limitations of human communities, making the *distinctions* that set us off from one another without being *discriminatory*. We will be bold to say that we will organize ourselves *separately* at some points without *segregating* ourselves.

Isn't this what we mean when we speak of the church *in* the world, but not *of* the world?

Isn't this what Martin Luther meant in part when he said that "A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all"?

Responsible Integration

And now, let us see how we may implement the responsible integration we have attempted to describe.

In evangelism, occasional specialized campaigns could be conducted co-operatively across ethnic lines within the conference and within ethnic groups across conference lines. But the campaigns could be sustained by an efficient and just distribution and adequate recruitment of specialized ministers in ethnic work. Notice, I did not say "ethnic ministers," but "specialized ministers in ethnic work."

Furthermore, the laymen will very likely want some mutual sharing in developing new leadership.

Stewardship is another topic in churches so easily prey to "give-me" psychology characteristic of some ethnic churches.

And then there are cultural concerns. We are yet to explore the height, breadth, and depth of God's call in the area of inter-cultural relations here on the West Coast, with its numerous major centers of Oriental, Latin, and Negro population.

In addition, there are the migrants of the 30's, 40's, and 50's. Surveys such as the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights of 1961 bear out the continued need for action on part of the Church in promoting fair housing, equal opportunity in employment and education, full participation on all levels of government, and justice before the courts.

Besides the obvious injustices in race relations, we face more subtle problems of prejudice. We need knowledge and respect of each other and ourselves as minorities. We need to know the hurts we harbor, the anxieties that drive us, and the aspirations that arouse us.

We need to feel our full humanity —not only our meanness or majesty alone, but both. Even the Commission on Worship could explore the inclusion of Negro spirituals and Japanese hymns in the new hymnal. But much of this concern will rest on the Board of Christian Social Concerns.

God has a new day to dawn upon us. He is giving us the opportunity for a creative and authentic integration, responsive to the existing situations and the ultimate claims of God.

Religion

OUR CHILDREN

INTER-FAITH GROUP

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER

FEBRUARY 8, 1963

10:30 A. M. - 12:30 P. M.

I saw Tomorrow passing by
On little children's feet,
Within their forms and faces,
Read their prophecy complete
I saw tomorrow look at me
Thro little children's eyes,
And thought how carefully,
I must teach.

Author, unknown

OUR CHILDREN

WHAT SHALL WE TEACH THEM ABOUT HUMAN RELATIONS

- - - - - -

And Thou Shalt Love the Lord Thy God
With all thine heart,
And with all thy soul,
And with all thy might.

- - - - - -

And these words, which I command
Thee this day,
Shall be in thine heart,

And thou shalt teach them diligently,
Unto thy children,
And shall talk of;

When thou sittest in thine house,
And when thou walkest by the way,
And when thou liest down, and
When thou riseth up.

- - - - - -

And thou shalt bind them
For a sign upon thine hand,

And they shall be as frontlets
Between thine eyes,

And thou shalt write them
Upon thy gates.

...Deuteromony 6:5-9

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

LITERATURE TABLE

Samples of material have been sent from many church boards. They are free. We hope you will avail yourselves of it.

PROGRAM

10:30 --- 12:30

INTRODUCTION Mrs. M. E. Tilly

CALL TO WORSHIP Mrs. Seymour Haber

IN UNISON

Blessed be the name of God, for ever and ever, for wisdom and might are His. He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him and He will show them His covenant.

WORSHIP Mrs. Herman Yang

PANEL "What Shall We Teach Our Children About Human Relations?"

COORDINATOR --
Mr. Pat Watters

PARTICIPANTS --
Miss Janet Rogan -- Rabbi Stuart Davis
Dr. Jerome I. Berlin -- The Audience

SUMMARY --
Mr. Vincent Harding

PRAYER IN UNISON:

Almighty God our Heavenly Father, who has set the solitary in families, we commend to Thy continual care the homes in which Thy people dwell. Put far from them every strain of prejudice, every root of bitterness. Fill them with faith virtue, patience, knowledge, Godliness. Turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers.

We praise Thee for renewing Age with the company of Youth, Bless their vision of a New Time, grant that they may be strong; that Thy Word may abide in them that they may run a straight race, and not be weary. ...Amen.

From ... Prayers, Old and New
Forward Movement Publications

WHO'S WHO

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, The Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. A. Haber, President of the Atlanta Council of B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George Gunning, President, Atlanta Diocesan Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. Van P. Enloe, President, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Corresponding Secretary, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mr. Pat Watters, Columnist, The Atlanta Journal

Rabbi Stewart Davis, Asst. Rabbi, The Temple

Miss Janet Rogan, St. Martin's Council on Human Relations; Regional Medical Social Consultant

Dr. Jerome I. Berlin, Dr. of Philosophy and Clinical Psychology;
Director of Human Development Institute,
1299 W. Peachtree Street, N. E.

Dr. Vincent Harding, Representative in the South Mennonite Central Committee

STEERING COMMITTEE

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan, Secretary

Mrs. Howard Aronin

Mrs. Wm. H. Borders

Mrs. Boone Bowen

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

Mrs. Van P. Enloe

Mrs. Bernard Facher

Mrs. Leon Goldstein

Mrs. George Gunning

Mrs. Seymour Haber

Miss Ruth Kent

Mrs. E. J. Lantz

Mrs. James P. Leak

Mrs. Beulah Mackay

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Mrs. Phil Narmour

Mrs. Eva Parks

Mrs. Fred Patterson

Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

Mrs. A. J. Rubin

Mrs. J. Owen Smith

Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool

Mrs. W. R. Wilkes

"If all the girls in the world took hands,
beginning here with me,
It would make a line exceeding fine that would
reach from sea to sea;
If all the boys in the world took hands,
stretching from shore to shore,
It would make a circle of friendliness where
wars could be no more."

My family resides in a segregated society, where even to be a "moderate" is to be suspect, and where "One Worlders" are referred to with contempt. From such a situation many people, both white and colored, seek to escape by moving. Every section of our land is facing its greatest struggle, and its greatest opportunity, at the same time. I want to remain in my community to share the struggle and the opportunity.

... Wherever I am, I try to teach my children, by precept and example, to respect persons as persons, and as children of God.

... We have a globe in our home, and some large maps: one of the United States and one of the world. We have a picture of the flags of the United Nations. Three of our children can associate flags and nations.

... One daughter is a member of the World-Wide Doll Club and receives periodically a doll from some different country, along with an explanation of the customs of that country.

... Our family watches together some TV programs, one of which is the World Series in baseball. Sometimes it is amazing how many different nationalities and ethnic groups are represented by the players. Another program which we see together frequently is the World News Roundup. By this means we travel here, there, and yonder around the world. We become more aware of places and problems, though, than we do of conflicts among persons of other races and backgrounds.

... We sometimes count, and locate on the map, the date lines to the front page of the newpspaer. Our family uses various devotional guides. Occasionally THE UPPER ROOM has a"World Fellowship Number."

Human rights are more basic than states' rights. The state does not create rights; its task is to make fraternity and conditions which support equal rights secure for all its citizens. We can't legislate morality, but we can and should develop and support legislation which encourages and supports morality. There is a natural "consciousness of kind" but it need not be "unkind." Each person, as a child of God, has the right of equal opportunity for full self realization. Intelligence, mutual respect, and co-operation are musts for survival. They are necessary if we are to build a good society, and more necessary still if we are to take seriously the discipleship of our Lord who calls us to prepare the way for the gift of the Kingdom of God.

----By Bond Fleming

From .. The Board of Education, The Methodist Church

The Christian Century 2/27/63 Religion

Editorial Correspondence

Lutherans and School Aid

New York city.

✦ AT ITS 45th annual meeting here February 5-7 the National Lutheran Council adopted as a study document, without approving the contents, a report from its committee on social trends supporting "limited and specified" use of public tax funds for nonpublic colleges and universities but opposing such aid to parochial schools. Declared the report: "Public tax support for church schools, even in limited and specified ways, would create great advantage for some religious groups over others at the elementary and secondary school levels, but would not necessarily have the same effect at the level of college education." Further, use of public funds to subsidize nonpublic schools and school systems below the college level "may lead to a proliferation of insitutionalized creedal and other rivalries within the formal educational process and serve to threaten the public school system." The committee held that nonpublic colleges and universities may be properly aided with tax funds "if safeguards are provided to keep [them] from becoming largely government financed institutions operated by church and other private groups."

Robert W. Long, executive secretary of the council's division of American missions, reported that a nationwide county-by-county study completed in 1962 reveals that in the 1950s Lutheran church membership increased almost 35 per cent while the population was increasing by 18.5 per cent. In metropolitan areas the rate of Lutheran growth was twice that of the general population; in town and country areas, four times as great. The report indicated that while more than 55 per cent of the nation's 8,600,000 baptized Lutherans live in cities, only 36 per cent of Lutheran congregations are located in urban areas.

Citing mobility as a force "impelling us toward conformity," Dr. Long pointed out that since formerly isolated racial and cultural groups are now a part of "the mainstream of American life," coordination of Protestant home missionary activities is mandatory if the church is "to bring the gospel to the homogenized American population" with its "marked tendency toward uniformity in the midst of general diversity."

The Lutheran Service Commission, a joint endeavor of the council and the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, reported that from November 1961 through October 1962, 428,809 members of the armed forces and their dependents made use of the centers it operates throughout the world. Carl F. Yaeger, associate executive secretary of the commission, reported that combined efforts of the armed forces and Christian organizations have resulted in improvement of the environment of military personnel and their dependents. He pointed to "the most elaborate recreational facilities in military history," the success of military police in "cleaning up" communities and "clearing 'girls' off the streets," along with the efforts of Christian organizations to combat vice in areas surrounding military establishments. Religious ministries to service personnel must undergo quick and drastic revamping, Dr. Yeager said, as a result of the missile dispersal program.

The council voiced support of the United Nations in a resolution commending the international agency for its championship of religious liberty. Urging continued U. S. support of the U.N. by both citizens and government, the resolution termed the U.N. "a symbol of the God-given aspirations of man toward responsible international conduct and more brotherly relations among men," "an effective way of making a contribution toward the alleviation of human suffering" and "a major factor contributing to the development of more peaceful, just and orderly relationships among nations and people."

Lutheran World Action, the National Lutheran Council's annual financial appeal, reported 1962 receipts of $4,203,755—less than 2 per cent short of the goal for the year. Major share of the receipts were channeled through the Luther World Federation for its widespread program of interchurch aid, community development, self-help projects and missionary and theological activities. L.W.A. funds also go to support ministry to the armed forces, resettlement and assistance for refugees, a ministry to temporary communities in the U.S. and a variety of interdenominational activities. The L.W.A. goal for 1963 was set at $4,450,000.

Delegates voted support for bills pending in Congress which would revise immigration laws to allocate larger quotas to countries outside the western hemisphere, to facilitate reunion of separated families, to provide for regular admission of refugees, and to increase admission of persons with special skills. Lutheran Immigration Service reported that it is expanding its program of assistance to European refugees to care for Cubans and Chinese who need resettlement and relief aid.

Membership in the National Lutheran Council was reduced from six to two church bodies last year by the merger of the United, Augustana and American Evangelical Lutheran churches and the Suomi Synod into the new Lutheran Church in America, and by the entry of the Lutheran Free Church into the American Lutheran Church. The other large U.S. Lutheran body, the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, is not affiliated with the council but has taken part in certain phases of its program and just now is engaged in a continuing study with N.L.C. representatives looking toward possible cooperation in other areas at some future date. EVERETT C. PARKER.

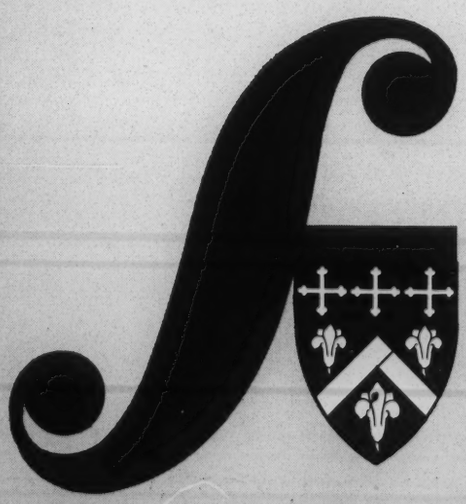
Religion
Jan-Feb 63

JOSEPHITE

ESSAY

CONTEST

Award Winner



Fourth in a series of five one-thousand-dollar scholarship winning essays:

The Church Suffers

by Frances Kay Dellinger

"ANY THOUGHT OF A WIDE GENERAL CONVERSION of Negroes to the Catholic Church is an illusion unless the attitude of American Catholics—clergy and laity—is completely purified of the segregation policy."

Such is the judgment of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith on the state of the Church in this country.

Too often in America, and for too long, both the clergy and the laity of the Church founded by Jesus Christ have been indifferent to the problem of racial injustice in our land or have approached the problem of racial tensions from an emotional rather than a rational point of view.

Priests who have worked for years to convert Negroes to the Church are convinced that one of the major deterrents to potential converts is the anti-Negro attitude of many white Catholics. Only three per cent of the Negroes in America today are Catholics. When Catholics display prejudice, promote segregation, or practice discrimination, they commit sins not only against justice and charity, but of scandal. Non-Catholics, both white and Negro, study Catholics to see if their conduct is in accord with avowed principles. Catholics who do not live the principles of Christianity while giving them lip-service commit a sin which can be mortal, and their actions are injurious to the Church.

The American Negro, after a hundred years of citizenship, still has not won the free exercise of his God-given rights. Prejudice, discrimination, and segregation restrict and hamper his full development both as a person and as a member of society.

Discriminatory practices wound his spirit and rob him of his self-respect. Segregation places on him a social stigma and inevitably leads to unequal treatment. Frustration and even hopelessness can be the end result of an existence constantly hindered from pursuing "even moderate ambitions and fulfilling even modest duties."

Often such circumstances have prevented the Negro from obtaining adequate education. Therefore, he is relegated to jobs with low income. The inadequacy of his wages forces the mother of the family to seek additional income by working outside the home. The children are left without proper guidance and supervision.

The highest rent in many cities is collected in slums where apartment subdivision leaves entire families occupying single-room dwellings. Without adequate maintenance, privacy, or conveniences, and at a price equivalent to an

"... a fisher of men."

Robert Browning Baker photo

by Rev. Thomas F. O'Connor, S.S.J.

IT IS NATURAL, I suppose, for a sexagenarian to reminisce: to compare what is with what might have been. I was started on this track by rereading Edwin O'Connor's ***Edge of Sadness,*** to my mind the best novel about a priest since Canon Sheehan. As a matter of fact the start of my own vocation came with the reading of the story of another priest, a martyr of the Tudor era—***Come Rack, Come Rope*** by Robert Hugh Benson.

Forty years ago, when I first read that book, I had absolutely no personal thoughts about the priesthood, except perchance the hope that a son of mine might grow up to be a bishop, mayhap an archbishop, even a cardinal! At the time I had a good clerical job at the Fulton Fish Market and I was attending night classes at the newly opened Fordham University School of Business in the Woolworth Building, then the tallest in New York. In my future I hoped there would be a pretty wife, a few well-behaved children, and solid financial security. Maybe even a Stutz Bearcat and a big house on Long Island.

In those days Al Smith was Governor of New York and, since he claimed "FFM" (Fulton Fish Market) as his alma mater, he was the hero of all the young men who worked there. Who knew to what heights we might rise?

However, after reading ***Come Rack, Come Rope*** I became overwhelmed with the realization of the gossamer quality of worldly success. It gave me a sort of hopeless feeling that I should have tried for the priesthood, but now it was too late!

In this state of mind I made a retreat at Mount Manresa on Staten Island. There the director, Father Herman Storch, S.J., God bless him, assured me it was not too late—that priests were everywhere in short supply. With his wise counsel, and after much earnest prayer, I finally decided God was calling me to the Negro Missions. I applied to the Josephite Fathers and was accepted. On October 22, 1925 I entered Epiphany Apostolic College in Newburgh, New York, as a candidate for the priesthood. I was ordained June 11, 1934 and I have never had a regret. Sometimes I harbor doubts about my effectiveness but, no matter what the future may hold, it has been a very happy and satisfying life. Much better than having a big house on Long Island, a Cadillac convertible—or even a bishop for a son.

HARMON DRAWING

from Segregation

Eastside penthouse, tenants are exposed to conditions which breed disease and crime. They are prevented from moving by segregation.

Many jobs are not open to Negroes. Often well-educated young men and women are forced to undertake menial positions because they are not permitted by discriminatory business practices to enter occupational fields for which they have been trained.

It is easy to see the cumulative effect of these injustices. Some Negroes withdraw from the struggle and simply give up. The denial in practice of their human dignity leads to a loss of self-respect, which leads to a loss of a sense of responsibility. Where, on the other hand, Negroes are given just opportunity, they educate themselves and become fine citizens.

God is color-blind. He is the Father of all men. This is the constant teaching of the Church. Yet it is difficult for the Negroes to accept the Church when they are turned away from parishes on the pretext that they are provided for elsewhere. Thus vast spiritual harm is done to the Negroes by impeding the conversion of non-Catholic Negroes and by alienating the Catholics.

How can they believe in the Catholic doctrine, "Love thy neighbor as thyself?" In church they must sit in "segregated" pews, a practice impious because it gives the lie to sacred principles.

They listen to sermons urging the congregation to send Catholic children to Catholic schools. Yet Negroes are told that there is no room for their children when they apply to these schools. Teen clubs and parish activities are organized for Catholic young people. Yet the teenagers too are segregated; they may not attend teen clubs with the white children; they must have their own "separate and equal" teen clubs.

If actions speak louder than words, what do these actions say? The Negro finds discrimination on all sides, but when it is in God's Church too, the injustice is unbearable.

"Today, in many areas of the South, the average Christian is even afraid to speak out in favor of what he knows is morally right," says Mr. Thurgood Marshall, prominent Negro leader. (Now a Federal judge.—Ed.) Too well known is the incident of the Negro priest who was sent to labor in a Catholic parish in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. When the congregation arrived for Sunday Mass and saw that they had a colored priest, they walked out.

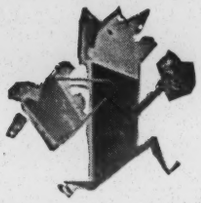
One of the great tragedies is that the white people by these unjust segregation practices are making it impossible to come into contact with the Negro enough to know or understand him. The ghetto walls that shield the white man keep him from ever meeting a Negro as a person. He does not know the Negro as an individual, but as "one of them."

The white man suffers from this degradation or denial of human rights that must eventually place his own in jeopardy.

Prejudice is demoralizing for those who practice it. It places in the mind an entirely false idea of one's own superiority, while it harms the faculty of judgment itself. The white man becomes incased in a little shell of bigotry and prejudice.

Those who know and understand the Negro also are hurt by segregation. Because they are subjected to hostile pressures by other Whites, they often lose courage to love their Negro brother as they would.

Discrimination is unjust on all sides. To conquer the injustice will require much time and tremendous work. It will never be done, however, until as Father Robert F. Drinan, S. J., says, "those who are not injured feel as indignant as those who are."



OUR READERS WRITE . . .

I am a boy, ten years of age. I have just finished reading "A Stocking Full of Sorrow" in the Christmas issue and I feel very sorry for the children who have nothing for Christmas.

I am enclosing $3.25, my Christmas money, for you to give to some Negro children in Alabama. It is late for Christmas now, but better late than never. Also, would you please send the names and addresses of priests who have small schools in Alabama?

I will be able to celebrate Jesus' birthday better today.

New York

This and the letter following are but two of many prompted by "A Stocking Full of Sorrow." An equally stimulating article in our Christmas issue was "There is a Santa Claus!" We are deeply grateful to all who sent toys and other gifts for our needy children on the Southern Missions.—Ed.

The article, "A Stocking Full of Sorrow," touched me deeply. Sometimes I think things are rough and then something like this makes me thank God for all we do have!

I have sent you a box of toys—they aren't much, but almost every toy in this house that was in decent condition is in there. Joey (age 5) and Marianne (4) were quite willing to part with them for Baby Jesus' sake. Then, too, they know they will get some for Christmas. We wrapped each one separately so it doesn't seem like a box of junk.

When the box comes, will you please re-address it to one of those turpentine places or someplace where little ones need toys? As soon as I can, I promise to send a couple of dollars to cover any postage you may spend to forward it. We are saving up and if you'll let us know where the package goes we'll send a big box of candy to the children, too.

Pennsylvania

Thanks very much for your beautiful Christmas card and also for this month's edition of THE JOSEPHITE HARVEST. I can not tell you how much I have enjoyed reading it. Also, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your beautiful calendar. Every good wish for a very bright and prosperous New Year.

Massachusetts

I think it is a wonderful and happy coincidence that, through the intercession of Saint Joseph, I have been granted a very special intention regarding my daughter, on the Feast of the Holy Family. Please find enclosed a little something for your missionary work.

Pennsylvania

This is in thanksgiving for a very great favor received from Saint Joseph. My husband was transferred to this city in July of last year. We put our house up for sale in June and had no prospects that were able to finance our house. Someone told me to pray to Saint Joseph. I started the Thirty Days Prayer. On the last day a lady called and said she had just noticed the sign on our house and asked if she could come to see it. We signed the final papers on the 15th of November, and I'm sure it was only through Saint Joseph that we were able to sell, because the real estate business is very slow in our small town.

New York

I am sorry I didn't get my Christmas offering to you sooner. The past few weeks have been pretty hectic for me. I am a mailman.

Maryland

Thank you for your beautiful Christmas card, and for the great privilege of helping your work in my small way. Yours is the finest gift one could receive.

This $10.00 is part payment of a debt I owe Saint Anthony. In a new city, incredibly, he found me a bit of work as an organist.

Have a wonderful 1963.

Pennsylvania

Please pray for peace and good will in our recently integrated neighborhood.

New Jersey

NECROLOGY

REMEMBER, please, in your charity the souls of the following Josephite Missionaries, the anniversaries of whose deaths occur during these months:

Jan. 1, 1954 Rev. Francis Robbins, S.S.J.
13, 1908 Rev. Thomas Donovan, S.S.J.
13, 1942 Rev. John Gillard, S.S.J.
13, 1950 Rev. William Murphy, S.S.J.
14, 1912 Rev. Jeremiah McNamara, S.S.J.
20, 1920 Rev. James Nally, S.S.J.
Jan. 26, 1931 Rev. Edward Hartnett, S.S.J.
27, 1913 Rev. John Plantevigne, S.S.J.
27, 1929 Rev. Charles Reilly, S.S.J.
29, 1953 Rev. James Finegan, S.S.J.
30, 1952 Rev. Thomas Foley, S.S.J.
30, 1960 Rev. Edward Glancy, S.S.J.

Feb. 2, 1936 Bro. James Cunningham, S.S.J.
2, 1961 Rev. John Meskill, S.S.J.
4, 1943 Rev. Joseph Hanley, S.S.J.
7, 1957 Rev. Peter Curran, S.S.J.
11, 1920 Rev. John Clarke, S.S.J.
13, 1933 Bro. Patrick Richardson, S.S.J.
13, 1946 Rev. John Callery, S.S.J.
Feb. 16, 1926 Rev. George Drenford, S.S.J.
18, 1954 Rev. William Reichmeyer, S.S.J.
19, 1943 Rev. Matthew Morrissey, S.S.J.
20, 1941 Rev. Thomas Plunkett, S.S.J.
20, 1953 Rev. Edward Blasius, S.S.J.
23, 1931 Rev. Joseph Anciaux, S.S.J.
23, 1962 Rev. Francis Carney, S.S.J.
Feb. 25, 1961 Rev. Michael McCormack, S.S.J.

Religion

Miss Tabitha Cobb teaches her integrated fourth grade class at College Hill Christian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. The percentage of Negroes in the College Hill section—three per cent—is the same today as it was in 1950. The church has lost a few members over its decision to accept all races into membership but has gained many new members.

—Photo by James E. Turner

Open Doors at College Hill

By O. MERRILL BOGGS

THE transformation of College Hill Christian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, began on Thursday before Race Relations Sunday in 1961. I was in my study that February morning preparing my sermon. It was *not* a message on race relations.

A lady, one of our members, came into my study and told me of a Negro boy in College Hill who had tried unsuccessfully for more than two months to get into one of the local Cub Scout packs. He was being kept out by the children's parents.

After this woman left my office I began to ask myself whether the church would have dealt any differently with this Negro lad. I recalled an address by Carlyle Marney at the Ministers Breakfast at the 1960 International Convention Assembly in Louisville. When it comes to vital social issues, Dr. Marney said, the church, instead of being out ahead of the slow-moving majorities, is too often trailing behind. The church, he said, is rarely out on the scrimmage line of life but waits for someone else to make the touchdown and then wants to rush in and make the extra point! As I sat there in my study I knew that in the area of race relations this is all too true.

Then God spoke to me and he said, "Let the church be the church! Challenge it to open its doors wide to all races, or else take the name *Christian* off its cornerstone. And do it *now!*"

Mr. Boggs is minister of the College Hill Christian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio.

For nearly three hours that morning I argued with my Lord. I knew full well that this was the gospel his Son had preached and lived.

"But Lord," I complained, "why does it have to be done *now?* This is not a good time. We have just built a new sanctuary, with a large mortgage on it, and our financial obligations are so large and our receipts so small that it would be foolish to risk losing any financial support right now."

And the reply came: "What does it profit a church—to gain the whole world, to build buildings, to raise budgets, to add members to its rolls—if in the process it forfeits its life and surrenders the mission for which it came into being?"

That morning I felt God's presence in a way I had never felt it before. I scrapped the sermon on which I had been working and prepared an entirely new one. I devoted this new sermon to a discussion of the nature and mission of the church, especially as it pertains to its role in the area of race relations. I acknowledged the contributions of our social scientists in this field of human relations but emphasized that our major concern must be what the *church* is doing or ought to do. Directing my people's attention to the Biblical teachings on race, I pointed out that the central message of the gospel is one of *reconciliation* and *love* and that today as at Pentecost the incoming of Christ's spirit wipes out the man-made barriers of race and nation.

That next Sunday I faced my congregation.

It is true, I told my people, that we don't explicitly bar Negroes from our church. Yet in nine years as

pastor at College Hill I had never seen a Negro enter the sanctuary for worship. The reason for this, I suggested, is that Negroes felt they would not be welcome.

I then challenged my people to re-establish the church as Jesus had founded it—to open its doors wide to all races, and to go to the Negro people in our community and let them know that they are welcome in our church. I challenged them to "go into the world"—and the "world" certainly includes our own neighborhood—and "make disciples of all" who would confess Jesus as Lord. I called them to restore the church as Christ had founded it, a holy fellowship that is based not on kinship of race or class but on kinship in Christ.

Encouraged by the positive response of my congregation, I decided to mimeograph the sermon and mail it to all the members. Before mailing it, however, I asked the chairman of the board of elders if he thought the elders would like to send a letter with the sermon, encouraging our people to give it serious attention. He promptly called a special meeting of the elders to consider my request.

Our board of elders consists of six men. At that time the chairman was a Virginian. One was from Missouri, another from West Virginia, two from Ohio, and one from Indiana. Four of the men were college graduates, the fifth was a grocery chain executive, and the sixth was in the plumbing business. They ranged in age from 31 to 57 years. Good, sensible, Christian leaders—all of them. They were conservative but not fanatically so.

They quickly agreed on sending a letter of commendation with the sermon, but then went on to say that this was a pretty weak position for a board of

(*Continued on page* 32)

Mr. Boggs greets members of his congregation following a Sunday morning worship service. College Hill Church, in suburban Cincinnati, now worships in a new sanctuary.
—Photo by Turner

THE substance of a recent Air Force letter putting an end to the distribution of gift cigarettes among Air Force personnel raises a number of interesting ethical questions. The letter itself reads as follows:

17 September, 1962

Department of the Air Force
Headquarters, United States Air Force
Washington 25, D. C.
Reply to—Att'n of: AFCSG
Subject: Gift cigarettes
To: ADC, AFSC, AELC, AFSC, ATC, AV, CONAC, CAP-USAF, HQ COMD ASAF, MATS, SAC, TAC, AAC, PACAF, USAFE, CAIRC, USAFA.

1. The ever-increasing evidence linking cigarette smoking with lung cancer, pulmonary diseases, cardiovascular diseases, etc., can no longer be ignored. The Surgeon General U.S.A.F., has taken a firm stand on this issue and has informed the tobacco companies that gift cigarettes are no longer acceptable.

2. To allow the free distribution of cigarettes in our hospitals and in flight lunches suggests to our personnel that the Air Force Medical Service, in effect, condones cigarette smoking. To do so is to repudiate the overwhelming evidence of many medical research teams working independently on a world wide basis.

3. Henceforth, gift cigarettes will not be accepted for free distribution to patients in U.S.A.F. Hospitals, nor will they be placed in flight lunch boxes.

R. L. Bohannon, Major General, USAF, MC
For the Chief of Staff
Deputy Surgeon General USAF

AMONG the other ethical questions raised by the letter one may list the following:

(1) If there is as much real danger from cigarette smoking as is suggested by the Air Force Medical Service (and we agree that there is) should we not be raising the question of cigarette advertising through radio, TV, newspaper and magazine channels?

(2) Is it an unwarranted infringement of individual freedom and business privilege to curb the sale of cigarettes by shutting off advertising channels?

(3) Do businesses have a responsibility for anything beyond making a profit for their investors?

(4) Do individuals have a responsibility to themselves and to their friends and children to seriously consider the health implications of cigarette smoking?

(5) Should the church keep free of such issues as cigarette smoking, the use of alcoholic beverages, racial equality, atomic warfare, and medical care of the aging? Should the church leave these ethical matters to the armed forces, the political parties, the business and advertising agencies of our country, and our mass media of communication such as the movies, the radio, TV, the newspapers? Or does the church have a major responsibility in these and similar fields of ethical decision which it is not now accepting?

Open Doors at College Hill

(*Continued from page* 18)

elders to take. On such an important issue, they felt that they ought to let the congregation know where they stood. I think they surprised themselves as much as me when they discovered that they unanimously supported my challenge to become a racially inclusive church. They composed a letter to the congregation which included this declaration:

"(1) That the church should take the lead regarding racial integration rather than stay idly in the background; (2) true harmony between the races will never exist until Christians of all races can worship together; and (3) the College Hill Christian Church should invite people of all races to worship with us, for all races are one in Christ."

The elders also agreed that we should immediately make personal contact with Negro families in College Hill, preferably people with Disciples background. We promptly called on a few of such families, and soon thereafter two or three Negro families began worshiping with us.

Not everyone in the church agreed with what the elders and I were doing. One deacon left and a few persons made sharp attacks on our program. But in June of 1961, we called a special congregational meeting and formally voted to support the elders and pastor in inviting all races to worship with us.

BY the end of July we had received our first Negro family into membership. Since then we have received five other Negro families, so that at present we have six Negro member families, with four or five other such families also attending worship.

Our Negro people came into membership one family at a time. It was a personal religious experience for all of them. They joined our church for the same basic reason that anyone does, because in one way or another it meets their personal spiritual needs.

There was no mass movement on the part of Negroes to get into our church. We discovered what thousands of churches across the land have learned. Negroes do not overwhelm formerly all-white congregations once these churches open their doors to all races. Negroes must be evangelized just like other persons.

Indeed, because of Negroes' long-standing fear and mistrust of white people, it is even more difficult to bring them into a formerly all-white congregation than it is to evangelize white persons.

In an all-colored church the Negro has a sense of personal security. Here the color line does not exist and he is accepted on the basis of his personal merits. To leave this relatively secure emotional situation and come into a preponderantly white congregation requires real courage and faith on the part of the Negro. In taking this step he runs the risk that white members may not fully accept him on his own merits. He also faces the possibility that members of his own race will criticize him because they themselves are too weak and insecure to take a similar step or because they do not understand his motives.

WE lost only four active families as a result of integrating our church. Several other families were not happy about this move but did not feel they should leave the church over it. Many of these members have since changed their minds and now support this important development in the life of our church. It is important to note that during that same year that we lost four families over the decision to integrate, we received thirty-seven new members of whom twenty-eight were white. This is a record number of additions for the past three years at College Hill and the second highest number of additions during the previous ten years. We are now a congregation of 215 resident members.

Our Negro members have been thoroughly accepted into all phases of church life. They take part actively not only in public worship but also in the CWF, CMF, youth groups, and church school. Two of them are church school teachers and one sings in the adult choir. A number of them now serve on several functional committees of the church and one Negro, Mrs. Joseph Young, is secretary of the general board of officers.

Now, how did this all happen? How within a year and a half were we transformed into a racially integrated congregation? Certainly it was not because of any social pressure; our neighborhood is not changing from white to Negro. The percentage of Negroes in College Hill—three per cent—remains the same today as it was in 1950.

Nor did we become racially integrated because the congregation were all "northerners." At least twenty-five per cent of our members were southern born and reared.

Nor could the sermon I gave on Race Relations Sunday in 1961 be credited as the sole reason for this important change in the life of our church. Most of the ideas and insights it contained had been shared with the people before.

SOMEHOW, most of us at College Hill Christian Church found ourselves gripped by the Holy Spirit to a degree that we had never known before. We suddenly found ourselves empowered by his love to tear down the man-made barriers of racial pride and prejudice which had so long surrounded the church. We stopped talking about what the church-in-general ought to do about race and began asking ourselves what the church-in-College-Hill ought to do about it.

We have succeeded in wiping out the barriers of race and color at College Hill Christian Church because we have dared to act on our faith in God.

Many a person said to me during the first six months of our struggle: "To welcome, to invite people of all races to join our congregation upsets me emotionally. It goes against all that I have been taught. It is contrary to the social patterns in which I have been brought up. But I know that it is right. It is *Christian*. And I *must* do it!"

This is an act of faith. And when we so act, when we really put our trust in God—even when he commands us to do something difficult for us to understand or accept—it is then that his Spirit is able to enter our lives, cleanse us of impure thoughts and low motives, and empower us to love one another even as Christ loved us.

The first step toward the realization of a society in which all men mutually respect and help one another is neither violent revolution nor even reform. It is spiritual regeneration. This is what our church has experienced. And others can find it, too.

Fleeing Creature

By MARY TOOKEY

My loneliness I seek to hide
In triviality.
It can't be lightly satisfied,
This loneliness for Thee.

Let me escape. I understand
That I must mask my woe,
Lest God have pity, enter, and
Disturb my status quo.

Religion
Rec'd 2/63

Catholics and Racism in the North

Matthew Ahmann

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Catholics and Racism in the North

On June 10, Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan ordered the integration of Catholic schools in the diocese of Atlanta, the order to take effect in September. The secular as well as the religious press hailed this decision as a courageous move that swept aside long years of tradition. While the Catholic Church is active in eliminating segregation in the South, little is being said about its role in racial justice in the North. The great bulk of Catholic power and population is in the big cities of the North. What are Catholics doing to dissolve the massive black ghettos in these cities? What are they doing—and what should they do—about discrimination in housing? Employment opportunities? Is the Northern Catholic practicing the injustice he affects to despise in certain Southern cities?

Matthew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, sees the response of Northern Catholics as too little and too slow. He presents some practical programs for organized Catholic effort in the North. Mr. Ahmann is editor of The New Negro *(Chicago: Fides, 1961), and a member of the Steering Committee of the newly established National Conference on Religion and Race.*

DESPITE the wise, necessary and socially significant action of the Archbishop of New Orleans in declaring each grade of all Catholic schools open to *all* Catholic children, the larger job for the Catholic community coming to grips with racial segregation is in the Northern city. In establishing a diocesan policy on schools, the Archbishop took a giant step ahead of many Northern Catholic communities which are still searching for the things they must do to resolve a virulent Northern racism and deal with the great human deprivation and misery found in massive Negro ghettos.

Northern racial segregation and its concomitant human problems are more insidious, hypocritical and dangerous than Southern segregation has ever been. In the seven years since the Supreme Court decision, which declared segregation in public education unconstitutional, racial misery and racial ghettos in Northern cities have expanded. It is far easier to overcome segregation by law and create a climate of growing freedom in the South than it is to dissolve the massive intrenched black ghettos of the North.

During much of the decade of the '50's, fifty to sixty city blocks a year changed from all white to all Negro occupancy in Chicago. Some realtors and mortgage men have bled Negro and white families and have set the key conditions for the growth of slums. Segregation in Northern parochial and public schools has increased. And white people have fled to suburban areas with torn and bleeding consciences and intensified bitterness toward Negroes.

This process has been developing in many large Northern cities—Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, San Francisco. Such cities as St. Louis, Baltimore and Washington have become more Northern in their characteristics than border South. Even smaller Northern cities and towns have increasingly felt the tensions produced by strains in an unjust and segregated social order, as Negro communities continue to grow in size. More than one fair-sized city with no Negro population, which maintained it had no interracial problem, discovered a bitterness toward those of another race on the arrival of its first Negro family.

HIGHWAY PROGRAMS and urban renewal in their early years dealt harshly with impoverished Negroes and those most often found in neighborhoods subject to these programs. Forcible relocation, without attention to problems of racial segregation, has only pushed the ghetto boundaries over into new neighborhoods and created new slums elsewhere. The lack of provision for low and middle-income housing even now means that the burdens of badly needed urban programs are all placed on the poor while a handful of developers have grown rich.

When Negroes have made attempts to move into unsegregated neighborhoods — away from the slum and the ghetto, perhaps to a suburb—they have been faced with massive and nauseating reactions from supposedly educated and sophisticated white people, and not infrequently with the arson and bombings that symbolize for Northerners the racial climate of Birmingham, Alabama or Shreveport, Louisiana. It is *the* hypocrisy of the North that it has gleefully criticized and pressured the South while trying desperately to bury its own grave sins under the carpetbag.

The still-growing Negro ghettos and the expanding slums, the segregation on beaches, in public accom-

← Parents whose children have been refused admittance in a Chicago school ponder their next move. Note white child and mother entering the school.

→ Children play a rough-and-tumble game in a street in the Harlem section of New York City.

Sit-in demonstrator in Englewood, N. J., protesting claimed segregation by local school board is arrested after an all-night vigil in the Municipal Building. ↓

modations, schools, hospitals and employment in the North are developing a generation of millions of people without hope and little human motivation. In the large urban slum in the North there is misery comparable to that of the Negro in the sugar cane country in southern Louisiana.

These are facts. It is also a fact that the major task of the Catholic community in race relations and in dealing with the human problems of the city, is in the North. Catholics are an urban people, by and large, and most Catholics live in the North. The wealth of the Catholic community and the wealthy dioceses are in the North (and East and West). The large Catholic associations and organizations have their strength in the Northern city. Without the active participation and commitment of the Catholic community in improving the city and in fighting its devastating racially segregated patterns, the Northern city cannot become a home for free and dignified men. There are signs of hope, but the Church must respond more rapidly and with a still larger heart.

AMONG THE HOPEFUL signs is a growing restiveness and political sophistication in the Negro community. Old Negro leaders are increasingly being threatened with loss of power. On the plus side, whites and the dominant power groups setting city policy are faced with growing pressure from an increasingly organized Negro community. On the negative side, we can observe a growing, though perhaps necessary, confusion of issues —in urban renewal, for example, and even in battles over *de facto* segregated schools—and the steady growth and influence of movements like the black "Muslims." The recent riot involving "Muslims" and the police in Los Angeles is a case in point.

Slowly, but surely, the Catholic Church is beginning to respond, too. You can see this in the expanding horizons of the Catholic Interracial Councils and in the increasing concreteness of their work. Eight years ago many CICs lacked effective contact with institutions in their dioceses and only conducted youth education programs, ran speakers bureaus and the like. Today, these programs are becoming more effective and the Councils are discovering the techniques of getting at problems of urban renewal, all white suburbs, the lack of freedom in housing, the misery and loneliness of the slum. CICs are also rooting themselves more deeply in the Catholic organizational networks of their dioceses so as to have growing and steady contact with the larger Catholic public. Increasingly they seem to be called upon as experts and people with sophistication and skills, as they should be, regarding some of the many problems of race, housing and connected ills. In some cities the Councils are organizing networks of people throughout the metropolitan area so as to be able to carry on their work more effectively.

You can see the gradual response, too, in the growing number of Catholics who are communicating with each other informally across diocesan lines on problems of urbanism, race, planning and community change. In Cardinal Spellman's Urban Renewal Committee, Cardinal Meyer's Archdiocesan Conservation Council, the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations in Detroit, Bishop Wright's service on the board of Pittsburgh's Action Housing, you can see the deliberate plan of bishops to give all their priests experience in heavily Negro and inner city parishes.

But the response is yet too little and must come more rapidly. There seems to be a reluctance on the part of Church authorities to develop definite diocesan policy and experiment with what must be done. There is still a reluctance to commit the Church to a genuine effort to teach concretely about interracial justice and the many other areas of concern for the Christian in the city. There is no organized national Catholic interest, outside of the Catholic Interracial Council network, no one connected with NCWC who has the time to specialize on problems of urbanization.

There is, moreover, too little realization of what the shifting, changing city means for the Church: the opportunities to give witness, to provide religious inspiration, to serve the people God created, to fight blatant injustice and the unscrupulous use of power.

Broadly the approaches to solution, the programs, can be grouped under five headings: education, employment, center city slum, housing and the ministry of the Gospel. The large Catholic resources of our dioceses on the East Coast, in the Middle West, on the West Coast and in the formerly border South must be mobilized to carry on and support a unique witness in each of these areas. In most of them the new ecumenical spirit should prove an asset, for the churches and synagogues together must hammer out in public the agreed-upon values which will underlie the more practical programs necessary to make the city a servant of all men, and undergird, for example, the coming federal Department on Urban Affairs.

EDUCATION. There is hardly a city where some Catholic parochial or high schools do not try to dodge accepting Negro pupils. They resort to almost all of the ruses used in the South. Some schools refuse them flatly; some have racial quotas; some parishes informally revise their boundaries by agreement with a bordering school. Obviously, an effective, enforced policy has to be devised to bring practice in line with Catholic belief.

In some areas where neighborhoods have become heavily Negro, Catholic schools are under-utilized or closed because of a lack of Negro Catholics to fill them. Often this action is taken in situations where public schools are bulging with overcrowded classrooms and second shifts. Here the Catholic educational system can be of real social

service to our cities and to the Negro parents who often appreciate a Catholic education for their children. Those places that have a policy of maintaining open schools have found they can easily fill their school — charging sufficient tuition to maintain the plant and teaching staff.

Such utilization of Catholic schools is most urgent in the inner-city slum neighborhood. Here special teaching programs designed to help pupils with special educational, cultural and social disabilities can be devised. This can be done more easily and in a better fashion than in the cumbersome structure of a large public school system. Many of the children of these neighborhoods come from unstable and very poor families. They have little motivation to learn, or even to stay in school. Their home environment is not conducive to school work. They are exposed to a multitude of bad influences. Their parents do not encourage them to learn. Because they know of employment discrimination through seeing many unemployed Negro men about, they realize they will grow up without a job. And they will, unless—unless special programs are gotten underway. Efforts can be made in these programs to involve parents more closely in the educational process, as is done in the Banneker school group in St. Louis. This will help the children, and can also have a beneficial influence on the stability of family life itself.

The school plants can be used also for special adult educational programs, to help increase the employability of those living in underprivileged neighborhoods and for special summer programs for the children.

EMPLOYMENT. Many employers say they will hire Negroes when they possess the requisite skills. And happily, under governmental pressure this promise is being fulfilled in many cases. But a study, a few years ago, of white collar jobs offered by the employers in a large Northern city indicated 98% of the employers specifically refused to consider nonwhites of any kind. A 1960 research report on apprenticeship programs by the labor department of the NAACP indicated that at the then existing rates of progress it would take Negroes 138 years or until 2094 A.D. to secure "equal participation in skilled-craft training and employment." A recent U. S. Labor Department report rejoiced that Negro wages had reached 58% of those of whites by 1958. Slight cause for rejoicing in the Negro community! Discrimination in employment is still rampant; few employers, apparently, feel the slightest pang of conscience, and few employers will go any further toward justice than the point to which they are forced by massive public and governmental pressure.

What are the programs? First of all, as Catholics, what are the employment policies of our Catholic organizations and institutions? Justice does not happen in this area of concern unless there is a policy and someone to see to it that it is fol-

lowed. We still do have organizations and institutions, hospitals and others, where there are patterns of discrimination in employment. We also, sad to say, have rectories where no Negro housekeeper is welcome. Catholics, obviously, have to abandon these practices.

Catholic employers have to be reached from the pulpit and by other means; they need help in their attempts to live up to the social doctrine of the Church. Sermons on interracial justice that leave the conscience of an employer undisturbed are really meaningless, if intended to help the Catholic be a better Christian.

As an organized Church we can use the economic power that is ours to help shape fair employment practices in civic society. Our investments, our real estate, our purchasing power, our building contracts are either perpetuating discriminatory patterns, or working to break them down. They do not act in a neutral way. Surely we have a grave duty to use these resources with responsibility and prudence.

The idea for this latter program was originally presented at the 1961 Convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice by Father John Cronin of the Social Action Department of the NCWC. Soon we hope to see some breakthroughs in announcements of new policy in this area.

CENTER CITY SLUM. I have already referred to some of the ways our schools can be used in slum areas to give help and hope to people. We must build into programs for Negro youth and parents a drive for education which will help them go far enough in school to pick up the training and skills that will make them employable in the more skilled labor market of the future. Already in some areas of employment there are jobs available for Negroes, but not enough applicants to fill them.

The Catholic community has a large organized program of social service, administered through various Catholic Charities departments. We should give more serious thought to how these programs can be used on a local neighborhood basis to meet the needs of an underskilled, problem-filled neighborhood. People here are not oriented toward downtown agencies; we should bring the programs to our parish centers, and open them to the total community there. One such program, on an informal basis, is operating in the well-known "Corktown" parish of Pastor Clement Kern in Detroit. Another operates out of Philadelphia's Gesu Parish, and there are several existing experiments run by Protestant churches. It seems obvious that social services in the parish also can increase the vitality of parish life as well as its witness in the local community.

Our parishes should join with other churches in working to strengthen such organization in the Negro community as will enable people to participate in civic life more fully, speak up for their own needs and interests, and end the

control by distant downtown groups.

HOUSING. There are at least four important aspects of the housing problem in which we all bear responsibility for action. We know the conditions of slum neighborhoods, and I have itemized some of the work we must do there. But we must also help work out ways to rehabilitate undermaintained housing, reduce artificially high rents, improve building code enforcement and reduce the density in the overcrowded tenements. We must strive to reduce the blight-inducing concentrations of massive public housing projects which, in many cities, are built almost exclusively in the Negro ghetto. Smaller public housing projects — row houses, for example, or reconditioned houses and apartments—can be made available for purchase by families whose incomes rise, thus introducing some stability into these areas.

We must also have programs which get at the jobs of organization and education necessary to meet the problems of racially changing neighborhoods in order to stabilize them, maintain the housing quality, and still allow for interested Negro families to move in without extending the boundaries of the racial ghetto.

It is in the changing neighborhood that white people grow most bitter toward Negroes. Yet, since 1950, a variety of experiments in many cities taught us what must be done in these communities. There are so many Catholics in our cities that the endless process of harmful change will not end without deliberate support and action by the Church and the Catholic community. Sometimes, I have discovered, this will mean dealing with Catholic groups who operate on the self-defeating as well as morally unsound policy of keeping Negroes out.

We must do what we can toward making it possible for Negro families to move far out of the ghetto if they choose — even to the all-white suburb. Negro families are beginning to look around for decent housing out in the reaches. They have the same desires as the ordinary white family—and the same rights—but too often they are denied their rights. Put it this way: a fine upstanding white Catholic family can move into any suburb where it can afford housing. A fine upstanding Negro family cannot. Why not? What is wrong? What must we do about it?

FIRST OF ALL, the Catholic community should support fair housing legislation. It is needed to eliminate the factor of race from the judgment a realtor or family makes in deciding to sell a house. Secondly, we should give the support of our suburban parishes to the rights of these families. This means preparing our communities so that the climate is favorable for a family looking for housing. It means supporting that family if they should be threatened, upon moving in. In the past several years, the

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has done some magnificent work in helping parishes live up to their Christian obligations in this regard. It can be done. And surprisingly enough to many, property values do not drop when a Negro family arrives.

Finally, there are special governmental programs such as public housing and urban renewal which should concern us. The relocation and other provisions of urban renewal can be a great aid in reducing the amount of racial segregation in our cities, if citizen watchdog committees keep their eyes open. But any city needs a conscious policy to encourage racial integration before these tools will be of any use. As a religious people, committed to racial integration, we have responsibility to work with members of other groups to see that necessary city policy is developed.

MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL. What is gained, despite all these practical programs, if people do not understand why they carry them out? What is gained if people do not know why they should support racial integration? One of the key elements in any Church approach to the problems of racism and racial segregation in the North is to preach the Gospel. From observation and many interviews, I would say that most Catholics have a vague knowledge that the principles of Christianity argue against discrimination toward other people because of their race. The work of well-known churchmen in the public eye and to some extent, the Catholic press, have taught them that. The dramatic work done by the Archdiocese of New Orleans has also spread the message.

But few Catholics ever hear a sermon on interracial justice. This year several dioceses do have sermon plans which make a deliberate point of preaching on race. Many of the sermons given are timid, however, and insufficiently concrete to trouble the placid, but prejudiced, conscience.

Practice, or support, of racial segregation denies some of the key doctrines of Christianity: men are one, created by a common Father; one in the redemption by Christ; essentially equal in their human nature. The Mystical Body binds men despite their race, culture or education in a unique community of love. Christ told us that it was by our love that all men are to know we are the Christian community. Racism is a heresy in its denial of these basic truths of our Faith.

If it is urgent, as the 1958 Bishops' statement on "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" said, that men of good will take the lead from the racist before it is too late, how much more urgent is it that our teaching and preaching be done with sophistication and a spirit of courage, in an attempt to be concrete enough to awaken the conscience of the Catholic to all of his responsibilities. The Church's doctrine is not vague. It has specific meaning. Let's get on with the job of communicating that meaning.

Religion

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR THE CHURCH SCHOOL

A Symposium: Rev. Wayne Cowan, Managing Editor - Christianity and Crisis
Rev. John Reedy, Editor - Ave Maria
Rev. Albert P. Stauderman, Assoc. Editor - Lutheran
Rabbi Arthur Gilbert - Moderator

Prepared for radio transcription, March 7, 1963

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC FUNDS

FOR THE CHURCH SCHOOL

Introduction:

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has inaugurated a new program entitled, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. This project will bring together on a national and regional level, priests, ministers and rabbis across the country for the purpose of discussing those issues in the public order about which religious groups differ. Complex and knotty questions such as public funds for the church school, religious practices in the public school, the distribution of birth control devices and Sunday closing laws are on the agenda.

Recently the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, called together thirty five editors of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant publications. For the first time these editors of church and synagogue magazines and newspapers confronted each other in frank and honest discussion. Participating in this symposium held during the Editors' Institute are: Rev. Albert P. Stauderman, Associate Editor of the Lutheran Magazine, Father John Reedy, Editor and Publisher of Ave Maria, and Wayne Cowan, Managing Editor of Christianity and Crisis. The topic for discussion: "The Religious Press and the Issue of Public Funds for the Church School

Rabbi Gilbert: What in your judgment, Rev. Stauderman, is the responsibility of our church press?

Rev. Stauderman: The church press has a responsibility to provide information. It should certainly tell its constituency why other people act the way they do. If it serves its purpose as fully as it should, then it will not simply propagandize, although of course, there are irresponsible elements in the church press which try to conceal every viewpoint but their own.

Father Reedy: I would like to make an additional point. Within each of the religious groups there is probably a wide diversity of opinion. The most obvious example today would concern the question of public aid to private schools. To the general public, the Catholic position seems to be a solid one. There is prevalent also the idea that Catholics hold a position, generally stated: "No Federal Aid to education without some form of aid to parochial schools." This is a great over-simplification. Within the Catholic Community there is a wide range of opinion: First on the whole issue of whether Federal Aid to education is needed. Then there is disagreement on whether Federal Aid if given, and if including aid to Parochial Schools, should be direct aid to a religious institution or whether it should be limited to aid to parents.

Rabbi Gilbert: Such a situation of divergent viewpoints prevails also in the Jewish Community. Although it would appear that most of the Jewish Community is opposed to the use of public funds for the Church School, the truth is that there are independent voices in the Jewish Press that have indicated their support of the use of public funds for the Church School. The press does not fulfill its function certainly if it does not give all these points of view adequate expression within their pages.

Mr. Cowan, how would you characterize the responsibility of the Protestant Press in this country in reporting and editorializing on this issue of public funds for the Church School?

Wayne Cowan: Except for a few almost remote denominations within Protestantism which have their own parochial schools, the Protestant Press had been quite solid in insisting that it would be unconstitutional for public aid to be given to the church-related school system. There has been, a virtual

monolithic position within Protestantism on this question and there has been very little room for difference of opinion. The idea of a wall of separation has been the dominant view within Protestantism.

Rabbi Gilbert: Now, while the Protestant Community would appear almost overwhelmingly to be against the use of public funds for the church school, I get the impression from what Father Reedy says that there is some division within the Catholic Community on this issue. Would you clarify that a little more for us? How extensive is it really?

Father Reedy: There is not one firm position on the part of either the Protestant Community or the Catholic Community. I believe that the Catholic parent, who is very seriously concerned about this matter of the financing of private schools, will nevertheless fulfill his obligation as a citizen. As a citizen who pays taxes, and who also is involved in supporting a private school system, he will be concerned for the quality of education for all school children. In this he will fulfill his duties as a citizen, not simply as a Catholic. He knows that he has an obligation to the community at large. In other words, I think that it is possible for a Catholic - even for the parent of a child in a private school who feels that he has a right to some sort of consideration, based on the fact that he is supporting two school systems - I think it possible for this Catholic to recognize his obligation to the community at large. If in his pushing for his right he does serious damage to the community, then that is something he must take into serious consideration! There are some things that a citizen should not do in the interest of his sectarian purposes if those actions will harm the public good. I think that he has to conduct his discussion in a way that serves the community at large. He must use the legal means available to him and must conduct himself with dignity and with a sense of an obligation to the commonweal.

Rabbi Gilbert: Are you not suggesting, Father Reedy, that if there will be a clear consensus that there must be some form of public assistance for education in general and that no funds be legislated for church-related education, the Catholic will then be confronted with a choice between what he feels is his obligation as a Catholic parent as against his overriding duty as a citizen: i.e., to see to it that these public funds are made available for public education whether or not money is appropriated for church-related education?

Father Reedy: This is already the position held by many Catholic parents who have discussed the matter with me. I have talked to parents of large families of young children who maintain very clearly - regardless of what has appeared in the religious press and regardless of public statement by members of the Church - that they are going to support Federal Aid to education whether this aid comes to the Catholic schools or not. This I know is a position held by many responsible parents.

Rabbi Gilbert: Father Reedy has indicated that there are a variety of positions within the Catholic Community and some division as to what Catholic public policy ought be when the chips are down.

Rev. Stauderman: I am sure that is true. From within the Protestant Community we are aware of certain differences of opinion among Catholics. There's a rather prominent Catholic whose address is the White House, Washington, D.C. who has expressed his opinion that the granting of public funds for church-related schools is unconstitutional. There are differences of opinion among Protestants too. When we speak of "public funds for the church school" we must be aware that there are a variety of proposals that confront the American people. Proposals for textbooks for parochial school children or bus transportation for parochial school children may be seen as part of "child welfare benefits." These have been

supported by some Protestants as within their understanding of the First Amendment and the separation of church and state.

Wayne Cowan: These "auxiliary services" are still a source of great conflict and as often as not are strongly opposed by Protestant groups in most parts of the country. It is fair to say that there is a group of Protestants who recognize that these are services to children, that they are not services essentially to the Catholic Church. Although the church does in an indirect way benefit from this the basic gain there is a gain for the child - just in the same way that you provide police protection at a street crossing for the child whether the child is going to a public school or a parochial school.

In response to Father Reedy's statement I would like to add that he is expressing a point of view that he may himself represent or one that he hears, and it is an extremely moderate one and a very prudent one. But I do not believe that this moderate view is very sympathetically supported from within the policy making structure of the Catholic Church.

Conclusion:

This exchange points up the important function of the church press to inform its constituents concerning religious principles as they apply to social problems. While the religious press has a right and a duty to editorialize and make comment on important problems in the social order, it has a responsibility also to provide this information as fairly and as objectively as possible, and to help its constituency understand the motivation and the viewpoints of those with whom they differ.

The Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs hopes through continuing dialogue and confrontation in the spirit of this presentation, to lift the level of public debate in this country aiding the cause of religion and the public good.

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The Living Church

Fourth Sunday in Lent
March 24, 1963

For 84 Years:
A Weekly Record of the News, the Work, and the Thought of the Episcopal Church.

PRESIDING BISHOP

Message of Importance

Presiding Bishop Lichtenberger has canceled all the next few months' speaking engagements and is assigning consecrations to other bishops, according to a letter sent recently to the bishops of the Church and to others.

In the letter, he said that he suffers a disability which makes speaking in public difficult, but that he has no immediate plans for resigning his office before the next General Convention.

In a later communication, he revealed that his disability has been diagnosed as Parkinson's syndrome.

Bishop Lichtenberger told the bishops:

"It has been brought to my attention recently that a number of people are concerned about my health. I do have a disability which I had hoped might be corrected by surgery before it became very noticeable. With this in mind, I told the Council of Advice, the presidents of the provinces, about my situation at the last meeting of the House of Bishops in Columbia, S. C. However, it seems clear to me that I should be quite frank and open about this now. . . .

"The first symptoms appeared in a very mild form in 1960. These have increased gradually, but not sufficiently to warrant surgery now. The prognosis is quite uncertain.

"There is no way of predicting how rapidly the disability will increase, or whether it will remain as it is at present. Most affected is my speech — I have a compulsion to rush headlong and to slur my words. It is quite difficult, therefore, for me to read the service, or to speak in public. I am hoping to find a way around or through this, but very reluctantly I must, for the next few months at any rate, assign the consecrations to other bishops, and cancel all speaking engagements.

"I regret this exceedingly, and I have hesitated to do this until it became quite evident that it was necessary and wise.

"Should I, under these circumstances, resign my office? I have given this much thought, and I have prayed about it. I hope I have come to a right decision. If a Presiding Bishop is elected between sessions of General Convention, he shall, according to the provisions of Article I, section III, of the Constitution, 'serve until the next General Convention.' While it is likely that a man so elected by the House of Bishops would be elected again at General Convention, and his election be confirmed by the House of Deputies, he would, until Convention, continue in his diocese and thus work under great difficulties.

"I believe, therefore, that I should carry on until the General Convention of 1964, when a successor could be elected in the usual way. I can continue my pastoral responsibilities; I can do my work as president of the National Council; I can preside at meetings of the House of Bishops. I plan to attend the sessions of the Anglican Congress next summer. It may be that this disability will reach a plateau, and when I have learned to live with it that I shall be under no handicap, and could continue until 1967. But I am not concerned with that possibility now. I do think, as I have said, that I can go on until 1964. If, at any time, I find that I cannot, I shall of course resign.

Fabian Bachrach

Bishop Lichtenberger: No plans for resigning.

"Let me assure you that I am not a sick man. This is not due to the pressure of work. This could not have been foreseen in 1958. It may have had its origin, as with many who have this difficulty now, in a case of 'flu during World War I, but the onset of the trouble was quite unpredictable and unexpected.

"I regret very much that I cannot, for the time being, do all that I should be doing as Presiding Bishop, but I rejoice that I am still able to be of service to our Lord in His Church.

"I know you will pray that God will give me patience and a right judgment in the days to come."

NORTHERN INDIANA

Dean Klein Elected

On the third ballot of a special convention of the diocese of Northern Indiana, the Very Rev. Walter C. Klein, dean of Nashotah House Theological Seminary, was elected Bishop Coadjutor of the diocese. The convention was held in St. James' Cathedral, South Bend, Ind., on March 13th.

Dean Klein's was one of ten names receiving votes on the first ballot, but the only other name to receive a substantial number of votes was that of the Very Rev. Robert F. Royster, dean of the South Bend cathedral. Dean Royster was given 10 clerical and 34 lay votes on the first ballot, while Dean Klein received 12 clerical and 25 lay votes. On that ballot, 16 clerical and 39 lay votes were necessary for election. On the second ballot, Dean Klein received 17 clerical and 36 lay votes (16 and 40, respectively, being necessary to elect), and Dean Royster was given 11 clerical and 35 lay votes. Dean Klein received 20 clerical and 42 lay votes on the third and deciding ballot, while Dean Royster received 11 and 35.

Others receiving votes on the first ballot were the Rev. Messrs. J. Ralph Deppen, Charles Gaskell, Edward Jacobs, Osborne Littleford, Leslie Olsen, Wallace Wells (who withdrew after the first ballot), George B. Wood, and Samuel Wylie.

RACE RELATIONS

Church School Turns Down Negro Child

Martin Luther King III, five-year-old son of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., a Baptist minister who has been active in seeking equal rights for Negroes, has been turned down on a bid for admission to the Lovett School, an Episcopal school in Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. King, the boy's mother, told THE LIVING CHURCH that she and her husband had applied to enter the boy in the school's first grade next fall, subject to the usual pre-enrollment tests, but that the application had been denied. A letter from the school's headmaster, the Rev. James R. McDowell, dated February 23d, put it this way:

"Since the application of your son, Martin

Luther King III, was the first formal Negro application in the history of Lovett School, it was necessary for me to consult the admissions committee of the board of trustees. The bylaws of the institution are quite explicit in stating that admissions policies are set by the board. Due consideration was given this matter, including a full meeting of the board of trustees. It was decided at that meeting that, under present circumstances, it is not advisable to accept this application for testing.

"I am returning your check, therefore, in compliance with the board's directive. I apologize for any inconvenience you may have experienced pending the decision of the board of trustees."

The letter was signed by the Rev. James R. McDowell, headmaster of the school.

The school is listed in the *Episcopal Church Annual* for 1963 as the "Lovett Episcopal Day School," although it carries only the words, "Lovett School" on its letterhead. Its board of trustees is composed of 21 people, of whom seven must be members of St. Philip's Cathedral, Atlanta, and approved by the cathedral chapter; and at least seven of the remaining 14 must be Episcopalians. Part of the school's purpose, as defined in its charter (amended in 1959), is ". . . to further the cause of education and religion with reference to the teaching of the Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer."

An attempt was made in the meetings of the council of the diocese of Atlanta, held earlier this year [L.C., February 10th], to have the council adopt a non-

Martin: First to apply, first to be denied.

segregation statement of policy. The attempt was ruled out of order, however, by Bishop Claiborne of Atlanta. The resolution, which had been approved by the committee on Christian social relations of the diocese, would have required:

". . . That all diocesan institutions and all present and future institutions maintaining an affiliation with the Episcopal Church by means of charter, boards of trustees, or by use of the name of the Church in official or unofficial title, advertisements, etc., in the diocese of Atlanta, make clear by statement and act that such institutions do not use race as a basis for their admission of persons and do welcome all applications meeting the requirements for admission, which applications will be processed equally regardless of race or color, in accordance with the oft-stated position of this Church."

At that time, Bishop Claiborne said in a press interview:

"In the diocese of Atlanta there are no institutions that are segregated, as far as I know. Surely none is officially segregated. . . . Segregation is a blight on our nation that must be removed. I am against it. . . . The council . . . has passed resolutions on this subject over and over and over. . . . Any demand for new resolutions on this subject seems to me to encourage doubt as to our sincerity in both principle and practice, which have been clearly demonstrated. . . . Every institution has been informed by the bishop that the name 'Episcopal' cannot be used if a policy of segregation is pursued. . . ."

Concerning the Lovett School situation, Bishop Claiborne told THE LIVING CHURCH:

"The diocese of Atlanta has no official connection with Lovett School. I have no official connection with Lovett School. I am sure the racial policy at Lovett School must be satisfactory, since the children of the Rev. John Morris [executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity] have been enrolled there for some time.

"If the family of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., do not find the admissions policy of Lovett School acceptable, and if they want their children to have an Episcopal educational background, they should apply to one of our parochial schools, where the Church is responsible — such as Holy Innocents' parish in Atlanta, where the Rev. John Morris and his family are affiliated."

LOUISIANA

Fire Burns Home, Two Die

A prominent Louisiana Churchman suffered a fatal heart attack and his wife died of asphyxiation during a fire that destroyed their home on March 11th.

The dead were Joseph Merrick Jones, 59, of Metairie, La., an attorney, president of the Tulane University board of administrators, and a grandson of Leonidas Polk (Episcopal bishop and Confederate general); and his wife, the former Eugenia Elizabeth Penick. Mrs. Jones was asphyxiated during the fire, and Mr. Jones died in a hospital a few hours later. The couple are survived by a son, Joseph Jones, Jr.; two daughters, Mrs. Killian Huger and Mrs. Harry Lane; and by Mr. Jones' mother, Mrs. Hamilton Polk Jones.

A passing motorist saw flames shooting from the roof of the two story house at 1:30 a.m., and shouted to attract the attention of neighbors, who called the fire department. Cause of the fire had not been learned at press time.

Mr. Jones, who was a member of the board of trustees of the diocese of Louisiana, was a contributor of generous sums of money to the University of the South. As co-chairman of the stewardship committee of Trinity Church, New Orleans, where he was a parishioner, he was active in planning and bringing to fruition a plan of remodelling and expanding the physical plant of the parish. In 1958, he was chosen as Rex (King of Carnival for the New Orleans Mardi Gras — prominent citizens are selected for this annual role).

He was, according to the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, president of Canal Barge Company, Inc., president of the National Waterways Conference, past president of the Bureau of Governmental Research and of the New Orleans Bar Association; director and member of the executive committee of Penick and Ford, chairman of the executive committee of Southdown Sugars, chairman of Petroleum Reserves, a member of the board of directors of Coastal Marine Drilling and Construction Corporation and of the Louisiana-Delta Drilling Corporation, and a director of the Council for a Better Louisiana. In addition, he was a director of Acme Life Insurance Company; Baulerlein, Inc.; Dr. G. H. Tichenor Antiseptic Company; Cultural Attractions Fund; Tulane Educational Fund; Central Gulf Steamship Company; and the Urban Maes Research Foundation. He was also a trustee of the Isaac Delgado Museum of Arts.

The day after Mr. Jones' death, Tulane University was closed in mourning. At the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., Arthur Ben Chitty, historiographer, said faculty members were "shocked beyond measure" to learn of Mr. Jones' death. "He was a major benefactor of the University of the South, founded by his grandfather, Bishop Leonidas Polk of Louisiana. He also . . . held national stature among lay philosophers devoting themselves to its service. His kind is irreplaceable," said Mr. Chitty.

GENERAL CONVENTION

The Seal and the Fish

The official seal for the 1964 General Convention has been chosen. Documents of the Convention, as well as stationery and programs, will bear this insigne, which combines the Episcopal Church shield and the seal of the diocese of Missouri. The Convention is to be held in St. Louis, October 11 - 23, 1964.

The insigne is shaped as an equiangular diamond, divided vertically into two portions. The Church's shield is on the right half of the diamond, showing the nine crosslets (representing the Church's nine original dioceses) arranged as a St. Andrew's Cross (showing the ties of the

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Religion

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

20 Vesey St., NYC RE-2-5417

NEWS SERVICE

(The following news story was sent out this week to all Catholic newspapers and magazines by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service.)

BISHOP CALLS RACIAL
INJUSTICE A MATTER
FOR CONFESSION

HERSHEY, Pa., March 28 (NC) - The Bishop of Wheeling, W. Va., said here that unjust treatment of Negroes by Catholics is a matter for confession.

Bishop Joseph H. Hodges, speaking to a leadership institute of the National Council of Catholic Women, said that racial discrimination deprives the Negro of honor due him as a human being.

"Unless we are just in our dealings with our neighbor, we can make no claim to love of God and love of neighbor," he said.

"In the Old Testament we read: 'Thou has loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore thy God hath annointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy neighbors.'

"God made Negroes human beings. In all justice, treat them as God does. Discrimination is a matter for confession."

The prelate defined racial discrimination as "the total restriction or rejection of a racial group without consideration of the capacity or merit or concrete behavior of the individuals in that group."

He said "segregation is a sub-division of discrimination where there is physical separation or specific boundaries set up."

Bishop Hodges discussed four basic rights due the Negro; the right of free association, the right to a decent living, the right to a full education according to his capacity and the right to freedom of worship.

Urging the women to study and [illegible] on the problem of racial discrimination, he said.

"Catholic [illegible] the field [illegible] relations has been too feeble in intensity [illegible] extensity. [illegible] Church has done much but not in proportion to [illegible]"

Comments . . .

from the CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL

"Thy kingdom come Thy will be done on earth . . ." — MATTHEW 6:10

VOL. VII, NO. 3 MARCH, 1963

Truesdell Receives First "Christian Action Award"

Rev. Bryan Crenshaw (right) is shown here giving this first "Award" to Dr. Truesdell (center), with Dr. Truesdell's mother looking on. It states: "This first official recognition for Constructive Responsibility in Public Affairs and Christian Citizenship to a South Carolina Churchman is hereby awarded to The Rev. Dr. Neil E. Truesdell by the Christian Action Council."

The first official recognition of Christian leadership in public affairs by a church group in South Carolina was one of the highlights of the recent Annual Meeting of the Christian Action Council.

The resolution, presented by the Rev. Bryan Crenshaw (Methodist minister of Gaffney and vice-president of the Council) was as follows:

"WHEREAS our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, taught us that we are to love one another, and seek the well-being of others . . . and

WHEREAS, you, Neil Truesdell, have exemplified these qualities in your personal life, showing concern for all men, especially the needy and distressed, and have sought to preach the gospel to the poor, heal the broken hearted, preach deliverance to the captives, and set at liberty those who are bruised, and

WHEREAS, you have demonstrated these qualities not only in your personal life but in leadership in CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERN AND ACTION, as exemplified in your

STATE LEADERSHIP, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Fairview Alcoholic Rehabilitation Center; as Chairman of the Governor's Council on Alcoholism; as District Governor of Rotary International, and as President of the Christian Action Council; and in your

DENOMINATIONAL LEADERSHIP, as Chairman of the Special Synod Committee to study and recommend program for "Christian Action" to the S. C. Synod; as Chairman of the Special Synod Committee on Sunday Observance; and your leadership has been recognized in your church by the honorary Doctor of Divinity, conferred by Presbyterian College; and in your

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, as "Pastor to the Community," your work with A.A., your continuing ministry to alcoholics; your work with Allied Youth, your service as chaplain to the Newberry Fire Department, your ministry to the needy, and your wide service in community, health, and welfare groups; and in your

STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 6, 1962, regarding the approach of South Carolina to desegregation, which was the first public statement by a South Carolina leader (church, political, or economic) that our state follow a pattern of behavior different from that of Mississippi.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, on this 26th day of March, 1963, that the CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL, assembled in Columbia, S. C., in its Annual Meeting, express on behalf of itself and its members its affection and appreciation for your tireless, courageous, unselfish, and Christ-motivated endeavors, and award to you our initial presentation of the CHRISTIAN ACTION AWARD."

Granting the special award to Dr. Truesdell and hearing three of the state's denominational leaders discuss "social needs in South Carolina that call for Christian Action" were memorable events at the Council's recent Annual Meeting.

Members of 11 denominations heard Dr. Horace Hammett (General Secretary of Baptist State Convention), Bishop Carey Gibbs, (African Methodist Episcopal), and Arthur M. Martin, (Executive Secretary, Presbyterian Synod) discuss some of the common concerns of all Christians in the Palmetto state.

Hammett Commends

"The Christian Action Council is now coming into its greatest day and place of service," Dr. Hammett emphasized. "I hope the Council will be alert as never before . . . as concerted Christian Action is so important," he added, stating further that "the Council may be deliberate but it is steady and sure."

Officers Elected

Leaders of four denominations were elected as officers: President — Dr. Neil Truesdell (Presbyterian); Vice-Presidents, Mrs. D. C. Bomar (Baptist) and Rev. Bryan Crenshaw (Methodist), and Secretary — Rev. Neal Wyndham (Christian).

Also elected as directors were Dr. R. Wright Spears (citizenship), Rev. Arthur Martin (Community Service), A. M. Taylor (Education), Dr. R. Archie Ellis (Finance), and Dr. Wallace Fridy (Public Relations.) Two new members named to the Executive Committee were Rev. Harold Cole (Baptist) and Rev. Frederick James (A.M.E.)

AMERICAN LIBRARY WEEK

One minister recently told us that he spent some time each Thursday in his county library — reading from the many good magazines provided there.

Use your library — every week!

MAY 1 — LAW DAY, U. S. A.

The Council is pleased to cooperate with the S. C. Bar Association in promoting this emphasis to:

- **deepen respect for law,**
- **encourage responsible citizenship,**
- **emphasize the value of "Rule by Law" in contrast to Communism's "rule by force."**

Annual Report

"To build a civilization which will be a fit habitat for the human spirit is our purpose."

After enumerating and discussing all the evidence of economic and social progress in his country, Gov. Luis Munoz-Marin of Puerto Rico recently went on to state that all such change was only the means to the greater objective of cultural growth. His statement, in essence quoted above, is an excellent formulation of the social purpose for which Christians should strive in their endeavors to give expression and real meaning to the Lord's Prayer: "Thy will be done, thy kingdom come — on earth as in heaven."

The Church, as Church in public affairs, always places "A child in their midst" — always evaluates the social and physical environment, the climate of community opinion — in terms of human values, especially as social influences affect the potential growth and fulfillment of every single individual.

In such understanding we can find the ways in which the Christian Action Council can be used by God and His churches here in South Carolina. While being a witness to the proclamation of God's care for each person — that He would redeem all who come to Him in faithful obedience, the Council also should be an evidence of, and influence for, God's concern that the civilization of our state provide a fit social and spiritual habitat for the redeemed human spirit.

Functions of Council

To carry out such a purpose with and for the Protestant churches of South Carolina, the Council has come to interpret its work in five specific functions:

first, to provide a reliable, responsible source of information about citizenship and public affairs;

second, to make available films and materials for "Christian Action" education to individuals, churches, and groups,

third, to assist denominations and their agencies in strengthening and implementing their programs of Christian Action,

fourth, to make possible continued interchurch study and discussion on matters of common social and moral concern, and

fifth, to be the agency of cooperative action by denominations and churchmen on matters of consensus which require corporate action.

A Changing Mood

The past year has witnessed a very significant "change of mood" in the "cultural climate" of our state (which provides the context in which we must work.) This is most evident in racial relationships, although it is by no means limited to this particular area of our society. It should be noted:

(1) racism as a political issue "died" (though perhaps it is not yet buried) in the 1962 elections;

(2) the quiet, determined, peaceful desegregation of lunch counters in Columbia in August, 1963;

(3) the impact of the "vicarious suffering" of Mississippi (in the Ole Miss desegregation tragedy) resulted in the growing opinion that "it must not happen here!"; and

(4) the "desegregation with dignity" at Clemson College — preceded by unified and determined efforts of many political and economic leaders — included also the "preparation of the soil of opinion" in which many churches and Christians — lay and clergy — in the state had a part.

There are indications that there will be greater freedom, in the future, to meet and discuss our problems together as Christian brethren. White Christians need to be aware that "no man's origin should be held against him," and work to eliminate the ways in which opportunity for that reason is denied to Negroes in our midst. We will, however, need to develop greater freedom with each other across racial lines — to enable us to think and work together to strengthen churches and the Christian witness where it is weak, to discuss the human problems that are deeper than our racial differences, to work together on social issues for which we have a common concern as Christian citizens.

Projects, 1963-64

One very important undertaking for the next year will be planning for a strengthened organization through which more effective "Christian Action" can be implemented in the future. This planning should enable us to have some important "interchurch confrontation" — to help us understand each other better and develop the basis on which we can work joyfully with each other.

Three really "big" programs should be studied and begun in the next year:

One, a study and action program (perhaps projected for 3-4 years) to aid in strengthening the total correctional system,

Two, develop an In-Service Training Program for young ministers (oriented to interdenominational understanding, community service, and Christian social action), and

Three, Citizenship education program through the churches.

"These Things Are Needed!"

The executive director has the responsibility both to carry out the decisions made by the Council and also to indicate those things needed to achieve those objectives to which it is commissioned.

These include the following:

organizational — a larger and more representative membership from each "cooperating denomination" which would be the official liaison between the two, as well as the recognition of the Council by the denominations as "the recognized and supported agency of the cooperating denominations for study and action on social and moral issues;"

staff — at least an additional part-time staff person, with corresponding secretarial increase, to work especially for "Education and Youth;"

finances — by 1964-65 to increase our annual income (from $20,282.25 in 1962) to $26,650 and by 1967-68 to $35,000 — based on a minimum support of **5¢ per member per year** from the cooperating denominations and a greatly increased number of individual contributions;

denominational — **both** recognition of the essential witness of the Church through Christian Action **and** stronger support for their own Christian Action agency **and** development of local church committees to study and work on social and moral issues.

In Summary

The past year has been one of satisfactory growth in the program, services, and recognition of the Christian Action Council.

My continuing prayer is that God will be glorified through our work together and that the Lordship of Jesus Christ will be increasingly recognized in South Carolina through the distinctive ministry of the Christian Action Council.

Howard G. McClain

COMMENTS is the information bulletin on Christian Citizenship and public affairs published by the Christian Action Council, 907 Richland St., Columbia, S. C. It is issued each month, except July. Second class postage at Columbia, S. C. Neil Truesdell, President; Howard G. McClain, Editor; Eben Taylor, Associate Editor.

Christian Action Council
907 Richland St. — Columbia, S. C.

SEMINAR ON CONSERVATION

The Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, of which Dr. R. Wright Spears is chairman, has graciously extended the invitation to churchmen of all denominations to attend their statewide conference to be held on **April 16-17** at **Columbia College.**

Outstanding leaders will discuss "Conserving our Natural and Human Resources — A Christian Perspective."

Mr. Harold Fleming
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

THE

VANGUARD

. . . THE CHURCH IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Volume 10, Number 2 February-March, 1963

MA Religion

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 26, 1963

Lutheran Human Relations
Association of America
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana

Greetings!

The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America has worked for ten years in the area of seeking recognition and help for minority groups in our beloved nation. This country, under God, from its beginnings has stood out in the world promising a haven of refuge and a land of opportunity.

This promise has not always developed all the fruit hoped for. The Lutheran Human Relations Association, however, has sought to remedy inequities though it has been difficult at times to do so. Indeed some have said that the organization "goes too far"; others have said that it "does too little."

Be assured that my office, in recognition of the sincere and conscientious concerns for good by a voluntary organization of fellow Christians and fellow members of The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, wishes you well on your Tenth Anniversary.

It is my personal prayer that my gracious Savior, without whom none of us is worth anything at all, would give you wisdom and understanding, wise counsel and patience and continued great care for holy Scripture.

May God in his bountiful kindness reward you for your service.

In Jesus' name

Oliver R. Harms

Oliver R. Harms

ORH:ek

LHRAA and The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

This issue of **The VANGUARD** is bringing to the attention of our readers a letter that was received by the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America from the President of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Dr. Oliver R. Harms. The letter is evidence of a growing understanding and acceptance of what LHRAA has been trying to do for the church and the nation.

LHRAA had its origin on the campus of Valparaiso University at the occasion of the Institute on Human Relations in 1953. From the beginning the University identified itself, primarily through its President, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann, with LHRAA, its aims and objectives. Other organizations, like the University, which function as independent institutions within The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, have cooperated with LHRAA from the time of its inception. Among them are the Walther League, the American Lutheran Publicity Bureau, the Lutheran Laymen's League, and Associated Lutheran Charities.

From the beginning of its history and until now, LHRAA has enjoyed the understanding concern and cooperation of official boards and commissions of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Outstanding among them are the Board for North American Missions, the Board for Parish Education, and, since its inception, the Board of Social Welfare.

But LHRAA deems it most significant that, only a few months after he took over the office of President of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Dr. Harms addressed to the Association the letter of commendation found on the cover page of this issue.

LHRAA is deeply grateful to Dr. Harms for this expression of confidence. It is our hope and prayer that we shall remain true to the trust which such confidence implies. On the other hand, we hope that throughout the church there will be found a growing acceptance of what LHRAA is trying to do for the church; that, in keeping with the great need in our time for the kind of service the Association is committed to give to the church, there will be a growing spirit of cooperation on the grass roots level and an ever greater acceptance of the service we desire and are prepared to render on all levels of church organization.

LHRAA, functioning as a private and independent agency within the church, is on no synodical or district budget. It is dependent for its finances upon the contributions of its 1,034 members, some congregational auxiliaries, and such congregations as have recognized the importance of the Association's work and now make contributions toward its financial needs.

This Issue

The VANGUARD is ordinarily mailed to its subscribers. This issue, however, is being sent to all pastors and Christian day school teachers of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Those who are not as yet members of LHRAA, but find themselves in sympathy with the principles and functions of the Association, are invited to become members by making a membership contribution. Every LHRAA member receives **The VANGUARD** free. Those who are not as yet ready to become members are invited, if they have not done so already, to subscribe for **The VANGUARD.** (Membership and subscription blank on Page 7.)

Further information about the purposes and services of LHRAA will be sent free upon request.

A LOOK AROUND

Martin H. Scharlemann

1. ROMANS NINE THROUGH ELEVEN

Few privileges could be greater than that of studying Paul's great epistle to the Romans with a class of Seminary students. We have this happy task almost each quarter. By the time we finish chapters nine through eleven, every member in the group begins to understand why this Pauline letter is often called the greatest theological treatise that has ever been written. There would be a great void in the life and thought of the Church, if we did not have this letter. Would there have been a Martin Luther? Very likely not.

At the moment our chief interest lies in pointing out that the three chapters referred to deal with the question of Judaism as it relates to the Church. The basic issue to which the apostle addresses himself is the question, "How does the existence of the Jewish race and religion relate to the concept of righteousness by faith?" His conclusion: God has from the beginning dealt with His people in terms of promise rather than demand. Israel rejected the Messiah, born in its very midst, because He came in fulfilment of God's promises. The only response to such a gift can be either glad acceptance or outright rejection; and a people determined to serve God on the basis of its own achievement can only refuse to accept a gift, since God's giving involves the total negation of the principle of accomplishment.

Here is the difference between religion and revelation. Judaism is a religion; but the Church proclaims a righteousness entirely apart from any system of religion. Religion is evil when it is man-centered. Judaism failed (and still fails) to recognize Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah because it is too much absorbed in its own activity. Like Paul, therefore, a number of Jews have, through the centuries, felt the inadequacy of their religious heritage and came to see that true "Jewishness" was to be found in the Church's understanding of the Old Testament as being a covenant of promise primarily, and not a covenant of Law.

Judaism is very much on the hearts and consciences of Christians today. This is partly the result of and in part the consequence of contemporary studies of the relationship between Jew and Christian. A general consensus has developed within recent years that the Jew is still a member of a race that lives with the promises of God. In his background are the patriarchs, the giving of the Law, and the coming of the Messiah in a way that will never apply to the Gentile-Christian. The Jew, therefore, should be treated by Christians as the member of a privileged race, to which promises were given that find their real fulfillment in the Church. The "whole of Israel" in Romans 11:26 consists of two parts: Gentiles and Jews that have accepted Jesus as the Messiah.

2. AND SO . . .

And so it needs to be said that for some years the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America has

See **LOOK AROUND,** Page 8

That the Church May Lead

National Conference on Religion and Race

In an early morning TV interview, Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently said that the most serious problem confronting our nation today is the race problem. And when responsible churchmen of our country speak out on the subject, they make similar statements concerning race and the church. It is true that man's alienation from God and his stubborn refusal to accept the reconciliation effected through Jesus Christ is the basic problem confronting both the nation and the church. There nevertheless can be little doubt in the minds of knowledgeable people that one of the most serious problems confronting the church is that symptom of the basic sin of man expressed in man's rejection of man which in our country takes on the form of vicious, or subtle, racism.

Kyle Haselden, in his excellent book, **The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective** (Harper & Row, Publishers), speaks of racism in the U.S. as "without a doubt the major and most serious problem of human relationships in our time." "The church," he says, "either in timidity or in indifference has defaulted in almost total silence. . . . Such progress as has been made toward the solving of those disorders is the merit, not of the church, but of the secular institutions in our culture. We must not, of course, as the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson warned, indict the Christian faith because of the church's failure, nor must we forget the permeating influence of that faith upon the social sciences and the secular institutions. Nevertheless, even a casual survey of the voluminous literature, which runs into thousands of volumes on the subject of race and race prejudice, and a hasty classification of the areas and agencies of progress and solution leave the church condemned and the social sciences and secular institutions highly accredited" (pp. 68-69).

In the context in which the quotation from Mr. Haselden's book is found, he is speaking directly of the dearth of theologically-oriented books. But the paucity of reading material of this description, as he amply shows, is evidence of the backwardness of the "white" churches in the U.S. in coming to grips with the problem itself.

Since the Oxford Conference of 1939, and with an ever-increasing display of interest, the major church bodies have made pronouncements condemning racism as contrary to Christian ethics and a true witness to Christ. And, recognizing the necessity of translating words into deeds, many within these church bodies have been trying to fit the action to the word, often at a great personal sacrifice. But in spite of good pronouncements and, in many places, noteworthy attempts to help change for the better the status quo in race relations, the moral forces of the churches of the U.S. have not been in evidence as one might anticipate: Churches largely remain segregated, and racial discrimination is still running rampant in communities where the churches are or from where they have removed themselves.

AND NOW — ANOTHER CONFERENCE

Something startlingly new has developed. From January 14th to 17th some seven hundred official delegates and about five hundred invited observers attended the first National Conference on Religion and Race. The Conference was held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago. About a year and a half before the Conference was convened, committees had begun making preparations for the Conference which in more than one respect was unique. The Conference, we are told, was the brainchild of Mr. Mathew Ahmann, the young dynamic Executive Director of the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice.

The conveners of the Conference were the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, the Social Action Commission of the Synagogue Council of America, and the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Along with other organizations, the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America were at the outset invited to participate in the structuring of the Conference.

PROGRAM

With the financial support of many religious organizations and sizeable grants from charitable foundations, the conveners were enabled to secure essayists and speakers who in their judgment were the best talent available.

The altogether legitimate and laudatory purpose of the Conference was to unite the moral forces of our religious bodies, with their several theologically motivated approaches, in a direct attack upon racism which is gnawing at the vitals of our nation and threatening the destruction of church and nation.

In addition to attending the plenary sessions which were addressed by religious and religiously motivated leaders, the delegates to the Conference participated in what was perhaps the most effective part of the program, the workgroups. There were more than thirty of them. These workgroups explored every possible aspect of the race problem as well as ways of combating it. — It was the reports of the workgroups which furnished the plans for future united action.

OUTCOME

The Conference voted that the Conference secretariat be continued for at least four months. A budget of $8,000 was allowed. At this writing more than three times that amount has already been promised by responsible persons or organizations.

A book is being published which contains all Conference essays and addresses, as well as the findings and recommendations of the Conference workgroups and of the Conference itself. All other pertinent available information about the Conference, its origin, planning, convening, and definite plans for continued activity will be made accessible to interested persons in this book, entitled **Race: Challenge to Religion.** It is being published in a hard-back edition at $5.00 per copy, and in paperback at $1.65. The book will no doubt be an important adjunct to the library of interested persons — pastors and laymen. But it is intended for much wider use by con-

LHRAA delegates to the National Conference on Religion and Race, from left to right: Dr. David S. Schuller, of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis; Dr. Andrew Schulze, Executive Secretary of LHRAA; the Rev. Clemonce Sabourin, LHRAA's president; Mr. Galen Gockel, board member. At far right, the Rev. Karl Thiele, a pastor of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, representing the Ministerial Alliance of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

gregations and their auxiliaries. In anticipation of the desire of **VANGUARD** readers to acquire the book, LHRAA has ordered paperback copies. — Please remit when ordering individual copies.

A Committee on Follow-up was appointed with the responsibility for "the local community action which might grow out of the Conference." The chairman of this committee, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, wrote as of February 13: "By and large, the religious institutions of America have had little initiative in racial change. In the main it comes from government, from national and community voluntary organizations, through the direct action movements, and by political, legal, and economic pressures. Whether the weight of united action by religious leadership will make much difference is a question which can only be answered in action terms. Certainly the potential of corporate action, backed up by our understanding of human dignity and unity, is an alternative to the fear-ridden excuse for living which is a mark of our contemporary cities. The Conference has already been written off by some as a well-meaning gesture, one more token effort to disguise the anxiety and guilt which characterizes human relations in America today."

"Chicago was a milestone in inter-religious cooperation. . . . If that spirit will now forthrightly and unitedly confront the social and moral chaos of the churches and the nation, **Time** (which spoke in somewhat uncomplimentary terms about the Conference) will be provided with an answer."

But two more specifics relative to the Conference plans for implementing its purpose:

(a) A concerted effort will be made to develop regional inter-religious conferences where grass-roots development of action programs can be planned and executed.

(b) Ten cities have been selected where pilot projects will be conducted: Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Oakland, San Antonio, New Orleans, Seattle, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, and St. Louis.

THEOLOGY INVOLVED

Let it be said at the outset that this writer as well as those to whom he is directly responsible — the Board of Directors of LHRAA — are convinced that it is not only theologically sound but also mandatory that those who profess the name of the Lord Jesus Christ take seriously the words of the prophet Micah, "He has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" We are to seek "the peace of the city." We can and must work with our serious-minded Jewish friends as well as with others to combat a common evil in the interest of the common good.

On a much lower plane of ethical responsibility, Christian men and women cooperate with our Jewish neighbors. We do it in business. We do it in politics and in government. If **The VANGUARD** hasn't said so before, we hope it isn't too late to say it now: Our Jewish friends have given moral and financial support toward the eradication of racism in our land far out of proportion to their numerical strength.

When Christians and Jews come together to cooperate in a program such as the National Conference on Religion and Race, one must assume that, though they have a common concern, they do not have the same theological motivation. The Jews, if they are faithful to their heritage of the past two thousand years, draw their theology from what Christians call the Old Testament, and at the same time they, the Jews, do not recognize what Christians call the New Testament. And without that recognition they do not accept Jesus Christ as the consummation of God's promises given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and all of God's people before Christ.

According to traditional Christianity, the whole of the Old Testament teaching is subverted or negated if Jesus Christ is not recognized and accepted as God incarnate. Jesus Christ is to the Christian the Beginning and the Ending, the Alpha and the Omega; He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and no man can come to the Father but by Him. If this is true, and if Christians and Christian churches are to cooperate with Jewish people and with Jewish synagogues — and they should in areas of mutual moral and ethical concern — these basic theological differences cannot be ignored nor by-passed; and whatever is said or done dare not imply that the 2000-year theological separation has been resolved nor even that it is a matter of indifference. In any joint endeavor, the consciences of none dare be violated.

An Appeal to Conscience

A veritable Who's Who of theological talent was chosen by the organizing committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race to constitute the Drafting Committee whose responsibility it was to draft and to present to the Conference "A Statement of Conscience." Over a period of six months a number of meetings of the committee was held; other theologians, we understand, were consulted as the work of the committee developed.

A few days before the Conference convened, the office of LHRAA received a copy of "A Statement of Conscience" which the committee planned to present to the Conference for adoption.

Though committed to the necessity of cooperating with all religious organizations to be represented in the National Conference on Religion and Race, and recognizing a common moral concern, this writer, when receiving the Statement of Conscience to be submitted to the Conference, was less than pleased with it. It was for all practical purposes a theological statement. It included such terms as "God's love," "our concern is for the laws of God," "belief in God, Who is the giver of human dignity and human rights," "we confess and repent our own failures," "we seek forgiveness of God our Father Whose supreme law of love we have broken," "we desire the renewal of a religious conscience," "we seek a reign of love," "we seek a reign of courage so that the people of God will make their faith in God their most binding commitment," "in the strength of God, our Father," "we seek a reign of prayer, so that our God is praised as the Lord Whom we all worship," "do this for the glory of our Father's name," "proceed with the zeal and freedom of the children of God, to make all things ready for the Day of the Lord."

Our disagreement is not necessarily with these terms themselves; it is rather to be found in the fact that these terms were used in a theological statement prepared in an environment which could permit but one thing — the elimination of any witness to Jesus Christ. If the National Conference on Religion and Race was to be a joint effort of Christians and Christian churches united in a common moral concern, the theological terms employed by the drafters of the Statement of Conscience, in the opinion of this writer, might well have been employed without the denial of Christ, the Son of God and Head of the Church. But the Statement was not intended to be a Christian statement of conscience; our Jewish friends were to be an integral part of the Conference, and the statement was intended to be a statement of conscience for Jewish people as well. Bearing this in mind one can understand why no specific reference to Jesus Christ was made in the statement. But by eliminating all reference to Jesus Christ, the Drafting Committee prepared a statement of Jewish theological content, intended for both Christians and Jews.

A parallel. In one of the Conference workgroups, a priest of the Episcopal Church suggested that, in the preparation of educational materials to be used by congregations, the Lord's Prayer be used as the text. A Jewish rabbi, who was acting as the workgroup discussion leader, said material based on the Lord's Prayer could not be used. The response of the priest was something to this effect: Our Jewish friends believe in God as "our Father"; they believe His name should be hallowed, His kingdom should come, His will be done, etc. Then why could they not use educational materials based on the Lord's Prayer? The response of the rabbi was an

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ON OTHER LUTHERAN FRONTS

By L. W. Halvorson

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE

"Segregated housing is unchristian, unfair, undemocratic and un-American." Statements like this were "a dime a dozen" at a Freedom of Residence Conference at Springfield, Illinois, on February 15-16. The conference membership covered a five-state area: Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri. All who attended were citizens from all walks of life who were interested in promoting legislation forbidding discrimination in housing, both public and private. It was my privilege to attend and have a part on the program and serve as a discussion leader. I would like to share some of the facts and insights of this conference.

Of the five states involved in this conference, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri have no housing legislation. Indiana has statutes covering public housing. Wisconsin has statutes covering both public housing and publicly assisted housing and urban renewal. None of these five states has any law that prohibits discrimination in either public or private housing. That there is such discrimination in housing is common knowledge. But there is increasing concern that such discrimination be eliminated. Legislation is regarded as a most effective means of bringing this about. However, it was plain from all the discussion that legislation can only make for outward compliance. As in the problem of desegregation, as a whole, there is an area of good will and friendliness into which men must enter if they are to live together in peace and harmony.

It was to be expected that such a conference would emphasize the un-American aspect of segregated housing. On the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation it is only natural that freedom of residence be recognized as a part of the whole problem of discrimination. The spirit that called for the emancipation of slaves one hundred years ago must now be called forth anew to bring our recognized freedoms to pass.

It was encouraging to hear several men on the conference program refer specifically to what the Christian faith has to say regarding segregated housing. It was called "unchristian." Racism was branded as "an insult to God" and a "dishonor to our fellowmen." This is the religious and specifically the Christian challenge of "Freedom of Residence." Our duty to God is discharged when we recognize and practice our duty to our fellowmen. The church must understand its responsibility to expose the true character of racism for what it is. The church must then positively seek for those things that will give to all men the civil rights that she claims for herself. Equal right, both civil and religious, are not some prize to be given as a reward to any one group for work well done. Equal rights are for all as guaranteed by the Constitution, but especially as a free gift of God. "God is no respecter of persons" for His powers of creation were used for the good of all. Lent should now remind us that His mercy, as offered in Christ, is for all men. This glorious fact the church must proclaim and practice.

"Freedom of Residence" therefore is something we must promote as Christian citizens. The facts show that much has been done but that much still remains. Here are a few of these facts.

Only ten states have statutes prohibiting discrimination in public housing, publicly assisted housing, publicly assisted urban renewal or private housing accommodations. These states are New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado and Oregon. Four states have laws covering public housing, namely, Washington, Idaho, Indiana and Michigan. Montana has laws covering publicly assisted housing or urban renewal. Wisconsin and California have laws covering both public housing and publicly assisted housing and urban renewal. Three cities, New York, Pittsburgh and Toledo, have local ordinances prohibiting discrimination in private housing. All other states and cities have no legislation that deals with the problem of housing.

It is evident from a conference like this that simple patriotism should lead citizens to seek an honest answer to the problem. However, from the variety of topics that were discussed in small groups, it is also evident that there are many aspects that need to be considered. There are the questions of how to win the cooperation of realtors and bankers; how to explode myths about the differences between whites and Negroes; what must be the strategy of those who do move into the white community; how to show the values of integrated neighborhoods and how much it costs to have those that are segregated.

The discussion group I was asked to lead had to do with "the important goal of freedom and unity of all mankind." This raised the question of how to persuade white people really to accept Negroes as fellow human beings entitled to equal respect. Most of the members of our groups professed the Christian faith and all were agreed that what we believe should

See **OTHER LUTHERAN FRONTS,** Page 8

On Valparaiso Campus

The Executive Chairman of the Chicago Host Committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race was the Hon. James B. Parsons, Federal Judge of the U.S. District Court of Northern Illinois. In 1960 Judge Parsons was elected judge of the Superior Court of Cook County, and in 1961 he was appointed by the President of the United States to the judicial bench he now occupies.

Judge Parsons thrilled both the faculty and the student body when he was the convocation speaker on the Valparaiso campus. The date was February 12, the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. Fittingly, and with the objectivity of one who in personality and decorum does credit to the high office to which he has been appointed, the judge spoke on the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Following the convocation, at a luncheon in the Judge's honor, a number of things came out in the "table talk" that may be of interest to our readers. The Judge, as an attorney, argued many cases in Springfield, Illinois, in the Sangamon County Courthouse and in the same courtroom where Abraham Lincoln often made his appearance. Judge Parsons, in order to fulfill his convocation responsibility, declined a personal invitation for the same day extended him by the President and Mrs. Kennedy to be their guest at the White House. Although he is not a Lutheran himself, his son is. Judge Parsons knows a good bit about Lutherans, and about The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in particular.

Chicago's American reports that Malcolm X, second-ranking leader of the Black Muslims, called Judge Parsons a "handkerchief-head Negro," and an "Uncle Tom," "a puppet of the white slavemaster." These names were given to the Judge at the convention of the Black Muslims held in Chicago the last week in February. We shall be compelled to make a choice: either we listen to and cooperate with such great American leaders among our Negro citizens as typified in Judge Parsons, or succumb to the cat-calls and subversive activities of these black supremacists whose numbers are increasing and whose threats to church and nation are considerable and dangerous.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 4)

honest one that should have been anticipated: "But the Lord's Prayer was spoken by Jesus." In other words, the terminology employed in the Lord's Prayer is innocent and perhaps could be accepted by those who are Jewish, but when they appear in a Christian social setting — Jesus Christ speaking the words — they become Christian. By the same token, theological terminology, otherwise used by Christians, when used to avoid the mention of Christ in order to satisfy a Jewish conscience becomes a Jewish statement and in that sense a denial of the person and work of Jesus Christ, both of which are categorically denied by Judaism.

A CONCLUSION

In view of all that has been said thus far about the Statement of Conscience that was to be presented to the Conference by the Drafting Committee, this writer took upon himself the responsibility of responding to the Statement of Conscience in the hope that the mistakes referred to might in some way be eliminated by the Drafting Committee before making their final recommendations to the Conference. The following statement was drawn up by this writer and presented first to the chairman of the Drafting Committee and then to the Committee itself:

"In a religiously pluralistic society and under a democratic form of government such as ours, there is opportunity and a responsibility for the several religious professions to articulate their moral and ethical concerns and to work together for the eradication of an evil that all religious groups deplore and to which all of them have contributed — the evil of racism. This conference has been planned and is now convened for that purpose.

"Such united action can and must become a reality, although the theological differences that ante-date the racism of the 20th century, by many centuries, still exist in boldness and in strength. The exigencies of the social, political, and economic revolution that is currently sweeping across our world call for humility on the part of all, and have humbled some. They have made them ready to communicate in honesty with each other toward a better understanding and a possible mending of the rift that has divided them for hundreds of years. Such conversation must go on and must be intensified.

"This conference, however, has not been called for the purpose of such communication that has as its goal the removal of theological differences. By the same token, any statement drawn up and accepted by this conference must not directly or by implication suggest that the theological differences are either overcome or considered unimportant. If that were the outcome of our convening, no real progress will have been made in the area of the specific concern that has brought us together.

"Traditional Christian theology is centered in the person of Jesus Christ, Who, according to that theology, is God incarnate; forgiveness is through Him; prayer is accepted when offered in His Name; Christian love is not merely obedience to a moral code to which also non-Christians can subscribe, but is rather a new life given to man through Jesus Christ.

"It follows then that a statement of conscience which meticulously avoids even the mention of the name of Jesus Christ, but nevertheless employs such terminology which in Christian theology is always identified with the Christian believer's relationship to Jesus Christ, is to the Christian a denial of Jesus Christ.

"The statement of conscience, however, to be accepted by this conference need not be a Christian statement. It should not be, because this is not a Christian conference.

"The terminology cannot be Jewish either. But if proper reference to Christ is omitted in an obviously theological statement to which our Jewish conferees can subscribe, the statement from the Christian viewpoint has been reduced to the least common denominator and has thus become not a joint statement of all of us, but a statement of those representing a very small segment of our society, and perhaps less than one-tenth of those who are here as representatives of religious bodies.

"A theological statement that is neither Christian nor Jewish but rather an attempted synthesis of the two is at this juncture in history neither honest nor of any real practical value and is a violation of the consciences of both Jews and Christians.

"If a statement is advisable and necessary, it should be confined to an expression of our mutual awareness of the problem of racism, of our moral and ethical concern, of our determination to work together as representatives of different religious bodies on the level of citizens of the United States toward our mutually expressed common goal — liberty and justice for all our citizens. Such a statement can become an instrument to be used individually by each religious group represented to reexamine its religious motives and to implement the expression of them for the common good."

FRIENDLY RECEPTION

For several reasons we have gone into some detail in trying to give a fairly comprehensive word picture of the National Conference on Religion and Race. The Conference, or something like it, has become a necessity rather than a luxury. We of LHRAA are committed to cooperating on certain levels — as in the case of the Conference — with all persons and agencies of good will whose purpose it is to help eradicate racism from our land. We believe that in doing so there should be no denial of our Christian witness merely to get the job done.

A final reason for elaborating on the Conference on the pages of **The VANGUARD** is that we are aware of a deep concern on the part of Christians of other communions that Christ be not denied when working with those who do not share our Christian commitment. This concern was in evidence when the chairman of the Drafting

See **NATIONAL CONFERENCE**, Page 8

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For further information write:

Lutheran Human Relations Association of America,

Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana

or The Rev. Ralph L. Moellering, 2425 College Ave., Berkeley 4, Calif.

NEW BOOK RELEASED

When **OUR IMAGE ABROAD** came off the press a few days ago and LHRAA's Executive Secretary Andrew Schulze presented the first copy of the book to Valparaiso University President, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann, two students from Tanganyika, Nicholas Maro and Mika Urio, were on hand to observe. The new book contains presentations made at the 1962 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations held on the university's campus last July. The Institute had devoted its time and attention to determining what the image of America and the church in America is in the eyes of other nations. Among the speakers were personnel attached to the Washington embassies of Nigeria and India, an observer of world affairs, and two well-traveled and deeply concerned churchmen. One of these is Dr. Kretzmann.

Valparaiso University itself has been concerned about this very subject in even greater depth and the presence of Mika Urio and Nicholas Maro on the campus gives expression of such concern.

DR. ANDREW SCHULZE
NICHOLAS MARO
MIKA URIO
DR. O. P. KRETZMANN

SERGIO, Commentator and Lecturer. "Watch Yourself Go By"

AKPOYOWARE, Nigeria Embassy. "Nigeria Viewpoint"

LUEKING, Pastor, Grace Lutheran Church, River Forest, Ill. "Our Image Abroad — the Church's Concern"

KRETZMANN, President, Valparaiso University, "Light Out of Darkness"

MANSINGH, India Embassy, "India Viewpoint"

PETTIGREW, Author-Teacher, Harvard University. "Where Have **We** Failed?"

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TEN YEARS OLD

How does one celebrate a birthday? The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America is ten years old as of this year. The Reverend Walter F. Wolbrecht, Executive Director of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, made a suggestion a few weeks ago and LHRAA's Board of Directors liked the idea so well that the machinery is now moving to execute plans.

Dr. Wolbrecht pointed out that the observance ought to be one in which Lutherans everywhere are given opportunity to participate. This calls for a sort of "coast-to-coast birthday party."

Beginning in September, and continuing for several weeks, anniversary dinners will be held at least in cities where there are LHRAA chapters, possibly others. The first of these will be held in St. Louis, and Dr. Wolbrecht offered his help in arranging this.

Wherever possible it is hoped that Synodical officials or other church leaders will also be present to speak. Local chapters will be responsible for the host role in most instances.

More than merely "celebrate," LHRAA is eager to interpret its work in the church, a work that to many has remained unknown or obscure. More than this. In the recounting of its role and performance, the Association wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the blessing of the Lord of the Church on its work and to invite others to join in such expression of thanksgiving. And LHRAA hopes to enlist the concern and commitment of many more as it embarks on a second decade of service to the Lord in the world.

In a forthcoming issue of **The VANGUARD** a complete list of anniversary observances, with place and date, will be printed.

— K.E.L.

LOOK AROUND

(Continued from Page 2)

made available special materials which deal with our responsibilities toward Jews. These items have been designed to help our pastors and congregations in this area.

We are not here arguing **pro domo.** On the contrary, the relationship is quite the reverse. The chief reason we are personally in the Association and regularly contribute such a column as this is found in the conviction that this organization came into existence to face some very acute problems in a very realistic and God-pleasing way, without any "Yes-buts." Nor has it ever contented itself with talking in the abstract. Its studies, its pamphlets, its programs have always been motivated by the question, "How can we help the Church be the Church on these issues?" In this way it has served in much the same way that other agencies have.

Again and again, it has been individuals and groups within our Church that have sensed certain problems and devoted their energies to possible solutions. Lutheran hospitals, orphanages, **Altenheime** came into being that way. Today we have a university (Valparaiso), not because Synod as such saw an opportunity to move into this void in our total church life, but because a dedicated handful of laymen and clergy felt the time had come to act in this matter. The LHRAA has done much the same: alerting the Church to the nature of the problems inherent in the racial and religious pluralism of our country, with particular emphasis on those aspects of the situation which offered Christians an opportunity to "empty themselves" as did their Lord in obedience to the Father's will.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 6)

Committee invited this writer to meet with him while the Conference was in session and before the Statement was to be presented. In this private meeting, which lasted an hour, the chairman of the Committee made repeated expressions of concern similar to those expressed by us; with him it seemed to be not merely a matter of diplomatically silencing a dissenter but of one Christian conscience addressing itself to another Christian conscience. Something of the same spirit seemed to be evident among other members of the Committee when, upon invitation, this writer met with the entire Committee the morning after he had met with the chairman.

A theological statement which, understood in its context of development is less than Christian, was nevertheless finally presented and adopted. Although the basic objection to the statement remains, several good changes in its wording had been incorporated. The Statement as presented and adopted had its title changed from "A Statement of Conscience" to "An Appeal to Conscience." Among the other changes made is the addition of this significant statement: "Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this Statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together."

As a Christian tries to live his life in total commitment to God through Christ, he walks dangerously all the way.

OTHER LUTHERAN FRONTS

(Continued from Page 5)

and does influence our attitude to others. The basic questions of respect for others and, of course, for their rights and privileges are really moral issues. No Christian can be indifferent to such problems as unfair housing practices and at the same time profess his loyalty to a Savior who said: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana

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Religion

RACE, RELIGION AND REPENTANCE

By Austin Pardue
The Bishop of Pittsburgh

A PASTORAL READ IN ALL CHURCHES OF THE DIOCESE OF PITTSBURGH CALLING UPON PEOPLE TO EXAMINE THEIR THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS

THIS IS the season of Lent. We are called to forty days of concentration upon the meaning of the crucifixion. A cross stands on or over every altar.

The Lenten seasonal color is purple. It symbolizes the theme: namely, repentance. This comes from the Greek word metanoia. It literally means to seek a change of mind; a new outlook from selfishness to unselfishness and from intolerance to understanding.

In this, the twentieth year of my consecration as your bishop, I call upon us all to repent for our sins of prejudice, intolerance, and discrimination against any race or religion. I am not speaking in anger or impatience, but in love and charity. If we harbor these sins of discrimination against race and religion, we will destroy our own souls, threaten our own bodies and contaminate our own children. If these sins are not corrected, they may well bring destruction upon our own nation.

Scholars, the world over, tell us that the next world war will probably be a racial conflict. I have recently been on a preaching mission to South Africa and I can readily see and believe what they say as prophets of the future. We, as Christians, cannot stand by and cling to our past prejudices. As our Lord cried from his cross two thousand years ago, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," so now he repeats the cry as we continue in our blindness. Therefore, I ask you to make individual examinations during this season of Lent; to seek God's forgiveness for past mistakes, so that our Easter communions may be a joy to the resurrected Christ.

Will you as an individual, ask yourself the following questions?

- Am I aware that our Lord lives in the heart of every human being on earth; that to discriminate against race or religion is hurtful to him; that wherever a human being is suffering, there is Christ likewise suffering?

- Am I antagonistic when a person of another color joins my parish, sits in my pew, attends my church society or kneels next to me at the altar rail? According to his or her reliability and devotion, am I glad to have a person of a different race on my vestry or hold a parish office?

● In my daily work, am I willing to labor side by side in union jobs, in office posts in any kind of honest employment with decent people regardless of race or religion? Am I willing to be helpful to such persons, cooperative and understanding and to conduct myself in the spirit of Christ and the constitution of the United States? If I am an employer, am I willing to hire those of different races when they are qualified for positions and are willing to give of their best abilities? Am I doing my best to end economic discrimination so that our free enterprise system will remain free for every willing worker? Do I want full employment for "all sorts and conditions of men" as long as they are honest, reliable and industrious?

● Am I too hard of heart to have a sense of shame when I drive through blighted areas, overcrowded slums, filthy and deteriorated living quarters? Does my heart go out to the needs of the children and the delinquency that follows from such living conditions? Am I moved to help improve these conditions or do I simply "pass by on the other side" without care or action?

● When people of other races move into my neighborhood, am I courteous to them or do I seek ways of preventing their presence?

● Do I seek special privilege, regardless of my race or religion, when I lack dependability, courteous manners and sincere willingness to work and search for truth and sound learning?

● Am I provincial, unwilling to study the world conflicts now being fought along lines of racial and religious hatred? Have I tried to understand the consequences of spiritual blindness in racial antagonisms?

My friends, few of us will find ourselves without guilt on one or many of these questions. May we approach them with calm understanding, spiritual insight, persistent prayer, and openness of mind. May those of us who feel strongly on one side or the other of these questions, ask God to rid us of the self-righteousness that breeds a haughty air of intolerance. May we approach this issue of the hour with intellectual integrity, emotional discipline, Christlike humility and patriotic devotion.

May we not judge some other part of the world or nation without first examining our own consciences in the community in which we now live.

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4-11-63

SB, MA, JT

Religion

Text of Pope John's Encyclical 'Pacem in Terris,' Calling for a World Community

Special to The New York Times

ROME, April 10—Following, in translation supplied by the Vatican Press Office, is the text of the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" ("Peace on Earth"), issued today by Pope John XXIII:

Encyclical letter of His Holiness John XXIII, by Divine Providence Pope, to the venerable brothers the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and other local ordinaries in peace and communion with the Apostolic See, to the clergy and faithful of the whole world, and to all men of good-will, on establishing universal peace in truth, justice charity and liberty.

To our venerable brothers the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops and other local ordinaries in peace and communion with the Apostolic See, to the clergy and faithful of the whole world and to all men of goodwill: Pope John XXIII; venerable brothers and beloved children, health and apostolic benediction.

Introduction

ORDER IN THE UNIVERSE

Peace on earth, which men of every era have most eagerly yearned for, can be firmly established only if the order laid down by God be dutifully observed. The progress of learning and the inventions of technology clearly show that, both in living things and in the forces of nature, an astonishing order reigns, and they also bear witness to the greatness of man, who can understand that order and create suitable instruments to harness those forces of nature and use them to his benefit.

But the progress of science and the inventions of technology show above all the infinite greatness of God, who created the universe and man himself. He created all things out of nothing, pouring into them the abundance of His wisdom and goodness, so that the holy psalmist praises God in these words: "O Lord our master! The majesty of Thy name fills all the earth." (1) Elsewhere he says: "What diversity, Lord, in they creatures! What wisdom has designed them all!" (2) God also created man in his own image and likeness, (3) endowed him with intelligence and freedom, and made him lord of creation, as the same psalmist declares in the words: "Thou hast placed him only a little below the angels, crowning him with glory and honor and bidding him rule over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all under his dominion." (4)

ORDER IN HUMAN BEINGS

How strongly does the turmoil of individual men and peoples contrast with the perfect order of the universe! It is as if the relationships which bind them together could be controlled only by force. But the creator of the world has imprinted in man's heart an order which his conscience reveals to him and enjoins him to obey: This shows that the obligations of the law are written in their hearts, their conscience utters its own testimony. (5) And how could it be otherwise? For whatever God has made shows forth His infinite wisdom, and it is manifested more clearly in the things which have greater perfection. (6)

But fickleness of opinion often produces this error, that many think that the relationships between men and states can be governed by the same laws as the forces and irrational elements of the universe, whereas the laws governing them are of quite a different kind and are to be sought elsewhere, namely, where the Father of all things wrote them, that is, in the nature of man. By these laws men are most admirably taught, first of all how they should conduct their mutual dealings among themselves, then how the relationships between the citizens and the public authorities of each state should be regulated, then how states should deal with one another, and finally how, on the one hand, individual men and states, and on the other hand, the community of all peoples, should act towards each other, the establishment of such a world community of peoples being urgently demanded today by the requirements of universal common good.

Part I

United Press International

A SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING: A view of nave of St. Peter's Basilica last October, when Vatican Council II was convened. The Pope, in his encyclical, suggested that a meeting of Roman Catholics and other Christians, now or in the future, might be useful.

conscience, and therefore the right to worship God privately and publicly. For, as Lactantius so clearly taught: We were created for the purpose of showing to the God who bore us the submission we owe Him, or recognizing Him alone, and of serving Him. We are obliged and bound by this duty to God. From this religion itself receives its name. 10 And on this point our predecessor of immortal memory, Leo XIII, declared: "This genuine, this honorable freedom of the sons of God, which most nobly protects the dignity of the human person, is greater than any violence or injustice

foundly is the empire of nature ordained for the preservation of man." (17)

The right to private property, even of productive goods, also derives from the nature of man. This right, as we have elsewhere declared, is a suitable means for safeguarding the dignity of the human person and for the exercise of responsibility in all fields; it strengthens and gives serenity to family life, thereby increasing the peace and prosperity of the state. (18)

However, it is opportune to point out that there is a social duty essentially inherent in the

draws its indestructible moral force from the natural law, which, in granting it, imposes a corresponding obligation. Those, therefore, who claim their own rights, yet altogether forget or neglect to carry out their respective duties, are people who build with one hand and destroy with the other.

Mutual Collaboration

Since men are social by nature they are meant to live with others and to work for one another's welfare. A well-ordered society requires that

fulfill his obligation; and, in the countless forms of collaboration with others, act chiefly on his own respnsibility and initiative. This is to be done in such a way that each one acts on his own decision, of set purpose and from a conciousness of his obligation, without being moved by force or pressure brought to bear on him externally. For any human society that is established on relations of force must be regarded as inhuman, inasmuch as the personality of its members is repressed or restricted, when in fact they should be provided with appropriate incentives and means for developing and perfecting themselves.

Social Life in Truth, Justice, Charity and Freedom

A political society is to be considered well-ordered, beneficial and in keeping with human dignity if it is grounded on truth. As the Apostle Paul exhorts us: "Away with falsehood then; let everyone speak out the truth to his neighbor; membership of the body binds us to one another." (25) This demands that reciprocal rights and duties be sincerely recognized. Furthermore, human society will be such as we have just described it, if the citizens, guided by justice, apply themselves seriously to respecting the rights of others and discharging their own duties; if they are moved by such fervor of charity as to make their own the needs of others and share with others their own goods: If, finally, they work for a progressively closer fellowship in the world of spiritual values. Human society is realized in freedom, that is to say, in ways and means in keeping with the dignity of its citizens, who accept the responsibility of their actions, precisely because they are by nature rational beings.

Human society, venerable brothers and beloved children, ought to be regarded above all as a spiritual reality: in which men communicate knowledge to each other in the light of truth; in which they can enjoy their rights and fulfil their duties, and are inspired to strive for moral good. Society should enable men to share in and enjoy every legitimate expression of beauty, and encourage them constantly to pass on to others all that is best in themselves, while they strive to make their own the spiritual achievements of others. These are the spiritual values which continually give life and basic orientation to cultural expressions, economic and social institutions, political movements and forms, laws, and all other structures by which society is outwardly established and constantly developed.

God and the Moral Order

more on the eternal law than on human reason." (27)

Characteristics of the Present

Our age has three distinctive characteristics. First of all, the working classes have gradually gained ground in economic and public affairs. They began by claiming their rights in the socio-economic sphere; they extended their action then to claims on the political level; and finally applied themselves to the acquisition of the benefits of a more refined culture. Today, therefore, workers all over the world refuse to be treated as if they were irrational objects without freedom, to be used at the arbitrary disposition of others. They insist that they be always regarded as men with a share in every sector of human society: in the social and economic sphere, in the fields of learning and culture, and in public life.

Secondly, it is obvious to everyone that women are now taking a part in public life. This is happening more rapidly, perhaps, in nations of Christian civilization, and, more slowly but broadly, among peoples who have inherited other traditions or cultures. Since women are becoming ever more conscious of their human dignity, they will not tolerate being treated as mere material instruments, but demand rights befitting a human person both in domestic and in public life.

Finally, the modern world, as compared with the recent past, has taken on an entirely new appearance in the field of social and political life. For since all nations have either achieved or are on the way to achieving independence, there will soon no longer exist a world divided into nations that rule others and nations that are subject to others.

Men all over the world have today—or will soon have—the rank of citizens in independent nations. No one wants to feel subject to political powers located outside his own country or ethnic group. Thus in very many human beings the inferiority complex which endured for hundreds and thousands of years is disappearing, while in others there is an attenuation and gradual fading of the corresponding superiority complex which had its roots in social-economic privileges, sex or political standing.

On the contrary, the conviction that all men are equal by reason of their natural dignity has been generally accepted. Hence racial discrimination can no longer be justified, at least doctrinally or in theory. And this is of fundamental importance and significance for the formation of human society according to those principles which we have outlined above. For, if a man becomes conscious of his rights, he must become equally aware of his duties. Thus he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim those rights as marks of his dignity, while all others have the obligation to acknowledge those rights and respect them.

When the relations of human society are expressed in terms of rights and duties, men become conscious of spiritual values, understand the meaning and significance of truth, justice, charity and freedom, and become deeply aware that they belong to this world of values. Moreover, when moved by such concerns, they are brought to a better knowledge of the true God who is personal and transcendent, and thus they make the ties that bind them to God the solid foundations and supreme criterion of their lives, both of that life which they live interiorly in the depths of their own souls and of that in which they are united to other men in society.

Part II

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Necessity and Divine Origin of Authority

Human society can be neither well-ordered nor prosperous unless it has some people invested with legitimate authority to preseve its institutions and to devote themselves as far as is necessary to work and care for the good of all. These, however, derive their authority from God, as St. Paul teaches in the words, "Authority comes from God alone." (28) These words of St. Paul are explained thus by St. John Chrysostom: What are you saying? Is every ruler appointed by God? I do not say that, he replies, for I am not dealing now with individual rulers, but with authority itself. What I say is, that it is the divine wisdom and not mere chance

dignity as men, endowed with reason and free will. As authority is chiefly concerned with moral force, it follows that civil authority must appeal primarily to the conscience of individual citizens, that is, to each one's duty to collaborate readily for the common good of all. Since by nature all men are equal in human dignity, it follows that no one may be coerced to perform interior acts. That is in the power of God alone, who sees and judges the hidden designs of men's hearts. Those therefore who have authority in the state may oblige men in conscience only if their authority is intrinsically related with the authority of God and shares in it. (32)

creator of the world has imprinted in man's heart an order which his conscience reveals to him and enjoins him to obey: This shows that the obligations of the law are written in their hearts, their conscience utters its own testimony. (5) And how could it be otherwise? For whatever God has made shows forth His infinite wisdom, and it is manifested more clearly in the things which have greater perfection. (6)

But fickleness of opinion often produces this error, that many think that the relationships between men and states can be governed by the same

them, that is, in the nature of man. By these laws men are most admirably taught, first of all how they should conduct their mutual dealings among themselves, then how the relationships between the citizens and the public authorities of each state should be regulated, then how states should deal with one another, and finally how, on the one hand, individual men and states, and on the other hand, the community of all peoples, should act towards each other, the establishment of such a world community of peoples being urgently demanded today by the requirements of universal common good.

Part I

ORDER BETWEEN MEN

Every Man Is a Person With Rights and Duties

First of all, it is necessary to speak of the order which should exist between men. Any human society, if it is to be well-ordered and productive, must lay down as a foundation this principle, namely, that every human being is a person, that is, his nature is endowed with intelligence and free will. By virtue of this, he has rights and duties of his own, flowing directly and simultaneously from his very nature, which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable. 7

If we look upon the dignity of the human person in the light of divinely revealed truth, we cannot help but esteem it far more highly. For men are redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, they are by grace the children and friends of God and heirs of eternal glory.

Rights

The Right to Life and a Worthy Standard of Living

Beginning our discussion of the rights of man, we see that every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity and to the means which are necessary and suitable for the proper development of life. These are primarily food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care and, finally, the necessary social services. Therefore, a human being also has the right to security in cases of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment, or in any other case in which he is deprived of the means of subsistence through no fault of his own. 8

Right Pertaining to Moral and Cultural Values

By the natural law every human being has the right to respect for his person, to his good reputation, the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating this opinions, and in pursuit of art, within the limits laid down by the moral order and the common good. And he has the right to be informed truthfully about public events.

The natural law also gives man the right to share in the benefits of culture, and therefore the right to a basic education and to technical and professional training in keeping with the stage of educational development in the country to which he belongs. Every effort should be made to insure that persons be enabled, on the basis of merit, to go on to higher studies, so that, as far as possible, they may occupy posts and take on responsibilities in human society in accordance with their natural gifts and the skills they have acquired. 9

The Right to Worship God According to One's Conscience

Every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright

meeting of Roman Catholics and other Christians, now or in the future, might be useful.

conscience, and therefore the right to worship God privately and publicly. For, as Lactantius so clearly taught: We were created for the purpose of showing to the God who bore us the submission we owe Him, or recognizing Him alone, and of serving Him. We are obliged and bound by this duty to God. From this religion itself receives its name. 10 And on this point our predecessor of immortal memory, Leo XIII, declared: "This genuine, this honorable freedom of the sons of God, which most nobly protects the dignity of the human person, is greater than any violence or injustice. It has always been sought by the church, and always most dear to her. This was the freedom which the apologists claimed with intrepid constantcy, which the apologists defended with their writings, and which the martyrs in such numbers consecrated with their blood." 11

The Right to Choose Freely One's State of Life

Human beings have the right to choose freely the state of life which they prefer, and therefore the right to set up a family, with equal rights and duties for man and woman, and also the right to follow a vocation to the priesthood or the religious life. 12

The family, grounded on marriage freely contracted, monogamous and indissoluble, is and must be considered the first and essential cell of human society. To it must be given every consideration of an economic, social, cultural and moral nature which will strengthen its stability and facilitate the fulfilment of its specific mission.

Parents, however, have a prior right in the support and education of their children. 13

Economic Rights

Human beings have the natural right to free initiative in the economic field, and the right to work. (14)

Indissolubly linked with those rights is the right to working conditions in which physical health is not endangered, morals are safeguarded and young people's normal development is not impaired. Women have the right to working conditions in accordance with their requirements and their duties as wives and mothers. (15)

From the dignity of the human person, there also arises the right to carry on economic activities according to the degree of responsibility of which one is capable. 16 Furthermore—and this must be specially emphasized—there is the right to a working wage, determined according to criterions of justice and sufficient, therefore, in proportion to the available resources, to give the worker and his family a standard of living in keeping with the dignity of the human person. In this regard, our predecessor Pius XII said: "To the personal duty to work imposed by nature, there corresponds and follows the natural right of each individual to make of his work the means to provide for his own life and the lives of his children. So profoundly is the empire of nature ordained for the preservation of man." (17)

The right to private property, even of productive goods, also derives from the nature of man. This right, as we have elsewhere declared, is a suitable means for safeguarding the dignity of the human person and for the exercise of responsibility in all fields; it strengthens and gives serenity to family life, thereby increasing the peace and prosperity of the state. (18)

However, it is opportune to point out that there is a social duty essentially inherent in the right of private property. (19)

The Right of Meeting and Association

From the fact that human beings are by nature social, there arises the right of assembly and association. They have also the right to give the societies of which they are members the form they consider most suitable for the aim they have in view, and to act within such societies on their own initiative and on their own responsibility in order to achieve their desired objectives. (20)

We ourselves stated in the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" that, for the achievement of ends which individual human beings cannot attain except by association, it is necessary and indispensable to set up a great variety of such intermediate groups and societies in order to guarantee for the human person a sufficient sphere of freedom and responsibility. (21)

The Right to Emigrate and Immigrate

Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country; and, when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there. (22) The fact that one is a citizen of a particular state does not detract in any way from his membership of the human family as a whole, nor from his citizenship of the world community.

Political Rights

The dignity of the human person involves the right to take an active part in public affairs and to contribute one's part to the common good of the citizenry. For, as our predecessor of happy memory, Pius XII, pointed out: The human individual, far from being an object and, as it were, a merely passive element in the social order, is in fact, must be and must continue to be, its subject, its foundation and its end. (23)

The human person is also entitled to a juridical protection of his rights, a protection that should be efficacious, impartial and inspired by the true norms of justice.

As our predecessor Pius XII teaches: That perpetual privilege proper to man, by which every individual has a claim to the protection of his rights, and by which there is assigned to each a definite and particular sphere of rights, immune from all arbitrary attacks, is the logical consequence of the order of justice willed by God. (24)

Duties

Rights and Duties Necessarily Linked in the One Person

The natural rights with which we have been dealing are, however, inseparably connected, in the very person who is their subject, with just as many respective duties; and rights as well as duties find their source, their sustenance and their inviolability in the natural law which grants or enjoins them.

For example, the right of every man to life is correlative with the duty to preserve it; his right to a decent standard of living with the duty of living it becomingly; and his right to investigate the truth freely, with the duty of seeking it and of possessing it ever more completely and profoundly.

Reciprocity of Rights and Duties Between Persons

Once this is admitted, it is also clear that in human society to one man's right there corresponds a duty in all other persons: the duty, namely, of acknowledging and respecting the right in question. For every fundamental human right draws its indestructible moral force from the natural law, which, in granting it, imposes a corresponding obligation. Those, therefore, who claim their own rights, yet altogether forget or neglect to carry out their respective duties, are people who build with one hand and destroy with the other.

Mutual Collaboration

Since men are social by nature they are meant to live with others and to work for one another's welfare. A well-ordered human society requires that men recognize and observe their mutual rights and duties. It also demands that each contribute generously to the establishment of a civic order in which rights and duties are progressively more sincerely and effectively acknowledged and fulfilled.

It is not enough, for example, to acknowledge and respect every man's right to the means of subsistence: One must also strive to obtain that he actually has enough in the way of food and nourishment.

The society of men must not only be organized but must also provide them with abundant resources. This certainly requires that they observe and recognize their mutual rights and duties: It also requires that they collaborate together in the many enterprises that modern civilization either allows or encourages or even demands.

The dignity of the human person also requires that every man enjoy the right to act freely and responsibly. For this reason, therefore, in social relations man should exercise his rights,

each other in the light of truth in which they can enjoy their rights and fulfil their duties, and are inspired to strive for moral good. Society should enable men to share in and enjoy every legitimate expression of beauty, and encourage them constantly to pass on to others all that is best in themselves, while they strive to make their own the spiritual achievements of others. These are the spiritual values which continually give life and basic orientation to cultural expressions, economic and social institutions, political movements and forms, laws, and all other structures by which society is outwardly established and constantly developed.

God and the Moral Order

The order which prevails in society is by nature moral. Grounded as it is in truth, it must function according to the norms of justice, it should be inspired and perfected by mutual love, and finally it should be brought to an ever more refined and human balance in freedom.

Now an order of this kind, whose principles are universal, absolute and unchangeable, has its ultimate source in the one true God, who is personal and transcends human nature. Inasmuch as God is the first truth and the highest good, He alone is that deepest source from which human society can draw its vitality, if that society is to be well-ordered, beneficial, and in keeping with human dignity. (26) As St. Thomas Aquinas says: "Human reason is the norm of the human will, according to which is goodness is measured, because reason derives from the eternal law which is the divine reason itself. It is evident then that the goodness of the human will depends much

Necessity and Divine Origin of Authority

Human society can be neither well-ordered nor prosperous unless it has some people invested with legitimate authority to preseve its institutions and to devote themselves as far as is necessary to work and care for the good of all. These, however, derive their authority from God, as St. Paul teaches in the words, "Authority comes from God alone." (28) These words of St. Paul are explained thus by St. John Chrysostom: What are you saying? Is every ruler appointed by God? I do not say that, he replies, for I am not dealing now with individual rulers, but with authority itself. What I say is, that it is the divine widsom and not mere chance that has ordained that there should be government, that some should command and others obey. (29) Moreover, since God made men social by nature, and since no society can hold together unless some one be over all, directing all to strive earnestly for the common good, every civilized community must have a ruling authority, and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its auself. (31)

But authority is not to be thought of as a force lacking all control. Indeed, since it is the power to command according to right reason, authority must derive its obligatory force from the moral order, which in turn has God for its first source and final end. Wherefore our predecessor of nappy memory, Pius XII, said: "That same absolute order of beings and their ends which presents man as an autonomous person, that is, as the subject of inviolable duties and rights, and as at once the basis of society and the purpose for which it exists, also includes the state as necessary society invested with the authority without which it could not come into being or live. . . . And since this absolute order, as we learn from sound reason, especially from the Christian faith, can have no origin save in a personal God who is our Creator, it follows that the dignity of the state's authority is due to its sharing to some extent in the authority of God himself. 31

Where the civil authority uses as its only or its chief means either threats and fear of punishment or promises of rewards, it cannot effectively move men to promote the common good of all. Even if it did so move them, this would be altogether opposed to their dignity as men, endowed with reason and free will. As authority is chiefly concerned with moral force, it follows that civil authority must appeal primarily to the conscience of individual citizens, that is, to each one's duty to collaborate readily for the common good of all. Since by nature all men are equal in human dignity, it follows that no one may be coerced to perform interior acts. That is in the power of God alone, who sees and judges the hidden designs of men's hearts. Those therefore who have authority in the state may oblige men in conscience only if their authority is intrinsically related with the authority of God and shares in it. (32)

By this principle the dignity of the citizens is protected. When, in fact, men obey their rulers, it is not all as men that they obey them, but through their obedience it is God, the provident Creator of all things, whom they reverence, since he has decreed that men's dealings with one another should be regulated by an order which he himself has established. Moreover, in showing this due reverence to God, men not only do not debase themselves but rather perfect and ennoble themselves. For to serve God is to rule. (33)

Since the right to command is required by the moral order and has its source in God, it follows that, if civil authorities legislate for or allow anything that is contrary to that order and therefore contrary to the will of God, neither the laws made nor the authorizations granted can be binding on the consciences of the citizens, since God has more right to be obeyed than men. (34) Otherwise, authority breaks down completely and results in shameful abuse. As St. Thomas Aquinas teaches: Human law has the true nature of law only in so far as it corresponds to In so far as it falls short of right right reason, and therefore is derived from the eternal law. Insofar as it falls short of right reason, a law is said to be a wicked law. And so, lacking the true nature of law, it is rather a kind of violence. (35)

It must not be concluded, however, because authority comes from God, that therefore men have no right to choose those who are to rule the state, to decide the form of government and to determine both the way in which authority is to be exercised and its limits. It is thus clear that the doctrine which we have set forth is fully consonant with any truly democratic regime. (36)

Attainment of the Common Good

Purposes of the Public Authority

Individual citizens and intermediate groups are obliged to make their specific contributions to the common welfare. One of the chief consequences of this is that they must bring their own interests into harmony with the needs of the community, and must dispose of their goods and their services as civil authorities have prescribed, in accord with the norms of justice, in due form and within the limits of their competence. This they must do by means of formally perfect actions, the content of which must be morally good, or at least capable of being directed towards good.

Indeed, since the whole reason for the existence of civil authorities is the realization of the common good, it is clearly necessary that, in pursuing this objective, they should respect its essential elements, and at the same time conform their laws to the needs of a given historical situation. (37)

Assuredly, the ethnic characteristics of the various human groups are to be respected as constituent elements of the common good, (38) but these values and characteristics by no means exhaust the content of the common good. For the common good is intimately bound up with human nature. It can never exist fully and completely unless, its intimate nature and realization being what they are, the human person is taken into account. (39)

In the second place, the very nature of the common good requires that all members of the political community be entitled to share in it, although in different ways according to each one's tasks, merits and circumstances. For this reason, every civil authority must take pains to promote the common good of all, without preference for any single citizen or civil group. As our predecessor of immortal memory, Leo XIII, has said: The civil power must not serve the advantage of any one individual or of some few persons, inasmuch as it was established for the common good of all. 40 Considerations of justice and equity, however, can at times demand that those involved in civil government give more attention to the less fortunate members of the community, since they are less able to defend their rights and to assert their legitimate claims. (41)

In this context, we judge that attention should be called to the fact that the common good

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Sample of the Latin Text

Specia. to The New York Times

ROME, April 10—Following is the Latin version of the opening paragraphs of the encyclical made public today by Pope John XXIII:

Sanctissimi domini nostri Ioannis Divina Providentia Papae XXIII litterae encyclicae ad venerabiles fratres, patriarchas, primates, archiepiscopos, episcopos aliosque locorum ordinarios pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes ad clerum et Christifideles totius orbis itemque ad universos bonae voluntatis homines de pace omnium gentium in veritate, iustitia, caritate, libertate constituenda.

Venerabilibus fratribus, patriarchis, primatibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, aliisque locorum ordinariis pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentibus clero et Christifidelibus totius orbis itemque universis bonae voluntatis hominibus; Ioannes P. XXIII: Venerabiles fratres et dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Pacem in terris, quam homines universi cupidissime quovis tempore appetiverunt, condi confirmarique non posse constat, nisi ordine, quem Deus constituit, sancte servato.

Nam ex doctrinarum processibus ac technicorum inventis plane discimus, simul in animantibus et in naturae viribus dominari ordinem mirificum, simul in homine eiusmodi inesse dignitatem, qua possit sive ordinem ipsum deprehendere sive instrumenta apta sibi parare, ad easdem occupandas vires et ad sua commoda transferendas.

Sed scientiarum progressiones ac technicorum inventa primum omnium infinitam Dei magnitudinem ostendunt, qui et rerum universitatem et hominem ipsum creavit. Rerum, dicimus, universitatem de nihilo fecit, in eamque sapientiae et bonitatis suae copiam profudit: qua de re alicubi sacer psaltes hisce verbis deum laudat: "Domine, Domine, quam admirabile est nomen Tuum in universa terra," hisce alicubi vocibus: "quam multa sunt opera tua, Domine! omnia cum sapientia fecisti." Hominem item deus ad imaginem et similitudinem suam creavit, intellegentia et libertate praeditum, dominumque constituit rerum universarium, uti psaltes idem hac sententia profitetur: et fecisti eum paulo minorem angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum, dedisti ei potestatem super opera manuum Tuarum, omnia subiecisti pedibus eius.

Footnotes to Encyclical

Special to The New York Times

ROME, April 10—Following are footnote references contained in the encyclical by Pope John XXIII:

1. Psalms viii, 1.
2. Psalms ciii, 24.
3. Cf. Genesis i, 26.
4. Psalms viii, 5-6.
5. Romans ii, 15.
6. Cf. Psalms xviii, 8-11.
7. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, Acta Aspostolicae Sedis, Vol 35, pp. 9-24, and John XXIII's sermon Jan. 4, 1963, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 55, pp. 89-91.
8. Cf. Pius XI's encyclical letter "Divini Redemptoris" (Of the Divine Redeemer"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 29, p. 78, and radio message by Pius XII on the Feast of Pentecost, 1941, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 33, pp. 195-205.
9. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, op. cit., pp. 9-24.
10. Divinae Institutiones, Vol. 4, Chap. 28, Subheading 2, editions P. L. 6, 535.
11. Encyclical letter "Libertas praestantissimum" ("freedom of the most excellent"), Acts of Leo XIII, Vol. 8, pp. 237-38.
12. Cf. Pius XII radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, loc. cit.
13. Cf. Pius XI's encyclical letter "Casti Connubii" ("Of Chaste Marriage") Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 22, pp. 539-92, and Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, loc. cit.
14. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on the Feast of Pentecost, 1941, loc. cit., p. 201.
15. Cf. Leo XIII's encyclical letter "Rerum Novarum" ("Of New Things"), Acts of Leo XIII, Vol. 11, pp. 128-29.
16. Cf. John XXIII's encyclical letter "Mater et Magistra" ("Mother and Teacher"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 53, p. 422.
17. Cf. Pope Pius XII, loc. cit.
18. "Mater et Magistra," p. 428.
19. Cf. ibid., p. 430.
20. Cf. "Rerum Novarum," pp. 134-42; Pius XI's encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" ("in the fortieth year"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 23, pp. 199-200, and Pius XII's encyclical letter "Sertum Laetitiae" ("A Garland of Joy"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 31, pp. 635-44.
21. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 53, p. 430.
22. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, op. cit., pp. 33-46.
23. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1944, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 37, p. 12.
24. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1942, op. cit., p. 21.
25. Ephesians, iv, 25.
26. Cf. Pius XII's 1942 radio message, op. cit., p. 14.
27. St. Thomas Aquinas, "Summa Theologiae," I/A-II/AE, quest. 19, para. 4, cf. para. 9.
28. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xiii, 1-6.
29. Op. cit., xiii, 1-2; Homily 23, Edition P. G. 60, 615.
30. Leo XIII's encyclical letter "Immortale Dei" ("Of Immortal God"), Acts of Leo XIII, Vol. 5, p. 120.
31. Cf. Pius XII's 1944 radio message, op. cit., p. 15.
32. Cf. Encyclical Letter "Diuturnum Illud" ("That Longlived"), Acts of Leo XIII, Vol. 2, p. 274.
33. Cf. Ibid, p. 278, and encyclical "Immortale Dei," op. cit., p. 130.
34. Acts of the Apostles, v, 29.
35. St. Thomas Aquinas, op. cit., quest., 93, para. 3; Cf. Pius XIIs 1944 radio message, op. cit., pp. 5-23.
36. Cf. "Diuturnum Illud," op. cit., pp. 271-72; and Pius XII's 1944 radio message, op. cit., pp. 9-23.
37. Cf. Pius XII's 1942 radio message, op. cit., p. 13, and Leo XIII's "Immortale Dei," op. cit., p. 120.
38. Cf. Pius XII's encyclical letter "Summi Pontificatus" ("Of the Supreme Pontificate"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 31, pp. 412-53.
39. Cf. Pius XI's encyclical letter "Mit Brennender Sorge" ("For With Burning Sorrow"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 29, p. 159, and encyclical letter "Divini Redemptoris," Acta Apostolica Sedis, Vol. 29, pp. 65-106.
40. "Immortale Dei," op. cit., p. 121.
41. Cf. "Rerum Novarum," op. cit., pp. 133-34.
42. Cf. "Summi Pontificatus," op. cit., p. 433.
43. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 53, p. 19.
44. Cf. "Quadragesimo Anno," Vol. 23, p. 215.
45. Cf. Pius XII's 1941 Feast of Pentecost radio message, op. cit., p. 200.
46. Cf. "Mit Brennender Sorge," op. cit., p. 159; "Divini Redemptoris," op. cit., p. 79, and Pius XII's 1942 radio message, op. cit., pp. 9-24.
47. Cf. "Divini Redemptoris," op. cit., p. 81, and 1942 radio message, loc. cit.
48. "Mater et Magistra," op. cit., p. 415.
49. Cf. Pius XII's 1942 radio message, op. cit., p. 21.
50. Op. cit., pp. 15-16.
51. Op. cit., p. 12.
52. Cf. apostolic letter "Annum Ingressi" ("The Year of the Eentry"), Acts of Leo XIII, Vol. 22, pp. 52-80.
53. "Sapientia," vi, 2-4.
54. Cf. Pius XII, op. cit., p. 16.
55. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1940, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 33, pp. 5-14.
56. St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," book IV, chapt. 4, edition P. L. 41, p. 115; cf. Pius XII's radio message on Christmas Eve, 1939, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 32, pp. 5-13.
57. Cf. Pius XII's 1941 radio message, op. cit., pp. 10-21.
58. Cf. "Mater et Magistra," op. cit., p. 439.
59. Cf. Pius XII's 1941 radio message, op. cit., p. 17, and Benedict XV's exhortation Aug. 1, 1917, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 9, p. 418.
60. Cf. Pius XII's radio message on Aug. 24, 1939, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 31, p. 334.
61. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 53, pp. 440-41.
62. Cf. Pius XII's 1941 radio message, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
63. "Mater et Magistra," op. cit., p. 443.
64. Cf. Pius XII's allocution on Sept. 19, 1948, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 40, p. 412.
65. Cf. "Mater et Magistra," op. cit. ,p. 454.
66. Ibid, p. 456.
67. Ibid; cf. "Immortale Del Actas," op. cit., p. 100; Pius XI's encyclical "Ubi Arcano" ("Where in the Inscrutable Design"), Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 14, p. 698, and Pius XII's allocution on Sept. 11, 1947, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 39, p. 486.
68. Cf. Pius XII's allocution on June 13, 1943, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 35, p. 175.
69. Augustinian Miscellanea, p. 633.
70. Cf. Isaias, ix, 6.
71. Ephesians, ii, 14-17.
72. Responses to matins on the Friday after Easter.
73. St. John, xiv, 27.

Public Officials Enjoined to Advance Common Good While Guarding Civil Rights

Cont'd From Preceding Page

touches the whole man, the needs both of his body and of his soul. Hence it follows that the civil authorities must undertake to effect the common good by ways and means that are proper to them. That is, while respecting the hierarchy of values, they should promote simultaneously both the material and the spiritual welfare of the citizens. (42)

These principles are clearly contained in the doctrine stated in our encyclical, "mater et Magistra," where we emphasized that the common good of all embraces the sum total of those conditions of social living whereby men are enabled to achieve their own integral perfection more fully and more easily. (43)

Men, however, composed as they are of bodies and immortal souls, can never in this mortal life succeed in satisfying all their needs or in attaining perfect happiness. Therefore, all efforts made to promote the common good, far from endangering the eternal salvation of men, ought rather to serve to promote it. (44)

Responsibilities of the Public Authority, and Rights and Duties of Individuals

It is agreed that in our time the common good is chiefly guaranteed when personal right and duties are maintained. The chief concern of civil authorities must therefore be to insure that these rights are acknowledged, respected, coordinated with other rights, defended and promoted, so that in this way each one may more easily carry out his duties. For to safeguard the inviolable rights of the human person, and to facilitate the fulfilment of its duties, should be the essential office of every public authority. (46)

This means that, if any government does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them, it not only fails its duty, but its orders completely lack juridical force. (46)

Reconciliation and Protection of Rights and Duties of Individuals

One of the fundamental duties of civil authorities, therefore, is to coordinate social relations in such fashion that the exercise of one man's rights does not threaten others in the exercise of their own rights nor hinder them in the fulfilment of their duties. Finally, the rights of all should be effectively safeguarded and, if they have been violated, completely restored. (47)

Duty of Promoting the Rights of Individuals

It is also demanded by the common good that civil authorit-

Structure and Operation of Public Authority

It is impossible to determine, once and for all, what is the most suitable form of government, or how civil authorities can most effectively fulfull their respective functions, i.e., the legislative, judicial and executive functions of the state. In determining the structure and operation of government which a state is to have, great weight has to be given to the historical background and circumstances of given political communities, circumstances which will vary at different times and in different places. We consider, however, that it is in keeping with the innate demands of human nature that the state should take a form which embodies the three-fold division of powers corresponding to the three principle functions of public authority. In that type of state, not only the official functions of government but also the mutual relations between citizens and public officials are set down according to law, which in itself affords protection to the citizens both in the enjoyment of their rights and in the fulfillment of their duties.

If, however, this political and juridicial structure is to produce the advantages which may be expected of it, public officials must strive to meet the problems which arise in a way that conforms both to the complexities of the situation and the proper exercise of their function. This requires that, in constantly changing conditions, legislators never forget the norms of morality, or constitutional provisions, or the objective requirements of the common good. Moreover, executive authorities must coordinate the activities of society with discretion, with a full knowledge of the law and after a careful consideration of circumstances, and the courts must administer justice impartially and without being influenced by favoritism or pressure. The good order of society also demands that individual citizens and intermediate organizations should be effectively protected by law whenever they have rights to be exercised or obligations to be fulfilled. This protection should be granted to citizens both in their dealings with each other and in their relations with government agencies. (49)

Law and Conscience

It is unquestionable that a legal structure in conformity with the moral order and corresponding to the level of development of the political community is of great advantage to achievement of the common good.

And yet, social life in the modern world is so varied, complex and dynamic that even a juridical structure which has been prudently and thoug-

and at the same time meet the exigencies of social life, adapting their legislation to the changing social scene and solving new problems. They must be men of great equilibrium and integrity, competent and courageous enough to see at once what the situation requires and to take necessary action quickly and effectively. (50)

Citizens' Participation in Public Life

It is in keeping with their dignity as persons that human beings should take an active part in government, although the manner in which they share in it will depend on the level of development of the political community to which they belong.

Men will find new and extensive advantages in the fact that they are allowed to participate in government. In this situation, those who administer the government come into frequent contact with the citizens, and it is thus easier for them to learn what is really needed for the common good. The fact, too, that ministers of government hold office only for a limited time keeps them from growing stale and allows for their replacement in accordance with the demands of social progress. 51

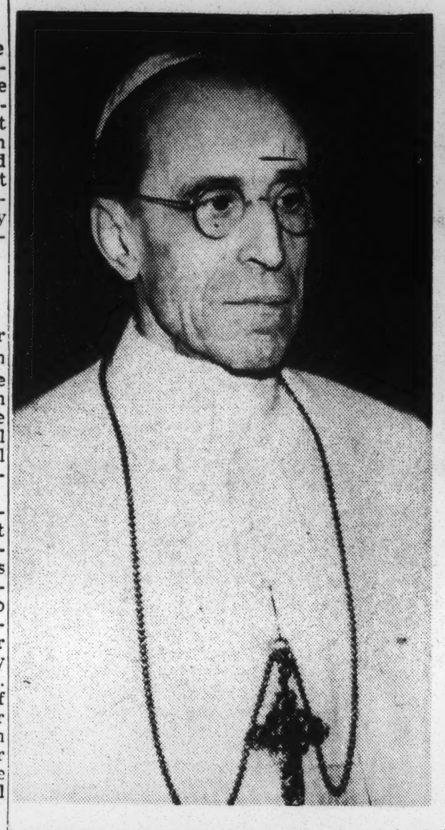
Characteristics of the Present Day

In modern times, where there is question of organizing political communities juridically, there is observable first of all the tendency to write in concise and limpid phraseology a charter of fundamental human rights, which is, as often as not, inserted in the state constitutions, or is an integral part of them.

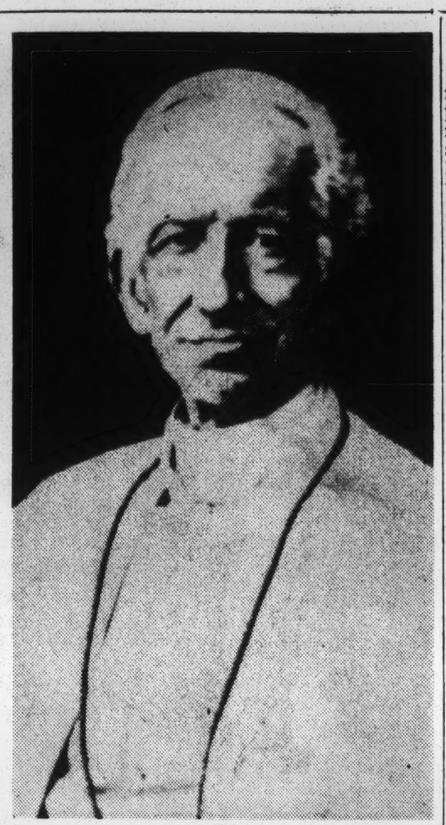
Secondly, there is also in inclination to determine, by the compilation of a document called the constitution, the procedures through which the governing powers are to be created, along with their mutual relations, the spheres of their competence, the forms and systems they are obliged to follow in the performance of their office.

The relations between the government and the governed are then set forth in terms of rights and duties, and it is clearly laid down that the paramount task assigned to government officials is that of recognizing, respecting, reconciling, protecting and promoting the rights and duties of citizens.

It is of course impossible to accept the theory which professes to find the original and single source of civic rights and duties, of the binding force of the constitution, and of a gov-



RIGHTS OF MAN: Pope Pius XII, cited by John XXIII for his views on subject.



Associated Press

THE COMMON GOOD: Pope Leo XIII, who advocated communal common good.

stitutes the reason for its existence.

But a fundamental factor of the common good is acknowledgement of the moral order and respect for its prescriptions. Order between the political communities must be built upon the unshakable and unchangeable rock of the moral law, made manifest in the order of nature by the Creator himself and by Him engraved on the hearts of men with letters that may never be effaced. Like the rays of a gleaming beacon, its principles must guide the plans and policies of men and nations. These are the signals—of warning, safety and smooth sailing—they will have to heed if they would not see all their laborious efforts to establish a new order condemned to tempest and shipwreck. (54)

In Truth

First among the rules governing the relations between states is that of truth. This calls, above all, for the elimination of every trace of racism, and the consequent recognition of the principle that all states

emphasis on the positive aspects of their way of life. But methods of information which fall short of the truth, and by the same token impair the reputation of this people or that, must be discarded. (55)

In Justice

Relations between political communities are to be further regulated by justice. This implies, over and above recognition of their mutual rights, the fulfillment of their respective duties.

Political communities have the right to existence, to self-development and to the means necessary for this. They have the right to play the leading part in the process of their own development and the right to their good name and due honors. From which it follows as a simultaneous consequence that they have also the corresponding duty of respecting these rights in others and of avoiding

The Treatment of Minorities

From the 19th century there has been a rather widespread tendency in historical evolution that political communities equate themselves to national communities. However, for var-

any act of violation. Just as an individual man may not pursue his own interests to the detriment of other men, so, on the international level, one state may not develop itself by restricting or oppressing other states. St. Augustine rightly says, "What are kingdoms without justice but bands of robbers?" (56)

Not only can it happen, but it actually does happen that the advantages and conveniences which nations strive to acquire for themselves become objects of contention. Nevertheless, the resulting disagreements must be settled, not by force, nor by deceit or trickery, but rather in the only manner which is worthy of the dignity of man, i.e., by a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the dispute, by a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion.

The Problem of Political Refugees

The sentiment of universal fatherhood which the Lord has placed in our heart makes us feel profound sadness in considering the phenomenon of political refugees: a phenomenon which has assumed large proportions and which always hides numberless and acute sufferings.

Such expatriations show that there are some political regimes which do not guarantee for individual citizens a sufficient sphere of freedom within which their souls are allowed to breathe humanly. In fact, under those regimes even the lawful existence of such a sphere of freedom is either called into question or denied. This undoubtedly is a radical inversion of the order of human society, because the reason for the existence of public authority is to promote the common good, a fundamental element of which is the recognition of that sphere of freedom and the safeguarding of it.

At this point it will not be superfluous to recall that such exiles are persons, and that all their rights as persons must be recognized, since they do not lose those rights on losing the citizenship of lands of which they are former members.

Now among the rights of a human person there must be included that by which a man may enter a political community where he hopes he can more fittingly provide a future for himself and his dependents. Wherefore, as far as the common good rightly understood permits, it is the duty of that state to accept such immigrants and to help to integrate them into itself as new members.

Wherefore, on this occasion, we publicly approve and commend every undertaking, founded on the principles of human solidarity and Christian charity, which aims at making migration of persons from one country to another less painful.

And we will be permitted to signal for the attention and gratitude of all right-minded persons the manifold word which specialized international agencies are carrying out in this very delicate field.

Disarmament

On the other hand, it is with deep sorrow that we note the enormous stocks of armaments that have been and still are being made in more economically developed countries, with a vast outlay of intellectual and economic resources. And so it happens that, while the people of these countries are loaded with heavy burdens, other countries as a result are deprived of the collaboration they need in order to make economic and social progress.

The production of arms is allegedly justified on the grounds that in present-day conditions peace cannot be preserved without an equal balance of armaments. And so, if one country increases its armaments, others feel the need to do the same; and if one country is equipped with nuclear weapons, other countries must produce their own, equally destructive.

Consequently, people live in constant fear lest the storm that every moment threatens should break upon them with dreadful violence. And with good reason, for the arms of war are ready at hand. Even though it is difficult to believe that anyone would deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring in its train, it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by some uncontrollable and unexpected chance. And one must bear in mind that, even though the monstrous power of modern weapons acts as a deterrent, it is to be feared that the mere

litical communities on a world level: an adjustment founded on mutual trust, on sincerity in negotiations, on faithful fulfillment of obligations assumed. Let them study the problem until they find that point of agreement from which it will be possible to commence to go forward towards accords that will be sincere, lasting and fruitful.

We, for our part, will not cease to pray God to bless these labors so that they may lead to fruitful results.

In Liberty

It has also to be borne in mind that relations between states should be based on freedom, that is to say, that no country may unjustly oppress others or unduly meddle in their affairs. On the contrary, all should help to develop in others a sense of responsibility, a spirit of enterprise and an earnest desire to be the first to promote their own advancement in every field.

The Evolution of Economically Underdeveloped Countries

Because all men are joined together by reason of their common origin, their redemption by Christ and their supernatural destiny, and are called to form one single family, we appealed in the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" to economically developed nations to come to the aid of those which were in the process of development. (61)

We are greatly consoled to see how widely that appeal has

Reconciliation and Protection of Rights and Duties of Individuals

One of the fundamental duties of civil authorities, therefore, is to coordinate social relations in such fashion that the exercise of one man's rights does not threaten others in the exercise of their own rights nor hinder them in the fulfilment of their duties. Finally, the rights of all should be effectively safeguarded and, if they have been violated, completely restored. (47)

Duty of Promoting the Rights of Individuals

It is also demanded by the common good that civil authorities should make earnest efforts to bring about a situation in which individual citizens can easily exercise their rights and fulfil their duties as well. For experience has taught us that, unless these authorities take suitable action with regard to economic, political and cultural matters, inequalities between the citizens tend to become more and more widespread, especially in the modern world, and as a result human rights are rendered totally ineffective, and the fulfilment of duties is compromised.

It is therefore necessary that the Administration give wholehearted and careful attention to the social as well as to the economic progress of the citizens, and to the development, in keeping with the development of the productive system, of such essential services as the building of roads, transportation, communications, water supply, housing, public health, education, facilitation of the practice of religion and recreational facilities. It is necessary also that governments make efforts to see that insurance systems are made available to the citizens, so that, in case of misfortune or increased family responsibilities, no person will be without the necessary means to maintain a decent standard of living. The government should make similarly effective efforts to see that those who are able to work can find employment in keeping with their aptitudes, and that each worker receives a wage in keeping with the laws of justice and equity. It should be equally the concern of civil authorities to insure that workers be allowed their proper responsibility in the work undertaken in industrial organization, and to facilitate the establishment of intermediate groups which will make social life richer and more effective. Finally, it should be possible for all the citizens to share as far as they are able in their country's cultural advantages.

Harmonious Relation Between Public Authority's Two Forms of Intervention

The common good requires that civil authorities maintain a careful balance between coordinating and protecting the rights of the citizens, on the one hand, and promoting them, on the other. It should not happen that certain individuuals or social groups derive special advantage from the fact that their rights have received preferential protection. Nor should it happen that governments, in seeking to protect these rights, become obstacles to their full expression and free use. For this principle must always be retained: that state activity in the economic field, no matter what its breadth or depth may be, ought not to be exercised in such a way as to curtail an individual's freedom of personal initiative. Rather it should work to expand that freedom as much as possible by the effective protection of the essential personal rights of each and every individual. (48)

The same principle should inspire the various steps which governments take in order to make it possible for the citizens more easily to exercise their rights and fulfill their duties in every sector of social life.

rights to be exercised or obligations to be fulfilled. This protection should be granted to citizens both in their dealings with each other and in their relations with government agencies. (49)

Law and Conscience

It is unquestionable that a legal structure in conformity with the moral order and corresponding to the level of development of the political community is of great advantage to achievement of the common good.

And yet, social life in the modern world is so varied, complex and dynamic that even a juridical structure which has been prudently and thoughtfully established is always inadequate for the needs of society.

It is also true that the relations of the citizens with each other, of citizens and intermediate groups with public authorities, and finally of the public authorities with one another are often so complex and so sensitive that they cannot be regulated by inflexible legal provisions. Such a situation therefore demands that the civil authorities have clear ideas about the nature and extent of their official duties if they wish to maintain the existing juridical structure in its basic elements and principles,

competence, the forms and systems they are obliged to follow in the performance of their office.

The relations between the government and the governed are then set forth in terms of rights and duties, and it is clearly laid down that the paramount task assigned to government officials is that of recognizing, respecting, reconciling, protecting and promoting the rights and duties of citizens.

It is of course impossible to accept the theory which professes to find the original and single source of civic rights and duties, of the binding force of the constitution, and of a governments right to command in the mere will of human beings, individually or collectively. (52)

The tendencies to which we have referred, however, do clearly show that the men of our time have become increasingly conscious of their dignity as human persons. This awareness prompts them to claim a share in the public administration of their country, while it also accounts for the demand that their own inalienable and inviolable rights be protected by law. It also requires that government officials be chosen in conformity with constitutional procedures, and perform their specific functions within the limits of law.

Part III

RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

Subjects of Rights and Duties

Our predecessors have constantly maintained, and we join them in reasserting, that political communities are reciprocally subjects of rights and duties. This means that their relationships also must be harmonized in truth, in justice, in a working solidarity, in liberty. The same moral law which governs relations between individual human beings serves also to regulate the relations of political communities with one another. This will be readily understood when one reflects that the individual representatives of political communities cannot put aside their personal dignity while they are acting in the name and interest of their countries. And that they cannot therefore violate the very law of their being, which is the moral law.

It would be absurd, moreover, even to imagine that men could surrender their own human attributes, or be compelled to do so, by the very fact of their appointment to public office, whereas they have been given that noble assignment precisely because the wealth of their human endowments has earned them their reputation as outstanding members of the body politic. Furthermore, authority is a necessary requirement of the moral order in human society. It may not therefore be used against that order. And the very instant such an attempt were made, it would cease to be authority, as the Lord has warned us:

"A word, then, for the kings' ears to hear, kings' hearts to heed: A message for you, rulers, wherever you be! Listen well, all you that have multitudes at your command, foreign hordes to do your bidding. Power is none but comes to you from the Lord, nor any royalty but from one who is above all. He it is that will call you to account for your doings with a scrutiny that reads your inmost thoughts." (53)

Lastly, it is to be borne in mind that also in the regulating of relations between political communities, authority is to be exercised for the achievement of the common good, which con-

rays of a gleaming beacon, its principles must guide the plans and policies of men and nations. These are the signals—of warning, safety and smooth sailing—they will have to heed if they would not see all their laborious efforts to establish a new order condemned to tempest and shipwreck. (54)

In Truth

First among the rules governing the relations between states is that of truth. This calls, above all, for the elimination of every trace of racism, and the consequent recognition of the principle that all states are by nature equal in dignity. Each of them, accordingly, is vested with the right to existence, to self-development, to the means fitting to its attainment and to be the one primarily responsible for this self-development. Add to that the right of each to its good name, and to the respect which is its due. Very often, experience has taught us, individuals will be found to differ considerably, in knowledge, virtue, talent and wealth. Yet these inequalities must never be held to excuse any man's attempt to lord it over his neighbors unjustly. They constitute rather a source of greater responsibility in the contribution which each and everyone must make towards mutual improvement.

Similarly, political communities may have reached different levels of culture, civilization or economic development. Neither is that a sufficient reason for some to take unjust advantage of their superiority over others. Rather should they see in it an added motive for more serious commitment to the common cause of social progress.

It is not true that some human beings are by nature superior and others inferior. All men are equal in their natural dignity. Consequently, there are no political communities which are superior by nature and none which are inferior by nature. All political communities are of equal natural dignity, since they are bodies whose membership is made up of these same human beings. Nor must it be forgotten, in this connection, that peoples can be highly sensitive, and with good reason, in matters touching their dignity and honor.

Truth further demands that the various media of social communications made available by modern progress, which enable the nations to know each other better, be used with serene objectivity. That need not, of course, rule out any legitimate

development and to the means necessary for this. They have the right to play the leading part in the process of their own development and the right to their good name and due honors. From which it follows as a simultaneous consequence that they have also the corresponding duty of respecting these rights in others and of avoiding

be settled, not by force, nor by deceit or trickery, but rather in the only manner which is worthy of the dignity of man, i.e., by a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the dispute, by a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion.

The Treatment of Minorities

From the 19th century there has been a rather widespread tendency in historical evolution that political communities equate themselves to national communities. However, for various reasons, it has not always been possible to make geographical boundaries coincide with ethnic ones. This gives rise to the phenomenon of minorities and to the relative complex problems.

In the first place, it must be made clear that justice is seriously violated by whatever is done to limit the strength and numerical increase of these lesser peoples. The injustice is even more serious if such sinful projects are aimed at the very extinction of these groups.

On the other hand, the demands of justice are admirably observed by those civil authorities who promote the natural betterment of those citizens belonging to a smaller ethnic group, particularly when that betterment concerns their language, the development of their natural gifts, their ancestral customs, and their accomplishments and endeavors in the economic order. (57)

It should be noted, however, that these minority groups, either because of a reaction to their present situation or because of their historical difficulties are often inclined to exalt beyond due measure anything proper to their own people, so as to place them even above human values, as if that which is proper to humanity were to be at the service of that which is proper to the nation. Reason rather demands that these very people recognize also the advantages that accrue to them from their peculiar circumstances. For instance, no small contribution is made towards the development of their particular talents and spirit by their daily dealings with people who have grown up in a different culture. This, however, will be true only if they will know how to act as a bridge, which facilitates the circulation of life in its various expressions

among different traditions or civilizations, and not a zone of discord which can cause great damage and choke natural development.

Active Solidarity

Certainly relations between states must be regulated by the norms of truth and justice, but they also derive great benefits from active solidarity, through mutual cooperation on various levels, such as, in our own times, has already taken place with laudable results in the economic, social, political, educational, health and sport spheres. We must remember that, of its very nature, civil authority exists, not to confine its people within the boundaries of their nation, but rather to protect, above all else, the common good of that particular civil society, which certainly cannot be divorced from the common good of the entire human family.

This entails not only that civil societies should pursue their particular interests without hurting others, but also that they should join forces and plans whenever the efforts of an individual government cannot achieve its desired goals. But in the execution of such common efforts, great care must be taken lest what helps some nations should injure others.

Furthermore, the universal common good requires that in every nation friendly relations be fostered in all fields between the citizens and their intermediate societies.

There are groupings of people of more or less different racial backgrounds. However, the elements which characterize an ethnic group must not be transformed into a watertight compartment in which human beings are prevented from communicating with their fellowmen belonging to different ethnic groups. That would contrast with our contemporary situation, in which the distances separating peoples have been almost wiped out. Nor can one overlook the fact that, even though human beings differ from one another by virtue of their ethnic peculiarities, they all possess certain essential common elements, and are inclined by nature to meet each other in the world of spiritual values, whose progressive assimilation opens to them the possibility of perfection without limits. They have the right and duty therefore to live in communion with one another.

Proper Balances Between Population, Land and Capital

As everybody knows, there are countries with an abundance of arable land and a scarcity of manpower, while in other countries there is no proportion between natural resources and the capital available. This demands that peoples should set up relationships of mutual collaboration, facilitating the circulation from one to the other of capital, goods and manpower. (58)

Here we deem it opportune to remark that, whenever possible, the work to be done should be taken to the workers, not vice versa.

In this way a possibility of a better future is offered to many persons without being forced to leave their own environment in order to seek residence elsewhere, which almost always entails the heartache of separation and difficult periods of adjustment and social integration.

structive.

Consequently, people live in constant fear lest the storm that every moment threatens should break upon them with dreadful violence. And with good reason, for the arms of war are ready at hand. Even though it is difficult to believe that anyone would deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring in its train, it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by some uncontrollable and unexpected chance. And one must bear in mind that, even though the monstrous power of modern weapons acts as a deterrent, it is to be feared that the mere continuance of nuclear tests, undertaken with war in mind, will have fatal consequences for life on the earth.

Justice, then, right reason and humanity urgently demand that the arms race should cease. That the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned. That nuclear weapons should be banned. And that a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control. In the words of Pius XII, our predecessor of happy memory: "The calamity of a world war, with the economic and social ruin and the moral excesses and dissolution that accompany it, must not be permitted to envelop the human race for a third time." (59)

All must realize that there is no hope of putting an end to the building up of armaments, nor of reducing the present stocks, nor, still less, of abolishing them altogether, unless the process is complete and thorough and unless it proceeds from inner convictions: unless, that is, everyone sincerely cooperates to banish the fear and anxious expectation of war with which men are oppressed. If this is to come about, the fundamental principle on which our present peace depends must be replaced by another, which declares that the true and solid peace of nations consists not in equality of arms, but in mutual trust alone. We believe that this can be brought to pass, and we consider that it is something which reason requires, that it is eminently desirable in itself and that it will prove to be the source of many benefits.

In the first place, it is an objective demanded by reason. There can be, or at least there should be, no doubt that relations between states, as between individuals, should be regulated not by the force of arms, but by the light of reason, by the rule, that is, of truth, of justice and of active and sincere cooperation.

Secondly, we say that it is an objective earnestly to be desired in itself. Is there anyone who does not ardently yearn to see war banished, to see peace preserved and daily more firmly established?

And finally, it is an objective which will be a fruitful source of many benefits, for its advantages will be felt everywhere, by individuals, by families, by nations, by the whole human family. The warning of Pius XII still rings in our ears: "Nothing is lost by peace. Everything may be lost by war." (60)

Since this is so, we, the vicar on earth of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the world and author of peace, and as interpreter of the very profound longing of the entire human family, following the impulse of our heart, seized by anxiety for the good of all, we feel it our duty to beseech men, especially those who have the responsibility of public affairs, to spare no labor in order to insure that the world events follow a reasonable and human course.

In the highest and most authoritative assemblies, let men give serious thought to the problem of a peaceful adjustment of relations between po-

spirit of enterprise and the honest desire to be the first to promote their own advancement in every field.

The Evolution of Economically Underdeveloped Countries

Because all men are joined together by reason of their common origin, their redemption by Christ and their supernatural destiny, and are called to form one single family, we appealed in the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" to economically developed nations to come to the aid of those which were in the process of development. (61)

We are greatly consoled to see how widely that appeal has been favorably received. And we are confident that even more so in the future it will contribute to the end that the poorer countries, in as short a time as possible, will arrive at that degree of economic development which will enable every citizen to live in conditions in keeping with his human dignity.

But it is never sufficiently repeated that the cooperation, to which reference has been made, should be effected with the greatest respect for the liberty of the countries being developed, for these must realize that they are primarily responsible, and that they are the principal artisans in the promotion of their own economic development and social progress.

Our predecessor Pius XII already proclaimed that in the field of a new order founded on moral principles, there is no room for violation of freedom, integrity and security of other nations, no matter what may be their territorial extension or their capacity for defense. It is inevitable that the powerful states, by reason of their greater potential and their power, should pave the way in the establishment of economic groups comprising not only themselves but also smaller and weaker states as well. It is nevertheless indispensable that in the interests of the common good they, as all others, should respect the rights of those smaller states to political freedom, to economic development and to the adequate protection, in the case of conflicts between nations, of that neutrality which is theirs according to the natural, as well as international, law. In this way, and in this way only, will they be able to obtain a fitting share of the common good, and assure the material and spiritual welfare of their people. (62)

It is vitally important, therefore, that the wealthier states, in providing varied forms of assistance to the poorer, should respect the moral values and ethnic characteristics peculiar to each, and also that they should avoid any intention of political domination. If this is done, a precious contribution will be made towards the formation of a world community, a community in which each member, whilst conscious of its own individual right and duties, will work in a relationship of equality towards the attainment of the universal common good. (63)

Signs of the Times

Men are becoming more and more convinced that disputes which arise between states should not be resolved by recourse to arms, but rather by negotiation.

It is true that on historical grounds this conviction is based chiefly on the terrible destructive force of modern arms. And it is nourished by the horror aroused in the mind by the very thought of the cruel destruction and the immense suffering which the use of those armaments would bring to the human family. And for this reason it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice.

Nevertheless, unfortunately,

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WORLD-WIDE AUTHORITY: The opening meeting of the 17th session of United Nations General Assembly. Pope John XXIII said it was his earnest wish that the organization would be even more suited to the size of its task.

Pontiff Assesses the Effects of New Technology on World Political Relationships

Cont'd From Preceding Page

the law of fear still reigns among peoples, and it forces them to spend fabulous sums for armaments: not for aggression, they affirm—and there is no reason for not believing them—but to dissuade others from aggression.

There is reason to hope, however, that by meeting and negotiating, men may come to discover better the bonds that unite them together, deriving from the human nature which they have in common. And that they may also come to discover that one of the most profound requirements of their common nature is this: that between them and their respective peoples it is not fear which should reign but love, a love which tends to express itself in a collaboration that is loyal, manifold in form and productive of many benefits.

Part IV

RELATIONSHIP OF MEN AND OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WITH THE WORLD COMMUNITY

Interdependence Between Political Communities

Recent progress of science and technology has profoundly affected human beings and influenced men to work together and live as one family. There has been a great increase in the circulation of ideas, of persons and of goods from one country to another, so that relations have become closer between individuals, families and intermediate associations belonging to different political communities, and between the public authorities of those communities. At the same time the interdependence of national economies has grown deeper, one becoming progressively more closely related to the other, so that they become, as it were, integral parts of the one world economy. Likewise the social progress, order, security and peace of each country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security and peace of all other countries.

At the present day no political community is able to pursue its own interests and develop itself in isolation, because the degree of its prosperity and development is a reflection and and peace of all other couna component part of the degree of prosperity and development of all the other political communities.

Insufficiency of Modern States to Ensure the Universal Common Good

The unity of the human family has always existed, because its members were human beings all equal by virtue of their natural dignity. Hence there will always exist the objective need to promote, in sufficient measure, the universal common good, that is, the common good of the entire human family.

In times past, one would be justified in feeling that the public authorities of the different political communities might be in a position to provide for the universal common good, either through normal diplomatic channels or through top-level meetings, by making use of juridical instruments such as conventions and treaties, for example: juridical instruments suggested by the natural law

become an instrument of one-sided interests and even should this not happen, it would be difficult for it to avoid all suspicion of partiality in its actions, and this would take from the efficaciousness of its activity.

Even though there may be pronounced differences between political communities as regards the degree of their economic development and their military power, they are all very sensitive as regards their juridical equality and their moral dignity. For that reason, they are right in not easily yielding in obedience to an authority imposed by force, or to an authority in whose creation they had no part, or to which they themselves did not decide to submit by conscious and free choice.

The Universal Common Good and Personal Rights

Like the common good of individual political communities, so too the universal common good cannot be determined except by having regard to the human person. Therefore, the public authority of the world community, too, must have as its fundamental objective the recognition, respect, safeguarding and promotion of the rights of the human person, this can be done by direct action when required, or by creating on a world scale an environment in which the public authorities of the individual political communities can more easily carry out their specific functions.

The Principle of Subsidiarity

Just as within each political community the relations between individuals are governed by the principle of subsidiarity, so too the relations between the public authority of each political community and the public authority of the world community must be regulated by the light of the same principle. This means that the public authority of the world community must tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political and cultural character which are posed by the universal common good. For, because of the vastness, complexity and

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DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE: Easter sunrise service at the Hollywood Bowl in California last year. Pope John XXIII said that "every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience."

Part V

PASTORAL EXHORTATIONS

Duty of Taking Part in Public Life

Once again we deem it opportune to remind our children of their duty to take an active part in public life, and to contribute toward the attainment of the common good of the entire human family as well as to that of their own political community. They should endeavor, therefore, in the light of the faith and with the strength of love, to insure that the various institutions — whether economic, social, cultural or political in purpose — should be such as not to create obstacles, but rather to facilitate or render less arduous man's perfections of himself both in the natural order as well as in the supernatural.

Scientific Competence, Technical Capacity and Professional Experience

Nevertheless, in order to imbue civilization with sound principles and enliven it with the spirit of the gospel, it is not enough to be illumined with the gift of faith and enkindled with the desire of forwarding a good cause. For this end it is necessary to take an active part in the various organizations and

scientific training and religious instruction: the former continues and is extended until it reaches higher degrees, while the latter remains at elementary level. It is indispensable, therefore, that in the training of youth, education should be complete and without interruption namely, that in the minds of the young, religious values should be cultivated and the moral conscience refined, in a manner to keep pace with the continuous and ever more abundant assimilation of scientific and technical knowledge. And it is indispensable too that they be instructed regarding the proper way to carry out their actual tasks. (65)

Constant Endeavour

We deem it opportune to point out how difficult it is to understand clearly the relation between the objective requirements of justice and concrete situations, namely, to perceive the degrees and forms in which doctrinal principles and directives ought to be applied to reality.

And the perception of those

Christ, but who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty. In such relations let the faithful be careful to be always consistent in their actions, so that they may even come to any compromise in matters of religion and morals.

At the same time, however, let them be, and show themselves to be, animated by a spirit of understanding and detachment, and disposed to work loyally in the pursuit of objectives which are of their nature good, or conducive to good. (66)

However, one must never confuse error and the person who errs, not even when there is question of error or inadequate knowledge of truth in the moral or religious field. The person who errs is always and above all a human being, and he retains in every case his dignity as a human person, and he must be always regarded and treated in accordance with that lofty dignity. Besides, in every human being, there is a need that is congenital to his nature and never becomes extinguished, compelling him to break through the web of error and open his mind to the knowledge of truth. And God will never fail to act on his interior being, with the result that a person, who at a given

ways and degrees in which work in common might be possible for the achievement of economic, social, cultural and political ends which are honorable and useful: these are the problems which can only be solved with the virtue of prudence, which is the guiding light of the virtues that regulate the moral life, both individual and social. Therefore, as far as Catholics are concerned, this decision rests primarily with those who live and work in the specific sectors of human society in which those problems arise, always, however, in accordance with the principles of the natural law, with the social doctrine of the church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority. For it must not be forgotten that the church has the right and the duty not only to safeguard the principles of ethics and religion, but also to intervene authoritatively with her children in the temporal sphere, when there is a question of judging about the application of those principles to concrete cases. (67)

Little by Little

There are some souls, particularly endowed with generosity, who, on finding situations where the requirements of justice are not satisfied or not satisfied in

Pontiff's Advocacy of Reform Is Reflected in His Encyclicals

Goal Is Progress Without Tampering With Basic Doctrine—1961 Missive Urged Aid for Poor Nations

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG

Those close to Pope John XXIII say his strongest trait is his love of people. This quality is reflected in the encyclicals he has issued during the four and a half years of his reign.

Also reflected is his belief that, to live in the 20th century, the Roman Catholic Church must promote reform without tampering with basic doctrine.

Yesterday's encyclical was his eighth since his election in Rome on Oct. 28, 1958. Of the previous seven, the most important in terms of global impact was the one published July 14, 1961, calling on rich nations to aid poor ones and appealing to men and states to improve the lot of working people.

In it also the 81-year-old Pontiff warned against the spread of fear in world affairs. In an apparent allusion to the East-West struggle, he said leaders of nations were unable to join hands because "each fears the other harbors plans of conquest."

Social Justice Urged

This encyclical, entitled "Mater et Magistra" ("Mother and Teacher"), was 20,000 words in length.

Its underlying theme was social justice. Pope John praised the gains made by the labor force in many nations but said much remained to be done. Workers should be given a greater voice in industry, he declared, and the standard of living of farm people should be raised, if possible, to that of city dwellers.

The "Mater et Magistra" encyclical marked the 70th anniversary of the first such document on modern social problems, the "Rerum Novarum" ("Of New Things") of Pope Leo XIII.

Issued in 1891, it deplored working conditions throughout the world and assailed "the hard-heartedness of employers, the greed of unchecked competition" and "rapacious usury."

Pope Leo called for swift action by governments. "Some remedy must be found, and found quickly," he said, "for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast ma-

have been assisted in writing their documents by a group of clerical Latin scholars. This Vatican office, known as the Secretariat of Briefs to Princes, will be entrusted with two of the five copies of yesterday's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris." Two more will go into the archives of the Secretariat of State and one Pope John will keep for himself.

'Ad Petri Cathedram'

Pope John's first encyclical was issued July 2, 1959. In it he appealed to world leaders to "try every approach" that might ease international tensions. The letter, designated by the first words of its Latin text, "Ad Petri Cathedram" ("Near the Chair of Peter"), was viewed as a papal recommendation for continued East-West talks.

However, the Pontiff added an apparent warning to Western statesmen to be wary when dealing with their Communist counterparts because "those who oppress others undoubtedly can contribute nothing" to world unity.

His next encyclical, on Aug. 1, 1959, was directed primarily at the Catholic priesthood. The Pope urged all priests to pattern themselves after the French curate-saint of Ars, St. Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney, who died in 1859 after a life of asceticism and prayer. The title was "Sacerdotii Nostri Primordia" ("The Beginning of Our Priesthood").

An encyclical called "Grata Recordatio" ("The Grateful Memory") followed on Sept. 26, 1959. Its theme was an appeal to Roman Catholics everywhere to recite the rosary with particular devotion during the month to follow, praying that the world's rulers might settle their differences.

His fourth encyclical, "Princeps Pastorum" ("The Prince of Shepherds") was published Nov. 28, 1959, to mark the fortieth anniversary of Pope Benedict XV's apostolic letter on missionary work.

Next came the "Mater et Magistra." It was followed on Dec. 9, 1961, by an encyclical urging all Christians to seek a union of hearts and minds in the Roman Catholic Church.

Designated as "Aeterna Dei

ily has always existed, because its members were human beings all equal by virtue of their natural dignity. Hence there will always exist the objective need to promote, in sufficient measure, the universal common good, that is, the common good of the entire human family.

In times past, one would be justified in feeling that the public authorities of the different political communities might be in a position to provide for the universal common good, either through normal diplomatic channels or through top-level meetings, by making use of juridical instruments such as conventions and treaties, for example: juridical instruments suggested by the natural law and regulated by the law of nations and international law.

As a result of the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the relations between the human family, the universal common good gives rise to problems which are complex, very grave and extremely urgent, especially as regards security and world peace.

On the other hand, the public authorities of the individual political communities — placed as they are on a footing of equality one with the other— no matter how much they multiply their meetings or sharpen their wits in efforts to draw up new juridical instruments, they are no longer capable of facing the task of finding an adequate solution to the problems mentioned above. And this is not due to a lack of good will or of a spirit of enterprise, but because of a structural defect which hinders them.

It can be said, therefore, that at this historical moment the present system of organization and the way its principle of authority operates on a world basis no longer correspond to the objective requirements of the universal common good.

There exists an intrinsic connection between the common good on the one hand and the structure and function of public authority on the other. The moral order, which needs public authority in order to promote the common good in human society, requires also that the authority be effective in attaining that end. This demands that the organs through which the authority is formed, becomes operative and pursues its ends, must be composed and act in such a manner as to be capable of bringing to realization the new meanings which the common good is taking on in the historical evolution of the human family.

Today the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities endowed with a wideness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions: that is, of public authorities which are in a position to operate in an effective manner on a worldwide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established.

Public Authority Instituted by Common Consent and Not Imposed by Force

A public authority, having worldwide power and endowed with the proper means for the efficacious pursuit of its objective, which is the universal common good in concrete form, must be set up by common accord and not imposed by force. The reason is that such an authority must be in a position to operate effectively yet, at the same time, its action must be inspired by sincere and real impartiality: in other words, it must be an action aimed at satisfying the objective requirements of the universal common good. The difficulty is that there would be reason to fear that a supernational or worldwide public authority, imposed by force by the more powerful political communities, might be or might can more easily carry out their specific functions.

The Principle of Subsidiarity

Just as within each political community the relations between individuals are governed by the principle of subsidiarity, so too the relations between the public authority of each political community and the public authority of the world community must be regulated by the light of the same principle. This means that the public authority of the world community must tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political and cultural character which are posed by the universal common good. For, because of the vastness, complexity and urgency of those problems, the public authorities of the individual states are not in a position to tackle them with any hope of a positive solution.

The public authority of the world community is not intended to limit the sphere of action of the public authority of the individual political community, much less to take its place. On the contrary, its purpose is to create, on a world basis, an environment in which the public authorities of each political community, its citizens and intermediate associations, can carry out their tasks, fulfil their duties and exercise their rights with greater security. (64)

Modern Developments

As is known, the United Nations Organization (U.N.O.) was established on June 26, 1945, and to it there were subsequently added intergovernmental agencies with extensive international tasks in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields. The United Nations Organization had as its essential purpose the maintenance and consolidation of peace between peoples, fostering between them friendly relations, based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and varied forms of cooperation in every sector of human society.

An act of the highest importance performed by the United Nations Organization was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved in the General Assembly of December 10, 1948. In the preamble of that declaration, the recognition and respect of those rights and respective liberties is proclaimed as an ideal to be pursued by all peoples and all countries.

Some objections and reservations were raised regarding certain points in the declaration. There is no doubt, however, that the document represents an important step on the path towards the juridical-political organization of the world community. For in it, in most solemn form, the dignity of a person is acknowledged to all human beings. And as a consequence there is proclaimed as a fundamental right, the right of free movement in the search for truth and in the attainment of moral good and justice, and also the right to a dignified life, while other rights connected with those mentioned are likewise proclaimed.

It is our earneest wish that the United Nations Organization —in its structure and in its means—may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks, and that the day may come when every human being will find therein an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person, and which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable rights. This is all the more to be hoped for since all human beings, as they take an ever more active part in the public life of their own political communities, are showing an increasing interest in the affairs of all peoples, and are becoming more consciously aware that they are living members of a world community.

economic, social, cultural or political in purpose — should be such as not to create obstacles, but rather to facilitate or render less arduous man's perfections of himself both in the natural order as well as in the supernatural.

Scientific Competence, Technical Capacity and Professional Experience

Nevertheless, in order to imbue civilization with sound principles and enliven it with the spirit of the gospel, it is not enough to be illumined with the gift of faith and enkindled with the desire of forwarding a good cause. For this end it is necessary to take an active part in the various organizations and influence them from within. And since our present age is one of outstanding scientific and technical progress and excellence, one will not be able to enter these organizations and work effectively from within unless he is scientifically competent, technically capable and skilled in the practive of his own profession.

Apostolate of a Trained Laity

We desire to call attention to the fact that scientific competence, technical capacity and professional experience, although necessary, are not of themselves sufficient to elevate the realtionships of society to an order that is genuinely human: that is, to an order whose foundation is truth, whose measure and objective is justice, whose driving force is love, and whose method of attainment is freedom.

For this end it is certainly necessary that human beings carry on their own temporal activities in accordance with the laws governing them and following the methods corresponding to their nature. But at the same time it is also necessary that they should carry on the activities as acts within the moral order: therefore, as the exercise or vindication of a right, as the fulfilment of a duty or the performance of a service, as a positive answer to the providential design of God directed to our salvation. In other words, it is necessary that human beings, in the intimacy of their own consciences, should so live and act in their temporal lives as to create a synthesis between scientific, technical and professional elements on the one hand, and spiritual values on the other.

Integration of Faith and Action

It is no less clear that today, in traditionally Christian nations, secular institutions, although demonstrating a high degree of scientific and technical perfection, and efficiency in achieving their respective ends, not infrequently are but slightly affected by Christian motivation or inspiration.

It is beyond question that in the creation of those institutions many contributed and continue to contribute who were believed to be and who consider themselves Christians and without doubt, in part at least, they were and are. How does one explain this? It is our opinion that the explanation is to be found in an inconsistency in their minds between religious belief and their action in the temporal sphere. It is necessary, therefore, that their interior unity be re-established, and that in their temporal activity, faith should be present as a beacon to give light, and charity as a force to give life.

Integral Education

It is our opinion, too, that the above-mentioned inconsistency between the religious faith, in those who believe, and their activities in the temporal sphere, results—in great part if not entirely—from the lack of a solid Christian education. Indeed, it happens in many quarters and too often that there is no proportion between

manner to keep pace with the continuous and ever more abundant assimilation of scientific and technical knowledge. And it is indispensable too that they be instructed regarding the proper way to carry out their actual tasks. (65)

Constant Endeavour

We deem it opportune to point out how difficult it is to understand clearly the relation between the objective requirements of justice and concrete situations, namely, to perceive the degrees and forms in which doctrinal principles and directives ought to be applied to reality.

And the perception of those degrees and forms is all the more difficult in our times, which are marked by a pronounced dynamism. For this reason, the problem of bringing social reality into line with the objective requirements of justice is a problem which will never admit of a definitive solution. Meanwhile, our children must watch over themselves lest they relax and feel satisfied with objectives already achieved.

In fact, all human beings ought rather to reckon that what has been accomplished is but little in comparison with what remains to be done: because organs of production, trade unions, associations, professional organizations, insurance systems, legal systems, political regimes, institutions for culture, health, recreational or sporting purposes — these must all be adjusted to the era of the atom and of the conquest of space: an era which the human family has already entered, wherein it has commenced its new advance towards limitless horizons.

Relations between Catholics and Non-Catholics in Social and Economic Affairs

The doctrinal principles outlined in this document derive from or are suggested by requirements inherent in human nature itself, and are, for the most part, dictates of the natural law. They provide Catholics, therefore, with a vast field in which they can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians separated from this Apostolic See, and also with human beings who are not enlightened by faith in Jesus

Museum of Fine Arts, Seville

THE MORAL ORDER: "The Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas," by Francisco de Zurbaran, 1631. The saint was cited by Pope John in discussion of God and moral order.

who errs, not even when there is question of error or inadequate knowledge of truth in the moral or religious field. The person who errs is always and above all a human being, and he retains in every case his dignity as a human person, and he must be always regarded and treated in accordance with that lofty dignity. Besides, in every human being, there is a need that is congenital to his nature and never becomes extinguished, compelling him to break through the web of error and open his mind to the knowledge of truth. And God will never fail to act on his interior being, with the result that a person, who at a given moment of his life lacks the clarity of faith or even adheres to erroneous doctrines, can at a future date be enlightened and believe the truth. Meetings and agreements, in the various sectors of daily life, between believers and those who do not believe or believe insufficiently because they adhere to error, can be occasions for discovering truth and paying homage to it.

It must be borne in mind, furthermore, that neither can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin and destiny of the universe and of man, be identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from those teachings and have drawn and still draw inspiration therefrom. Because the teachings, once they are drawn up and defined, remain always the same, while the movements, working on historical situations in constant evolution, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to changes, even of a profound nature. Besides, who can deny that those movements, in so far as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?

It can happen, then, that a drawing nearer together or a meeting for the attainment of some practical end, which was formerly deemed inopportune or unproductive, might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful. But to decide whether this moment has arrived, and also to lay down the principles of the natural law, with the social doctrine of the church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority. For it must not be forgotten that the church has the right and the duty not only to safeguard the principles of ethics and religion, but also to intervene authoritatively with her children in the temporal sphere, when there is a question of judging about the application of those principles to concrete cases. (67)

Little by Little

There are some souls, particularly endowed with generosity, who, on finding situations where the requirements of justice are not satisfied or not satisfied in full, feel enkindled with the desire to change the state of things, as if they wished to have recourse to something like a revolution.

It must be borne in mind that to proceed gradually is the law of life in all its expressions, therefore in human institutions, too, it is not possible to renovate for the better except by working from within them, gradually. Pius XII proclaimed: Salvation and justice are not to be found in revolution, but in evolution through concord. Violence has always achieved only destruction, not construction, the kindling of passions, not their pacification, the accumulation of hate and ruin, not the reconciliation of the contending parties. And it has reduced men and parties to the difficult task or rebuilding, after sad experience, on the ruins of discord.68

An Immense Task

There is an immense task incumbent on all men of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom: the relations between individual human beings, between citizens and their respective political communities, between political communities themselves, between individuals, families, intermediate associations and political communities on the one hand, and the world community on the other. This is a most exalted task, for it is the task of bringing about true peace in the order established by God.

Admittedly, those who are endeavoring to restore the relations of social life according to the criterions mentioned above, are not many. To them we express our paternal appreciation, and we earnestly invite them to persevere in their work with ever greater zeal. And we are comforted by the hope that their number will increase, especially among those who believe. For it is an imperative of duty, it is a requirement of love. Every believer in this world of ours must be a spark of light, a center of love, a vivifying leaven amidst his fellowmen: and he will be this all the more perfectly (the more closely he lives in communion with God in the intimacy of his own soul.

In fact, there can be no peace between men unless there is peace within each one of them: unless, that is, each one builds up within himself the order wished by God. Hence St. Augustine asks: Does your soul desire to overcome your lower inclinations? Let it be subject to Him who is on high and it will conquer the lower self: there will be peace in you true, secure and well-ordered peace. In what does that order consist? God commands the soul, the soul commands the body and there is nothing more orderly than this. (69)

The Prince of Peace

These words of ours, which we have wished to dedicate to the problems that most beset the human family today and on the just solution of which the ordered progress of society depends, are dictated by a profound aspiration which we know is shared by all men of goodwill: The consolidation of peace in the world.

As the humble and unworthy vicar of Him whom the prophet announced as the Prince of Peace, (70) we have the duty to expend all our energies in an effort to protect and strengthen this gift.

However, peace will be but an empty-sounding word unless it is founded on the order which this present document has outlined in confident hope: An order founded on truth, built according to justice, vivified and integrated by charity, and put into practice in freedom.

This is such a noble and elevated task that human resources, even though inspired by the most praiseworthy goodwill, cannot bring it to realization alone. In order that human society may reflect as faithfully as possible the kingdom of God, help from on high is necessary. For this reason, during these sacred days our supplication is raised with greater fervor toward Him who by His painful passion and death overcame sin—the root of discord and the source of sorrows and inequalities—and by His blood reconciled mankind to the Eternal Father, for He himself is our peace. He it is that hath made both one. . . . "And coming He announced the good tidings of peace to you who were afar off, and of peace to those who were near." (71)

And in the liturgy of these days we hear the announcement: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His resurrection, stood in the midst of His disciples and said, 'Peace be to you, alleluia!' The disciples rejoiced seeing the Lord." (72)

"He leaves us peace, He brings us peace: peace I leave with you, My peace I give to you, not as the world gives do I give to you." (73) This is the peace which we implore of Him with the ardent yearning of our prayer.

May He banish from the hearts of men whatever might endanger peace, may He transform them into witnesses of truth, justice and brotherly love. May He enlighten the rulers of peoples so that in addition to their solicitude for the proper welfare of their citizens, they may guarantee and defend the great gift of peace. May He enkindle the wills of all, so that they may overcome the barriers that divide, cherish the bonds of mutual charity, understand others, and pardon those who have done them wrong. By virtue of His action, may all peoples of the earth become as brothers, and may the most longed for peace blossom forth and reign always between them.

As a pledge of this peace, and with the ardent wish that it may shine forth on the Christian communities entrusted to your care, especially for the benefit of those who are most lowly and in the greatest need of help and defense, we are glad to impart to you, venerable brothers, to the priests both secular and religious, to the religious men and women and to the faithful of your dioceses, particularly to those who make every effort to put these exhortations of ours into practice, our apostolic blessing in propitiation of heavenly favors. Finally, upon all men of goodwill to whom this encyclical letter is also addressed, we implore from Almighty God health and prosperity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, on Holy Thursday, the eleventh day of April, in the year 1963, the fifth of our Pontificate.

JOHN XXIII.

dwellers.

The "Mater et Magistra" encyclical marked the 70th anniversary of the first such document on modern social problems, the "Rerum Novarum" ("Of New Things") of Pope Leo XIII.

Issued in 1891, it deplored working conditions throughout the world and assailed "the hard-heartedness of employers, the greed of unchecked competition" and "rapacious usury."

Pope Leo called for swift action by governments. "Some remedy must be found, and found quickly," he said, "for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes."

'Quadragesimo Anno'

Pope Pius XI's encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" (Fortieth Anniversary") in 1931 was a restatement of the "Rerum Novarum."

Pope John, in his commemorative encyclical, called the "Rerum Novarum" the "Magna Carta of the economic-social reconstruction of the modern era."

Pope John's message drew wide praise and was front-page news in Western Europe and the United Sattes. Many of the plaudits came from religious leaders of other faiths.

Encyclicals are circular letters from the Pope usually addressed only to the Roman Catholic clergy and laity throughout the world. The tradition began with the First Epistle of St. Peter in Roman times.

In early times, encyclicals were often merely pastoral letters that could be written by many bishops for Christians about to take long trips. The letters served as passports to make the travelers welcome in Christian homes everywhere.

As the tradition evolved, the encyclical became a letter reserved for the Pope's pen. It also became the most familiar of all papal documents, which include constitutions, bulls, briefs and decrees.

Since the 14th century, Popes

Memory") followed on Sept. 29, 1959. Its theme was an appeal to Roman Catholics everywhere to recite the rosary with particular devotion during the month to follow, praying that the world's rulers might settle their differences.

His fourth encyclical, "Princeps Pastorum" ("The Prince of Shepherds") was published Nov. 28, 1959, to mark the fortieth anniversary of Pope Benedict XV's apostolic letter on missionary work.

Next came the "Mater et Magistra." It was followed on Dec. 9, 1961, by an encyclical urging all Christians to seek a union of hearts and minds in the Roman Catholic Church.

Sapientia" ("The Eternal Wisdom of God"), it was apparently issued as a preparatory step for the church's twenty-first Ecumenical Council. The council held its first session at the Vatican last year from Oct. 11 through Dec. 8 to consider, among other things, the possibility of a reunification of all Christendom.

Pope John's seventh encyclical was directly linked to the council. Published July 1, 1962, and entitled "Paenitentiam Agere" ("To Do Penance"), it urged Catholics to practice penance in preparation for the gathering of the church hierarchy.

The first of the great papal-letter writers was Pope Leo the Great (Leo I), who reigned from 440 to 461.

The modern era of encyclicals began in the 18th century with Pope Benedict XIV (1740-58). One of his famous letters, the "Quod Provinciale" of 1754, denounced, and forbade the sacraments to, Christians in certain areas for having taken Turkish or Moslem names to escape taxes and other punishments then imposed on Christians.

Another Pontiff noted for his encyclicals was Benedict XV, who dealt in his reign (1914-22) with the problems of World War I. Though he maintained a policy of strict neutrality, he made numerous attempts to secure a peace settlement.

Ex Tenerin
4-63

RELIGION—

New World Photo

Some dignitaries at the conference were: Most Rev. William E. Cousins, Archbishop of Milwaukee; J. Irwin Miller of the National Council of Churches; Albert Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago; Rabbi Julius Mark, President, Synagogue Council of America; Dr. Fred S. Buschmeyer, Secretary, United Church of Christ and Bishop Stephen Spottswood of the African Episcopal Church.

and RACE

by Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S.
Asst. Director, Social Action Dept., N.C.W.C.
Author of *Catholic Social Principles*

The unprecedented four-day National Conference on Religion and Race drew delegates from 70 national religious bodies to Chicago. Much was achieved by this face-to-face confrontation of the top leaders of all faiths and both races. However, the real test of the success or failure of the Conference will be at the local level throughout the country.

HISTORY was made in Chicago this year. To understand why this is so, we might look into a huge meeting held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel on January 15th. A short, bearded man, looking and speaking like an Old Testament prophet, was addressing the audience. In the third row of the audience Cardinal Meyer, of Chicago, was sitting. To his right was J. Irwin Miller, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ. At his left was Rabbi Julius Mark, President of the Synagogue Council of America. Archbishop Cousins, of Milwaukee, also sat next to Mr. Miller. The speaker was Dr. Abraham J. Heschel, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

It is not unusual for high church and synagogue leaders to share the same speaking platform. We need only to go back to the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy to find a recent example. But such meetings have nearly always been under the auspices of an outside organization. They have been governmental or civic in nature. What made this gathering unique and historic is the fact that it was called by the major religious groups of the United States. And they gathered to examine America's foremost moral problem, racial discrimination.

Many persons have criticized the religious leadership of our country for being too slow in facing up to this problem. Our Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, has twice lectured the clergy on their duties in this area. A prominent weekly news magazine, in an article that set a record for poor reporting, dismissed the Chicago Conference as a meaningless gesture. But delegates to the Conference, many of them veterans of hundreds of national meetings, were practically unanimous in calling this gathering historic.

The four-day National Conference on Religion and Race drew delegates from 70 national religious bodies. There were almost 700 delegates and 500 observers. The delegates were men and women of stature and responsibility in their respective organizations. There were over 20 Catholic bishops present, four of them archbishops. The delegates came to work, and they stayed through the final session. They departed in a mood of unparalleled enthusiasm.

While the purpose of the Conference was to discuss the moral and religious aspects of race relations, it achieved a major success in a totally different area, that of interreligious action. In the United States, before the present Ecumenical Council, the record of interreligious co-operation has been spotty. Catholics in particular have been hesitant about engaging in interfaith discussions or programs. Our contacts with other religious groups have tended to be formal and aloof. By contrast, the Chicago meeting seemed to be a gathering of long-separated relatives. There was nothing artificial or forced in the genuine friendliness that pervaded every session, even those few where there was heated discussion or strong dissent. An official of the National Council of Churches remarked to this writer, in tones of awe and admiration, that the simplicity and democracy of our bishops won the respect of all.

This growth in interreligious understanding, important as it was, can be considered as incidental to the main purpose of the Conference. This purpose was realized in two stages. First, the main addresses and the moving "Appeal to the Conscience of the American People" adopted as the concluding action of the Conference, stressed a unanimous religious response to the problem of racism. In simple terms, the delegates held that no one who accepts God as a father may discriminate against any of His children. As one speaker put it, racism is blasphemy.

Eloquent and moving statements of our common belief in the dignity of all men were only a first step. The real heart of the Conference was its 30 workgroups in which delegates studied and discussed case histories involving every area of organized religious life. The results of these discussions were presented as concrete recommendations for future action. In addition, a special committee worked out detailed follow-up proposals

Photos this page: Larry Cameron, Paddock Pub.

Top: Federal Judge James B. Parsons, chairman of Chicago Host Committee for the first National Conference on Religion and Race, opened the historic four-day gathering.

Above: Dr. Martin Luther King, integration leader and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sat with Cardinal Meyer at the last luncheon of the conference. Both delivered impressive speeches to the delegates.

to implement the conclusions reached at the Conference. Ten target cities were selected for intense interreligious action in the field of race relations. From the experience of these cities, it is hoped that patterns useful in every part of our country will emerge.

Before listing specific suggestions, it may be useful to note certain general attitudes and conclusions. One dominant attitude was humility and contrition in face of past failures and inadequacies of religious bodies. There was no tendency to play up past achievements, even when these were real and substantial. Still less was there any disposition to compare or criticize the work of other religious groups. Rather the mood was one of sober realization of the immensity of the problem, and the need for full dedication on the part of all.

Another general feeling was that the real test of the success or failure of the Conference would be at the local level throughout the country. After all, most national religious organizations have condemned racial discrimination. These views can be reinforced by joint and solemn restatement. Much was achieved by face-to-face confrontation of the top leaders of all faiths and both races. But the hard reality would continue to be the local congregation, the segregated church or school, the neighborhood closed to colored homeseekers. Even churches with a high degree of centralized authority, such as Catholic, Episcopalian and Methodist, feel the gap between official pronouncements and local performance.

The problem of authority prevented any real consideration of a permanent interreligious secretariat to co-ordinate the interracial activities of church and synagogue. None of the delegates had the authority to commit his organization to such a program. Even had the authority been available, the formation of a national service agency would probably have been premature. A substantial body of local experience must first be accumulated to show the need, if any, for such service and the form that it should take.

This much being said, the delegates were equally firm in the conviction that interreligious contacts at the national level should persist. While the Conference secretariat will probably be disbanded this June, it is planned that a widely representative steering committee be organized for future consultation over an indefinite period. There was also some sentiment for holding a second national conference on religion and race in another five years, to assess progress and problems revealing themselves during the interval.

The workgroups were assigned phases of four general problems: 1) The Inner Life of the Church and Synagogue; 2) the Responsibility of Church and Synagogue as Institutions in the Community; 3) The Role of Church and Synagogue in a Racially Changing Community; and 4) The Relation of Church and Synagogue to Other Community Forces.

Under the first heading, one of the most difficult problems was the segregated worship service. "The most segregated hour in America is eleven o'clock Sunday morning." Of the major speakers, Mr. Miller, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ, addressed himself to this problem with sympathy and insight. He was not content merely to denounce segregated churches, but offered concrete suggestions for winning over congregations who lack Christian views on this matter.

Other Protestant discussants raised a question about doctrine and discipline in their churches. It was felt that acceptance of the Christian teaching on race should be a condition of membership in a congregation. Dr. Littell was particularly forceful in expressing the view that churches should seek depth of faith, and not mere growth in numbers, as an indication of their vitality. Quite apart from the question of race, it is interesting to note how the Christian churches are drawing together in this matter.

In connection with the internal problem of the churches, there was considerable discussion of the economic plight of the minister who may lose his pastorate because of his opposition to segregation. It was suggested that national church bodies give aid and support to such pastors. But particular emphasis was laid upon the duty of religious education on moral issues. Here the unanimity of religious groups is helpful, since rebellious congregants cannot claim that policies of racial justice are merely private views of one pastor or one particular church.

But religious groups are more than centers of worship. They are often, collectively considered, powerful economic bodies. They employ a substantial number of workers. They control large building programs. Their total purchases of goods and services can be impressive in many communities. They are educators and hospital administrators. Most have sizable charity and welfare programs. If these economic resources are used in a racially sensitive fashion, they could make a notable difference in the area of job opportunity. If all religious institutions were to insist upon buying from firms that have fair hiring policies, and if similar clauses were enforced in building contracts, job discrimination could be wiped out.

Beyond the confines of direct action by religious organizations is an area of community problems that have strong impact on church and synagogue. A particular example is the racially changing neighborhood. Even when a church or synagogue practices no racial discrimination, it may be vitally affected by mass movements of Negroes into neighborhoods previously predominantly white. American Negroes are not

(Concluded on page 35)

Nuns confer at luncheon table during the four-day conference

Religion and Race

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 13]

likely to apply to the local synagogue for admission, although there are Negro Jews in India and Israel. The majority of Negroes are not likely to be Catholic. Even Protestant Negroes may have a different religious tradition from that of the existing Protestant churches in the neighborhood. Thus the result of mass migrations may be half-empty or even abandoned churches and synagogues.

Some congregations fear and even resist neighborhood racial changes because of the impact on homes, churches and synagogues. Others feel that resistance is morally wrong, so they endure passively the hardships incidental to these social changes. At the Conference, the sentiment of the delegates was that both of these attitudes are deficient. It is wrong to deny to Negroes the opportunity to secure adequate housing. But it is also wrong to permit them to have houses that are physically suitable, but marred by *de facto* segregation. The proper approach is for religious groups to foster open occupancy throughout both central city and suburbs, so that Negroes will be welcome everywhere and there will be no racially exclusive enclaves, either white or colored. Virtue in this case will pay off economically, since there will be fewer abandoned religious institutions.

Father Vizzard, Washington director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, offered an interesting analysis in this connection. He noted that the bulk of racial problems in the North stemmed from mass migration of Negroes from Southern rural areas. This in turn was caused by technical changes in farming that displaced over a million farm workers and their families. If the Federal Government had an adequate retraining and resettlement program for such workers, most could have found land or suitable work in their native areas. They would not have congregated in Northern city slums as unskilled labor poorly adapted for urban living. Work along these lines is still needed, he indicated.

As various programs evolved, delegates were cautioned against excessive emphasis on what may be done *for* the Negro, to the exclusion of what may be done together *with* him. The direct-action movements and also the Black Muslim minority indicate a basic change in Negro mentality. The Negro wishes to be consulted as an equal, and not be merely the passive recipient of programs designed to help him. The acceptance of his moral status as an equal is more important than even such basic issues as educational opportunity, job rights, fair housing and voting rights. There is a certain holy impatience in the Negro community today. If discrimination and segregation are morally wrong, as the religious conscience of the nation insists, then they should be abolished totally, not piecemeal and gradually. What is wrong must go entirely and at once, not bit by bit.

This theme was urged with remarkable eloquence and scholarship in the concluding major talk, given by Dr. Martin Luther King. Churchill at his best was not more eloquent than Dr. King, and he merited the standing ovation given before and after his address. His assured mastery of his subject was in itself a dramatization of both the ideals and achievements of the Negro today. It was a tragedy that this plea was not given on all national television networks on prime time.

One theme that was not strongly stressed at the Conference was the role of religiously inspired love of neighbor in rehabilitating the victims of decades of discrimination and prejudice. Yet this is one of the unique tasks of religion. Laws can outlaw segregation, but only religion can impel people to accept their neighbor, regardless of race, cultural handicaps, or economic status. This acceptance is badly needed by those demoralized and bewildered by racial strife and agitation. Better economic and social conditions may be helpful in meeting problems raised by slum living, but something more is needed to give self-respect to those who feel that they have no rights and no status in modern society.

No matter how the problem is faced, the immensity of the task is staggering. Some have raised the question whether or not our religious bodies are able to face up to their duties in this regard. History may reassure such questioners. Surely the problems we confront today are less critical than those facing the Apostles and the early Christian missionaries. The teaching of Christ transformed pagan Rome. The challenge of the National Conference on Religion and Race is that of summoning equal resources, with God's help, to transform the face of America.

Designated Mission Gifts Donors

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 24]

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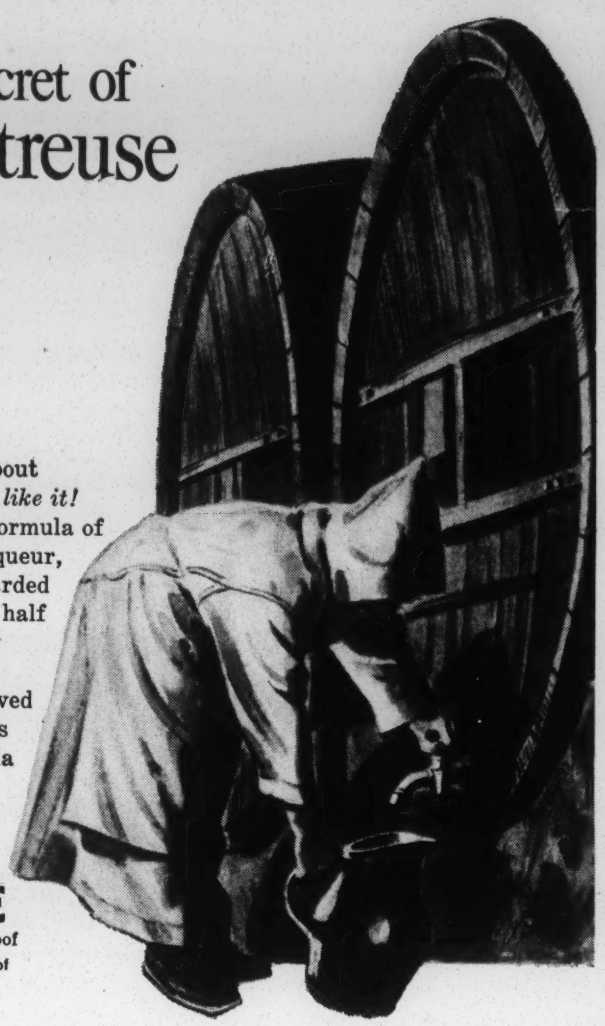

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Commentary April 1963 Religion

CHURCH, STATE, AND THE JEWS

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

"THE TIME has come," editorialized the Jesuit magazine *America* in the wake of the Supreme Court decision in the Regents' Prayer case, "for [Jews] to decide among themselves precisely what they conceive to be the final objective of the Jewish community in the United States—in a word, what bargain they are willing to strike as one of the minorities in a pluralistic society." Many Jews were offended by the question, and indeed the rhetoric of the editorial was in some ways offensive, but the question is nevertheless a fair one and deserves an honest answer.

The answer, however, must at once be both simple and complicated. Complicated, because in order to find the true meaning of the Jewish position on church-state issues, it must be understood at the outset that words like "religion," "secularism," "society," have resonances in Christian tradition and post-Christian secularism that they do not have for Jews. Before the challenge from *America* can be taken up, then, it is necessary to recognize that Jews—even Jews alienated from their own religious and historic traditions—differ from Christians not only in the conclusions they draw from society but in the premises they hold about it. We can, though, begin by stating simply that while there are of course deep differences of outlook within the Jewish community, the overwhelming weight of both feeling and opinion among contemporary Jews is for the strictest kind of separation between religion and the state—and even between religion and society. Nor is this opinion merely a tactical response to the current situation in America; it is in fact the expression of an attitude to society that has deep roots in Jewish history, especially in the Western experience of the last eighteen centuries.

But for Christians, too, there is the matter of the bargain *they* have struck to attain the freedom that American society offers them—a matter which has tended to get obscured in the controversy now raging about the meaning and intention of the First Amendment. For the controversy has up to now largely centered on the question of how much, if any, support the government of the United States may extend to religious groups as such, or to religion in general. Yet the equally important question of what American society requires of religion in exchange for the freedom it offers has remained relatively unexamined.

Stated too simply, the notion of freedom of religion can be misleading. For crucial to the particular kind of free society created in this country is the implicit demand it has always made on religion. What the First Amendment grew out of and sub-

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sequently determined was less the notion of strict religious "freedom" than the idea of a "compact" to be struck between society as a whole and the religious groups comprehended within it. Society undertook not to coerce any of the various religious sects through the power of the state, guaranteeing the "free exercise" of all spiritual faiths—and on the other side, the sects were to pay for this freedom by giving up their right to coerce society.

On this point the lesson of American history is as clear as a human record can be. It was decided long ago by the Supreme Court, for instance, that a Mormon may not practice polygamy, despite the serious religious conviction that commands him to do so. Nor is a man, merely by proving that he objects to bearing arms on religious grounds, thereby exempted as a matter of undeniable right from the military draft; such exemptions are granted by individual acts of legislative grace.

NOT ONLY in this kind of detail, however, nor only in relation to unpopular minority sects, does American society assert its right to effect the modification of religious practice; by extension this right is carried into the domain of doctrine itself. For while each religious group in America may continue to view itself as the absolute vessel of God's true revelation of Himself—dealing absolutely with those who freely elect to accept its discipline—and while each is scrupulously protected with respect to the requirements necessary to the exercise of persuasion on the broadest scale, they must all renounce their claim on the souls of those who reject their doctrine. It is unthinkable, for example, that in America the Roman Catholic Church should sue to enjoin a baptized Catholic from remarrying after a civil divorce. In sum, American society has always asked, and continues to ask, of religious groups something previously unknown and almost unimaginable: that each of them, remaining for itself and in private the only true and revealed faith, behave "publicly" as if its truth were as tentative as an aesthetic opinion or a scientific theory.

Now, the concept of the limited state on which the American Constitution is based is not a new one in Western history. Medieval political theory declares the state to be subordinate to natural law and to the authority of the church. In the name of this idea a pope once made an emperor kneel in penitence in the snows of Canossa. Of course, the limits set for a medieval monarch by the authority incarnate in the church militant were different from those that were defined by a sovereign people for its new American state; nevertheless the act of limiting the power of the state did have precedents in the political tradition. What was really new—and unique—in the American experiment was the concept of the limited church.

This concept was a construction of history, not of theology. To be sure, it was foreshadowed in the theories of Roger Williams, but it was not through these theories that the idea came to triumph. A recent document produced for the United Presbyterian Church, called *Relations Between Church and State,* states the case most aptly:

> Although colonial and subsequent Presbyterians played active and dramatic roles in the evolution of the concept of church-state separation, it is a mistake to assume that this concept has grown out of any doctrine of Christian theology. Separation of church and state in the United States was not a product of theological reflection alone. In a real sense it was a decisively secular development and obtained most of its meaning from the national experience of the United States of America.

Left to themselves, the major faiths of the Western world have not thought about each other very much, except as potential objects for conversion. The American stance on freedom of religion is based on the implicit announcement to each of the various religious groups that the others

are here to stay. What name one may wish to give to this announcement is irrelevant. But that it has shaped the religions in America, and in a more positive way than by simply providing them with empty space in which to expand and collide, seems undeniable. So, for example, in the bitter debate about the Catholic faith which marked the political campaign of 1960, when Catholics in America were charged with everything that had ever happened in the Middle Ages or was happening in places like contemporary Spain, they answered in essence that America is different and the Catholics have themselves become different by assenting to the American experiment and by living loyally within it. And this is true. It is inconceivable today in America that Roman Catholic priests should be involved in the leadership of an anti-Semitic movement—precisely what is happening in Argentina, where the hierarchy has failed to silence priests who are spokesmen for the racist Tacuara organization.

At least to someone looking from the outside, it seems that the 1960 election had certain crucial consequences for Catholics and for America above and beyond the election of a Catholic to the Presidency. In the height of the campaign several important statements were made on behalf of the American hierarchy; they amounted to a formal promise to abide by the self-limiting tradition of the sects in America —i.e., to behave in actual practice as one among many churches. It was thus that the Catholics purchased the inevitable ticket of full admission into American society.

THIS sundering of private faith from public policy is, for good historical reasons, extremely congenial to Jews, for they have experienced public policy over the centuries as a force inimical both to the practice of their religion and the safety of their lives.

Historians have generally emphasized that the Jewish community prior to its political emancipation (which is nowhere more than two centuries old) was dominated by its own "established" faith. To be sure, the ghetto community was monolithic and highly disciplined, but its authority could only operate on people who chose anew each day to resist apostasy. In the eyes of those who wielded the real political power, for a Jew to leave Judaism and become a Christian was considered a virtue; the only kind of apostasy that was ever a crime against the state in Europe was defection from the dominant Christian faith. The Jew who defected was thereby relieved of the burden of persecution and often treated with special consideration. Consequently, the Jews were not merely under persistent pressure and temptation throughout the Middle Ages to convert from their faith; they were the sole community in the Christian West in such a situation. What greater proof than this very fact did the Jews need in order to believe that religion could be sustained without support from the power of the state?

The predominant Jewish experience of the state in medieval Europe was one of cowering before its enmity. A Jew could only hope, in the words of the oft-repeated prayer, that "the hearts of kings and princes be turned with favor toward Thy people Israel." Furthermore, the state was usually either neutral or faintly well disposed toward Jews in a directly inverse ratio to the influence over its rulers by prelates. There were occasions in European history when the Church protected Jews from rapacious princes, but these occasions were exceptional. The establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire by Constantine, immediately accompanied by persecution of the Jews in the name of the true faith, seemed to fix the norm for the rest of Christian history.

The experience of all those centuries does, however, bring up two points that are relevant to the question of present-day America. Jews have come to know, almost by instinct, that their freedom is safest—

indeed that their freedom can only be achieved—in societies where the dominance of the church in public life has been blunted. Research into modern Jewish history provides convincing evidence that an early impetus toward the ultimate emancipation of the Jews came from the 17th- and 18th-century mercantilist powers, who were no longer thinking of the state as Christian and who therefore tended to be hospitable to any people who brought realistic advantage to the country. In the second place, Jewish experience with inimical rulers can be summarized in what the greatest of contemporary Jewish historians, Salo Baron, has called virtually a "law": the Jews and Judaism are better off, and feel safer, in a pluralist society made up of a number of national groups and/or religious sects than they are in a unitary political or religious structure. Thus another seed of political freedom for Jews can be found in the agreement in the 17th century to end the wars of religion and to accept religious diversity as the norm of Western Christendom. The multi-national and multi-religious Austro-Hungarian Empire was a far happier place for Jews than a monolithic Germany proved to be.

THE RISE of the modern secular state, then, was the *sine qua non* for Jewish emancipation. For Christianity, however, this same historical development has meant a position of lesser power in men's affairs. The power of Protestantism has been affected as well as the power of Catholicism, but for various reasons, the Catholic Church has responded with more direct animus against the forces it has held to be responsible for the declining influence of religion. The *Syllabus of Errors,* promulgated by Pius IX in 1864, in which the "liberal revolution" and all its implications were condemned, was such a response. Pius IX's censures of the separation of church and state, religious liberty, and public education no longer constitute Catholic doctrine, certainly not in America. It is one thing, however, to make a necessary accommodation to the secular state; and it is quite another to hail it—as Jews have done—as your liberator from age-old oppressions.

In this—which points to nothing less than the different meanings of anti-Semitism for Jewish and for Western history—we have arrived at the heart of the matter. The mainstream of Western thought, both Christian and post-Christian, affirms that the history of the West has been on the whole a good human record marred by many imperfections, among them hatred of the Jew. Therefore, except for the initiators of radical revolutionary movements, few people doubt that Western tradition need only be carried along further in the direction in which it has always been going, with some necessary reforms to broaden and purify its culture. And the eradication of anti-Semitism is generally included among the reforms to be achieved in an ever progressive West.

Many Jews share with the gentiles this view of their civilization—at least intellectually they do—and they also share in the common belief that reform will suffice to put the Jews at last out of danger. But in that place where the heart stores its forebodings, most Jews do not believe it at all. European history has boasted too many pogroms, auto-da-fés, and death camps for Jews to believe, with Olympian calm, that these phenomena are an unfortunate but accidental feature of European civilization. The Jews must diagnose the Western tradition as not merely prone to the virus of anti-Semitism but chronically, or endemically, ill with it. For their own safety and for the future lives of their children, Jews must look to a radical change in the very foundations of Western civilization.

This special Jewish need has been little understood; in the light of it, we find that the two main streams of Jewish modernism —Zionism, which has generally been considered a radical solution to the Jewish problem, and assimilationism, which has appeared to offer the solution of gradualist

accommodation to Western culture—exactly reverse their positions. Zionism is in fact the conservative position, basing itself on two propositions: one, that all basic identities are, or ought to be, national; and two, that anti-Semitism is a hideously aggravated but essentially rational response to a national imbalance that can quite simply be rectified. Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, asserted that it was the "abnormality" of the Jews' being everywhere a national minority that had brought what were otherwise normal tensions between national groups to the pitch of traditional European anti-Semitism; if the Jew therefore reorganized his identity into the recognized form, all abnormal hatreds would automatically disappear. Zionists, moreover, in their profound understanding of the fact that culture is more than political identity, have been willing to admit that in some fundamental sense Western culture will remain pervasively Christian. There can and ought to be, then—for the sake of everybody's peace and dignity—a comparable Jewish national culture. Such a culture could even be (indeed in Israel it largely is) post-Jewish, but it would at least be as related to its own religious history as contemporary post-Christianity is related to the historic values and experiences of the church.

The Zionist conception of the relation of religion to culture was recently given an important expression in the decision of the Israel Supreme Court in the case of Brother Daniel. A Catholic monk of Jewish birth, Brother Daniel had been admitted to Israel and was, under its law, free to ask for naturalization as a citizen of the state. He sued instead for automatic admission under the Law of Return, the state's provision that any Jew, of any provenance, can automatically demand citizenship in Israel. Brother Daniel demanded to be described as a Jew by nationality and a Catholic by faith. One minority view in the Supreme Court of Israel supported this demand, in the name of the absolute separation of religion and national identity. The majority opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Silberg:

> I have not come to preach religiosity and I do not represent any particular view as to a proper future development of the Jewish people . . . but one thing is held in common by all parts of the people which dwells in Zion (except for a minuscule minority), and it is this: We are not cutting ourselves off from the historic past, and we are not denying our ancestral heritage. . . . Only a fool would believe or think that we are here creating a new culture, for—it is much too late! A people which is almost as old as mankind itself does not start *ab ovo*. . . .

The Brother Daniel decision has implications beyond the borders of Israel. Brother Daniel's rights to every consideration for his faith will be guarded zealously, but within a society which is overwhelmingly and publicly Jewish. Just so, one could say that Jews must be politically indistinguishable from all other citizens in America, but that the religio-cultural issues must work themselves out separately. Here, as in Israel, the state is neutral, but here the majority culture is Christian. Jews must accept the fact that they are a cultural minority and that properly temperate expressions of the majority outlook in our public institutions (e.g., Christmas celebrations in the public schools that are not offensively Christological) are as acceptable as are Purim carnivals in the schools of Tel Aviv. What, in the contemporary translation of the Zionist outlook, the Jews have a right to ask is that they be treated with every consideration a majority can offer the sensibilities and sensitivities of a minority.

HOWEVER, the real thrust of Jewish modernity, beginning with the political emancipation of the Jews in Europe, has been in another direction—has, in fact, been tied to the dream of a basic transformation. Its most extreme form, that of belief in total assimilation, is not, as so many Jewish ideologists have

claimed, the one most accommodating to gentile culture, but the most radical in its demands on that culture. The source of this dream in Jewish tradition and consciousness is, of course, the vision of the Messianic age, of "a new heaven and a new earth," when all the old order of the world would be overturned completely and Jewish suffering would be brought to an end. The expansive spirits at the dawn of Jewish modernity immediately saw in the beginnings of political emancipation a wholly new possibility for achieving the Messianic age—in this world and by human agency. Had not the advanced minds of the Enlightment envisaged a world in which all "medievalism"—i.e., all artificially imposed differences among men—would disappear in the name of the oneness of humanity? Was not Progress the new deity for their age?

It was inevitable that, more than any other single community, the Jews should have greeted the radical change promised by the Enlightenment: they longed to be not merely fully protected citizens but brothers to their fellow Europeans. Hence the now-famous passion of so many Jews for all the new 18th- and 19th-century ideologies, from the Rights of Man to Marxism to the Freudian unconscious. The generous promise of modern movements, liberal and socialist, was a world in which there would be neither Jew nor Christian. The movements were embraced not only by Jews who wished to give up Judaism and worship at the new altars of man; many fervently religious Jews also became partisans of various secularist political movements because they held out the hope of an end to anti-Semitism.

That hope was not to be realized in Europe, cradle of Western civilization. One need not even go so far as to mention Nazism and Communism. The liberal anti-clerical Third French Republic, for instance, after the Church was totally disestablished, could not produce a situation of real cultural equality. Public school classes to this day are held on Saturday in France and could never be held on Sunday; so it is possible to raise one's children to be Christian, but impossible to raise them as Jews, without coming into collision with the practices of state institutions. By now, then, the first flush of Jewish fervor for modern secular ideologies has been tempered or rendered timid: anti-Semitism in Europe has certainly not been obliterated, and in some cases secularism has lent it an even greater virulence.

ALL THIS makes the encounter of the Jew with America uniquely important. The enormous attraction that this country has always held for European Jews —both those who came to it and those who could not do so—did not merely lie in its open frontiers and economic opportunities. In America was located the one society in the Western world which had had no medieval past: no ghetto, no pogroms, no anti-Jewish state. Here the Jew might share as an equal in the creation of that modern dream, the "new man." Here was the last, best hope of the Jew to become a normal part of a national culture. It is interesting to note that the Jews were the only ethnic group in America which in the years of the great depression still showed a surplus of immigrants over emigrants. After their untold wanderings, America for its Jews has become not another way station but the end of the line.

Most American Jews thus have an investment in this country that commits them to something far beyond being a benevolently treated minority in a Christain culture presided over by a neutral state. A generation ago this commitment was expressed in the idea of "cultural pluralism," according to which every American was to live in two cultures, the public culture common to all and the subculture of his own particular ethnic tradition. Of course, cultural pluralism proved to be a chimera because all the other ethnic groups chose to become totally ac-

culturated. The grandchildren of the non-Jewish immigrants—as Will Herberg famously pointed out in his book *Catholic-Protestant-Jew*—have maintained only one distinctive characteristic: the religion (but not the ethnic consciousness) of their ancestors. Though Herberg himself was careful to say that religion has, and must have, cultural and social implications, his analysis has been assimilated into the public mind as a blueprint for a secular public culture shared by all Americans, who will differ from one another only in being members of three distinct enclaves of private religious faith. The image is best projected nowadays at Presidential Inaugurations, where clergymen of all three major divisions of faith offer prayer. For Jews the participation of rabbis in the Inaugural ceremonies is undoubtedly far more impressive than is the participation of bishops to Christians. The matter-of-course appearance of a rabbi at the most sacral moment of American civic life is visible proof indeed that they are full co-owners of American culture.

The instance of prayers at the Inauguration serves to illustrate a further point: namely, it is simply not true that Jews are completely and consistently fixed in their strict interpretation of the First Amendment. Such things as chaplains in the armed services, prayers at state occasions, tax exemptions for religious institutions—while the most doctrinaire member of the Supreme Court, Justice Douglas, would now like to strike them down in the name of intellectual and legal consistency—are no more troublesome to Jewish than to Christian opinion. For these practices extend to the Jews in every respect exactly as to all other denominations in America; no pressure of the majority or of its faith is being exercised upon them. Jews speak of the separation of church and state in absolute terms only on those occasions when they are asked to submit to practices which force them to admit to themselves that their status in America is no more than that of a generously tolerated minority. The First Amendment is not the real dogma of the American Jew. His deepest and most messianic need is not a completely secular state; it is a truly equal status in American culture.

The true meaning of the battle currently raging over the First Amendment, then, is not that it is a confrontation between Christian defenders of the religio-cultural status quo and Jews in a somewhat uncomfortable league with the secularists to alter it. In fact, Jewish pressure on the status quo has far less significance than Catholic pressure to create a change in the balance between religion and the public culture. For one brief moment in history, on the day that John F. Kennedy was barely elected to the White House, Jewish and Catholic feeling and interests coincided. And Jews gave a politician for whom, in his own person, they were certainly far less enthusiastic than they had been for Roosevelt, the largest majority of their votes in history. So, naturally, did Catholics. Since that day, however, Catholics have not merely redoubled their efforts to get tax aid for parochial schools, they have largely replaced Protestants in the van of defending religion in the public schools. These are the very public schools that Catholics once abandoned as being too "godless" at a time when Christianity (i.e., Protestantism) was being much more overtly practiced in them than it is today. Indeed, Catholics have largely replaced Protestants as the guardians of that whole complex of practices once created to serve a sub-Protestant public piety. However one may characterize Jewish policy, it is now clearly in conflict with the new Catholic drive for a more Christian America.

And what of the Protestants in all this? Of course, there is no such thing as one Protestantism in America; that which we call Protestantism is a composite of several often conflicting traditions. In the South, for instance, fundamentalism is virtually a state church. For fundamenta-

lists, devotion to the First Amendment expresses itself, as during the 1960 election, in the form of a simple anti-Catholic nativism. Fundamentalists are against any kind of aid to parochial schools on grounds of separation of church and state, but they are equally violent about any attempt to remove Christian practices from the schools.

At the other extreme of theological sophistication are many Protestant leaders who support the absolute separation of church and state for very positive religious reasons. Men like Franklin Littell are eager to keep Protestantism entirely free of any hampering relationship to American culture, and especially to American patriotism, so that the church may unambiguously become what it ought to be, the critic and the conscience of society. The document of the United Presbyterian Church cited above suggests to Presbyterians the following position: "Theologically, the church must be aware that the sole constant in its mandate is the fact of Jesus Christ. It is to the Christ that the church bears witness, not to a theological articulation of the place of the political order in the structure of reality." Therefore, in such a practical matter as tax exemption for religious agencies, "the church must regard special status or favored position as a hindrance to the fulfilling of its mission."

BUT THE main impulse of American Protestantism lies somewhere in between. The "stated clerk" of the very denomination for whom the above study document was prepared, Eugene Carson Blake, spoke rather differently in the summer of 1960, when he was afraid that a Roman Catholic might wind up in the White House. The grounds for his fear, he said, were that "a Protestant President is free to participate in the many interfaith activities that have been built up so carefully over the years. But a Roman Catholic is not." Obviously, even in the heat of that turbulent summer, Dr. Blake knew very well that attending interfaith activities is not a constitutional duty of the President. What he really feared was an impairment of the image of our culture in which the various sects are treated as equals, and religion as a whole is in some deep sense the American Establishment. And it was in the same spirit that Bishop James Pike deplored the decision in the Regents' Prayer case.

But perhaps the most significant reactions to the Regents' Prayer decision came from Reinhold Niebuhr and John C. Bennett, who, as leaders of liberal opinion among Protestants on interreligious and social issues, took many people by surprise with their opposition to the Supreme Court's strict separationist stand. Niebuhr held that "the prayer seemed to be a model of accommodation to the pluralistic nature of our society" and deplored the possibility of a "consistently secular education that the Founding Fathers certainly did not intend."

There are two things implied in a position like Niebuhr's: one, that religion in America is quasi-established, and two, that the terms of that establishment include only such rituals and restrictions as keep the three main historic faiths equal. From such a point of view one can imagine a public policy that would include teaching about religion in the schools as a fact of culture; experimenting with "shared time"; inclusion of Bible reading in the school programs, but elimination of sectarian practices like Christmas celebrations and the Lord's Prayer; observance of some blue laws, with legal exemptions for Jewish Sabbath observers; agitation to remove such laws as those on the books of Massachusetts and Connecticut pertaining to birth control; but a growing concern, in the name of fairness, for the special Catholic burden of supporting an expanding parochial school system.

As for the Jews, the policy outlined above—though unsatisfying to their particular interests in many details—is never-

theless in essence a fair representation of their own wishes for American society. It grants their cherished desire for a tri-faith image of America. And further, it assumes the existence of a genuine religious consensus based, not on some lowest common denominator Christianity, but on the biblical values common to both Judaism and Christianity. Thus Jews and Protestants are actually approaching one another more closely on the questions of church-state relations—in proportion to the growing Protestant acceptance of the mutually self-denying bargain that religious denominations have struck with American society in exchange for their freedom.

CATHOLIC commitment to such a self-limiting pledge is of course far more problematic in the very nature of Catholicism. But even in Catholic thought there is some stirring in a new direction. John Courtney Murray—theologically far too much of a Catholic classicist to entertain for a moment the notion that any other religion than his own is ultimately true—has spoken in a way indicating movement toward the other faiths:

> There may indeed be some three hundred religious bodies in America. But there are not that many "styles" of religious belief. In fact, there are generically only three—the Protestant, the Catholic, and the Jewish. They are radically different "styles" and no one of them is reducible, or perhaps even comparable, to any of the others.

Official Catholic policy, however, appears to be determined by other, special, considerations. The violence of the Catholic response to the decision in *Engel v. Vitale* could clearly not have been occasioned by the excision of a short prayer of little, if any, religious significance. Behind this response lurked the grave problem for Catholics of the future financing of the parochial schools. Cardinal Spellman's statement on the decision, although his most important concern was for maintaining the Christian flavor of American culture, forthrightly linked the two issues. Such decisions as that prohibiting the Regents' Prayer, he said, tend to "the establishment of a new religion of secularism." The same attitude had been expressed a few months earlier in the Boston *Pilot,* the official paper of the diocese of Cardinal Cushing, which was even more vehement about a suggested breach in the blue laws. The Senate of Massachusetts had already passed a bill exempting all Jewish Sabbath observers, whatever their business, from the prohibition to keep open on Sunday. The editorial in the *Pilot* was willing to concede this right to establishments purveying kosher food and the like, primarily to Jews, but it called any further liberalization a "shocking assault," "unjust and offensive," and evidence that a "carefully organized minority has done its work to destroy the Sunday." The editorial then named the senators who had voted for the bill, clearly asking that pressure be brought upon them. (It was, and the bill was rescinded.) In the heat of that moment it was forgotten that in 1960, in the crucial last week of the Presidential election campaign, Cardinal Cushing had assured the country that the hierarchy would never dictate to voters on any issue. And examples of this kind multiply. No one even attempts to deny, for instance, that the bill for major federal aid to education has thus far been defeated by pressure brought to bear on the members of Congress from the Catholic hierarchy, who want a bill that includes parochial schools or no bill at all.

Yet it would neither be true to say that "liberal" Catholic views were merely campaign oratory nor that there is a continuing Catholic drive to "dominate" America (whatever that word may mean in this context). What then is the character of Catholic policy? It seems to me that Catholic demands can only be explained in the light of Catholic conceptions of the future of American society and of America's role in the world. Within

America, Catholics are (and from their point of view, it must be said, rightly) fearful of "indifferentism," the sin of believing that one religion is as good as another. To be sure, such a belief does not really operate today among theologians—except possibly for Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich, who approach it—but it does in a very untheoretical way pervade American consciousness. From the middle of the 19th century, when Catholics fought hard for the First Amendment, to the present, Catholic policy has really moved in a straight line; for it has always been one of keeping Catholics out of an "indifferentist" consensus. What makes the difference today is that the Roman Catholic Church is paradoxically both strong enough—in numbers and in generations of rootedness in America—and weak enough—in the overextension of its economic resources—to join in open battle for a different kind of America, an America in which it might win tax support for creating "a truly pluralist educational order."

An even larger concern of Catholic policy is Communism. Christianity as a whole has lost heavily in recent decades, and the Catholic Church more heavily than Protestantism. Naturally, the danger from Communism is most immediate to the heaviest losers. To the Catholic mind, schooled as it is to think in terms of faith and dogma, the confrontation with Communism is a war of ideas between religion and anti-religion. America, as the leader of the West, is cast for the role of the knightly defender of the faith. But for America to be true to this sacred mission, the Christian character of her public life must be buttressed. Parochial schools will teach the Catholics; and the children of others must get at least enough indoctrination in the public schools to give them an appreciation of the trust which as Americans they bear.

All the various positions in America, religious and secular, have in common their rootedness in a basic cast of the Western mind. The precision of Aristotelian logic and the beauty of Platonic ideas have made of that mind a thing enchanted with tidiness and the abstractions it brings. Life, however, is concrete and diffuse; it is very untidy and its stuff does not fit easily into definitions. The faith-counterfaith definition of the West's struggle with Communism in fact contains the seed of America's certain defeat in the world at large. For what America can uniquely offer to the peoples of Asia and Africa is not the vision of a Christian or a Judeo-Christian society but precisely of a pluralistic world order in which all men are permitted, nay encouraged, to pursue their own faiths, hopes, and aspirations.

THE taking over of the Western ideological bent of mind by so many Jews on their being emancipated into the modern world seems now to have been inevitable: not only, as we have said, because the new ideologies bespoke a new society that would transcend at once all those centuries of hatred and exclusion of the Jews. The Jew's acceptance of dogmatic Western secular "religions" was also his first instinctive gesture of acculturation to a characteristic Western mode of thought and belief. At its deepest, this is what the abandonment of the talmudic academy for the European university meant. Essentially, however, the Jew is the product of a tradition which is intellectually unideological. Only for Aristotle is A not non-A; classically the Jew can be at one and the same time a bearer of a universal religion and a particular national tradition, a member of the "chosen people" and the possessor of no special rights or qualities. His history is correspondingly unlogical. The ideological ages and societies have always attempted to do away with the Jew, in the name of order. He has flourished where the "theology" of rulers has been tempered by pragmatic common sense.

Thus today the American Jew cannot share in the prevailing Catholic con-

cepts of America and the West. He must, however, equally resist the blandishments of "First Amendmentism." Any dogma taken to the extreme is ultimately the enemy of freedom, and, as the Jew should by now have re-learned from his experience with modern ideologies, it is his enemy. Constitutional logic by itself could not prevent, say, some future generation's opening the public schools on Saturday, for the purpose of intensifying education; in the end, only the untidiness of intergroup arrangement, compromise, and, sometimes, counterpressure will make such a thing impossible.

At the moment some Jews, along with some Protestants, are committed to their own parochial schools and therefore in agreement with Catholics on the question of federal aid. An alliance of this kind must no more be taken as a permanent one than the alliance of most of organized Jewry with secularists to support a strict interpretation of the First Amendment. For religious alliances, like political ones, are *ad hoc*. What is permanent is the continuing network of intentions and special needs of each of the faiths. So, the most parochial and Orthodox of Jews may agree with others that there is need for more religion in public life, but he will recoil when this need is fulfilled in such fashion as to add an iota to the coercive power of the Christian majority over him. Most Jewish leaders would probably have preferred not to have the Regents' Prayer question litigated before the Supreme Court when it was. If the time had really been ripe for the removal of some sectarian practices from the schools, specifically Christian ones like Christmas observances would have been of far greater concern to Jews than a non-denominational prayer. Similarly with the continuing dispute about Bible readings and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the classrooms. Jews can accept, and may even strongly favor Bible readings: so central to our civilization is the Bible that not to know it is to be almost uneducated.

However, the protection of the First Amendment extends not only to religious minorities all of whom have the Bible in common; it must also shelter the non-Judeo-Christians, including atheists and agnostics. In any case, the task of teaching the Bible were better left to religious institutions, since the current practice of reading a few verses without comment in the morning does exercise pressure on the children of agnostics without even beginning to teach the Bible adequately to the children of believers. Jews who are opposed to Bible reading are therefore no more strongly so, nor for any different reasons, than many other people. The Lord's Prayer, however, is another matter entirely; it is a specifically Christian prayer and its recitation in the schools is clearly a sectarian practice, to which all Jews without exception are adamantly opposed.

So much of the present church-state controversy revolves around the schools for the obvious reason that, more than any other institution, it is the schools that shape our culture. For the vast majority of Jews the public school is the object of a primary, tacit commitment; it is the first and foremost institution for their integration into America. Jews are thus perhaps the strongest defenders of public education. Arguments about whether the public school is secular or secularist (it is in truth neither) are irrelevant. American intellectual and civic tradition exerts its influence as much through the general atmosphere of the school as through specific teachings. Everyone is today committed to pluralism, but do we want a completely fragmented America? That which pulls our diversities together into a viable common society—call it Americanism or Americanness—is largely the creation of the one place where most Americans do spend a crucial part of their lives together. If parochial, or class-determined private schools were to become the norm for America, we would be going a long step toward erecting a society of

co-existing ghettos. This is not to say that some parochial education will not, and should not, continue to exist, but it must not, in most Jewish views, become the dominant or even the equal educational form.

Discussions of religion and culture these days tend to dwell largely on the questions which separate the various religious denominations in America, and we tend to overlook how very much they have in common in the realm of social policy. No major religious group in America is racist; all are devoted to a democratic order in politics; and all their pronouncements on social justice are indistinguishable from one another. It is, then, far easier to achieve consensus in action than in thought or even in prayer. This fact goes with the very nature of the American tradition, with its tentativeness and its emphasis on the needs of the day. Perhaps the only phrase that adequately describes the complicated pattern into which American tradition, law, and religion have become interwoven is "not quite." Religion is neither established nor completely disestablished in America. There is separation of church and state, but it is not absolute. Nothing seems clearer than that there is a body of specifically American attitudes that have to some extent reshaped religious denominational life, but this body of attitudes is neither doctrinaire nor is there complete agreement about its precise nature. Jewish life in America can also be characterized as "not quite." Certainly Jews here are no longer in Exile, by any traditional definition of that term; but neither are they co-founders of American culture. In most things they are "just like everybody else"; in some, they are uniquely different.

The Founding Fathers have, in the First Amendment, given Americans not a dogma but a clue, a clue to how to live with such complications as we all now face in an undogmatic way: standing separately for various truths, standing together for the peace of society, and delicately avoiding that which is hateful to any of us. These are the terms of the "bargain" that the Jews are willing to strike as one of the "minorities in a pluralistic culture."

Religion

ELSA KRUUSE, Editor

The Religious Newsweekly

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

This week's significant events in the cooperative church movement
—in the community, the nation and the world.

17RNW4/23/63 April 23, 1963

National Council Publishes Study On Aid To Schools

A major study detailing the Protestant position opposing public support of church-related schools was published on April 18 by the National Council of Churches. The 56-page booklet, "Public Funds For Parochial Schools?" was commissioned by the Council's Department of Religious Liberty. The author, George LaNoue, is a specialist in church-state law and a doctoral candidate in political science at Yale University.

Commenting on the new publication, the Rt. Rev. Malcolm E. Peabody, chairman of the Department, noted that it presents "a forthright discussion of the Protestant view of one of the most controversial issues of the decade." The Bishop is the former head of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Central New York.

The carefully documented study counters arguments in a Roman Catholic study issued in December 1961, which contended that there is no constitutional bar to public aid to the church-related school "in a degree proportionate to the value of the public function it performs." The National Council study declares that "almost all legal arguments in favor of using tax funds to support religious schools" are "misinterpretations" of legal decisions handed down by the Supreme Court.

"Public Funds For Parochial Schools?" is being distributed across the country as a resource document for those in the field of education and public policy, including legislators and educational administrators.

The Rev. Dean M. Kelley is executive director of the National Council's Department of Religious Liberty. He emphasized that the publication is not an official statement of policy of the National Council of Churches although it does include the pronouncement "Public Funds for Public Schools" adopted by the Council's General Board in February 1961.

Challenge
to Justice
and Love

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. THE REV. GALEN R. WEAVER
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York
(212) GRamercy 5-2121

Vol. I No. 2 April, 1963

NEWSLETTER

The General Board of the National Council of Churches meeting in Denver voted unanimously to commit the National Council to contribute, or to raise, approximately one-third of the initial budget for the National Conference on Religion and Race ...not to exceed $20,000 for a twelve months' operation beginning June 1, 1963.

* * *

BISHOP WILLIAM G. CONNARE, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Greensburg, Pennsylvania has recently made a part of a contract for capital improvements, a fair employment practices agreement, thus the bishop has become one of the first to set an example of a key recommendation of the National Conference.

* * *

Everyone in the human relations and social action fields was shocked and saddened by the death of ELMER BROCK, who was one of the leading members of the Catholic Interracial Council of Delaware while serving as the executive director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in that city. His program at the NCCJ was considered to be one of the most creative in the country. ELMER was currently serving as deputy assistant postmaster general in Washington, D. C. We are asking all of our readers to join prayers for him and his family. MRS. BROCK'S address is 9806 Connecticut, Kensington, Maryland.

* * *

The national conference of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing will be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. from April 25 to 26. The theme will be "Equal Opportunity in Housing --- Challenge to American Communities."

* * *

The United Citizens' Committee for Freedom of Residence is sponsoring a legislator breakfast in Springfield, Illinois on May 8. Each state senator will be invited by the religious leadership of his senatorial district. The purpose of this meeting is to give support to two bills --- FEPC and open occupancy --- now pending. The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race is supporting this affair. Several of CCRR's members --- the VERY REV. DANIEL M. CANTWELL, JOHN MCDERMOTT, DR. H. S. CHANDLER, RABBI IRVING ROSENBAUM, and GENE MARSHALL --- are actively involved in the planning and implementation of this program.

* * *

The Jack Paar Show will be preempted Friday, May 24, in order to present the NBC Special called "The Quiet Revolution" at 10 p.m. (New York time). The program includes excerpts from the January conference with key statements from HIS EMINENCE ALBERT CARDINAL MEYER, archbishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago; J. IRWIN MILLER, president of the National Council of Churches; and RABBI JULIUS MARK, president of the Synagogue Council of America. The show reports on the new concern of American religion with social matters.

* * *

THE MOST REV. LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN, D. D., archbishop of Baltimore, recently issued a pastoral letter which the National Conference believes is of sufficient importance and significance to quote here in part:

> "...There is, I hope, no need to say that in our churches and in our parochial life generally there must be not only no racial segregation, but also no distinction of rank or place or treatment based upon racial difference...
>
> "...In our schools, both elementary and secondary, the same general policy holds. As Catholic schools, they are meant primarily, although not exclusively, for Catholic students --- for ALL Catholic students insofar as facilities can be made available --- without racial or any other discrimination. This means that in the registration of students a common policy, approved by our Catholic School Board, must be followed in the case of all Catholic children living within the boundaries of every parish fortunate enough to have its own school. The same policy must govern all transfers from one school to another. Within the school, identical academic standards must apply to all students and all must be treated with equal justice

and charity...

"...It is some months now since all our Catholic hospitals gave formal approval and acceptance to the policies of non-discrimination I specifically proposed to them. This means that they have agreed to admit and treat applicants for medical and surgical service without distinction in their out-patient departments; to follow the same procedure in admitting into the hospital, and in assigning beds to them; that there shall be no discrimination practiced in handling applications for membership on medical, surgical, and nursing staffs; that advancement within each staff will be governed only by ability, training, experience, and character; that a policy of integration and non-discrimination is to be effective for all employees of the hospital...

"...The duty of justice and charity applies not only to our churches, our schools, our charitable organizations and institutions, and our hospitals, but also to all of us as individuals. It must guide us in our personal relationships --- within our block, our neighborhood, our community; in our social and fraternal organizations; in the business we may conduct; at work and at play; in all the circumstances of every-day life...."

* * *

GENE W. MARSHALL, a staff member of the Ecumenical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, has joined the staff of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race as associate executive director on a part-time basis.

* * *

A 36 page pamphlet will be available the end of April entitled "Religion in Racial Crisis" and subtitled "A Report on the National Conference on Religion and Race and Recommendations." This pamphlet, which contains the proceedings and the recommendations, will be available at 65¢ per copy for one to forty-nine copies; the price will be 40¢ per copy for 50 or more copies.

* * *

A state-wide conference on religion and race will be held in Rhode Island in 1964. Conveners of the conference are REV. ARTHUR P. COLBOURN, president of the Rhode Island Council of

Churches; MOST REV. RUSSELL J. MCVINNEY, D.D., bishop of Providence; REV. JOHN LIMBERAKIS, pastor of Church of the Annunciation, Greek Orthodox of Providence; REV. BARNARD HOLLIDAY, president of the Greater Providence Ministerial Alliance; and RABBI PESACH KRAUS, president of the Rhode Island Rabbinical Association.

The Providence office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews was named as the secretariat. MRS. ROZELLA W. SWITZER, NCCJ regional director, was appointed co-ordinator.

Attending the planning session were: RIGHT REV. JOHN SEVILLE HIGGINS, Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island; the REV. ROBERT H. SCHACHT, First Unitarian Church; the REV. CARL A. GUNDERSEN, moderator of the Providence Presbytery; the REV. HALE THORNBERRY, executive secretary of the Rhode Island Baptist State Convention; the REV. BURRETT E. MCBEE, executive director of the Rhode Island State Council of Churches; the REV. G. ALBIN DAHLQUIST, pastor of the Asbury Methodist Church, Warwick; the REV. BIRGER J. C. JOHNSON, pastor of the Gloria Dei Lutheran Church; the REV. CANON RONALD E. STENNING, director of community relations of the Episcopal Diocese; the REV. EDWARD H. FLANNERY, editor of the Providence Visitor; and PROF. CALEB SMITH of Brown University.

* * *

MATHEW H. AHMANN, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, was named as a preliminary winner for the "Man of the Year" award sponsored by Chicago Junior Chamber of Commerce. His nomination was in the field of religion.

* * *

A conference entitled "A Symposium on Race and Religion" was held in White Plains, New York with the main speakers being the REV. PHILIP S. HURLEY, S. J., chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York; RABBI MARC H. TANNENBAUM, director of Interreligious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee; and the REV. ARTHUR E. WALMSLEY, director of Christian Social Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The meeting was organized by a group of Westchester residents of the three faiths who represent 90 civic and community groups.

* * *

A follow-up committee of fifty persons has been formed in Atlanta, Georgia with the Protestant Episcopal BISHOP CLAIRBORNE, Roman Catholic BISHOP PAUL J. HALLINAN, BISHOP J.

OWEN SMITH of the Methodist Church, PRESIDENT BENJAMIN E. MAYS of Morehouse College, BISHOP WILKES of the AME Church, DR. HERMAN L. TURNER, Director of the Greater Atlanta Council of Churches, and RABBI JACOB ROTHSHILD.

* * *

ARCHBISHOP JOSEPH T. MCGUCKEN of the San Francisco archdiocese has given his full support to the San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race being planned for April. It will have the full participation of the Council of Churches, the Board of Rabbis and the Ministerial Alliance. REV. EUGENE J. BOYLE and the Catholic Interracial Council will act as the secretariat.

* * *

May 19 has been selected for holding a city-wide convocation on religion and race in St. Louis. Workshops are planned for the next day. A special committee has been appointed to find a temporary executive secretary. These plans were reported by the REV. RALPH C. ABELE, volunteer co-ordinator of an interreligious committee.

* * *

Hundreds of Negro families visited white homes throughout the Chicagoland area on Sunday, March 24. This interracial home visit was a sequel to the program held on January 6 when 2,000 white people were welcomed into hundreds of Negro homes. The program, endorsed by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, was sponsored by an interreligious committee of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

* * *

During Holy Week, a 48-hour conference of the national staff of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church considered the implications of racial change. The speakers included DR. KENNETH CLARK, an Episcopalian and social psychologist at the City College of New York, and the RT. REV. JOHN BURGESS, Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts. A discussion was held on the relation of the National Council to church-related schools and agencies, and the responsibility of national church leadership to clergy forced out of communities because of racial crises.

* * *

Four hundred persons in Little Rock, Arkansas were challenged to do more to eliminate racial discrimination in churches and injustice in the community. This gathering was addressed by three delegates who were at the Chicago Conference, the REV. COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church, the REV. DAVID BOILEAU, professor of philosophy at the Roman Catholic St. John's Seminary, and MRS. EDGAR F. DIXON, active Methodist laywoman. RABBI IRA E. SANDERS moderated the meeting.

The Catholic speaker predicted that within three months an active group of his fellow church members would be organized to improve race relations.

* * *

The general board of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago endorsed the passage of a Fair Housing Practices Act in Illinois. The announcement was made by DR. EDGAR H. S. CHANDLER, the Federation's executive vice-president.

The Chicago Board of Rabbis has taken similar action favoring enactment of freedom-of-residence legislation. The Catholic Archdiocese has also made its stand on this subject very clear.

* * *

The largest and most representative group of religious leaders convened in Deerfield, Illinois under the auspices of the Inter-faith Council. Deerfield won notoriety when its officials barred community developers from completing a development containing houses to be sold to Negroes.

The meeting endorsed "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People." Plans were made to have the statement printed and distributed to the members of the various organizations.

* * *

A meeting was held in Evanston, Illinois sponsored by the North Suburban Chapter of the Catholic Interracial Council, the North Suburban Rabbinical Committee of Chicago, Board of Rabbis and the Evanston Council of Churches. Its purpose was to focus attention on areas of racial tension in suburban communities and move religious leaders toward co-operative action. Speakers were JUDGE JAMES B. PARSONS, RABBI IRVING ROSENBAUM, Executive vice-president EDGAR H. S. CHANDLER of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago and MSGR. DANIEL M. CANTWELL.

* * *

Wilmette, Illinois now has an active human relations committee. At a March 27 meeting, articles of incorporation and the planning of a public meeting were considered. MR. AND MRS. PATRICK CROWLEY of the Christian Family Movement, Chicago, have been active initiators of this new group.

* * *

A state-wide organization in North Carolina has been formed under the leadership of BISHOP VINCENT S. WATERS, bishop of the Diocese of Raleigh. Plans for carrying out the conference recommendations are now underway. During the first week in April HENRY CABIRAC, director of Southern Field Service, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in New Orleans, spoke in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Charlotte and Asheville.

* * *

Member churches of the Terre Haute (Indiana) Council of Churches were presented with an open church covenant at the Spring assembly. The churches were to state their willingness to adhere publicly to renunciation of all racial barriers. MRS. KAY THOMPSON, executive secretary, relayed the proposal to the National Conference on Religion and Race and said its timeliness is accented by the current relocation of families in Vigo County.

* * *

The three Dayton, Ohio delegates at the Chicago Conference reported to a representative group at the University of Dayton. MRS. ROGER RUPPERT, the REV. CAWLEY STINE and REV. WILLIAM J. COLE presented their interpretations of the meeting. A great deal of enthusiasm was generated, and a follow-up committee was authorized to implement the findings and recommendations. MR. WILLIAM BACON, executive director of the Community Welfare Council, was asked to be the convener of the follow-up committee.

* * *

HIS EMINENCE ALBERT CARDINAL MEYER made some suggestions for individual action on a TV program recently:

.Invite Negroes to your home who are in the same line of work as yourself.

.Join in interracial council activities.

.Employ Negro workers.

.Invite Negroes to Christian family movement meetings.

.Read Negro publications.

.Take an active part in neighborhood and community organizations.

* * *

The 52 predominantly white churches in the Presbytery of Phoenix, Arizona have elected a young Negro minister, the REV. GEORGE BENJAMIN BROOKS, as their moderator.

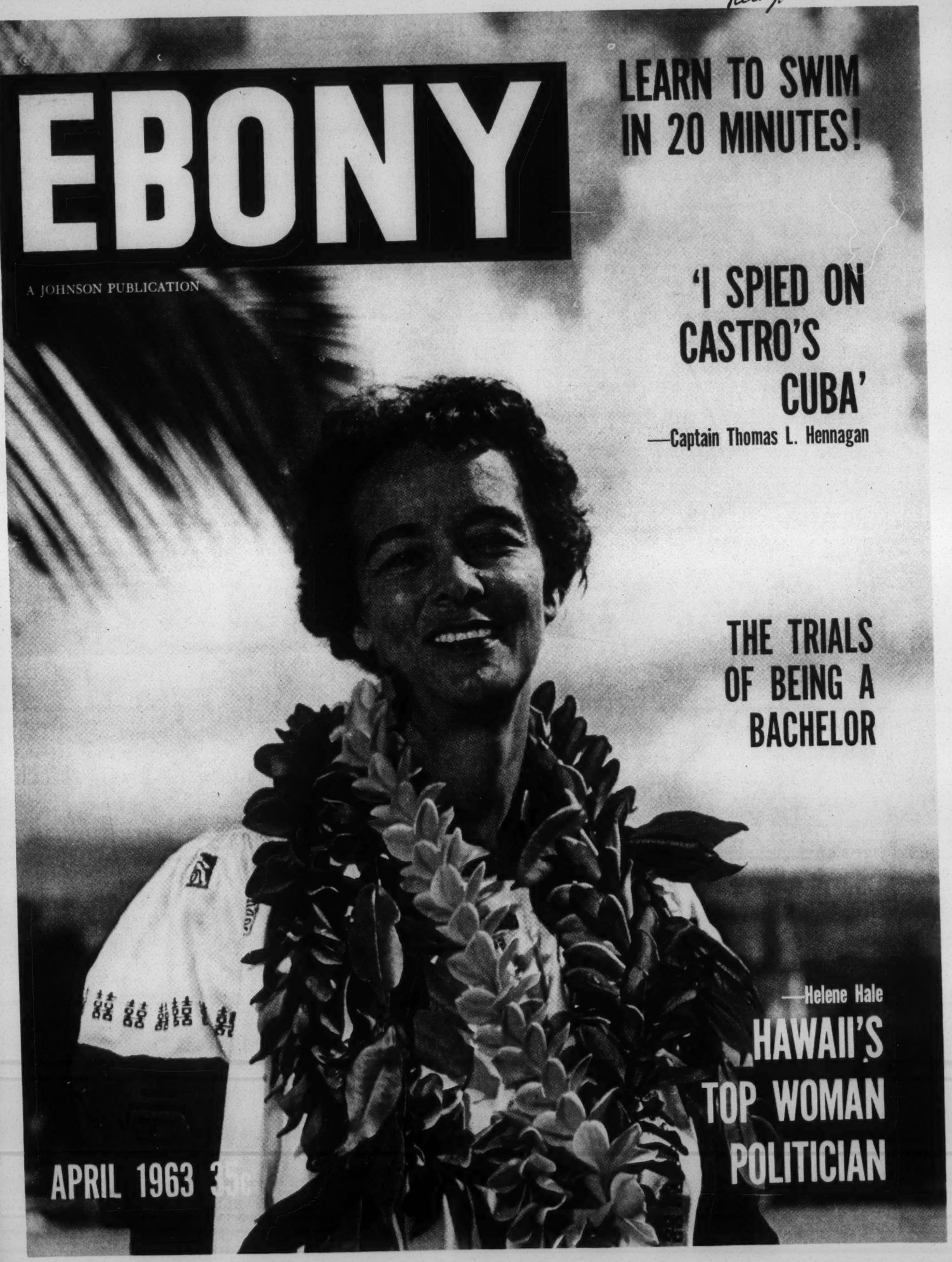
* * *

Seattle University is a Jesuit institution with the unusual distinction of having the Old Testament taught by a rabbi with a Protestant version of the Bible.

Religion

EBONY

A JOHNSON PUBLICATION



LEARN TO SWIM IN 20 MINUTES!

'I SPIED ON CASTRO'S CUBA'

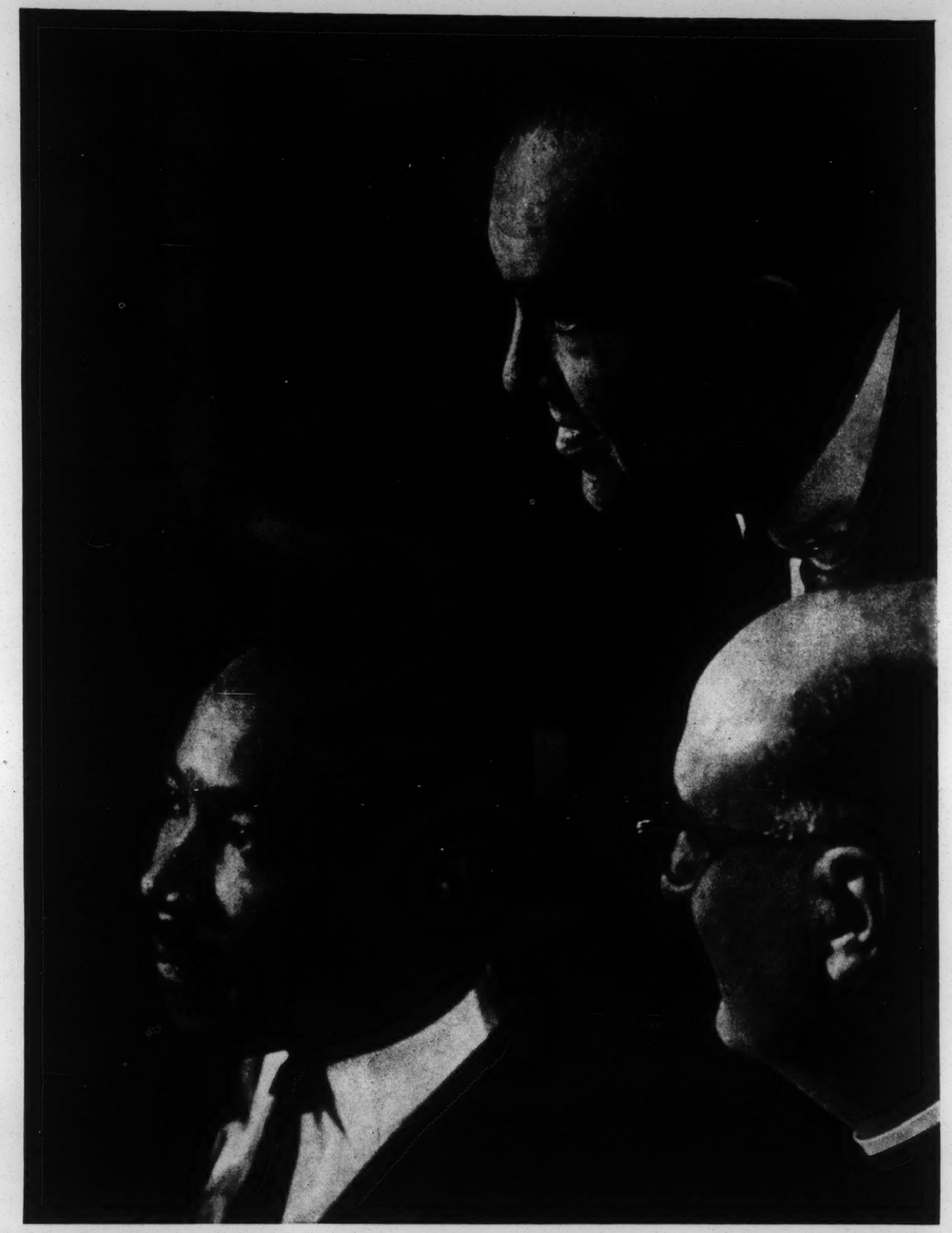
—Captain Thomas L. Hennagan

THE TRIALS OF BEING A BACHELOR

—Helene Hale

HAWAII'S TOP WOMAN POLITICIAN

APRIL 1963 35¢



Huddled during the closing session of the meeting, Protestant Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen and Catholic Archbishop of Chicago, Albert Cardinal Meyer, represent the three major faiths holding religion-race confab.

Three major faiths hold meeting to find answers to problem

SUMMIT CONFERENCE ON RACE, RELIGION

SOME 3,200 years ago, Moses and Pharaoh met on Mt. Sinai in what has been termed the first recorded conference on religion and race. Since then, there had been no major meeting of religious leaders on racial problems until early this year when Catholics, Protestants and Jews joined at the National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago.

The $40,000 meeting, convened during the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation and attended by nearly 1,000 clerical and lay leaders of the three major faiths, was hailed as the largest single project on such a high level to map a solution to U. S. racial problems. Chaired by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, the meeting was covered by over 50 newsmen who came from as far away as did delegates.

Coming together as strangers, personally and spiritually, delegates bared their inner-most feelings to each other in closed-door workshops to honestly determine why prejudice exists. While education, employment and housing were blamed, delegates also concluded "religious leaders, through the sin of silence, are as guilty as the bigoted home builder."

Throughout the four days of talks and planning, many delegates expressed fear the conference would produce nothing but talk. "Fortunately," said keynote speaker Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta, "many here are interested in more than a four-day discussion. I think there will be more coming forth."

"I hope," said Dr. Mays, "churches and synagogues will move rapidly towards desegregation, completely, of their congregations. If a man is worshipping Sunday morning where there is absolutely no segregation, he won't be a stickler for segregation in schools or elsewhere."

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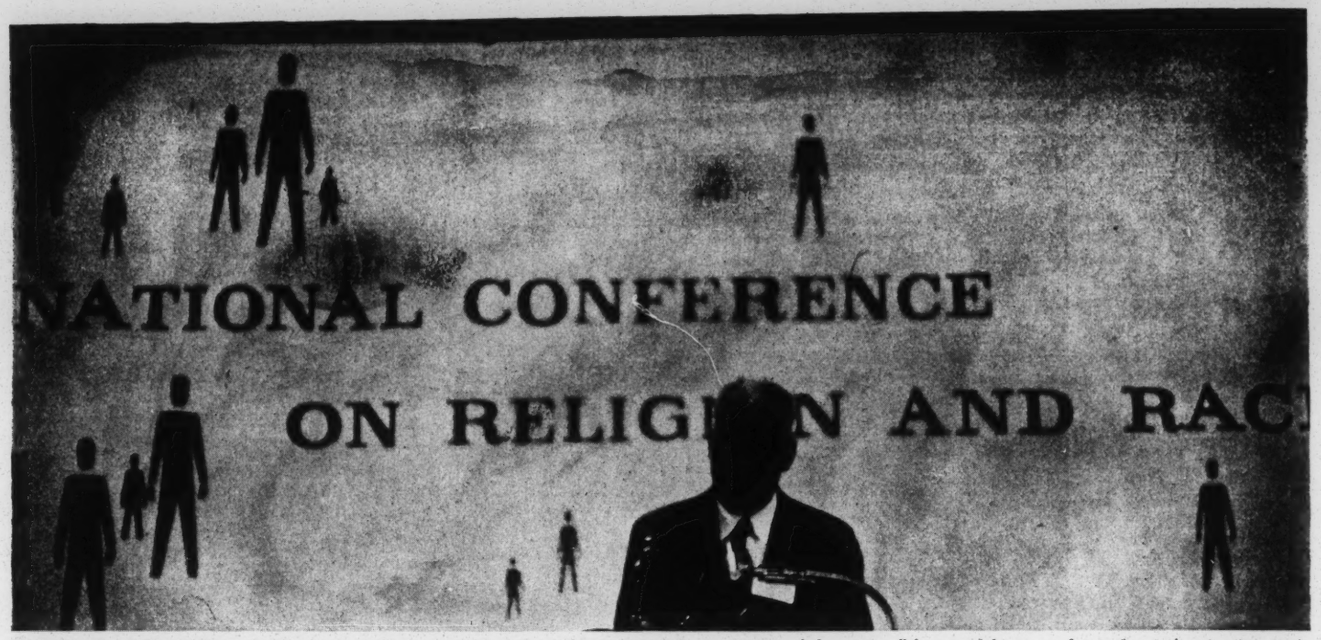


Chaired by Dr. Benjamin Mays of Atlanta, the conference was hailed as "the most significant meeting of the century" by one delegate. A forum for exploration into prejudice, the historic conference attracted more than 1,000 religious representatives. "I hope this will motivate churches to move rapidly toward mixing," Dr. Mays said.

Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded to make new acquaintances, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, assistant to Dr. King, and Dr. Gary Oniki, like most delegates, discuss coming end of prejudice over their lunch.

CONFERENCE APPEALS TO AMERICA'S 'CONSCIENCE'

REALIZING the convention's decisions were not binding upon the respective religious groups, and equally aware that no such meeting would produce all the answers to racial prejudice, the Negro and white religious leaders met in hope they "might come up with one or two things to move us forward." Their attitudes were reflected in a published "Appeal to the Conscience of the American People" which read in part: "Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed."

Warned by Dr. King against letting the historic meeting diminish into a "paralysis of analysis," the follow-up committee designated 10 cities in which all religions are to coordinate an attack on all forms of bias. The cities are Atlanta, New Orleans, San Antonio, Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and St. Louis.

Real core of the conference were the workshops such as this where, usually behind closed doors, the delegates delved frankly into such problems as bias in schools, jobs, and housing as well as churches, synagogues.

Continued on Page 46

Steering committee members (l. to r.) Bishop B. Julian Smith, the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, Dr. Oscar Lee, Reverend Parker, Bishop E. P. Murchison at speakers' table during business-luncheon meeting.

Delegate who addressed the 1,000 guests at the closing session, the Rev. C. T. Tucker said he tried for 40 years to get such a meeting convened. Months of preparation preceded conference.

Taking opportunity to address the general session, the Rev. A. Wayman Ward of Chicago praised leaders of the major faiths for calling the meeting. Some delegates regretted absence of minority religious groups.

Leader of a workshop discussion group and an official spokesman who helped interpret events to newsmen, Rabbi Balfour Brickner listens intently as he is queried at a news conference.

Visitor in Chicago from India looked in on the interracial conference. Observing a luncheon session climaxing the four-day tribute to brotherhood, the guest is accompanied by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of Atlanta.

Listening attentively at one of the informal sessions, engrossed trio of delegates put into practice the brotherhood principles the conference stood for. Delegates came from across nation.

Attending the closing luncheon session as an observer, Chicago Muslim leader John Ali noted his group was not invited to attend. Some delegates voiced feeling extremist groups should have been heard.

Quizzed by newsmen, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. rubs his chin as he ponders the question. Attended by nearly 1,000 delegates, the convention was covered by some 50 newsmen from across the nation.

Continued on Next Page

Attending reception sponsored by Host Chicago Committee, visitors are greeted by a reception line headed by Catholic Archbishop Albert Cardinal Meyer (l.). Event was one of several that mixed pleasure with formal conference sessions.

Awaiting the arrival of guest soloist Mahalia Jackson, delegates gather around buffet tables. A hush fell over the packed hall and guests stood shoulder to shoulder to hear the gospel singer. Reception was one of highlights of conference.

Heedless of surroundings, Cardinal Meyer and U. S. Judge James Parsons are engrossed in conversation in one of the meeting's dramatic side lights. Judge Parsons, of Chicago, was chairman of host committee arranging for long-awaited meeting.

Congratulated on performance, Mahalia Jackson joins Judge Parsons (l.) and the Rev. Archibald Carey at reception. Delegates called for a reign of love "in which racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed."

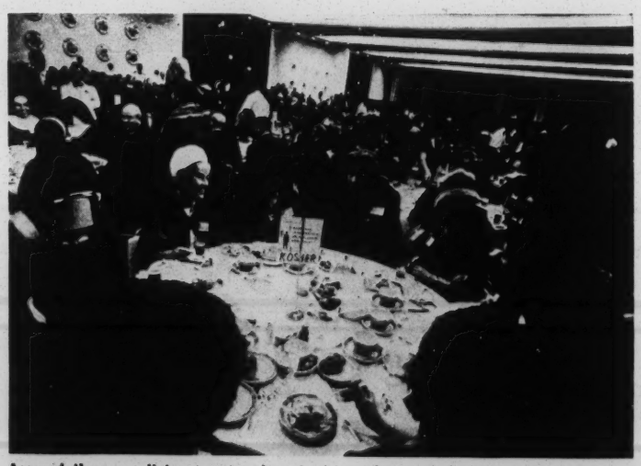
INTEGRATED CONFERENCE WAS NEW EXPERIENCE FOR SOME DELEGATES

PUTTING into practice the theories that were preached, conference officials interspersed the workshops, panel discussions and general sessions with informal breakfasts, luncheons and "bull sessions" where visitors, from the South as well as the North, got better acquainted —many in an integrated setting completely foreign to their regular way of life.

As the week's work neared an end, delegates socialized over cocktails at a reception where they were welcomed by a greeting line that looked like a living Who's Who of the Religious World. Dramatic moment in the great, white-columned ballroom of the Edgewater Beach Hotel, where the reception was held, was the period of complete silence as delegates stood elbow to elbow awaiting a program by famed gospel singer Mahalia Jackson.

The programs, parties and other social events were really just sidelines of the conference. The bulk of the time was taken up with serious consideration of the problems at hand—bias, segregation and discrimination in the United States.

Praising the conference as "useful," most observers agreed with Dr. King: "The real success will be determined by implementation." Observed ex-Birmingham resident and civil rights leader the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, "What we're doing here on the national scale, we need to go back and do on the local level."



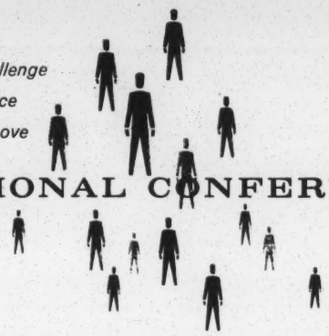
Assured they are dining in accord with their religious beliefs, a group of women claim Kosher table at closing luncheon session. Coming together as strangers, with individual beliefs and prejudices, delegates themselves benefited from confab.

Not all benefits of conference came from workshops or organized discussions. At end of "formal" day, delegates (l. to r.) Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Rabbi Philip Hail, Bishop E. P. Murchison and Father John F. Cronin hold a "bull session" in room.

Hallway discussion groups, such as this one Father Cronin takes part in, were also common place. "Communication is the word of the hour," one delegate said, indicating real value of meeting was bringing people together to talk.

Serving as official spokesmen for workshop meetings, four leaders face a battery of newsmen eager to interpret conference's significance. Hailed as first interreligious meeting of its kind, it was covered by papers, radio, TV and magazines.

Challenge
to Justice
and Love



NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

THE

VANGUARD

. . . THE CHURCH IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Volume 10, Number 3 April, 1963

That the Church May Lead

FOUND GUILTY

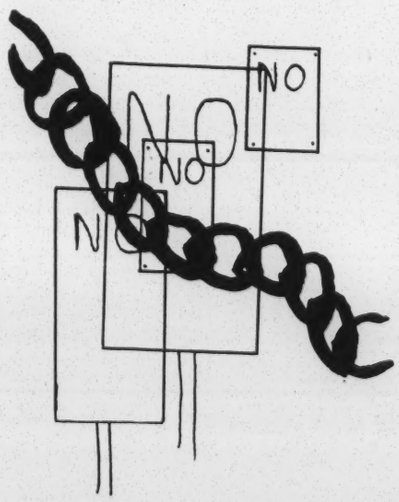
Some of our readers may remember that seventy-five religious leaders participated in a protest demonstration in front of the city hall in Albany, Georgia, August 28 of last year. All of them were arrested. Some remained in jail three days, some six days, until $200 bail money had been paid by or for each of them. They had come from our two major metropolitan areas, New York and Chicago, to identify themselves with the Negro citizens of Albany.

Through the Albany Movement these people were trying to throw off the shackles of second-class citizenship which the white society of that area had forged. The links of the chains of racial injustice and discrimination were many: fear that Negroes would gain power and then repay in kind, and fear of being ostracized from the white society if they spoke out; ignorance spawned by a designing local press that feeds them on a racial diet of scorpions instead of fish and of stones instead of bread; ignorance of the real issues involved, leading them to say and to try to believe that "Negroes want it that way," that it was only the "agitators from the outside who were disturbing the peace"; apathy and indifference, the twin devils born of sinful selfishness; pride that must have someone to whom the finger can be pointed as being inferior; violence, hanging like an ominous pall over the heads of all Negroes throughout the region, which can suddenly erupt with lightning-like fury in the destruction of six Negro churches within the span of less than six weeks.

All these and many more were the links in the chain of Negro bondage in Albany, Georgia, and the surrounding countryside, while Negroes joined hands to throw off the chain, and while they sang "We shall overcome some day." And as they joined hands and voices, they were thrown into jail, twenty-five, fifty, at a time, until their number was eleven hundred.

No, they were not lawbreakers and disturbers of the peace. They were only doing what the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Georgia had said they could do, and, by saying so, suggested that they do so: "The people have the right to assemble peaceably for their common good and to apply to those vested with the powers of government for redress of grievance by petition or remonstrance."

Until now only eight of the seventy-five religious leaders jailed in Albany on the 28th of August have stood trial. On March 15th this writer was one of



three that faced the judge in the Recorders Court in Albany on three charges: blocking the sidewalk, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey the command of a police officer.

THE TRIAL

For many years I had read of the miscarriage of justice in the courts of law in the South when a Negro is the defendant and a white person the plaintiff, or when a Negro is the plaintiff and a white person the defendant. But to read about such a trial and to experience one are two different matters. Though one of the three standing trial on this occasion was a Negro, for all practical purposes, at least in as far as the meting out of justice is

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IN ONE PACKAGE:

Workshop
Institute
Indian Conference

The dates:

Human Relations Workshop for Professional Church Workers — July 1-5.

The Fourteenth Annual Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations — July 5-7.

The Conference Retreat for the Lutheran Church and the Indian American, this year at Valparaiso University, running concurrently with the Institute — July 5-7.

WORKSHOP PROGRAM

With the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation as its background, Mr. James McBride Dabbs, a native South Carolinian and president of the Southern Regional Council, will lecture on "The Roots of the Nation's Problem to which the Church must Address Itself."

Kyle Haselden, another Southerner by birth, Managing Editor of **The Christian Century,** author of **The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective,** will lecture on "The Roots of the Church's Problem — Its Involvement in Racial Heresies and its Unwholesome Institution-saving Techniques."

Martin H. Scharlemann, Professor of New Testament at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, author, and Associate Editor of **The VANGUARD,** will lecture on "A Theological Solution for the Church."

Three members of the Department of Religion at Valparaiso University will lead depth studies of Pauline epistles as they address themselves to the current race issue.

There will be a field trip to Chicago's South Side.

The Workshop is open to pastors, parochial school teachers, seminary and college faculty personnel, church officials and executives, deaconesses, and other professional church workers.

Since enrollment will be limited, early registrations are encouraged. — A limited number of scholarships is

See **ONE PACKAGE,** Page 4

FOUND GUILTY

(Continued from Page 1)

concerned, all three of us were Negroes. For a Negro in the United States is not one whose skin color, hair texture, and facial features identify him with the people of Africa. He is rather one who is so grouped in our society as belonging to those whom we have chosen to call Negroes. Yes, perhaps the closest that I ever came to being a Negro was during the two-hour trial in the Albany court room.

As the three defendants were about to enter the court room in the company of their attorney, several police officers stood at the door. The two Caucasians were admitted without difficulty; the Negro defendant was not. It was only after our attorney had satisfactorily identified the Negro as a defendant that entrance into the court room was permitted.

The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States says: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial." This is made applicable to the States through the Fourteenth Amendment.

"A speedy and public trial"? "Speedy"? More than six months passed by before we were tried; and sixty-seven have not until now been summoned to stand trial. "Public trial"? Although there was no evidence of disorder that might interfere with the due process of law — no one was in sight except those involved in the trial proper, about ten in all, including the judge and the police — the only persons permitted to enter the court room were the ten, plus three or four carrying press cards.

Almost without exception throughout the trial, when our attorney would object to extraneous or prejudicial material being introduced by the prosecution, the judge would overrule the objection. And vice versa, almost without exception, when the prosecuting attorney would object to what he considered irrelevant or prejudicial matter presented by our attorney, the judge would sustain the objection. For example: Although the obvious reason for our having come to Albany in August and our having appeared before the city hall at that time was to protest the inhuman segregation practices that were the order of the day in that Southern community, the prosecution objected to any reference to segregation, and the objection was sustained.

The chief argument of the prosecution was that our appearance before the city hall on the 28th of August interfered or was posible of interfering with traffic. The space between the curb and the first step leading into the city hall was admitted by the prosecution to be thirty-three feet. The testimony of the defense was to the effect that not more than five of the thirty-three feet, beginning at the curb and extending in toward the city hall, were occupied by the persons who had come there in a demonstration to protest segregation practices; and a picture taken at that time was introduced as evidence which sustained the testimony of the defendants. The witnesses for the prosecution and the defense both testified that there was no interference with traffic in front of the city hall. Both testified that the seventy-five participating in the demonstration conducted themselves in an orderly manner and that they did not disturb the peace.

When both the prosecution and the defense rested the case, the prosecuting attorney made no endeavor to make a summation of the trial with the intent of proving the validity of their case; rather, he turned to the judge — it was then about 12 o'clock noon — and asked that he be excused, saying that his lunch was awaiting him.

Mr. C. B. King, the Negro attorney for the defense, then addressed the court. In about a twenty-minute eloquent address, he in a most brilliant manner presented a statement of the law involved as well as the innocence of the defendants. While he was doing so, the judge seemed occupied with other thoughts and other matters, continually looking through papers lying on his desk. And moments after the defendants' attorney had completed his summation, the judge declared the three of us guilty — guilty of all three charges placed against us. He made no statement as to why he found us guilty. He then gave us the maximum penalty permitted by the law: a $200 fine or sixty days in jail. We chose neither!

WHOSE SPIRIT?

From some of the negative reaction to our participation in the Albany demonstration — though much of the reaction has been that of warm approval — one must conclude that some Christian folk are inclined **a priori** to agree with the decision, in the first place of the law-enforcing authorities and then with the court in sustaining the accusation of those authorities. Although it is a pure coincidence, it may be interesting to our Christian readers to know that these lines were written on the morning of Good Friday, shortly before going to church to participate in a **Tre Ore** service. — A certain Jesus whom Christians call the Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, was, contrary to justice, taken captive by the law-enforcing authorities of that day and found guilty by a judge of the court of that day; and the maximum penalty was imposed — crucifixion.

Some of our correspondents who disapprove seem to think it is the Christian thing to do to wash one's hands of the bloody mess, stand aloof, keep one's skirts clean, leave it to the other fellow. Well, yes, one Pontius Pilate whose name will be mentioned more than once today, had a way of washing his hands too.

"I don't quite understand why any clergyman should inject himself into a political and social problem in the manner they apparently have been doing."

"A preacher who is also a **pastor** has violated the high duties God has conferred upon him when he meddles in a **political** situation."

"Your comments will give me the benefit of learning why Valparaiso University and the Lutheran Church had its good name blemished by this episode."

"The Gospel of Jesus Christ is important. It is much better to engage in its spread than in civic and political matters."

Is it the spirit of Christ or of Pontius Pilate that prompted these responses? Or whose spirit is it?

CASE APPEALED

No, we accepted neither the fine of $200 nor the sixty-day jail sentence. Each of us paid an additional $100 and appealed the case.

One person from the State of Georgia wrote: "What possible good can be derived for the Kingdom of God from such continued litigation?" We have been told that all seventy-five persons involved, when and if they are summoned to court, will not only go and stand trial; all of them, if found guilty, will also appeal their cases to a higher court. If we do not appeal, much of the good that was hoped would result from the trip and the demonstration will have been lost; and the powers of segregation will have gained a substantial psychological victory. If they were disturbed by our coming and submitting ourselves to being jailed, they would no doubt rejoice were we to pay the fine or accept the sentence and by doing so be branded as criminals by the court and by a large segment of the populace.

ALBANY, et al

When we were on the bus riding to Albany in August, and as we bypassed Birmingham, Alabama, someone said (and it was repeated while we were in jail): "Birmingham is a more vicious city, race-relations-wise, than Albany." Those of us who made the trip to Albany have within the past week been asked, if possible, to stand ready, or to find others who will be willing to stand ready, to make a similar trip to Birmingham.

The newspapers, the radio, and TV have in the past days been reporting racial incidents in Birmingham. Negro citizens there are trying to exercise their

constitutional rights peacefully to picket and/or boycott business establishments that discriminate against them on purely racial grounds. The police tactics of brutality — long the established practice of that community — are in evidence. These young people trying to demonstrate, all within the framework of their constitutional rights, are being met by police officers long schooled in protecting segregation at any cost who, rather than protecting human beings in their constitutional rights, are confronting these young people with angry police dogs. And many of the picketers are at this writing in the Birmingham jails.

It happened in Greenwood, Mississippi, too, where police dogs were let loose into lines of Negroes going to registration places to carry out their duty as responsible citizens of the community.

It's spreading like wildfire throughout the South: Negro young people — and some not so young — not only singing "We shall overcome some day," but also doing something now to rid themselves of their burden, and us of our shame.

WHO WILL LISTEN?

The VANGUARD is the publication of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. It is committed to a Christian witness in every area of the world-wide race issue. How does participating in and reporting on social action intended to combat racial discrimination in society in general fit into the framework of the objectives and the expressed purpose of its publication, **The VANGUARD?**

These pages have tried to give an answer to that query many times. The purpose of this article, however, is to answer by means of an anecdote.

Shortly after returning from the trial in Albany, Georgia, this writer received a phone call from the secretary of the Calumet Chapter of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union. A conference dedicated to a reaffirmation of the principles of the Bill of Rights was to be held, at which the main topics to be discussed were freedom of residence, freedom of the press, and academic freedom. Because the writer had gone to Albany to identify himself with the Negro people there in their struggle, he was asked to be an honored guest at the conference luncheon to be held in Gary, 25 miles from Valparaiso. He and his wife went.

Besides others, the area chapter of the Civil Liberties Union seems to have — especially among its leaders — a goodly number of Unitarians and Jewish people. When we arrived, there was an immediate introduction, as though some dignitaries had suddenly appeared in their midst. Then, before going to lunch, there were many personal introductions, and I noticed especially among our Jewish and Unitarian friends a very warm welcome and acceptance of my wife and me.

We were introduced again at the luncheon, when some two hundred stood in another expression of warm acceptance. I was then asked to tell them about my experiences in Albany and of my motivation in going there.

I was fully conscious of the fact that I was not addressing a conservative Lutheran group but that, on the contrary, many in the group were non-religious intellectuals as well as people of the Jewish community and others of non-Trinitarian persuasion.

I said very little about the trip to Albany, the demonstrations there, and the trial of March 15; they were well-informed people and knew the Albany story well. I spoke to them about why I, a professing Christian and a member of the clergy of a conservative Christian church body, went to Albany. This gave me opportunity, as I seldom had in the thirty-eight years since my ordination to bear witness to the faith that is in me. I told them that I went there and participated in this social action endeavor **because** I believed in the incarnation, **because** I believe in the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, **because** I believe in the atonement through His blood, **because** I believe in the new life that is ours through Christian baptism.

Did they stone me? Did they throw me out? The very opposite was the case. They listened with hushed silence. Whether they accepted what I said about my Lord, I do not know. But one thing was sure from their applause and from the words of gratitude and thanks which I heard after the luncheon — they had heard what I said about a Christian motivation for social action and they seemed to recognize that a person of a conservative theological confession can be interested in and concerned for human beings who are suffering under the crushing load of man's inhumanity to man.

R. S. V. P. SUCCESS STORY

In the summer of 1960 the St. Louis Chapter of LHRAA participated in the Association's program called Rural Summer Vacation Placement. The program was set up to enable Negro boys and girls from St. Louis to meet and live for a time with white Lutherans in the rural areas of Missouri and southern Illinois.

From a small town in southern Illinois came one white Lutheran family to pick up two small Negro children for a week-long stay in the fresh air of the Illinois prairie country. A few irate church people phoned the family; one even suggested that the family be whipped out of town (figuratively, of course). Otherwise all was quiet. The children attended Sunday school and church, played with the white children of the host, visited farms, saw sheep, ducks, turkeys, and even a herd of buffalo kept by a more prosperous farmer in the area. And — joy of all joys — they picked endless numbers of apples from trees. The two Negro children — a girl of nine and a boy of eleven — went back to St. Louis to life in their high-rise apartment building. A few letters were exchanged between the boy and the host family. One letter in particular proved the success of this venture. The boy announced that he wished to study for the ministry, was working hard to keep his grades up, and attributed his desire in part to his happy week in the farm country. The host family encouraged him and indicated how he might find financial aid. Today that young man is a student in the high school department of St. Paul's College (pre-theological training school) Concordia, Missouri.

(Editorial Note: This article was sent to **The VANGUARD** by the Rev. Bruce D. Cassler, now pastor of St. Mark Lutheran Church, Detroit.)

Interracial Good Will Tour

to Lutheran World Federation Assembly, Helsinki, Finland, July 15 to August 18 — Visit seven countries — Thrilling travel experience — Help develop picture of brighter side of racial relations — Return with broadened outlook on life.

Cost, $875, includes transportation, lodging, meals

Write LHRAA, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana

FORT WAYNE STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE

Is this a trend, or just a flash in the pan? Will Lutheran students preparing for active full-time work in the church as pastors or teachers allow themselves, already during their college and seminary years, to become involved in life?

On March 18 Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi addressed the Rotary Club in Fort Wayne, Indiana. About thirty students from Concordia Senior College of that city picketed the meeting. According to a mimeographed sheet handed out by them while picketing, they acknowledged the right of the Governor to speak in Fort Wayne, but they protested the actions of the Governor in the Meredith case, the undemocratic racial discrimination found in Mississippi, and the hypocrisy of northern cities "such as Fort Wayne." A member of the faculty of the College said that, although there was some unfavorable reaction to the student activity, it was warmly accepted by almost all of the faculty.

If higher education is to serve humanity, it cannot be divorced from humanity. Students, even while the learning process is going on, must become emotionally involved. They must have some understanding of the world of their day, and their academic pursuits must be mingled with personal, emotional involvement. It's happening all over the world, in Asia, Africa, South America, and in some European countries — also among our Negro high school and college students in the South. It's too bad when students in Ghana, Nigeria, Mexico, or Venezuela protest by breaking the windows of foreign embassies. But one thing must be said in their favor: they are not indifferent to what is happening about them; they feel themselves a part of the world in which they are living. Perhaps the ignorance of what is going on in the world or the apathy and indifference of students on a college campus is worse.

-- Ft. Wayne Journal Gazette Photo

There is great potential in our college youth. Soon the reins will be in their hands. If those at our educational institutions will help to educate for meaningful participation in life on the side of justice and equity and will help to guide their students in orderly but courageous participation, helping them to fit the good action to the good word that is spoken, our schools will be rendering a most needed service to church and nation. That's living dangerously.

Well, that's what we sing: "I walk in danger all the way." Shall it be nothing but a song?

"Wisdom is justified by her deeds."

A SOUTHERN TOWN AWAKENS

The Associate Press release put it this way:

"Ronald Victor Costly was the victim of a heart attack March 14. President of the student body of Wirt County High School, an outstanding athlete and an honor student, Ronnie, 19, was the lone Negro among the school's 400 students.

"The funeral was held March 16 in the school gymnasium. More than 1,000 persons attended, or 250 more than live in this farm town which hasn't a single Negro family. All but 75 present were white . . .

"'We all loved Ronnie,' school Principal Ray G. Jarvis said. 'He was an outstanding boy who overcame tremendous obstacles to win the respect and admiration of everyone who knew him. When he ran for student body president last year we had a hard time finding anyone to oppose him. He was so popular that he won by a 10 - 1 margin . . .

"'The day after he died it was terrible. Students were crying openly in the classrooms.'

"'Many of the schools in the conference never had competed against Negroes before Ronnie played,' basketball coach Joseph Craffey said, 'yet nearly all of them sent flowers. This is something I never heard of before.'"

It all happened in Elizabeth, West Virginia. And Elizabeth, West Virginia, is a richer town for the experience. What the children and townspeople alike learned from all this is incalculably great.

How could it happen at all in that Southern town? Only by setting aside the cold walls of segregation. It can likely be assumed that, had the much maligned Supreme Court not ruled as it did back in 1954, this community would have been deprived of this enriching experience. But one wonders how many communities that stubbornly resist school desegregation and so desperately fear its consequences are not robbing themselves and their children of similarly enriching experiences and, in frustrating American ideals and stiffling Christian desires, may be denying countless brothers of Ronald Costly their place in the sun.

— K.E.L.

ONE PACKAGE

(Continued from Page 1)

available. Further information will be given on request.

INSTITUTE PROGRAM

Theme: The Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation — a Challenge to Church and Nation.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University, will speak on "The Negro in History, 1863-1963.

Mr. Dabbs, who will lecture at the Workshop, will address the Institute also, speaking on "The Role the Church has Played During the Past Century."

Dr. Richard R. Caemmerer, Professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, will speak on the topic "Free Indeed — Through Christ."

Mr. Richard K. Fox, Jr., member of the U.S. State Department personnel, and member of the Board of Directors of LHRAA, will be the Institute banquet speaker.

Further Institute details will be brought to the attention of our readers in the May issue of **The VANGUARD.**

Please remember the change of Institute time this year to the **first** weekend in July.

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ON OTHER LUTHERAN FRONTS

By L. W. Halvorson
Secretary, Human Relations
National Lutheran Council

WHERE HAVE WE FAILED?

Are you willing along with me to ask ourselves a few very pointed questions? The questions come from an exchange of letters, the first of which was addressed to me, and herewith is quoted in full.

Dear Sir:

Having commenced my pointless and fruitless associations with the Lutheran Church through you, I thought I might advise you of its termination.

Your church, which of course speaks with the authority of God, is satisfied in having poured on me a bit of tepid and stagnant water.

As a professional Christian you will undoubtedly experience some curiosity about the entire matter, but inasmuch as there is no attendant newspaper publicity I cannot properly bore you with details.

Signed_____

Mr. S_____ is a Jew who was baptized into the Christian faith about three years ago. I first met him at a midweek discussion group in a Lutheran church out on Long Island. He had heard that I was to speak on the subject of the Christian responsibility to bear witness to the Jew as well as to the Gentile. He was interested in the Christian faith and we had several visits together following this first meeting. I remember in particular a visit we had in a restaurant in Port Authority in New York where he was full of questions and comments. Following that visit I was not at all sure that he would ever become a Christian. But he did. On his own initiative he sought out a Lutheran pastor and received Christian baptism.

About the same time I moved to my present office in Chicago. There was occasion to keep in touch with him only at a distance. I met him only once since then and this was at the funeral service of a mutual friend. This was last fall, and then came the letter quoted above. My reply expressed regret at what must have happened between him and the Lutheran Church. I suggested that the church must have failed at some point in providing the sustaining fellowship he needed in order to feel that he was really a part of the communion of saints. My letter expressed a prayer that he would remember that Christ had not failed him although the church seemingly had done so. His reply gave no details but had further statements expressing his bitterness against the Lutheran Church.

Your reactions are perhaps the same as mine after reading the second letter. I said to myself that this man is a crank and that what he thinks is not worth taking seriously. I said that his own words condemn him and that his insinuations against the church are unreasonable and unfair. But on second thought, I feel bound to ask myself some questions concerning my attitude toward the Jew and of what I and the church have really done to reach them with the gospel.

The first question is this: Do we honestly believe that the Jew is included in the Great Commission of our Lord? Does Christ expect us to bring the gospel witness and invitation to him as well as to the Gentile? If we say we believe so, are we really trying to do so?

Thank God there are some pastors and congregations that can honestly answer "yes" to these questions. But all too many must answer "no."

A second question follows: What is it in the church that seems a stumbling block to the Jew both before and after he may become a Christian? Before the cross is understood it will, of course, be a stumbling block especially to the Jew. But there must be other things in the church that make the Christian Jew feel no sense of "belonging." He is so seldom really accepted in the church even though he is received through baptism. This is what Mr. S_____ infers and what I know to be true in many instances.

In his book entitled **The Jewish People and Jesus Christ,** Jacob Jocz has a chapter on "The Church and the Jews." In it he shows how history has given the Jew occasion to be very suspicious of the church as such. All too often he finds that the historic church has shown attitudes and practices of anti-Semitism. The chapter closes by saying: "Between Jesus and the Jews stands the 'Christian' church." By this the author means that the greatest barrier to the Jewish acceptance of Jesus Christ is the outward structure of the church. This is as true today as it ever was.

And so my question remains. What is it within the outward church that does not conform to the Spirit of Him who is Lord? The Jew seems to see it more quickly than anyone else and he either refuses to join the church or he leaves it when he does see it. And the Jew typically is not slow to speak his mind and heart. We need to ask ourselves if what he says is true. I am not answering the question but merely asking it.

A third question has to do with our willingness to adapt our church's witness for the sake of the Jew. Remembering that Paul was willing to become "all things to all men" in order

A SALUTE TO —

The Rev. Clemonce Sabourin, pastor of Mount Zion Church in Harlem (New York City), president of LHRAA, and author of **Let the Righteouss Speak,** is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) from Valparaiso University at the commencement exercises in June.

The VANGUARD congratulates Pastor Sabourin on this high honor to be conferred upon him. The University, too, is to be congratulated, for in honoring Pastor Sabourin who has done so much for the church during his ministry, the University is adding to its own honor.

The friends of LHRAA and of Pastor Sabourin who will find it possible to attend the commencement are encouraged to come to witness the ceremony and to be on hand to congratulate our good friend. The commencement is scheduled for Sunday, June 9, at 2:30 p.m. Please mark that date on your calendar and come if you can.

While in Valparaiso, the Sabourins will be guests of the Schulzes; and the friends of the Sabourins attending the commencement are invited to the Schulze residence (505 Yellowstone Road) to greet the Sabourins after the commencement ceremonies.

Two other distinguished persons in the Lutheran Church in the United States are to be honored by the University, together with Pastor Sabourin. They are Dr. Fredrik Schiotz, the President of the American Lutheran Church, and Dr. Oliver Harms, President of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Congratulations also to these distinguished church leaders.

to "save some," just how willing are we to even try to look at the church from the Jewish viewpoint? Without question there are things we believe and even things we practice within the church that cannot be changed for the sake of any one individual or group. But there are personal attitudes and habits and witnesses that Christians can and ought to modify in a variety of ways for the sake of the one to be reached. Does the Jew bring forth such adaptation on the part of very many within the church?

A final question is this: When we seek the Jew to become Christian do we let our approach be strictly Christian? By this I mean: Is it for Christ's sake and Him alone that we seek the Jew? Or do we seek him as we do some other people — to help us build a church and a congregation? When we invite a Jew to "come to church" and he does not respond, do we say that he had his chance but he failed to take it? At this point the Jew will be impressed with nothing but a Christian witness as such. This specifically Christian witness may have to take a variety of forms for his sake. For too many of us seek "members" for our churches more than we seek believers in Jesus Christ. In seeking the Jew it must be Christ first, and the church second place, before we can have hope of reaching him. Perhaps our frustrations in winning the Jews for Christ, and in keeping them after they have been won, are intended by God for our instruction in priorities and even in theology.

When all "the details" are known concerning what made Mr. S_____ think as he does, then perhaps some of these questions will be answered in part. The questions, however, would still remain — not only about the Jew but also about others. Our Lutheran Church has still to create the image that we are in dead earnest about bringing the gospel to all people. If we were, there would undoubtedly be times when we would use other than traditional methods.

A LOOK AROUND

Martin H. Scharlemann

MARTIN, NEGRO LAY BROTHER

Martin of Lima was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church last year. Following are some lines written by Sister Mary Augustine to commemorate the event:

Martin, Man of God,
What message lies within
the shadows of your face?
What healing can you bring
to this sore-ridden world —
some anodyne,
some way to meet a need?

Martin, model for a people
seeking life,
life only found
in folding it away —
the seed in God's own bosom
buried deep.

Martin do we dare to love
completely?
What if we cast
this one last crust of bread
upon these ancient waters?

Martin, let your silence
tell us of the song
that hearts can sing
that are in love with God.
Let your blackness usher forth
the light we need
to splinter blindness
from our naked eyes.
Let your greatness tell us
of the kingdom hid within.

Martin, help us; Martin, Man of God.

EMANCIPATION — 100 YEARS

The unfinished task of U.S. democracy, and, of necessity, the ongoing concern of the church is clearly expressed in the 1962 Holiday Seal Campaign letter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP):

"All during 1963 there will be speeches, demonstrations, newspaper features, radio and television programs in observance of the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The NAACP will be doing its share, as it should, to bring home to people's hearts and minds the significance of that historic step.

"The Presidential Order ending Negro slavery in the rebellious states gave the Civil War a meaning for all mankind, a meaning which up to that time it had not had. The war became a struggle against the greatest of evils, and it is fair to say that, without the abolition of slavery as its purpose, it would not have mattered very much whether the North or the South was victorious on the field of battle.

"But a celebration of the Emancipation Centennial that did not focus on the unfinished business of Emancipation would be just as meaningless. So long as black citizens are shot down, their churches burned, their livelihoods ended because they want to cast a ballot, Emancipation is not finished. So long as Negro children are denied the educational opportunity which is their birthright — be they in the North or in the South — Emancipation is not finished. Wherever and whenever the color of his skin keeps an American from buying the home of his choice or getting the job he needs or eating the meal he is ready to pay for, Emancipation is not finished."

ONE PACKAGE

(Continued from Page 4)

The Conference Retreat for the Lutheran Church and the Indian American Indian will be held at Valparaiso University this year. It will run concurrently with the Institute on Human Relations. The Conference will participate in some of the sessions of the Institute and conduct its own sessions as well. A limited number of scholarships are available for the Conference Retreat. Those interested may write us for further information. Conference program details will be published in the May issue of **The VANGUARD.**

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Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana

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Religion

The Josephite Harvest
March-April, 1963

JOSEPHITE ESSAY CONTEST

Award Winner

Finale in a series of five one-thousand-dollar scholarship winning essays:

Conflict

by Marcy Rice

CATHOLICISM, THAT MOST POWERFUL UNITING FORCE, and racism, that equally powerful dividing force, today in America meet in conflict. The focal point of this conflict is the American Negro. Black, human, a son of God, he is the white man's black beloved brother. So Catholicism preaches, so it believes, for the Negro with the White, with all men, has God as his First Cause and Last End, and Christ as his Redeemer. Racism, however, on the basis of genetic origin, on the basis of blackness, attacks the fundamental dignity of the Negro. "Black, inferior, semi-human, he must be condemned either to subjugation or segregation." Upholding this theory, practicing it, indoctrinating others with it, the racist violates the laws of love and justice. Racism is both a contradiction of and a direct assault upon the basic principles of Catholicism.

When a man concentrates on a single object in a landscape, all else soon fades and he is acutely aware of only that one object. The racist has concentrated so fixedly upon color that he has lost sight of man. To his mind's eye the Negro appears as blackness. This blackness represents everything base, offensive, repugnant. The racist reacts to his distorted concept of the Negro by the practices of segregation and discrimination. These become the fruits of racial prejudice.

Racism corrodes society. It victimizes both the White and the Negro who are caught in an age when social intercourse is strained. Discord and confusion infiltrate the society and the individual. These, the consequences of racism, the consequences of segregation and discrimination, have, in turn, their own consequences. They hinder the spiritual and social development of the White and the Negro.

Racial attitudes are learned by Negroes and Whites; they are inbred at an early age. "The child assimilates prejudices and stereotypes of his group." Subjected to compulsory segregation and discrimination, the Negro child tends to experience frustration, conflict, feelings of inferiority, and a loss of respect. Whereas some react to these experiences by demonstrations of overt aggression and hostility toward Whites, others react by withdrawal, by apathy, by lack of initiative. Neither the vindictive, nor the defeatist, nor the hypersensitive Negro can face life

normally. Each of these attitudes impedes the spiritual and social development of the Negro child.

The vindictive Negro has one end, revenge, which warps his mind. He may study assiduously, work relentlessly, learn doggedly, yet his motive corrupts his knowledge. In such a person hatred stifles love. It destroys the greatest bond of social union. He grows progressively antisocial — hostile and aggressive not only toward Whites but also toward other Negroes. A product of racism, he is an angry, lone, and perverted man.

The Negro with the defeatist attitude defeats himself. In his opinion, self-betterment is the impossible; subjugation, segregation, and discrimination, the inevitable. Offered education, he rejects it. Given a job, he sluggishly does it and sullenly loses it. He develops neither intellectually nor socially. His life is completely stagnant.

The hypersensitive Negro suffers intensely from frustration. An acute inferiority complex renders him over-perceptive to derision. Where hostility does not exist, he imagines it. Apprehension and fear breed within him, taint his actions, pervert his development. A lack of initiative results. Withdrawing from his prospective antagonists into a shell of apathy, he too tends to stagnate.

The injurious consequences of racism infect all societies. Not immune to them, the white child also suffers, and often from the same ailments which afflict the Negro. He becomes frustrated and confused. At school he proudly reads, "All men are created equal." At church he is told, "All men are brothers; every man is your neighbor; love your neighbor as yourself." Outside of school, outside of church, he confronts injustice and hatred, prejudice and discrimination. He is torn between the democratic principles and the brotherhood of men which he is taught, and the racial prejudice and discrimination which he observes. Such a conflict may lead to guilt complexes, to cynicism, to rejection of authority, or to rigid and unreasoning conformity. Each of these consequences hampers a normal spiritual and social development.

To whom do I owe my loyalty; in whom should I place my trust? Truth, goodness—what do they mean? These questions harass the White. He tends to develop a split personality. In one instance he practices discrimination; in another, he curses prejudice. He possesses no true values. Since a correct set of values is at the base of a productive spiritual development, the man without these values fails to develop. Throughout his life suspicion and vacillation conflict with love, with true and loyal friendships. Such a man soon hates all men, himself included. He is a finished product of racism.

Not alone on the natural but also on the supernatural level, racism impedes the spiritual and social development of the White and the Negro. Segregation and discrimination foster prejudice which blinds the intellect. A man who estranges himself from his neighbor estranges himself from God. If the White and the Negro fail to find God in each other, they fail to know, love, and serve Him. They fail as His sons. Segregation and discrimination sever the bonds of spiritual union. Brotherly love vanishes and the spiritual society disintegrates. In the United States today, as a result of racism, we have men devoid of faith, of hope, of love—empty men who lead empty lives.

Through her maternal eyes the Church sees all men as her beloved sons. Each, whether an actual or potential son, she loves purely, simply, unselfishly. Harm or abuse to any of her sons arouses her righteous anger. She realizes that racism causes discord and misery among the White and the Negro. Our Holy Mother the Church, she to whom Christ gave the mission of developing the love of God and the love of one's neighbor, meets the threat of racism. Her hierarchy, her clergy, her white and Negro laity fight the war against racism, the war to restore love and equality and unity among men.

The duty of the hierarchy is to issue directives, to teach the priests and the laity, for prejudice is a result of ignorance. To search its nature, to study its extent, to see the fallacy upon which it is founded is to deal racism its first blow. Whereas the hierarchy has an instructive duty, the priests and the laity have a social duty. Truth must be lived as well as known, "communicated to all phases of life."

The priests must rally their congregations, spread the teachings of the bishops, and vivify the principles of justice and charity. The white laity must live by justice, the Negro by patience, both by love. Deprived of jobs, excluded from certain neighborhoods, denied the right to develop fully his God-given talents, the Negro must still persevere. Each time he suffers unjustly he must forgive his oppressor and renew his efforts. The task of the White is equally difficult. In an atmosphere charged with prejudice he must never fail in his obligations to his brother, nor ever violate his brother's rights.

Racism compels Catholics to live their faith. By its very threat to unity, it drives Catholics to unite. Racism in the United States is both a menace and an impetus to the Catholic Church. "In no area have Catholics faced a sharper challenge or had a wider opportunity to give body to abstract morality and life to theoretical charity." (Catholicism and the Negro, in Jubilee Magazine.) Today in these United States racism is forming a Catholic Church united and strong and great.

Telephone MUrray Hill 8-7530

Religion

Educating for Brotherhood

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May 1, 1963

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are a series of conversations originally prepared for radio transcription that emerged from the recent Institute for editors of the religious press sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. You are welcome to publish excerpts of the exchanges in article form or in a news release. The project feels that the confrontation here of some of the basic arguments is instructive and constructive.

We shall welcome your own comment and reaction.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Gilbert

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
Staff Consultant
Project, Religious Freedom
and Public Affairs

AG:es
Enclosures

Religion

THE ROLE OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS IN INTER-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS

A Radio Discussion Prepared For N.B.C. Faith in Action

Broadcast nationally May 5, 1963

Participating: Mr. James O'Gara, Managing Editor, Commonweal
Rabbi Samuel Dresner, Editor, Conservative Judaism
Mr. Arthur Gilbert, N.C.C.J., Moderator

A Service of the Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs
National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.

THE ROLE OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS IN INTER-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS

Introduction:

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has inaugurated a new program entitled, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. This project will bring together on a national and regional level, priests, ministers and rabbis across the country for the purpose of discussing those issues in the public order about which religious groups differ. Complex and knotty questions such as public funds for the church school, religious practices in the public school, the distribution of birth control devices and Sunday closing laws are on the agenda.

Recently the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, called together thirty five editors of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant publications. For the first time these editors of church and synagogue magazines and newspapers confronted each other in frank and honest discussion. Participating in this symposium held during the Editors' Institute are: Mr. James O'Gara, Managing Editor of the Commonweal and Rabbi Samuel Dresner, Editor of the Conservative Judaism. The topic for discussion: "The Role of the Religious Press in Inter-Religious Relations."

Arthur Gilbert: Mr. O'Gara, how would you characterize the present state of interreligious relations in this country? Do you think things are getting better among our religious groups, or worse?

James O'Gara: Well, the thing goes in two directions. Primarily, I believe things have improved a great deal. The climate of religious and inter-cultural relationships in the last 10 years has improved tremendously. At the same time we are encountering the differences among us and are beginning to confront them honestly; this leads to a certain inevitable amount of tension.

Arthur Gilbert: Rabbi Dresner, would you add some further light on the present state of interreligious relations as you see them?

Rabbi Dresner: The Ecumenical Council in Rome has given Catholics a great impetus to move out into the general community. This has been welcomed, certainly by the Jewish groups and also by Protestants. We are now witnessing a kind of burgeoning of the Ecumenical Council, not only in Rome, but on Main Street throughout America. There is, I think, a new spirit in the air.

Arthur Gilbert: Yet there is this paradox, is there not, that at this very time when priests, ministers and rabbis are getting together to talk to each other and Bishops are appearing before ministerial associations to report on the Ecumenical Council, that the front pages are also full of the news of the conflict among our religious groups on such issues as, public funds for the church school or religious practices in the public school? There is this kind of paradox. How would you account for this growing tension among our religious groups on these public issues? Will this strife threaten our American democracy? Is there something constructive to emerge from such controversey?

James O'Gara: Well, this was precisely my point. I think that we are emerging into a genuinely pluralistic society where minority groups feel secure to express themselves in the public forum and this inevitably leads to a certain amount of tension, at least on the surface level. The point that should be made about the Ecumenical Council, however, is that the Council should not be seen in isolation. It is not just one historic event, but rather it has to be seen in the context of modern church history. It is a culmination, if you will, of 70 years of determination on the part of the church to come to grips with modern problems and deal with problems of our own time.

Arthur Gilbert: Is the Ecumenical Council as exciting to Jews, Rabbi Dresner, as it has been to Protestants who saw in this effort of the Catholic Church some pastoral concern for their difference with the Church? How do Jews

react to the Ecumenical Council? Does it really make any difference to Jews in their relations with Catholics?

Rabbi Dresner: Certainly the Jews are less related to the direct concerns of the Council than Protestants. The Ecumenical Council is directed to Catholics and to Protestants and we were not represented at the Council in Rome. We are nevertheless aware that if the Catholic Church is concerned with moving outward into the world, and in reaching out not only toward the "separated brethren," the Protestants, but towards Jews too - since we find a unity in the Bible that binds all of us together - then we can join forces against the great threats that stand before man: both atheistic communism and atomic war. We greet this new Ecumenical movement and we are hopeful that it will meet with success and we want to contribute to that success.

Arthur Gilbert: Both of you are editors of church-related religious magazines. James O'Gara, yours is a lay managed and edited Catholic magazine and yours, Rabbi Dresner is related to the Conservative movement in Judaism. As editors, how would you judge the role of the religious press in contributing to the present interreligious climate? Do you think the press itself has added to the spirit of ecumenicity and good fellowship? Or, on the other hand, have church reports on these public issues about which we differ sometimes actually created the tension and exaggerated problems?

James O'Gara: There are real differences between us. Very often these differences are exaggerated and misunderstood because of ignorance. It seems to me that the church-related press has a definite moral obligation to present facts objectively and as free from bias as it is possible to do. I do think that within the last five, perhaps ten years, the religious press in this country has improved tremendously on this score.

Arthur Gilbert: How has the Jewish press been handling these issues?

Do you notice the same sense of openness and development within the Anglo-Jewish press in this country?

Rabbi Dresner: I think there is a great variety, both in the Jewish and in the Christian religious press. One can find highly sophisticated publications and one can find poorly edited publications. One can find bigotry and one can find broadmindedness.

Arthur Gilbert: That means that the church press is like every other press in that sense. Well then, what would make the religious press unique? Would it be proper to say that the religious press speaks just to narrow religious issues or is there evidence of a religious press in this country that seems to have a broader vista and concern?

James O'Gara: It seems to me that the religious press insofar as it is purely parochial fails. If religion does not concern itself with the wide range of human endeavor, then it is failing in its duties.

Arthur Gilbert: Your own magazine, Mr. O'Gara, does report and editorialize on every conceivable issue in the public concern, presenting a Catholic point of view and insight. Your magazine indeed has caused quite a stir recently by some of your ecumenical efforts.

James O'Gara: One of the things we did recently, for instance, was to add to our staff a Protestant columnist, Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, who is a distinguished Protestant theologian.

Arthur Gilbert: A Protestant on the staff of a Catholic magazine?

James O'Gara: That is right, and I think that the public response to this is what was most interesting. I don't think this would have been possible, perhaps 10 years ago. When we did it, however, a few months ago, the response was overwhelmingly favorable from both Catholic, Protestant and Jewish sources.

Arthur Gilbert: How has your magazine dealt with the Jewish issue? Has this been a part of your concern?

James O'Gara: Well, we have always had a very strong position on the subject of anti-Semitism, going way back; we were particularly strong in connection with the rise of Hitler. In the more recent American past it was typical of "Commonweal," for example, to open its pages to present a complete issue in which Jewish spokesmen gave their views about the recent Supreme Court Decision on the Regents' Prayer. The feeling was prevalent in many quarters that the Jews were being used as scapegoats or butts in an attack from people who didn't like the Supreme Court decision. We turned our pages over to various Jewish writers and theologians to express their views on how this issue looked from various Jewish viewpoints. Again, I think the public reaction is interesting. We had almost overwhelmingly favorable reaction to this, especially from Catholics.

Arthur Gilbert: That represents a significant kind of openness in at least one Catholic magazine to the concerns of Jews and Protestants. I wonder, Rabbi Dresner, if the Jewish press has yet reached that point where it would give over an entire issue to Protestant or Catholic spokesmen to deal with their concerns.

Rabbi Dresner: I don't know of any complete issue of a Jewish magazine where that was done. I do know, certainly that Jewish magazines invite Catholic and Protestant theologians to contribute. With all its shortcomings, however, there is a dimension which the religious press brings in to the entire general press in America that would otherwise be less apparent. This is the element of moral concern which so often one doesn't find in the secular newspaper or our weekly periodicals. This is one of the great obligations and one of the great responsibilities of the religious press: to take the great insights of the religious tradition and to relate them to the moral concerns of the day. This, I think, can be done and is done sometimes spendidly by the religious press of both, Jew, Protestant and Catholic.

Mr. O'Gara: A further point might be made that the religious press should not be talking solely to people who are, so to speak, formally religious. There are many non-believers in this country who are very often simply offended by what they see passing under the name of religion. The religious press should be concerned with these people as well as with the formal believer.

Rabbi Gilbert: A significant part of the religious press in this country is organized in associations. The Catholic press in the Catholic Press Association, the Protestant press in Associated Press Church and some of the Jewish press of the local communities participate in an Anglo-Jewish Press Association. Recently the representatives of these press associations came together for confrontation and discussion with each other. During the course of the discussions there was evident a new kind of concern: that we had to present information about each other in an objective fashion; that while we might on various issues editorially differ with each other we had a responsibility to help our own readers and constituency hear the other from their best spokesman. Do you have any concluding observation?

Mr. O'Gara: I agree that the meeting itself was rather historic. I too detect this same feeling that we have to be ever more open to voices outside of our own communities. The editors are more and more concerned to do this in what I would call the best American tradition of openness and fairness and objectivity.

Conclusion:

This exchange points up the important function of the church press to inform its constituents concerning religious principles as they apply to social problems. While the religious press has a right and a duty to editorialize and make comment on important problems in the social order, it has a responsibility also to provide this information as fairly and as objectively as possible, and

to help its constituency understand the motivation and the viewpoints of those with whom they differ.

The Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs hopes through continuing dialogue and confrontation in the spirit of this presentation, to lift the level of public debate in this country aiding the cause of religion and the public good.

Religion

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Radio Discussion Prepared For N.B.C. Faith in Action

broadcast nationally May 12, 1963

Participating: Mr. Floyd Anderson, Managing Ed., Central California Register
Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Exec. Ed., Christian Herald
Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, N.C.C.J., Moderator

A Service of the Project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs
National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.

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Recently the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, called together thirty five editors of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant publications. For the first time these editors of church and synagogue magazines and newspapers confronted each other in frank and honest discussion. Participating in this symposium held during the Editors' Institute are: Mr. Floyd Anderson, Managing Editor of the Central California Register, Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Executive Editor of the Christian Herald. The topic for discussion: "Religious Practices in the Public Schools."

Rabbi Gilbert: Recently the American people were aroused by a decision of the Supreme Court ruling that the state may not compose or sanction prayer for use in the public schools of the U.S. I noted, Mr. Anderson that the Catholic press throughout the U.S. editorialized quite vigorously in criticism of the Supreme Court. Would you explain for us how Catholics feel about this problem of religious practices in the public schools?

Mr. Anderson: Well, I might point out, Rabbi Gilbert, that at the time of that decision, Catholic opinion was quite divided. I recall two editorials for example, both entitled, "Black Monday," which took absolutely opposite opinions. Many Catholics fear that we might be losing some part of religion from American

life. Others recognized that the government does not have a role in prescribing a certain form or type of prayer.

Rabbi Gilbert: You are suggesting then, that while at first blush it seemed to appear that Catholics were quite aroused by the decision, there were some second thoughts; and there were editorials in some Catholic publications that supported the decision of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Anderson: Yes. And I think this also, that there may have been some hasty reporting on the decision. The reporters involved disclaim this. But as the decision first came through to many people it was not as clear as it was after they got the full text and they were able to study it more carefully.

Rabbi Gilbert: Now, Mr. Wilson, it appears from my reading of the Protestant press that Protestants also were quite divided in reaction to this issue; there didn't appear to be any one prevailing viewpoint. How would you interpret Protestant concerns with regard to this question of religious practices in the public school?

Mr. Wilson: Well, first of all I think there is a division simply because we are Protestants. We take varied views on a given subject. Many Protestants saw in the New York prayer a violation of the principle of Church and State. It is a very dear principle to Protestants. Others, however, felt that this decision was a watering down of a rightful religious influence in the public schools. I think part of this reaction stemmed not only from the ruling itself but the way one of the Supreme Court Justices projected the implications of this ruling.

Rabbi Gilbert: Yes, as I recall Justice Douglas indicated that this prayer service was a form of financial aid to the public schools. He suggested that there might be a whole host of other involvements of church and state that can be called into question, such as religious slogans on the coinage and the opening of

Congress with prayer, and so on. I imagine some of the critical Catholic reactions to the decision in fact was a reflection of the fear that if Justice Douglas would see in the recitation of the 23 word prayer in the public school a form of financial aid to religion, then quite possibly the kinds of aid that Catholics are now requesting for the Church related school would certainly be unconstitutional.

Mr. Anderson: That is very likely true, Rabbi Gilbert. Many feel that way. In fact I was talking to a Catholic editor the other day who felt a logical projection of Justice Douglas' view, would compel us to drop all chaplains out of the armed forces because this is in a sense financial aid to religion.

Rabbi Gilbert: Justice Douglas' view however wasn't really upheld by the majority. There was a footnote in the majority decision indicating that patriotic exercises where reference is made to God are not considered unconstitutional; therefore this particular decision didn't really remove any and all references to God from public life.

Mr. Wilson: That is correct. Justice Douglas brought in all these implications which I think were perhaps of more concern to more people than the decision itself.

Mr. Anderson: If I might interject here a minute this whole question is a very complex one. It is very difficult to come up with a reasonable answer that will be constitutional and satisfactory to most people.

Mr. Wilson: Don't you think, Mr. Anderson, that part of the problem is not that any of us, Catholic or Protestant takes particular exception to this philosophy of the separation of church and state or "the wall of separation" as Protestants tend to call it; rather the disagreement comes at the point of how high this wall should be built? Most of us are not wholly consistent in this. We don't

want a wall that goes all the way but we want a small wall.

Mr. Anderson: Well, Mr. Wilson, I think one of the great problems and one of the great worries of many people is the growing secularization, the growing materialism of our national life. This is what they are concerned about. When something comes up which seems to chop off a bit of religious practice or religious life or religious belief, they instinctively feel that this is tending toward something which I don't think any of us want.

Rabbi Gilbert: Yet as you gentlemen know, most of the Jewish community enthusiastically supported the prayer decision of the Supreme Court. Here is a religious community that holds to the judgment that when religion seeks to gain strength by using the state or state imposed religious practices as a means of furthering its sectarian purposes, then actually such practices will harm religion. The kind of religion in which we can engage in the public school is superficial. If we encourage a public school religion and a public school God we may actually "water down" the contribution that religion can make to the public order. This court decision ought challenge the people of religion to recognize how crucial is the home and synagogue and church. We must deepen the religious life of the individual if we really want to make religion meaningful and powerful in American public life.

Mr. Anderson: I think it is very true Rabbi that no religious group can depend on the public school to promote or teach religion. Certainly Catholics don't, and I don't think Protestants do. But they are a little bit afraid of dropping these last vestiges of some religious belief. Nevertheless I agree with you absolutely, the decision throws more stress on the church and synagogue, and especially on the family because this is the primary means of education, or should be.

Rabbi Gilbert: Mr. Wilson, what do you think will be the reaction of some of the Protestant communities to the possibility that the Supreme Court will this May or June rule that Bible reading or the recitation of the Lord's Prayer may not constitutionally be part of public school practice? Do you think there will be a growing effort on the part of Protestants to seek some kind of constitutional amendment in order to change the reading of the First Amendment?

Mr. Wilson: I don't know that the idea of a Constitutional Amendment will get very far, though many or most Protestants are going to be deeply disturbed if the Court rules against Bible reading. At the same time, as you say, Rabbi Gilbert, anything that throws back upon the church and the home a sense of additional religious responsibility is to the good. Whatever comes, we are going to just have to make the best of it, to seek to get out of it the greatest values we can.

Mr. Anderson: Isn't one of the problems, Mr. Wilson, that very often the people in the home are not fulfilling their obligations in teaching religion to their children. They are looking for some outside agency to do it, the Sunday school or the parochial school or the Jewish Saturday school. Aren't they seeking for somebody else to be doing what they should be doing?

Mr. Wilson: That is very true. We are always seeking the easy way out of difficult problems. But even if we depended on the school we'd have to examine our responsibilities. Certainly the reading in the public school of verses from the Bible is not going to contribute a very great degree to religious education. The one thing that it does, it seems to me, is to give the child in school the feeling that this is important.

Rabbi Gilbert: Jewish leadership probably will oppose any effort to use the public school as a means of engaging in religious rites and devotions, or as a

means of winning membership to religion. The use of the Bible, for example, as part of a religious exercise is opposed by the Jewish community. On the other hand, there are many of our leaders who suggest that it is part of the knowledge we must have in Western civilization to know about religion and to know about the Bible. It is part of our background, in a sense. We ought to enrich the curriculum therefore where it would be intrinsic to the subject matter and teach about religion, providing much more information to our young people than we now do through the public schools. While teaching about religion might be accepted, depending on how it would work out, the Jewish community will maintain its opposition to the public school setting itself up as a church, as it were, engaging in prayer and in liturgical rites and exercises.

Mr. Wilson: I think that is quite a reasonable approach. Now matter how the decision goes we need to be concerned that we understand the viewpoint of the Jewish community and others, and that we recognize that we are all in this together; and that we are seeking the ultimate ends of Brotherhood and good Americanism.

Mr. Anderson: I would agree with that. I don't think anyone wants the public school to turn into any kind of a church or to teach church practices.

Rabbi Gilbert: Well, certainly this is clear. This issue of the role of religion in the public school is a complex one. There is, on the one hand, the question of whether we will engage our children in religious exercises and prayers and devotionals. There is also the question of whether we will release chidren for religious instruction. Then there is the question: can we teach about religion in the public school, and if so do we have proper textbooks, are our teachers trained enough to be sensitive to all the children in the school? If there is to be any solution to this problem certainly religious leaders must come together and

understand each others points of view, find out where the shoe pinches on each others foot, as it were, and come to some terms so that educators will be enabled to provide a constructive and healthy program for our school children.

Conclusion: This exchange points up the important function of the church press to inform its constituents concerning religious principles as they apply to social problems. While the religious press has a right and a duty to editorialize and make comment on important problems in the social order, it has a responsibility also to provide this information as fairly and as objectively as possible, and to help its constituency understand the motivation and the viewpoints of those with whom they differ.

The Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs hopes through continuing dialogue and confrontation in the spirit of this presentation, to lift the level of public debate in this country aiding the cause of religion and the public good.

Religion

THE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS

FOR THE CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOL

A Radio Discussion Prepared For N.B.C. Faith in Action

Broadcast Nationally May 19, 1963

Participating: Monsignor Daniel Moore, Ed., St. Louis Review
Dr. Harold E. Fey, Ed., Christian Century
Arthur Gilbert, N.C.C.J., Moderator

A Service of the Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs
National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.

THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR THE CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOL

Introduction:

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has inaugurated a new program entitled, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. This project will bring together on a national and regional level, priests, ministers and rabbis across the country for the purpose of discussing those issues in the public order about which religious groups differ. Complex and knotty questions such as public funds for the church school, religious practices in the public school, the distribution of birth control devices and Sunday closing laws are on the agenda.

Recently the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, called together thirty-five editors of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant publications. For the first time these editors of church and synagogue magazines and newspapers confronted each other in frank and honest discussion. Participating in this symposium held during the Editors' Institute are: Monsignor Daniel Moore, Editor, of the St. Louis Review, and Dr. Harold E. Fey, Editor, of the Christian Century. The topic for discussion: "The Use of Public Funds for the Church-Related School."

Arthur Gilbert: Monsignor Moore, would you describe the position of the Catholic community with regard to public funds for church-related education?

Monsignor Moore: First of all, the Catholic community is very definitely interested in a high level of educational excellence for our country. There are, as you know, some 6 million children in the Catholic educational system. Our request for Federal aid is based upon the fact that we are paying taxes for educational purposes and we feel that as a matter of justice, distributive justice, as we call it, our parents should be deriving some benefit from the taxes they pay.

Arthur Gilbert: Do I understand correctly, Dr. Fey, that most Protestants would hold that there is no question of "justice" here and that public funds ought not be given to schools that are church-related?

Dr. Fey: That is a correct statement of the Protestant position. We believe that the religious communities in this country have prospered very well under a system that keeps church and state separate. We also believe that if public support were given to the schools of any church this would introduce the element of government control; that it would set in motion an unfortunate competition among religious groups and would undermine the public schools.

Arthur Gilbert: Do Catholics fear this possibility that provision of public funds to the church-related school will probably lead to government control?

Monsignor Moore: I think there is a genuine basis for a fear of that kind. But I would take particular issue with the suggestion that this is a religious issue. I don't think it is specifically a religious issue. It is simply true that most of the children who are in private schools, non-public schools are Catholics; but the fact that they are Catholic is irrelevant to the problem. That a religious division would arise I think would be very unfortunate and most unnecessary. You might say it is simply a matter of money. Let's put it that way, money and taxes.

Arthur Gilbert: I get the impression, Dr. Fey, that it is your conviction that if public funds were made available to church-related schools, there will be a proliferation of many church-related schools springing up in response to the availability of such funds. This is undoubtedly a challenge to the public school system.

Dr. Fey: That is correct. The competition - for it would amount to that - of a very large, state-subsidized system of schools controlled by one

church would obviously stimulate a very great concern on the part of other churches for their own survival. Now they object to the establishment of such subsidies to church schools. If the objection fails to register then they will unquestionably seek to set up their own systems of parochial schools to be subsidized by the state. I feel that this would be divisive and that it would undermine public education.

Arthur Gilbert: On the other hand, Dr. Fey, don't church-related schools serve the public interest by educating our children? Why shouldn't we have a concern for the welfare of all children in all the schools of the U.S.?

Dr. Fey: I think we should have this concern and I agree with Monsignor Moore that the general level of education should be raised. It is quite obvious as we look around the world and see the challenges that confront the American community why this level of education must be raised. At the same time there is something fairly important in the voluntary nature of religious exercises. The maintenance of freedom of religion without subsidy by the state or interference with civil authority on the part of the church should be precious to all of us. The support by people of their churches on a voluntary basis strengthens their religious faith and strengthens their own testimony to society.

Arthur Gilbert: I have the impression, Monsignor Moore, when you use the words, "distributive justice" that Catholics believe that they are entitled by right to such public support for their church schools. How do you counter the argument raised by many that the provision of public funds for church-related schools would be a violation of the First Amendment of the United States?

Monsignor Moore: There are many things that I could say, in this brief time, that could be constructive, I am sure, and argued with; but when I say that prices are going up I don't think that that could be contradicted. Parents of

children who are going to private schools feel this very, very much. Then they look at the Constitution and some of the decisions that have been rendered by the Supreme Court, particularly the Pierce Decision of 1925 which entitles children to go to any school of their choice, even a private school. In a sense, you see, this decision set the private school up as a public school. Actually, our schools satisfy the requirements of the state. Thus, the parents are saying, "We are entitled to this, for we send our children to a sort of a public institution which satisfies the requirements of the state." So in this matter of distributive justice, Catholic parents are paying taxes for educational reasons. They are entitled by the Constitution to send their children to these schools. Why should they not derive benefit from it?

Arthur Gilbert: Would it be fair to say, Monsignor Moore, that if in the present Congressional session public funds were not made available for the church-related school, Catholics would join in an effort to defeat the President's bill for public education?

Monsignor Moore: That they would openly oppose it, you mean?

Arthur Gilbert: Yes, unless the Catholics' request is met, the Catholics will oppose any program of public support for public education.

Monsignor Moore: Well, there are some Catholic agencies who have already indicated their opposition to a bill of this kind, simply because they feel that the bill is unjust. In the democratic process this is their perfect right. Whether or not they could actually kill the bill, that, of course, is something else again.

Arthur Gilbert: Are there some Catholics who are opposed to the general position that has been maintained by the Bishops? Are there some Catholics who would be opposed to a grant of public funds to Church related schools?

Monsignor Moore: Oh, I think that it is a matter of public record that that is true, yes.

Dr. Fey: It is a fact that federal aid to public schools has been discussed for a very long time, perhaps 30 years. Federal aid bills have been defeated year after year, sometimes by vote, sometimes by being sidetracked. Now, I feel that it is a real challenge to the religious communities to put aside their differences and allow a bill to pass. If the bill before Congress doesn't mention the religious issue then no group can say it is discriminated against on that score. Passage of a bill to aid public schools would leave the question as to the distribution of these funds up to the states. The states could include or exclude parochial schools according to their own Constitutions. If we believe in a high level of education, for all of our children, I cannot see how we can oppose such legislation much longer. We've lost a generation of opportunity already and our school system's inadequacy becomes more and more apparent as the years go by.

Arthur Gilbert: Do most Protestants and Protestant publications support the President's program of federal funds for public education?

Dr. Fey: Yes, all that I know about would say that if federal funds are voted for education they should be confined to the public schools. However, there are many Protestants,I regret to say, who agree with organizations like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. They oppose Federal aid to education on any basis.

Arthur Gilbert: Are there some Catholic Bishops who are opposed to Federal aid to public education?

Monsignor Moore: The statement that the Bishops made on this matter of Federal aid to education indicates that they believe it has to be objectively studied. I would agree with Dr. Fey, however, on one point, that of a high level

of education for all children and that ought include the 6 million children who are in private schools.

Arthur Gilbert: It seems to me then, that both of you share this concern that we must develop and strengthen education in America and that this education must be strengthened for all American children. The question is, how will this be achieved? Shall we provide federal funds for public education and if such funds are provided, shall funds also be provided for church-related education? If direct grants or funds cannot be made available to church-related education, are there other ways by which benefits can be provided for the children who attend parochial schools or for their parents, such as bus transportation funds or the distribution of public school textbooks? Issues such as these challenge and confront our nation. We are glad to note that the religious leadership of this land is joining together for frank and honest discussion of our points of view and our differences. May this eventually reap a benefit for all our children.

Conclusion:

This exchange points up the important function of the church press to inform its constituents concerning religious principles as they apply to social problems. While the religious press has a right and a duty to editorialize and make comment on important problems in the social order, it has a responsibility also to provide this information as fairly and as objectively as possible, and to help its constituency understand the motivation and the viewpoints of those with whom they differ.

The Project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs hopes through continuing dialogue and confrontation in the spirit of this presentation, to lift the level of public debate in this country aiding the cause of religion and the public good.

JESUIT SEES END OF U. S. RACISM

Cause Is Hopeless, Murray Says at Catholic Dinner

A leading Catholic theologian said here last night that forces in this country opposed to interracial justice were doomed to defeat and that they knew it.

"I think this is why they fight their hopeless battle with such desperate passion," said the theologian, the Rev. John Courtney Murray, professor of theology at Woodstock (Md.) College.

Father Murray, a Jesuit, was the principal speaker at a dinner in the Americana Hotel at which the Catholic Interracial Council presented a citation to Mayor Wagner.

Mr. Wagner was cited for sponsoring legislation and establishing agencies to combat discrimination in employment and housing. The Rev. John LaFarge, an editor of America, the Jesuit weekly, made the presentation.

In discussing current racial unrest, Father Murray said it represented "the workings out of a past tradition of injustice, ignorance, apathy, distrust, even hatred."

He said that while recent legal decisions had pushed forward the frontiers of racial justice, the legal achievement was "a severely limited one."

Matter of Conscience

"The victory of the law only raises a further and more profound issue for the social conscience of our country," he added. "When the limits of law have been reached, as they have, the whole issue in all its subtlety of reach, is inescapably presented to the higher tribunal of conscience."

Father Murray said that "the force of love" in individuals and the community was powerful enough to move the course of history toward freedom and justice.

In an implied warning against such movements as the Black Nationalists, Father Murray asserted that "the separatist idea is dangerous." He said it would lead to antagonisms and the consequent contest for power."

Mayor Wagner, in accepting the citation, said that the challenge to civil rights had to be met not only in Birmingham but "everywhere throughout the South."

The Catholic Interracial Council, organized here in 1934, now has 48 additional councils operating in different parts of the country.

William A. Shea, a New York lawyer, was chairman of the dinner. Frederick O'Neal, the Negro actor who is vice president of Actors Equity, was the toastmaster. About 400 persons attended.

DENOUNCES BIAS: The Rev. John Courtney Murray.

Religion

RECEIVED MAY 28 1963

JESUIT SEES U.S. RACISTS
LOSING 'HOPELESS BATTLE'

By Religious News Service (5-21-63)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- A prominent Jesuit theologian and author declared here that the forces opposed to interracial justice are fighting a "rearguard action" and that their cause is doomed to defeat.

"It has, in fact, already been defeated. I think this is why they fight their hopeless battle with desperate passion," said Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., professor of theology at Woodstock (Md.) College and author of "We Hold These Truths" and other books.

Father Murray was the principal speaker at a dinner held by the Catholic Interracial Council (CIC) of New York which honored New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner for efforts to promote racial harmony.

In a tribute to Mr. Wagner, Father John La Farge, S.J., chief founder of the CIC and an associate editor of America, national Catholic weekly magazine, cited the mayor's support of legislation and formation of agencies in the city to combat discrimination in employment and housing.

In the past, Father Murray said in his address, the fight for interracial justice has been fought in the courts. While successful, he noted, the legal achievement in the racial field has been a "severely limited one."

"The victory of the law only raises a further and more profound issue for the social conscience of our country," he asserted. "When the limits of law have been reached, as they have, the whole issue... is inescapably presented to the higher tribunal of the religious and moral conscience."

Interracial justice, Father Murray declared, can be achieved through legal means, "up to a point."

"But the achievement of our higher national objective, which is to form the more perfect union, can only be a work of freedom," he said.

"The schism in our national life cannot be cleverly settled," the theologian emphasized. Racial peace, he stated, must be achieved from within, not through force.

Father Murray went on to attack racial separatist movements, Negro and white alike, as divisive in the American framework. "The separatist idea is dangerous," he warned. "It prevents our ideal of coming together."

The Jesuit asserted that only the "force of love" in individuals and the community can bring about racial harmony. He added:

"Only if the social conscience is informed by this force of love ...shall we be able with any confidence to face the formidable question: Negro and white, who are equal before the law -- how are they to be one in the oneness of the one American community?"

Mayor Wagner, in response to the tribute from the CIC, said he considered the promotion of better intergroup relations and the racial equality to be "the most important single test of our moral sincerity of any now confronting us."

Commenting on Pope John XXIII's recent encyclical, Pacem in Terris, Mr. Wagner noted that it contained a "clarion call to conscience" on the promotion of interracial justice.

"We can only pray that that call will be heeded by men and women of all faiths and regions of our country and the earth," he declared.

(more)

Other speakers at the dinner included Dr. John Morsell, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Gerard L. Carroll, chairman of the board of directors of the CIC.

Msgr. Joseph T.V. Snee, assistant vicar for religious in the New York archdiocese, conveyed greetings to the dinner from Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York.

Toastmaster at the dinner, attended by about 400 persons at the Hotel Americana, was Frederic, O'Neal, a Negro actor who is vice-president of Actors Equity. William A. Shea, a New York attorney, was dinner chairman.

The Catholic Interracial Council of New York, founded in 1934, is the parent body of some 50 similar Councils throughout the country.

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ARMENIAN CHURCH PROGRAM

LWD, PA, ML, BP – interesting essay, I think.

»BOOKS·ARTS·MANNERS«

National Review 5/21/63

Religion

What Color Is God?

GARRY WILLS

James Baldwin is a disarming man, against whom it is necessary to arm ourselves. Which, oddly enough, may be what he is trying to tell us.

He has written an indictment of Western civilization—more precisely, of that civilization's religion, of "the white God"—that is carefully and consciously "outrageous." He edges toward us—in every sentence—his credentials as the most sensitive and discriminating articulator of Negro suffering; while, fully aware of the incongruity, he constructs an intricate sympathy for the crudest kind of Negro racism, that of Elijah Muhammad and his Black Muslims. There is virtuosity, even a dark gaiety in his anger: he does not try to hide the logical weaknesses in his argument, considered solely as an argument. He candidly bases his view of religion on his special experience of "the church racket": at the age of fourteen, he became a boy preacher in order to break the hold over him of his father, an hysterical minister who, after torturing his children with hatred and piety, starved himself to death.

It is a story Baldwin has told many times—in detail as *Go Tell It on the Mountain,* obliquely in the opening pages of *Giovanni's Room,* as autobiography in an essay on his father's funeral. Like the fourteen-year-old John of *Go Tell It on the Mountain,* Baldwin let himself be swept out to sea, for one night, on the current of longing that runs through the store-front churches; suffered all night the redeeming plangencies of the saved; mounted the pulpit and began to preach out of "a merciless resolve to kill my father rather than allow my father to kill me." (In the novel, it is put this way: "John excelled in school, . . . and it was said that he had a Great Future. He might become a Great Leader of his people. John was not much interested in his people and still less in leading them anywhere, but the phrase so often repeated rose in his mind like a great brass gate, opening outward for him on a world where people did not live in the darkness of his father's church.")

The Fire Next Time, by James Baldwin. Dial, $3.50

Up against an audience that has its Freud by heart, an indictment of religion based on this experience is almost bound to misfire; to be read as the private fight of an Oedipus, not as part of the public struggle of a race for recognition. Baldwin knows this; knows, nonetheless, that he can give the game away and still win it. He makes no effort to soften the hard lines of inconsistency that extrude everywhere in his piece—saying, in one breath, that it is too late for us to convince the Negro of our good faith, since the growth of black power in the world makes any gesture on our part look like an effort to buy off our future conquerors; then, with a change of mood, but no answer to the former argument, singing that our nation is the one best equipped to lead the world into a new era of racial love. Earlier, we are told that it is impossible for the Negro not to hate his oppressor and respond to Muhammad's call; but in the rosier last pages, the Negro is extolled for having resisted the temptation to hate. Then, as a cap on all these incongruities, he sent us his apocalyptic "Letter From a Region of My Mind" interleaved with the Lanvin ads of the *New Yorker.* One can read it now between hard covers, as *The Fire Next Time.*

I

THE *Fire Next Time* falls into three major sections. The first is lyric and intensely felt, the story of his struggle with his father, and with God, and with the white man. The second, his interview with Muhammad ("He made me think of my father and me as we might have been if we had been friends"), puts the Black Muslim doctrine, or as much of it as will submit to the treatment, into effective oratorical form: "The Christian world has revealed itself as morally bankrupt . . . a civilization sexually so pathetic that the white man's masculinity depends on a denial of the masculinity of the blacks . . . the fact of the Third Reich alone makes obsolete forever any question of Christian superiority, except in technological terms . . . [so that the Jews' position] would be my position on the day that the United States decided to murder its Negroes systematically instead of catch-as-catch-can." The rhetorical coarsening reflects a turn of the argument toward special pleading: the white reaction to the Muslims is in no way motivated by opposition to violence or racism—since we whites are restless with barely suppressed desire for war, and condone white racism—but by "the attempt of the white man to destroy him [the Negro]—for that is what it is."

The last part is mechanically protreptic to a degree that is startling in Baldwin. He parades all the Liberal clichés in their pristine naiveté—the wave of history, the courage to change, the need to export our revolution. The "American dream" is shattered by "our curious role in Spain" and in "pre-Castro Cuba." We are accused, and without defense, before "any Cuban peasant or any Spanish poet." We must be "willing to change," our task is "to trust and to celebrate" this change; "everything white Americans believe must now be re-examined" under the advent of an "historical vengeance, a cosmic vengeance." This inevitable tide, so

inevitable that its beneficence, direction, or source do not need to be described, forces us to swear allegiance to "an age of revolution." "Any attempt we make to oppose these outbursts of energy is tantamount to signing our death warrant." Baldwin, who wrote, in *Notes of a Native Son*, "I am not one of the people who believe that oppression imbues a people with wisdom or insight or sweet charity" here *becomes* "one of the people who." The Negro, we are told, has been forced "to look beneath appearances, to take nothing for granted, to hear the meaning behind the words," thus achieving an aristocracy of the spirit, the only aristocracy America has ever known.

The modulations that carry us from the opening pages—so aware of human evil and contradiction—to the homiletic conclusion (simply love, children, surrender yourselves to love "as a state of being, or a state of grace") are almost imperceptible. It is a *tour de force*. Yet, despite the manifesto prose about "changing the world," the contrived effects, the unexpected stridency, it is intensely moving; it has, in fact, had a seismic effect whose tremors are not even beginning to subside. Why is this?

II

THE QUESTION is really two questions. Why did he write it, and why did it have such impact? It won't do to think that the first question can be answered simply by saying that he meant to shock, to create an "effect"—though, characteristically, and with the same aplomb that is mixed with his real anger, Baldwin would not deny that this was a factor in the performance. He is too good an artist not to see in aesthetic terms the contrast between his introspective, restrained early essays, and this rousing attack. A blurb on one of his books quotes some early review: "His Olympian detachment is almost frightening. . . ." The novelist so aware of the heart's mystery (his favorite adjective is "unreadable"—all his characters have unreadable faces; and his indispensable noun is "conundrum"—all the situations his unreadable ones find themselves in are conundrums) puts himself, for once, at the head of the simplifiers.

When Norman Mailer criticized Baldwin ("too charming . . . paragraphs sprayed with perfume"), the one thing that seems to have hurt was the statement that Baldwin seems incapable of hurling obscenities at the reader. At least Baldwin went out of his way to win this supposedly unattainable distinction, addressing Mailer's two unprintable words to Mailer by way of the printed page; and few readers of Baldwin's last novel will feel inclined to repeat the charge. In fact, much of the uneasiness that reviewers showed when faced with this novel seems to have come from the suspicion that Baldwin was answering some such dare. The man who had brought off a "sensitive" novel on race and a "dignified" novel on homosexuals suddenly upped the decibels. Baldwin has an uncanny way of writing to a background music that somehow gets transmitted along with the words. In *Go Tell It on the Mountain,* everything went to the moaning and keening of spirituals. In *Giovanni's Room*, the music was put away, with Giovanni's violin; but there are occasional hints of the saccharine Parisian tunes Guillaume or Jacques would force Giovanni to play if he ever took down that Italian violin in his French exile. In the last novel, an hysterical and cruel jazz whips the words forward. The stridency, the ambitious rhetoric of the *New Yorker* piece make their first appearance in *Another Country*. Baldwin is obviously a man who can do anything with words—even defy his reputation for sensitivity and restraint. It must be fun; and he would not deny the fun, even if he were fighting in dead earnest.

James Baldwin—*"Asking for immediate secession from our civilization."*

And, of course, he is. The slightly apologetic air of the reviewers—patronizing, ready to let him "blow off a bit of steam," even (poor Baldwin, still haunted from the pulpit) paternal—covered a total ignorance of what was happening in the novel. What was happening, among other things, was the *New Yorker* piece.

RUFUS SCOTT, the doomed jazz drummer of *Another Country*, and his sister Ida, a singer, are surrounded by white rebels against white society. They feel themselves turned into symbols of nonconformity, occupying a position somewhere in the scale between a white Villager's beard and his "boyfriend." They are test cases, love for whom is a gesture of defiance toward someone else. When Vivaldo wants to hurt his parents, he threatens to bring Ida home with him. And yet Vivaldo loves Ida; loves her even while he tries to use her to prove something. And Ida, tortured by her alertness for the least sign of this elaborate, self-justifying "tolerance," loves Vivaldo, without ever being able to trust him or herself. She feels loved not as Ida Scott, but as part of an obscure test whereby the white man is to learn how to live with himself—a medium or vehicle of white narcissism. She cannot shake him out of the introspection that glazes his eyes when he is near her. She attacks him, over and over, trying to make those eyes blaze outward; but they only blur, and his tears infuriate her. As Baldwin wrote elsewhere, "the interracial handshake or the interracial marriage can be as crucifying as the public hanging or the secret rape."

In this way brother and sister—Rufus and Ida—who bore hatred with dignity, are eaten hollow by love. Anonymity in hatred is bad enough, but anonymity in love is a total solvent. It leaves nothing. Against this menace Ida arms herself, determined to destroy the love that can so easily destroy her, that did destroy her brother. She will take power from the white man, beat him at his own game. (Baldwin has remarked that Eartha Kitt was in his mind when he described her cold drive toward success.) The shrill note, new in Baldwin's work, is hers, the brassy sound that covers terror. Part of the peroration of the *New Yorker* piece,

about "a bill coming in," is taken from one of her speeches.

Baldwin has described, in an interview, how Ida forced herself on his story. Rufus, who dies early in the novel, was obviously meant to be the one Negro dominating it, haunting it from his grave. But Rufus somehow fails to convince or fascinate. We have to take his artistry, his magnetism exercised over all the other characters, as a given. The "given" is, of course, the thing a proof (or a novel) does not offer to give us in its own demonstration; but Rufus' mystery is precisely what the novel should have given us in the first eighty pages, made unforgettable for the hundreds of pages after Rufus' disappearance. Baldwin seems to have been so intent on making him a portent, a puzzle for the others to read, that the sign becomes abstract, dehydrated. Yet the riddle lay in the fact that Rufus was a *person* who was treated as a *thing*. The novelist is guilty, aesthetically, of the thing he attacks in the realm of morals. In fact, almost all of Baldwin's own criticism of Richard Wright's hero, Bigger Thomas, can be applied to Rufus. Ida becomes the "voice of the Negro" in this tale—not pathetic, irritating, a lingering mystery, but aggressive and bound to win.

III

In some as yet unconfessed way, Baldwin seems to be launched on the self-lacerating task that Ida set herself—to see if, in the amorphous tolerance surrounding the "accepted" Negro, some fire of human dignity and spontaneity can still be kindled. Only this, it seems to me, can explain the odd union of jauntiness and agony forced to the surface of the *New Yorker* article. Baldwin dares us to attack his inconsistency, as Ida dares Vivaldo to criticize a "spook." Calling herself such names is much like Baldwin's deliberately provocative praise of Muhammad.

But, though he hit us as hard as he could, though he took the most sacred things as his target, though he mocked Christianity, called its missionaries the willing agents of exploitation, though he was as outrageous as he could be, though he was obscene enough even for Mailer, he has been met with a vast tolerance and sympathy, a vague clucking of

tongues over the plight of Harlem Negroes, a superficial flurry of comment on how brave the *New Yorker* was, and how eloquent Baldwin is, and how wicked Mississippi is. It must be very frustrating.

And this is the real reason for the article's impact, the deep impression it made under all the superficial chatter about it. He found our weakness, pushed his hand right through it. That weakness is not that we have been cruel to the Negro. We have, more than we know; more than we want to know. But this terrible accusation is not the real point of Baldwin's challenge. He does not attack us for not living up to our ideals, for lapsing, for sinning, for being bad Christians. He says we do not *have* any ideals: we do not believe in any of the things our religion, our civilization, our country stand for. It is all an elaborate lie, a lie whose sole and original function is to fortify privilege. And he proves this by attacking all our so-called beliefs, then standing back and observing that no one defends them. In fact, everyone rushes to defend *him*.

Understand, then, that Baldwin is not, as one might gather from some treatments of his article, simply advocating, in more compelling words, an acceleration of the sit-in movement. In 1949, it is true, he wrote that the Negro wants acceptance and advance of status within the present community—what the NAACP is laboring for. But now he makes a different analysis: "The American Negro has the great advantage of having never believed that collection of myths to which white Americans cling." As such, the Negro is naturally fitted for the task of weaning us from the evil nourishment of our delusions: "How can the American Negro's past be used? The unprecedented price demanded—and at this embattled hour of the world's history—is the transcendence of the realities of color, of nations, and of altars."

Those Christians not ready to "transcend their altars" are reminded that belief in Christ is based on an ignorance of "several elementary historical details," *e.g.*, "that the real architect of the Christian church was not the disreputable, sunbaked Hebrew who gave it his name but the mercilessly fanatical and self-righteous St. Paul. The energy that was buried with the rise of the Christian nations must come back into the world; nothing can prevent it." This energy is not given any further characterization, but it seems to be the tide of resistless change we are all to ride, a tide that puts in an astonishingly early appearance in Baldwin's assemblage of "elementary historical details."

So let us be clear about what is actually being said: Baldwin is asking for immediate secession from our civilization. "This, then, is the best that God (the white God) can do. If that is so, then it is time to replace Him." And the Negro is the natural instrument of this process. "The only thing white people have that black people need, or should want, is power—and no one holds power forever." This is the challenge of the compulsive rebel against the present order—the White Negro of Mailer, or the anarchistic monster Bigger Thomas—that Baldwin himself has so mordantly criticized before, here flung in our face. And proving what Ida knows—that a Negro can say anything: his words can never soften the white racist's fear and hatred, and they will all be taken as "excusable"—and, of course, elo-

quent—by the solicitously "tolerant."

We are not treating the Negro as an equal until we can be angry at him, until we are willing to grant that his words *mean* something, that they are worth analysis, refinement, and (if need be) refutation. By this test, few of Baldwin's critics (only F. W. Dupee, to my knowledge) have begun to treat him as an equal.

There are many reasons for this. One always moves under some suspicion—indeed, must keep suspecting oneself—of hypocrisy when discussing, from comparative safety and comfort, the pain and danger of other men. But that is, after all, what we do whenever we discuss a serious problem having repercussions in the life of man, the most exposed and endangered creature we know. The solution is not to forswear discussion. Somewhere along the line, then, somebody should take Baldwin's charges seriously enough to ask, not whether they are moving, or beautiful, or important, or sincerely meant —they are obviously all these, and there has been enough repetition of the obvious—but whether they are *true*. When Baldwin says the Negro's sufferings cannot be overstated, those who believe that skill in wielding our language exacts some *responsibility* to words must speak out. The evils of racism—like those of fascism, Communism, diabolism—*can* be overstated, stated in such a way that the problem is "spread" out of shape, made unrecognizable, unmanageable. And such overstatement of evil is a way of advancing the evil.

> That sinners have always, for American Negroes, been white is a truth we needn't labor, and every American Negro, therefore, risks having the gates of paranoia close on him. In a society that is entirely hostile, and, by its nature, seems determined to cut you down—that has cut down so many in the past and cuts down so many every day—it begins to be almost impossible to distinguish a real from a fancied injury. One can very quickly cease to attempt this distinction, and, what is worse, one usually ceases to attempt it without realizing that one has done so . . . Most Negroes cannot risk assuming that the humanity of white people is more real to them than their color. And this leads, imperceptibly but inevitably, to a state of mind in which, having long ago learned to expect the worst, one finds it very easy to believe the worst.
>
> JAMES BALDWIN, *The Fire Next Time*

IV

IS IT TRUE, for instance, if we look at the content of Baldwin's accusations rather than the hurt eloquence that urges them, that Christianity has done nothing for the Negro, that it had nothing to do with the abolition of slavery? For that matter, is it true that Christianity should have rejected its entire Hellenic inheritance because of the monstrous blot, on it, of slavery? The reasons Baldwin gives for abandoning the Christian West would have served an early Christian as an excuse for dismissing the whole of "natural" civilization so laboriously built up over the centuries. The Christian message might have been one of the rather simple kind that Baldwin brings—simply love one another, brethren, and forget your libraries, since these are full of Platonic and Aristotelian justifications of slavery. To cure a sick and monstrously distorted limb, they might have cut down the tree. But they did not chop down the tree; and they did cure the limb.

Ironically, one of the reasons for the importation of black slaves into our culture was the fact that white slaves had been freed. Baldwin's ancestors were slaves; so, probably, were mine. The oppressed became the oppressors (and can do so again). But is it true that nothing was learned in this process? The Western history of black slavery is an instant of time compared with the ages of white servitude we lived through and, finally, purged. To throw away that experience would be like throwing away the experience of the Negro, articulated by Baldwin and introducing us into our own frightening history. In fact, the one experience is based on the other. Baldwin himself says that the Negro has no language to describe his situation; the language —of freedom, morality, human dignity, inhuman cruelty—that Baldwin uses, he learned, as we all learn it, from the centuries of other men's sufferings, from this struggle with each other and with words. These literally "trying" centuries are not lost to us but made operative by their distillation in our libraries. If the assault on evil is not to be a mere succession of rulers and ruled, the oppressors becoming the oppressed in a dreary cycle of directionless revulsion, man has to learn from the past, has to have the past kept somehow present to be learned from. The achievements that Baldwin counts as irrelevant, or the excuses of those in power, are actually the only things that can keep the Negro, and the white man as well, from despairing. If the civilization that has wronged the Negro contains, somewhere in its many chambers, things worth treasuring, then the years of pain are not entirely wasted. New treasures can be salvaged even from a disaster like slavery in America, can be stored away for future use. I am not suggesting that one "buys" human pain with cultural gifts; there is no way to measure, or recompense, the suffering of a man. But if the suffering is going to take place, and if one is ever to steel oneself to it, then the ability to read part of its lesson, to use what would otherwise be total waste, is one of the triumphs of man, a triumph indissolubly linked with that other, more complex, extensive, vulnerable thing, civilization itself. The advantages of civilization do not excuse the evil inflicted in its name—they intensify that evil—but they do give hope to those who suffer the wrongs.

It may be asking a superhuman ob-

jectivity to demand from a man that he see all the merits of a system that has crippled him. But that objectivity is precisely what we *must* ask from anyone who enters upon the task of destroying parts or all of a civilization (and every change involves some destruction, some replacement, some clearing of ground in the process of improvement). One must know something about the uses to which others have put apparent anomalies before one can decide whether they are in fact superfluous and will not be needed again. In fact, objectivity is the prime characteristic of civilization. It has no subjectivity, because it is not a person, to be damned for its sins. It commits no sins, it has no virtues. Only the individual man loves or hates. A civilization is a tradition of truths tested or accepted or found useful, customs moulded on these truths, habits of social coherence facilitating the arrival at the truths and the participation in the customs.

Every civilization is bound to operate, for the achievement of those aims, with a tremendous inefficiency. Given the stuff of men, its truths will be largely neglected truths. But they will persist, be present, even when neglected. That is the real service of civilization—it keeps truths present against all the forces working to erase them. It guarantees that momentary convenience, spasms of evil, sloth, fear will not lead to the rapid expunging of time's lessons. When a Dachau happens, are we—as Baldwin suggests—to tear up all the Bibles, disband all the police forces, take crowbars to the court buildings and the libraries? Is it not a sign of man's awareness of his own depths that makes him esteem civilization, take precautions that something will be left if ever we are guilty of a Dachau, of Indian massacres or the slave lynchings? Does he think we will be any less liable to these dark exhalations of unreason if we have none of these institutions? Does he think we will recover from them more rapidly, or reduce their frequency, by treating Dachau as the direct product of the Decalogue?

A CIVILIZATION often preserves its lessons against the tremendous odds of man's evil ingenuity and ambition, by working the truth into unobtrusive corners, or avoiding a direct confrontation with the forces of destruction, or by intertwining truth's structure with privileges that will not lightly be surrendered, or by letting it become pale and partially inoperative. But these very devices make the truth survive, even if no one wants to recognize it or mobilize it to its proper effect. The civilization succeeds, if it succeeds at all, in keeping its truths entire even when invisible; can produce them when challenged. Men, who try to ignore them, use them, periodically revive them, become finally haunted by their presence, their irritant indestructibility.

Such truths may seem neutral, dull, irrelevant; excuses for the vivid things in life—power, lust and pain. Ideas, like God, have no color. It is their weakness from a novelist's point of view. To the tortured subjectivity of the wounded or lonely person they offer an exasperating objectivity. It is their job. It keeps them—and us—alive.

Random Notes

● MOVIES: Thursday, June 27, not far from where John Adams used to set off on foot, his lunch rolled up in cabbage leaves, for the Massachusetts Assembly over at the College, Loew's Orpheum will display the world premiere of a melodrama written by Donovan, Breen, Sheehan, and Flaherty: *PT 109*. . . . Way back, when the delivery by scribblers of oak and bay to the Chief was more robust than the heroic modesty which is said to dignify *PT 109*, a whopper of a play about Elizabeth I was called *If You Know Not Mee You Know Noe Bodie*. . . . *Variety* reports that Eugene Ionesco, the wild playwright, is plotting a movie with Samuel Beckett and Harold Pinter. What's more, they plan to *act* in it. . . . And Jack Benny announces that at 70 (next year) he will turn to the legitimate stage and is looking around for a vehicle. . . . Alec Guinness, Anthony Quayle, and Graham Greene have formed their own company to film Greene's *The Living Room*.

● ART: Two handsome little paperbacks on Henri Rousseau, each with generous color plates, have appeared, the first on the great painter to be published in America in twenty years (not counting the chapter on Rousseau in Roger Shattuck's *The Banquet Years*): Alfred Werner's *Henri Rousseau* (Abrams, 90¢) and Jean Bouret's *Douanier Rousseau* (Premier Art Library, Fawcett, 60¢). Both are well done, charming, and bright as playing cards. Premier has also issued in this same series a Turner, Breughel and Manet. After three decades of nothing but Picasso, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and WPA artists to buy in American bookstores, we congratulate these new, furtive moves away from clichés. In a century, perhaps, one can see monographs on Wyndham Lewis, Ford Madox Brown, or even Richard Dadd.

● BOOKS: The Pelican original *William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs* (Penguin, $1.65), edited by Asa Briggs, is a superior anthology, emphasizing Morris' poetry and ideas on manufacture. The cover reproduces in color Morris' honeysuckle chintz and is itself worth the price of the book. . . . Ralph de Toledano's *The Greatest Plot in History*, the first thorough account of atomic espionage, will be published by Duell, Sloane, and Pearce in May and as a paperback by Avon later. . . . John O'Hara's new novel, *Elizabeth Appleton*, will come out the first of June (Random House, $4.95). It's about a society girl and a professor. Pennsylvania, of course. . . . Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* has gone into its eighteenth printing (Macfadden Books). . . . Oxford has just published Vivian Mercier's *The Irish Comic Tradition* ($6.75), an engaging study of the modes and subjects of Irish humor.

V

TAKE, for instance, this single truth —the Christian concept of man's dignity. Every man, goes the doctrine, has a soul made and saved by God, bought with His blood. This bond between men should overcome anything that divides them. For many reasons, in many cases, perhaps in most, it does not. The doctrine of man's future happiness has been used to bribe Negroes, for instance, to dull their resentment. Are we to condemn the hypocrisy by denying the truth? Take, by way of contrast, the materialist vision of life on earth. In its present most effective form, this vision looks to the harmony to be attained on earth by a social renovation. Its heaven is here, and it can work with undivided energy for this single goal. It has removed evils, in several years, that our civilization has failed to rectify in decades of halfhearted effort—as, Baldwin observes, Muhammad has succeeded in giving many Negroes pride and purpose and discipline.

On this record, are we to accept this earthly apocalypse and call the Christian idea of heaven an opiate merely? Such short-term advantages are often purchased at a terrible cost. As a Christian, I must believe in the priceless value of any black man. I must believe this truth even if I ignore it, even if I am damned for failing to live up to its demands. But a materialist believer in progress has no fixed reason for holding that all men are, eternally, equal. If man is a moving phenomenon, evolved from lower forms of life, divesting himself of its gross remains, advancing to new levels of awareness and action, then there is no reason why some branches of the human family should not succeed where others fail, should not evolve faster, should not leave behind the less adaptable. Man will, in fact, be *obliged* to do this for the good of the race.

Given this philosophy, and the will to use it for one's own ends, the Southerner will not comfort the Negro with the Bible and squeeze what profit he can from his labor. He will give a helping hand to "natural selection" by means of the kiln or the lynch-rope. Conversely, a Muhammad, convinced of white inferiority, can use scientific materialism even more effectively for attaining his ends than he uses the Manichean version of Christianity that he wrested from the Bible. The practical question to be faced is not whether some Christians have been false to their creed, but—given the drive of man to worship and destroy himself — which doctrine can be most easily twisted to the purposes of hatred and oppression.

So far, our social revolutionaries have not been any more notable for consistency than have Christians. But one never knows when, under the pressure of private vision or public disaster, of calculation or fear, some revolutionary is going to remember that, on his own materialist principles, killing off one strain of men can be justified as analogous to the elimination of inferior offshoots in the process that produced our race and its great promise. Teilhard de Chardin, for instance, so popular now with those who believe in man's evolution toward an earthly perfection, admitted that progress has its price. He was convinced that Ethiopians and others had dropped out of the running for the Noosphere, that only sentimentality made one regret this obsolescence of one of nature's experiments, so necessary to the purification of man. In line with this belief, he wrote to friends on the responsible committees to deplore the statements drawn up by the League of Nations and the United Nations proclaiming man's equality. It was not his Christian faith, but his belief in the redemptive processes of evolution, that led Teilhard into this cruel error. Why is Baldwin so certain that this cannot happen to others, that all we have to do is move with evolution, "accept and celebrate" Change? How does he know that change has not been going in this direction all the time, or that it will not veer off to this goal, unchecked by any surviving belief that man is more than the most advanced collocation of atoms?

VI

COME at the problem from another side: it is precisely the modern materialism that has made the Negro's situation so bafflingly difficult. For it is the contention of the materialist, whose only real order is the actual structure of earthly society, that a man's worth should be expressed and measured by, perfectly coextensive with, his social role. It is no longer possible for classes to perform different roles without a comparison of prestige or ease or privilege, a comparison reducing itself, with destructive speed and simplicity, to a question of human superiority and inferiority. A man is not a man at all, in this monochromatic world of material function and reward, unless he has exactly the same vote as every other man, exactly the same privileges, unless his opinions have equal weight on any subject.

It has been the business of tragedy to deny this simple equation between a man's ultimate value and his public performance. Judged by the standards that rulers must live up to, Hamlet is a failure; but *Hamlet* was written precisely to suggest that man's measure is not adequately taken by these standards. We need another set of

scales. Again, Christianity, with its insistent reminder that the dregs of our society may enter the City of God before the Scribes and Pharisees, that the last will be first, has given dogmatic reinforcement to this sense of man's worth as something extending beyond—moving mysteriously behind—the limited sphere of any individual's social influence.

This view is in direct contrast to modern egalitarianism. John Fischer, in a recent *Harper's* editorial, analyzed the operation of this egalitarian ethic in the field of education: since to give social expresion to *any* failing is, in the insanely symmetrical world of the materialist, to deny the essential dignity or definition of that person as a man at all, we are learning to live with the fictions that there is no such thing as stupidity, that people should not be trained to accept less glamorous tasks in our society, that the social recognition of human qualities will somehow create those qualities, that a low I.Q. can be flattered out of existence.

A Negro can justly object, at this point, that he is not being trained for any spectacularly dignified tasks; that debates on how to treat "gifted" individuals have little to do with the saving of Negro children condemned to the slums. All this is true; but, unfortunately, it is impossible to face the problem of injustice to the Negro, of removing intolerable conditions, of righting criminal complacency and neglect, without getting entangled, over and over, in the false problems raised by the false new standards of human dignity. *Every* social disadvantage is presented to us as if it constituted a denial that the Negro is a human being at all. Every difference in social performance is placed on a set of sociologically calibrated scales, and any imbalance is treated as a metaphysical affront to the doctrine of man's worth. *If* every difference is a denial of the Negro's essential humanity, then every difference is of equal weight. All differences must be attacked with the same fervor for the same reason. And the Negro can never escape the numberless shadow-fights that are, in this way, intermixed with his real struggle for adequate social recognition; he cannot escape them because white men find it increasingly hard to escape them, as Fischer's article indicates. The Negro will only enter the white man's own pursuit of an impossible social equality, and with far greater disadvantages than the white man.

There are, as a matter of fact, certain differences between white men and colored men. Though we partially share each other's history, we do so in a way that is hard to use from the viewpoint of sheer social practicality. No one has described better than Baldwin the odd, intertwined inaccessibility of white and colored people who are in the same room and yet on different planets. To hope that this difference can be erased overnight is, as Baldwin has said over and over, ridiculous. In fact, it can never be overcome if every difference is seen as an evil thing, signifying that one or the other person is inferior. To say this is to assert a single rule for the measuring of man's complexity. An orange can be superior to an orange; but a man can no more be superior to another man than an orange can be superior to a triangle. There is no test we know that can reduce men to a measurable single dimension. Only when these simple facts are clearly grasped again, that is, when we have entered once more into the full Christian tradition, can we define the injustices perpetrated against the Negro, decide on an order of priorities in righting these wrongs, and actually right them. We will be freed from the necessity of living with elaborate fictions, from trying to cultivate color-blindness, from pretending that we know men who are in fact strangers to us, from believing that we *must* have this knowledge or be guilty of condemning them—or us—to a subhuman status. To think any man is open to our gaze, and easily plumbed, is the one surest way to treat him as subhuman.

VII

In this case as in the other one we looked at, the belief that any difference is "discrimination" can be effective in short-range terms, can give an overwhelming urgency to the obliteration of real injustices, along with imagined ones. But here too the probable cost is a heavy one. The materialist's own weapons are turned against him by prejudice. The undeniable fact of human difference will be read as proof of certain men's inferiority. The white racist arms himself with I.Q. statistics, brain measurements, performance charts. He demands a uniformly high performance from every Negro given an education; since so much is to be *proved* by these "experiments," he must hope desperately that the Negro will fail, and every failure will have the same rigid norms applied to it that the materialists have used in condemning "discrimination." Social advantage should produce, visibly, human excellence; and the entire human mystery should be judged by that excellence of immediate performance. Any inconsistency resulting from this theory—inconsistency the racist uses vindictively—can be very disillusioning to the Liberal materialist, who finds reality strangely reluctant to his categories. If he is to cling to his equation of worth with role, he must increasingly take measures to regulate the role, "prove" equality by a more ambitious moulding of men through their environment. Or, if he surrenders the attempt to achieve an impossible uniformity among men, the materialist will have learned too well how to make the best of his "material." After all, a human nature conferred by the social distinction of the vote or the diploma can be taken away as easily, the problems of dealing with men can be solved by demoting some men from human status, everything can be put at the service of *society* as the single norm of human usefulness. Victims to the state are always sacrificed "for the good of Man."

I do not say that every materialist social improver is consistent, or ap-

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REGNERY

plies his principles with the rigor they are capable of, any more than every Christian is a saint. I am only asking what code or creed seems more related to reality, more useful if applied, less menacing if perverted. And, again, it seems to me, the Christian tradition of the West is our best hope. That tradition asserts that every man is a mystery, that his value was proved when Christ died for him, that we cannot prove or disprove anything about it by means of social experiments. It holds that differences between white men and black, like those between men and women, adults and children—like any of the differences that mark us out, every one—are simply manifestations of the range of the human mystery, different manifestations of the divine; that we owe justice and charity to every man as a man; that this is to be rendered directly, to the individual, not by creation of a "status" that can circumscribe his meaning. Only on the basis of these truths—not on the decisions of the Supreme Court, not on the legislation of any Southern state—can we build a firm understanding between the races. Political concepts, like "equality" on the one side and "states' rights" on the other, can too easily be used to prevent the encounter of individuals in charity. Beneath the public debate, more intimate demands upon the conscience must do their work.

The Christian ethic can, of course, be used to deceive man. Under cover of its profound recognition of the soul's worth, those in the various "church rackets" can steal food from the body. But the code is not to be weighed by man's submission to it. If anything, it is to be weighed by man's ultimate inability to escape from it. And Christianity has passed this test, time and again. When it seemed no longer useful, it endured. When men tried to forget, they were forced to remember. The Christian's death-bed repentance, the sudden bequest to the poor, are often mocked at. But this crisis in the individual's life reflects a process that is always going on in a Christian civilization, the recurring crises of sin and repentance, the perpetual encounter with an unbending creed that looks beyond time, a creed whose God is colorless, no matter how many Christians are white.

It is this complex, disreputable, inspiring history of defeat and victory that Baldwin would dismiss with a reference to the Third Reich. And, though we may understand his anger, we must do battle with his arguments. Baldwin has an important message to deliver. He has wounds to bare, an indictment to make. It is good, presumably, for his soul—and certainly for ours—that he make it. But when he voices, not his private agony, not his experience as it can correct or add to our tradition, but a sudden desire to destroy that whole tradition, then we must have the courage to defend the ideals we have, perhaps, not lived up to, but only known to be true. It takes a special courage to bear witness in this way; to be wrong, yet defend what was right; to be what one is, yet continue to fight for what one should have been; to oppose a better man than oneself in the service of a better creed than his. When Baldwin says policemen have no possible use because policemen have hit him, we have to defend the uses of policemen, even if we have bribed the police to beat him. It is this task, demanding self-knowledge, forcing one into a reassessment of his own life and his world's history, that men have not been willing to take upon themselves in the face of the challenge Baldwin made. They preferred to sever their connection with the civilization that could have wronged Negroes so terribly; they sympathized from the sidelines, as if they were not in the game. *Their* accents were not the least bit Galilean.

VIII

And so Baldwin won the game. But I wonder if he wanted to. For he knows the uses of civilization. I could construct a cogent defense of civilization and description of it from his own past writings. But, in his unique position for seeing the rottenness of our society, it must take an heroic effort to remember the "case" for that society, especially when no one else seems very anxious to remind him of it. The subtlety of his earlier essays, the constant return on a statement to see its reverse side, the way a denial of what he has just said can catch another aspect of his subject and make what was first said more valid—all the qualities that make reading Baldwin so infuriating and enlightening—must be cruelly difficult to sustain. The need must grow on him simply to *scream*. And so, in this essay, things suddenly be-

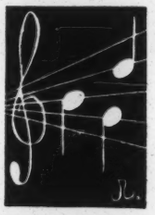
come very simple—literally, brutally simple. There was no love in the Negro church he preached in; there is no love in the white churches either; all white men are obsessed with Negro sexuality; there is nothing worth saving from the past, so any change is for the better; we need only "accept change." It is a message delivered with intimidating emotional intensity, but it is, in its essential content, the message of Ida. Faced with all the complexities of her relation with Vivaldo, she would prefer, at times, simply to shatter that relation with one blow, even if the blow crushes both of them. And Baldwin, faced with the complexities he lives with and writes about, must feel at times the temptation to call the whole tangle a lie or an illusion. Hoping it isn't.

It is not enough for us merely to sympathize with Baldwin's unhappy childhood, felicitate him on his style and send him back to Paris with more scholarships and literary prizes. He deserves an answer; he deserves a fight. He is an adversary worth our best arguments, and one of the uses of the fight is that it may force us to remember what our best arguments are. Once we do that, we have won; and so has he.

Records

Pablo Casals

RALPH DE TOLEDANO



If you listen carefully to Pablo Casals, particularly in the Beethoven Sonatas for Cello and Piano which he recorded with Rudolf Serkin, or in the Schubert trios of the Prades Third Series (all on Columbia), you will notice that he uses the *vibrato* as an instrument of musical delineation. By that I mean that in the passages which contribute to the melodic unfolding, you can hear his rigorously restrained but marked *vibrato,* whereas in other passages the *vibrato* is almost nonexistent.

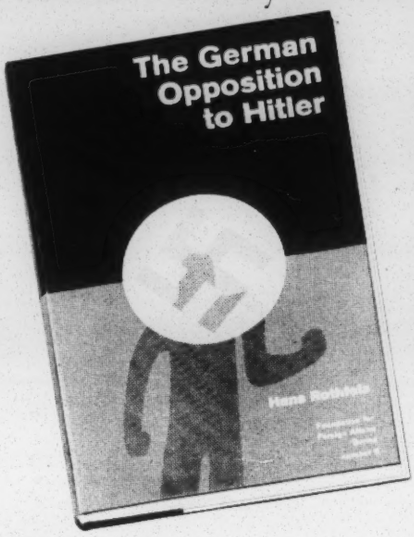
If you listen or watch, you will notice that despite his considerable age, he has greater control of his bow than any other cellist now playing. The pressure and the movement are fabulously even, at either end of the bow, and such variations as the ear detects are deliberate on the part of Casals. His fingering is something Casals developed and modernized from an earlier master. Today, though Casals has told me that "technically there is no better" cellist than Janos Starker, he was not including himself. Virgil Thomson almost, but not quite, said that cello performance as we know it today derives exclusively from Casals—and he was almost, but not quite, right.

It is nevertheless true that Pablo Casals is clearly "Mr. Cello" and that he brought both technique and an *ars musica* to an instrument which prior to his time had succumbed to maudlin lamentations. Casals brings to the cello warmth, color and tonal variety—but more important than this, he illuminates whatever music he plays. (The conductor Fürtwangler and the pianist Schnabel had the same quality, but there are mighty few in this company.)

I was thinking of this as I listened to a Casals recording of a Bach Suite for Cello Unaccompanied. (All six have been issued by Angel, repressing, I believe, the old HMV masters that RCA issued some years ago.) The Bach cello suites are much music—taxing instrument, performer and audience. But if it is not *lèse majesté* to say it, they can sometimes be great room emptiers. As a rule, you must be in the mood and ready to shut out from your mind everything but the architectonics of the score to be able to take massive doses of the suites. Casals, however, triumphs over the Baroque obstacle course—perhaps because the Catalans and the Germans have much more in common than either care to admit, but mostly because the unflagging virtuosity of the playing will not release your attention.

I am glad that Pablo Casals has, with the passing years, found new and ingenious excuses to ignore his vow that he would never play publicly while Francisco Franco ruled Spain. At Prades, at Zermatt, at the

TIMELESS INSIGHT . . .
as pertinent to Cuba or Viet Nam as to Hitler's Germany



The German Opposition to Hitler By Hans Rothfels

Emeritus Professor of Modern History, The University of Chicago

This study was begun twelve years ago, not with reference to the metaphysical or political aspect of a plea from prison by the resistance leader Carl Friedrich Goerdeler,

"I ask the world to accept our martyrdom as penance for the German people"

but for the sake of historical justice.

In Professor Rothfels' own words: "*I think justice can be done to those who remained within the system in order to resist. It is this front beyond the frontiers which . . . gives to the German opposition to Hitler its special meaning and to the problem of resistance itself its far-reaching and undiminished importance in a world still threatened by totalitarianism.*"

"One of those rare scholarly works which can be read as well as studied. A classic. Places German opposition to Hitler in the broad historical framework of the growing modern revolt against such 19th Century forces as nationalism, liberal capitalism, and secularism." —KLAUS EPSTEIN, *Modern Age*

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Religion

NATIONAL COUNCIL/EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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FULL TEXT OF STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

Recent events in a number of American communities---Birmingham, Chicago, Nashville, New York, and Raleigh, to mention only the most prominent--underscore the fact that countless citizens have lost patience with the slow pace of response to their legitimate cry for human rights. Pleas of moderation or caution about timing on the part of white leaders are seen increasingly as an unwillingness to face the truth about the appalling injustice which more than a tenth of our citizens suffer daily. While we are thankful for the progress that has been made, this is not enough.

Our Church's position on racial inclusiveness within its own body and its responsibility for racial justice in society has been made clear on many occasions by the General Convention. But there is urgent need to demonstrate by specific actions what God has laid on us. Such actions must move beyond expressions of corporate penitence for our failures to an unmistakable identification of the Church, at all levels of its life, with those who are victims of oppression.

I think of the words we sing as we hail the ascended Christ, "Lord and the ruler of all men", and of our prayers at Whitsuntide as we ask God to work His will in us through his Holy Spirit. And then in contrast to our praises and our prayers our failure to put ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Spirit becomes painfully clear. Only as we take every step possible to join with each other across lines of racial separation in a common struggle for justice will our unity in the Spirit become a present reality.

It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen their protest in every way possible, rather than ~~to~~ give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second class citizenship any longer.

-more-

The right to vote, to eat a hamburger where you want, to have a decent job, to live in a house fit for habitation: these are not rights to be litigated or negotiated. It is our shame that demonstrations must be carried out to win them. These constitutional rights belong to the Negro as to the white, because we are all men and we are all citizens. The white man needs to recognize this if he is to preserve his own humanity. It is a mark of the inversion of values in our society that those who today struggle to make the American experiment a reality through their protest are accused of disturbing the peace. And that more often than not the Church remains silent on this, our greatest domestic moral crisis.

I commend these specific measures to your attention: 1) I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accommodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters.

2) I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help.

3) I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race. I call attention to the firm action of the recent Convention of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral or financial support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time. I believe we must make known where we stand unmistakably.

So I write with a deep sense of the urgency of the racial crisis in our country and the necessity for the Church to act. Present events reveal the possible imminence of catastrophe. The entire Christian community must pray and act.

Arthur Lichtenberger
Presiding Bishop

305197

Religion

ELSA KRUUSE, Editor

The Religious Newsweekly

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This week's significant events in the cooperative church movement
—in the community, the nation and the world.

22RNW5/28/63 May 28, 1963

President Miller Appeals To NCC Members To Fight Discrimination

In a message to the 31 member communions of the National Council of Churches, J. Irwin Miller, president, urged them to designate June 2 to "pray in penitence for reconciliation among different races in every community." This is the date of the observance of Pentecost or Whitsunday in the churches.

"Racial discrimination violates Christian love and is man's denial of God's rule and authority," Mr. Miller declared in connection with recent events in Birmingham, Ala., Greensboro, N.C., Nashville, Tenn. and elsewhere. "It is an idolatrous substitution of the god of race supremacy for the holiness of the Lord ... whose spirit at Pentecost united men of diverse tongues and backgrounds in a new fellowship of love."

Declaring that "Christians must act to build a society in which love and justice are a reality for all people," Mr. Miller concluded his message to the churches: "Above all, let Christians pray that God, in his grace, may lead us to act more fervently and forthrightly in eliminating racism from our hearts and from our practices."

The National Council president last week accepted the chairmanship of the policy-making Continuation Committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., and chairman of the National Conference held in Chicago last fall, is one of four vice-chairmen of the new continuation committee. Its members include Dr. J. Oscar Lee, director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council, and Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, vice-president of United Church Women.

The NCRR also made permanent the appointment of Dr. Galen R. Weaver, secretary for racial and cultural relations, United Church of Christ, as executive secretary of the National Conference, which was sponsored by 70 religious bodies in the United States.

5-63

Religion

DEPARTMENT OF THE URBAN CHURCH

highlights

Board of
National Missions

United
Presbyterian
Church
in the U.S.A.

Room 1151
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

MAY 1963

Vol. III, No. 8

THE PROTESTANT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by MILDRED M. HERMANN

Before you all start writing letters to the editor decrying unprofessionalism in the ranks, let me set the record straight.

This article is neither an objective report of research done on the subject of the Protestant and Public Schools, nor is it such a study.

Instead it is an admittedly biased, wholly prejudiced, and totally one-sided comment made by one who has neither children nor any other particular competence to enter the discussion – except as conscience impels me to speak out as one who survived 16 years of public education in none too flossy schools and one who has taught long enough to know that teacher and attitude and not equipment, buildings, or apathy of children and/or parents makes the difference between learning and time wasting.

I write also because my understanding of the Christian faith leads me to believe that the Church's hope for faithful witness in the urban world depends largely upon her ability to permeate the common life with her proclamation of the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

I call Tillich to my theological rescue when I maintain that proclamation includes participation – not to mention some rather obvious indications given in the life and ministry of Christ.

Communication, Tillich writes in his book *THEOLOGY OF CULTURE*, is a matter of participation in the concerns of people, not by condescension but by sharing in such a way that a definite decision is made possible for or against the gospel.

What this says to me about Protestants and the Public Schools is that in a pluralistic society such as ours there is no hope of education for the vast numbers of children and youth except as communities shoulder their responsibilities for the full development of all children. Education cannot be dependent upon income or religious commitment, or lack of it, obvious or hidden talent, race, or any other circumstance. We either believe that all created are potentially heirs of the riches as well as the terrors of human existence, that God indeed makes the rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, or else we play the losing game of making ourselves God and pit our paltry judgments against His.

Neither token support for the public school as the answer for those who cannot afford anything better nor the withdrawal of the resources and leadership of those who can afford to pay a double educational bill is in my mind any answer to the worst problems of the public schools – you name it – overcrowding, segregation, triple sessions, rape on the staircases, out-dated curricula and books, playground gang fights, perfunctory teaching, or whatever.

The argument that Protestant parochial schools would better

(Continued on page 5)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY URBAN BREAKFAST

The annual Urban Church breakfast at the General Assembly will be held at the Kirkwood Hotel in the Iowa and Arbor Rooms, at 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday, May 21. During breakfast the Board of National Missions' picture, *PROFILE OF A PROBLEM*, will be shown. Dr. Kenneth G. Neigh, General Secretary of the Board of National Missions, will give the principal address which will be a basic statement of intent, regarding urbanism and the Board of National Missions. Tickets at $1.25 will be on sale at the Assembly through Monday noon. Commissioners and non-commissioners are invited to attend.

Meryl Ruoss ..... Acting Director
Catherine Cottingham ..... Assistant to the Director
Bryant George ..... Associate Director
G. Daniel Little ..... Associate Director
Charles G. Chakerian ..... Administrator, Office of Church and Community
Marshal L. Scott ..... Administrator, Office of Industrial Relations
Robert Thom Whitcomb ..... Associate Administrator

OPEN COLUMNS

We invite comments on subjects of interest in the urban church field. Please feel free to react to the enclosed mimeographed material as well as material in the newsletter.

Please write your own response to the editorials and/or any other items of interest to those in urban church fields. We will publish all that we are able to accommodate.

READERS RESPONSE

Let's Have More Albanys

Charles W. Rawlings in his article "Down With Albany" says that the Albany venture did not impress many people. One receives the impression from this article that those who participated were naive about the problems of urban America, especially in regard to low status Negroes and whites.

According to Mr. Rawlings, the really urbane approach to the race question, the poverty question, and the ineffectiveness of the white community is "politics up to our necks."

The direct opposite is true. The Albany situation is the perfect example of the ability of leaders such as Martin Luther King to create conditions where a decision is possible. It was for this reason that many went to Albany. The conditions requiring a decision were created; something could be done.

Unfortunately we are not all urbane or sophisticated enough to create conditions where decisions can be made. To even suggest that the political sphere is the arena to "specialize in" is naive. The trouble with the politician is his inability to create the conditions required for decisions.

A realistic approach is to create conditions where businessmen, politicians, the Church, the whole community is forced to make a decision.

Let's have more Albanys. Let's create conditions that require politicians and churchmen to "put up or shut up!"

Bill Grace

THE STRIKE IS OVER

by G. DANIEL LITTLE

The train I was on stopped at Trenton. Opposite my window on a bill board was a large poster: "Seek truth: read the New York Times." A sarcastic humorist had scribbled across the margin: "Truth is on strike."

I was on my way to give a talk on the church's stake in the city. I thought back to all the books, articles, speeches, bull sessions which have outlined the church's retreat from the city. "Seek God's truth: go to church." With the church on strike, many have been saying, "God's truth is on strike."

Now the New York papers are back. The church too is no longer in full scale retreat. It is coming off strike. And it is with new determination picking up the pieces which are closest at hand. In a recent meeting, at which synods and presbyteries were reporting among other things on their urban work, it was clear that two pieces especially were being picked up:

1. There is a new growing concern for urban mission strategy in judicatories. Presbyteries are enquiring more aggressively into the attitudes and goals of their member congregations. They are equipping themselves to counsel over the long haul with the churches. They are beginning to be willing to pay the price of difficult decisions.

2. There is a new imaginativeness in ministry to people of special need, people not typically Presbyterian. The growing list includes school drop-outs, the elderly, those who work at night, urban immigrants from the Southern Mountains, those who live in public housing communities, racial and language minorities, etc.

There is much to be thankful for in these two which are becoming permanent in many urban presbyteries. They spell the end of the strike. However, neither of them responds to several of the major characteristics of the urban revolution:

1. The characteristic of decay and renewal in cities takes on new possibilities and new dangers with the infusion of vast sums of federal and local money into immense urban renewal projects. In a very few places only is the church even aware of the role it might play in the debates which result in these projects, the debate over social planning and its goals.

2. The characteristic of racial tension in urban places is another which the church has barely begun to approach in broad social terms. We can claim a beginning in integrating some of our churches, but have little to show in concern for the broad patterns of racial injustice. In New York City the Negro population accounts for 14% of the total population; in Philadelphia 26.4%; in St. Louis 28.6%; in Detroit 28.9%; in Washington, D.C. 53.9%. Such facts and lagging movement of civil and employment rights which accompany them call for more than integration of congregations.

3. The presence of two cultures is another characteristic of our cities. Across the country about one fourth of our population is outside of the mainstream of American culture and life. These people, who make up our poor, are concentrated in our cities. They constitute a separate culture, which has no real stake in America. They are the depressed, unemployed and unemployable, socially dependent poor. They are the "Other America," as Michael Harrington calls them. ("Other America" by Michael Harrington, Macmillan Company, 1962). Baskets at Christmas and counselling to those in broken homes do not suggest that the church understands the deep social roots of this other culture.

A new concern for guiding churches to minister to their communities, and a new willingness to serve people of special

(Continued on page 6)

HIGHLIGHTS - The official publication of the Department of the Urban Church, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Published 4 times yearly at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y. *Bryant George,* Editor. May 1963 issue. Unsigned material written by Editor.

The Urban Need for Open Occupancy

by BILL LORENZ

One of the surest ways for a minister in a typical northern or western community to damage himself is to openly and actively help a Negro family obtain housing in an all-white neighborhood. Laymen in these regions expect to hear sermons about nondiscriminatory employment practices, freedom to use public facilities, and equal educational opportunities for Negroes. If a Negro visited their all-white church, they probably would receive him cordially, and would expect the minister to be the most cordial of all. But housing is a different matter. Millions of these same laymen say, "I believe in equality and opportunity for Negroes, but not next door."

Why not "next door"?

The reason most frequently given is that "property values go down." A number of fears are involved in this idea. People have seen the expansion of the Negro ghetto in every major city in the country since World War II, and the possibility of a Negro family moving into their neighborhood makes them fear that the diabolical strategists of the NAACP have marked their areas as "next" in the spread of the ghetto. Also, many whites have a distorted idea of what Negro neighbors would be like. They are afraid that the house next door would be overcrowded with children, unwed mothers, indigent men, and relatives who arrive in Cadillacs for wild parties which last until early morning. Thirdly, most white families choose a neighborhood in which to live because the area complements their idea of their status; they fear that if a Negro family moves in the neighborhood's status image will change and other families will move away. They seem to be unaware of the numerous studies on this subject which demonstrate that property values in stable middle-class all-Negro and integrated neighborhoods have a tendency to be equal to, if not higher than, property values in corresponding all-white communities.

There are other fears, too. A Negro family living next door demands that one's theories on inter-racial relations be put into practice, and many people are afraid they cannot pass the test. In addition, some parents are unsure of their children's acceptance of their values, and fear that if the children come into contact with Negro children in school, they will date and eventually marry Negroes.

Since a number of powerful and irrational fears militate against unrestricted housing for Negroes, why should one even consider promoting open occupancy? The answer is simple: open occupancy involves several important advantages to both the white and the Negro races.

The first reason that unrestricted housing for Negroes is important to the white community is the fact that America's city residential areas are rapidly becoming all-Negro and the suburbs all-white. If the present discrimination in housing and expansion of the Negro ghetto continues, control of the political machines and other devices of power and communication in the cities will be concentrated in the hands of the Negroes. Two separate and powerful communities, one Negro, the other white, will emerge. If Negroes are denied acceptance into the American culture, and at the same time receive the metropolitan land and political power because the whites have abdicated it, the Negro community will inevitably develop its own justification for remaining separate. And the battle between the two groups will be long and bitter.

Unless America's metropolitan areas quickly adopt the practice of open occupancy, the pattern of two separate and strong communities may become so entrenched that it can never be changed. Instead of Negroes becoming a part of the mainstream of American life and making their contribution to it, Negro culture will withdraw and become increasingly distinct. Such a cleavage within urban life in America would have devastating economic, emotional, and spiritual effects on both races.

The white community also needs open occupancy because the expansion of the Negro ghetto is leaving a wake of human misery, especially among older people. Negroes are moving to the cities in increasing numbers, the Negro population of every major American city is expanding, and the pressure for Negro housing is building up. In cities where open occupancy laws do not exist, the segregated Negro community usually expands in such a way as to engulf any racially-integrated neighborhoods, and control of the situation falls into the hands of real estate speculators, or "block busters".

When the block buster moves a Negro family into an all-white neighborhood, the other residents usually panic and begin to sell their homes and move away. The people who are most damaged in this process are the older couples who have lived in the neighborhood for a long time. Many of the younger couples were already planning to move to the suburbs as soon as they had saved enough money for the down payment, and they are still young enough to qualify for 20-30 year mortgages. But the older people thought they had made their last move; they planned to spend the rest of their lives in their present home. Many of them have no choice but to stay, because they haven't the money to purchase another home in a different location.

Thus many of the older people tend to remain in their homes and get acquainted with their new Negro neighbors. But gradually their white neighbors move away. Sometimes the church moves out too, and leaves the older people stranded. And then the sons and daughters say, "Gee, Mom and Pop, I hate to think of you living in that old neighborhood with all those niggers." At this point the

(Continued on page 6)

BOOK REVIEWS

A $3.95 EDUCATION

ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR MISUNDERSTANDING, by Robert Gover, Grove Press, Inc. New York, 1961. 192 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by Kenneth S. Waterman

Put this high on the required bibliography for anyone seriously engaged in inner-city work. As impossible as it is to enter that real other world still courageously resistant to middle-class phonies, the author has, shall we say, penetrated. Even into areas which usually elude even the long-standing inner-city church worker.

Jimmy is a 19-year-old white sophomore in the big city college and son of a Cadillac-driving father who is chairman of the "Anti-Obscenity Committee" back home. Overcome by loneliness, fraternity taunts, and patriotic righteousness, our young hero journeys to a Negro "ill-repute house" for sociological research. Believe it or not, dear inner-city readers, there are many many types like this around, full of the crusading spirit of Madison Avenue, Goldwater, and Kinsey, Gover has not overdone our straight man, Jimmy.

Kitten is the 14-year-old illiterate prostitute-philosopher and protector of simple truth. Need I tell you that she is real too - at least on 12th Street in Kansas City and miraculously around our Communion Table.

Jimmy writes every other chapter in his stilted college monologue. Kitten gives her account of the same events in alternate chapters. Never do they communicate. But Gover communicates with the reader. You will easily understand the idiom, style, and dialect of both Kitten and Jimmy.

Should borrowers ever let the book sit idly on your shelves, don't be afraid of those who don't like four letter words. There aren't any. Kitten slurs to 2 or 3 letters or more often polyphonically embroiders to 23. It is a language too high for the blue noses or thrill seekers to understand.

CIVIL RIGHTS U.S.A. Public Schools North and West, 1962. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962. $2.00.

Reviewed by Arthur M. Stevenson

Anyone interested in the public schools in the cities of the North and West should read this book.

It is composed of reports on Highland Park, Michigan; New Rochelle, N.Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Chicago, Ill.; and St. Louis, Mo.

The report on New Rochelle is, to me, particularly interesting. It reads something like "Anatomy of a Murder." The legal battle is reviewed with the logic for the different approaches discussed. John Koplan, the author, is on the staff of Northwestern University Law School. His style is engaging. As a result, you read with increasing attention and gain a sense of the emotions that were and are a vital part of the New Rochelle Story.

In the town where I live, de facto segregation in the public schools is an important issue. Most of us are unaware of the complexities involved. I wish a large number of citizens in my town would read the Commission's report, for then we would have a group of citizens who would have some common background on the issues, the feelings, and the need for justice as we discuss how to have good schools for everyone.

THESE CITIES GLORIOUS, by Lawrence Janssen, New York Friendship Press, 1963. 175 pp. with reading list. $1.75.

This is the adult study book for the mission study theme *THE CHANGING CITY CHALLENGES THE CHURCH*. Janssen is Field Director for Church and Community studies for the American Baptist Home Mission societies.

This book raises the question "what does the growing urbanization of our culture mean to the Church?" It does not provide an adequate answer to this question.

THE EMERGING CITY: MYTH AND REALITY by Scott Greer. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. vii plus 332 pp.; $5.75.

Reviewed by Jack Worthington

This brief, brief book is a serious attempt to see the urban culture of our time as a whole. It rejects the partial images created by political scientists, urban sociologists, and economists. Greer's work is highly suggestive of the kind of wholistic view that is necessary to comprehend our urban culture. However, what he has to say does not fully define that view. It does indicate with maddening doggedness the elements which must be included in that view simply because they will not go away, if for no other reason. The picture that he creates of the city is not unlike the opening scene of Hell in C.S. Lewis's *THE GREAT DIVORCE*. The great city goes on and on and on. In successive chapters, Greer describes the "City in Crisis," "Order and Change in Metropolitan Society," "The Citizen in the Urban Worlds," "The Community of Limited Liability," "The Urban polity," "The Problems of the Metropolis," "The Changing Image of the City." The government of any city is a big operation. Yet it is surrounded by suburban municipalities which so limit their liability as to be almost guilty of shirking all responsibility for government at all. Most attempts to provide metropolitan government which would recognize the interdependence of the inner and outlying areas have been defeated at the polls and so the cities go on, always fighting a rear guard action against their problem and unable to get far enough ahead of them ever to be engaged in really creative innovations.

In many ways this sobering book is the culmination of realistic investigation such as the New York Metropolitan Area studies. However, Greer would like to see less study and more action.

THE PROTESTANT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Continued from page 1)

equip children and youth to understand the demands of their faith, reinforce the efforts of home and church to lead the young in the way of discipleship, and so eventually help leaven the secular lump that is the real America, ignores two dangers, I think. It smacks somewhat of the mission-compound approach, which protected the integrity of the missionary community and family fairly well but also insulated the gospel pretty well at the same time.

The argument also carries with it the danger of rejecting - or seeming to reject, which amounts to the same thing - the people and the situation it is, in theory, in time designed to redeem.

Tillich writes that there is always an element of risk involved in the kind of participation in human affairs that really communicates the meaning of the gospel.

I've been playing around with this idea of risk - and how far the Christian is called to go - for a long, long time. Being a sentimentalist, I've wondered, over and over, how a Negro parent could send, or take his child into a Southern school where he knew catcalls, spitballs, and other such would inevitably go along with any book learning to which the child might be exposed. Also being a sentimentalist, I've wondered what a Negro parent, North or South, thinks of those of us who withdraw our own young from the neighborhood schools from which, for most of the community, there is no withdrawal, except through truancy or drop-out.

What does this communicate? I wonder. That parents talk up a storm about wanting good schools in the community, but can't take the risk of letting their own home take the guff of a bad school until a better one can be had one way or another? That it is better to put a couple of extra hundred dollars into a private school, or a church school, rather than to pay higher school taxes or to make the effort to upgrade the public school? That income, culture, or the educational achievement of parents makes a real difference in the potential or actual worth of a child? That one saves one's own first and another's second? That some children just have to take tough situations because they are part of a fight for justice and god-given rights, but that others can be excused? That there's something suspect about a Son (fatherhood held in doubt by some anyway) sent not to a rabbinical, temple or royal life but to a carpenter's bench?

All are very human responses to the very human response to a less than desirable situation. But what price do we pay as a church by our failure to take some of the risks - or, even less dramatic, our failure to use some of the imagination that could make a difference in so many of the school situations that baffle, frighten, and threaten to defeat us?

The public schools, it seems to me, are some of the "arenas," "intersections," "situations" (you pick the word according to your theological bent), in which Christians are called for an "encounter" or "engagement."

There are many ways for the engagement to begin - some of them not only painless, but pleasurable.

For instance, in one Midwest city a group of Jewish housewives from the suburbs (all with educational courses or actual teaching experience) are staffing two pilot kindergartens in a school in a low-income, decaying community. A grant covers supplies; the women give their teaching time. According to reports through the project, which has more educationally "official" counterparts in several cities, the children are getting the hang of school discipline and behaviour (not to mention a love of books, teachers, and learning) before they are crowded into first grade rooms; the suburbanites, who bring in books and toys their own children have enjoyed at home, are learning something of the inevitable costs of segregated education and housing; the parents are being helped over their distrust of the schools as well as the suburban temper.

In more churches than I know of, I'm sure, study halls, tutoring services, reading rooms, and other arrangements are beginning to bring together some of the skills of church members and the needs of children. Are we, in addition, recruiting, relating or releasing skilled laymen for volunteer work in the schools and on school boards? (In New York City, for instance, there is an appeal each year for volunteers to help enrich class teaching by their art, drama, craft, music, dance, recreational, storytelling, or other skills.)

What would happen, I wonder, if instead of so many of us sending - or thinking about sending - our children to private schools or those sponsored by other Protestant denominations, we, as parents, made the tuition money available to the local school or church for a project that would help get at some of the basic reasons the public schools seem not to be presently presentable? If, for instance, as seems true, special classes for children of homes that are non-educationally oriented mean the difference between the children's later ability to read well or poorly, who don't we help provide or encourage the provision of such classes. (It would be one way, perhaps, of ridding ourselves of the excuse that we can't tolerate public education because the poor readers are holding up the ones with a headstart.)

Or, instead of ignoring the child whose home cannot help him with his school work we draw him into the effort to help our own children in our own home or block? Or, if there is no art, music, or drama program, why, instead of withdrawing, can't we care enough to provide an interim program at the church, or, acting as parents who care, find a way to provide it through the school?

Why, in short, do we withdraw - or threaten to withdraw - rather than take the risk (which is not the greater one if we take such things as discipleship, creation, Christ's Lordship, and life eternal seriously) of participating?

The Urban Need for Open Occupancy

(Continued from page 3)

old house and neighborhood, which once were comfortable and pleasant, become shabby and despised, symbols of poverty and useless old age.

Enforceable open occupancy laws would stop the spread of the Negro ghetto. When Negroes can live anywhere in the community, no stigma will be placed on having Negro neighbors, and elderly white people can live out their lives with dignity in the homes they prefer.

The third advantage of open occupancy to white families concerns the children. Most white children of today are growing up in completely segregated neighborhoods which leave them ill-equipped for living in the cosmopolitan, racially-mixed world of tomorrow. These children, particularly those who will be the future leaders of the country, will have to function well in an integrated society and world, and must be able to relate constructively to people of other races. The best training a child can receive for this experience is to grow up in a community which is racially and religiously mixed.

The advantages of open occupancy are not nearly so specific for Negroes as they are for whites. For Negroes, decent housing at competitive prices is the doorway to normative American life. If white Americans have a distorted view of Negro life, Negroes have an equally distorted view of white life. Many Negroes know white people only through watching their antics reported in the press, displayed on the screen, and observed in the homes of those wealthy enough to hire servants. They have little idea of what goes on in the average middle-class white neighborhood and of the value judgments involved in living on a medium income.

Probably very few Negro parents are aware of the advantages their children can receive from attending an integrated school. For most Negro parents, having children in an integrated school is a status symbol proving equality. But for the Negro child, integrated schooling means that he learns to feel natural in an integrated world. He doesn't find the palms of his hands becoming moist when he meets his counterpart in the white race. He is able to measure himself against his peers as persons and therefore is realistic about his goals, neither aiming too low because he is a Negro nor aiming too high because he doesn't know his natural limitations.

Open occupancy does not mean a few economically privileged families living in upper-class suburban communities and sending their children to the best schools and colleges. It means a wide dispersal of Negro families on the basis of economic ability and cultural preference. It means Negroes living next door to other Americans with similar incomes and goals. It means boys and girls from stable middle-class Negro homes attending school with white children with the same backgrounds and motivations.

With the increasing urbanization of American Negroes and the accelerated automation of industry, the country's urban centers are approaching a crisis. Unless open occupancy for Negroes becomes a reality in the near future, every American city will be divided into two camps: one Negro, the other white. If such divisions become solidified, it will mean the end of the American dream for millions. Negroes will contribute less and less to the productive side of American life; they will become an increasing drain on the public welfare rolls and a financial burden to the white community. These things can be predicted. What cannot be predicted at this time is the destructive hostility which can grow in both races and transform our cities into hells.

The Strike is Over

(Continued from page 2)

need are signs that the strike is broken. Both will continue permanently. But neither gets at the broader issues of social justice which characterize our cities. A few starts have been made in response to them, but it will take a much broader base of experimentation and risk before we can say fully "the strike is over."

About Our Contributors

SAUL ALINSKY, Executive of the Industrial Areas Foundation and guiding spirit of many excellent community organizations in this country sets forth a set of *PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION*.

BILL GRACE, Co-ordinator of the Inner-City Council of San Francisco says *LET'S HAVE MORE ALBANYS* in "Reader's Response."

MILDRED HERMANN, a Bronx girl and press officer for the Board writes on *THE PROTESTANT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS*.

DAN LITTLE, Associate Director of this Department writes *THE STRIKE IS OVER*.

BILL LORENZ, Pastor of Grace Church, St. Louis, and Chairman of the Freedom of Residence group in that city, writes on *THE HUMAN NEED FOR OPEN OCCUPANCY*.

KEN WATERMAN, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri, writes *THE PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL*.

Book Reviewers are -

ART STEVENSON, Director of Administrative Services in the Division of Synods and Presbyteries of this Board.

KEN WATERMAN (see above).

JACK WORTHINGTON, Ph.D., Board of Christian Education staff.

ENCLOSED IN THIS MAILING

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD RENEWAL by Monsignor John J. Egan, Director of the Archdiocesan Conservation Council of Chicago, a man who has made a profound and lasting contribution to the renewal of urban areas as well as to ecumenical relations.

THE NEW CRIMINAL: A REPORT ON THE "HIP KILLER" by Lewis Yablonsky, Ph.D., author of *THE VIOLENT GANG* (Macmillan 1962) and Associate Professor of Sociology UCLA.

STRENGTHENING THE ARM by the Rev. Richard Prosser, MSW, Supervisor of Social Group Work, Erie House, Presbytery of Chicago.

THE WHITE LIBERALS RETREAT by Murray Friedman, Ph.D., Philadelphia Area Director, American Jewish Committee.

Principles of Urban-Suburban Cooperation

I. Urban-Suburban mission is a two way street.

II. *For suburban church members to witness most effectively in the inner-city* their involvements should include:
- A. Consistent, responsible, non-paternalistic, service
- B. Commitment to particular tasks for a stated time period (6 months, 1 year) - should be subject to renewal
- C. Willingness to participate under direction of local leadership (pastor; Session; neighborhood house directors)
- D. The possibility of associate membership or transfer of regular membership to the inner-city congregation.

III. There are also possibilities for a second type of direct service by suburbanites in inner-city:
- A. Sharing of special skills on a regular basis (drama, teaching, group work, athletics, legal advice, etc.)
- B. Participation in one shot or short term projects (visitation, census, family nights, voter registration campaigns, study groups, etc.)

IV. For inner-city church members relating to suburban communities the following are possible kinds of involvement:
- A. Efforts leading to desegregation of suburbs
- B. Witness in helping to overcome job discrimination
- C. Sharing knowledge of *positive* values in city life

V. We need to develop opportunities for involvement of suburbanites, for witness in "public responsibility" through:
- A. Community organizations
- B. Direct social and political action
- C. Bringing Christian perspective to vocation

VI. We need to develop opportunities of inner-city churchmen to take part in the witness of "public responsibility" in suburban communities through:
- A. Community organizations
- B. Direct social and political action
- C. Bringing Christian perspective to vocation

VII. As in other forms of witness, participation in urban mission is not an option chosen "out of the goodness of one's heart," but a response to the mandates of commitment to Christ. The more clearly we see the opportunity for faithful service, the more freely and joyfully we are able to serve.

VIII. All inter-church efforts shall be oriented away from inhibition of local leadership development and toward supplementing, strengthening and supporting the local lay leadership in the churches and the initiative of residents in areas served by neighborhood houses.

OBSERVATIONS

1. Though in recent years most forms of inter-congregational cooperation have been through joint efforts involving suburban and urban congregations, it is becoming clear that the term "suburban-urban cooperation" leaves undescribed the many relationships among various city churches. We need a fuller understanding of the unity of mission that must involve all congregations in sharing whatever resources a congregation may possess at a particular moment in history with those places where the need is most compelling at that moment.

2. In the future we will certainly be more heavily involved in ecumenical relationships that will change the patterns of recent years. Cooperative efforts will be less narrowly Presbyterian; more broadly related to other denominations.

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN CHURCH
PRESBYTERY OF CHICAGO

For Your Information

THE ECUMENIST

A journal for promoting Christian unity, published bi-monthly by the Polist Press in collaboration with the Center of Ecumenical Studies, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and edited by Gregory Baum, is a very worthwhile journal for Protestant clergymen and laymen to read. The editorial office is 401 West 59th Street, New York 19, New York. The magazine is published free at this time, so contributions would be gratefully accepted.

Presbyterian Interracial Council

by Kenneth Waterman

A new organization called *THE PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL* is being formed within the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The purpose of the movement is "to provide United Presbyterians a means to work together as churchmen in learning and implementing their denomination's teachings on race and brotherhood." Invitations to join the movement have been sent to over 6000 urban pastors and laymen.

THE PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL will be chartered Thursday, May 16, 1963, at a 7:30 A.M. breakfast meeting at the Kirkwood Hotel in Des Moines, Iowa, during the time of the General Assembly, the annual meeting of the denomination's highest governing body. The deadline for charter membership and/or breakfast reservations is May 6; reservations may be made through the Interim Secretariat for the organization, c/o the First Presbyterian Church, 1112 East 10th Street, Kansas City 6, Missouri. Annual membership is $5.00 and breakfast is $2.00.

Dr. James H. Robinson, Director of "Crossroads Africa," will be the kick-off speaker at the May 16 breakfast. His topic will be "The Church and the Next Emancipation." Dr. Robinson is a widely known United Presbyterian minister, author and the founder of "Crossroads Africa" which sponsored 292 American teachers, physicians, technicians, and students working in 16 African countries in 1962.

THE PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL is envisioned as an independent movement, not officially related to or dependent upon the denomination or any of its boards or agencies. Several groups of ministers and laymen have been planning for the organization for several months. Kenneth S. Waterman, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Kansas City, Missouri, has been the coordinator of these efforts. Planning groups in Chicago, New York, and Kansas City are currently preparing for the May 16 organizational meeting where officers will be elected and by-laws adopted.

(Continued on page 8)

CITY MATERIALS

In the year 1963-64 the Protestant denominations participating in the National Council of Churches will have as their mission study theme *THE CHANGING CITY CHALLENGES THE CHURCH*. This Board has worked to develop resources to help local churches and schools of missions in their study. The following materials are available on the schedule listed from the P.D.S. nearest you.

BASIC RESOURCES

LOST AND FOUND IN THE CITY. A reprint of the narrative section of the annual report describes the effect of increasing urbanization on the church. 35¢ per copy; 4 for $1.00. Available in July.

THESE RESTLESS THRONGS. Illustrated leaflet describing the changing city and the people who change it. Free. Available in July.

THE CITY AND THE CHURCH. Packet of basic materials designed to provide general background information on the scope of urban church work and the major problems confronting urban dwellers. 75¢. Available in July.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOURCES

Five packets on specific phases of urban life.

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE CITY - HOUSING. Material on effects of urban renewal, open occupancy laws, exploitation of slums, etc. 50¢. Available in July.

A GROWING URBAN PROBLEM - NARCOTICS ADDICTION. Material on the extent of the problem, difficulties of dealing with it, examples of present programs, etc. 50¢. Available in July.

THE CHALLENGE IN RACE RELATIONS. Material on race relations in urban areas in the North and West, schools, housing; the impact of the problem on the church, individuals, and the community. Available in July. 50¢.

THE OUTSIDER. Material on evangelism problems and opportunities posed by urban culture. Available in July. 50¢.

THE URBAN COMMUNITY. Material on the nature of the new urban community in the U.S.A., the role of community organizations and the part the church might play in bringing about community changes.

DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE. Relationship between urban-suburban churches and people. Authors: Dr. David B. Watermulder, pastor of Bryn Mawr Church; Dr. Henry Kuizenga, pastor of First Church, San Anselmo, California; the Rev. Herbert S. Yates; and others. 50¢.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE CHANGING CITY. Available in June. Free.

THE MAGNET, illustrated 20-page booklet in magazine format to give young people a view of the changing city and the church's ministry there. Available in July. 30¢ per copy.

PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

(Continued from page 7)

These groups hope that the *PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL* will become one of the foremost independent movements within their church. "P.I.C. will not discourage Presbyterians from actively working in other civil rights and social justice groups," Mr. Waterman observed. "Our purpose is to mobilize concerned Presbyterians vigorously and responsibly to make themselves instruments for promoting integration within the Church, the communities in which they live, and the whole nation. It is hoped P.I.C. will have the character of a laymen's movement."

With the forming of the national organization in Des Moines, a campaign to establish local and regional units will begin. It is planned that most of the impact of the Presbyterian Interracial Council will result from the work of local chapters.

Principles of Community Organization

by SAUL ALINSKY

(a) It is rooted in the local tradition, the local indigenous leadership, the local organizations and agencies, and, in short, the local people.

(b) Its energy or driving force is generated by the self-interest of the local residents for the welfare of their children and themselves.

(c) Its program for action develops hand in hand with the organization of the community council. The program is in actual fact that series of common agreements which results in the development of the local organization.

(d) It is a program arising out of the local people, carrying with it the direct participation of practically all the organizations in a particular area. It involves a substantial degree of individual citizen participation; a constant day to day flow of volunteer activities and the daily functioning of numerous local committees charged with specific short-term functions.

(e) It constantly emphasizes the functional relationship between problems and therefore its program is as broad as the social horizon of the community. It avoids, at all costs, circumscribed and segmental programs which in turn would attract the support of only a segment of the local population.

(f) It recognizes that a democratic society is one which responds to popular pressures, and therefore realistically operates on the basis of pressure. For the same reason it does not shy away from involvement in matters of controversy.

(g) It concentrates on the utilization of indigenous individuals, who, if not leaders at the beginning, can be developed into leaders.

(h) It gives priority to the significance of legitimate self-interest. The organization itself proceeds on the idea of channeling the many diverse forces of self-interest with the community into a common direction for the common good and at the same time respects the autonomy of individuals and organizations.

(i) It moves toward goal of self-financing. This not only testifies to its representative character in that local residents support their own organizations financially, but insures to the local council the acid test of independence: "the ability to pay one's way."

NCC Calls For Action To Secure Civil Rights For All The Religious weekly 6/11/63

Religion

In the face of "a crisis involving the entire nation and the fundamental concepts of freedom and justice," the General Board of the National Council of Churches has called on the churches "to confess omission and delay and to move forward to witness to the essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other."

Declaring that "words and declarations are no longer useful in this struggle unless accompanied by sacrifice and commitment," the Board mapped a three-point strategy "for immediate action":

--- "To invite Roman Catholic and Jewish ecumenical leadership to share with us in action to aid in desegregation of American life;

--- "To urge every member communion to impress upon its people the serious nature of the present hour and to press vigorously for their involvement in every phase of the struggle for justice, including negotiation and demonstration ...;

--- "To commit ourselves, as members of the General Board, to engage personally in ... direct action; to invite Roman Catholic and Jewish leadership to join us in making a united presentation before Congressional committees on the subject of civil rights legislation; (and) to issue a call to Protestant and Orthodox leaders, and an invitation to religious leaders of all faiths, to assemble in Washington as soon as is strategic."

To implement this action, the General Board called on President J. Irwin Miller to appoint a 25-member interracial Commission on Religion and Race. This commission will be directly related to the office of the General Secretary "to make commitments, call for actions and take risks in behalf of the National Council which are required by the situation and are consistent both with the substance and the implications of the actions and decisions of the National Council in the area of religion and race."

Action by the Board came unanimously following the report on the racial situation, drafted by a temporary committee of six appointed by President Miller following the winter meeting of the Board.

- more -

The Religious weekly 6/11/63 -2-

General Board Says Religion Has No Place In Public Schools

In a major pronouncement adopted by churchmen representing 31 Protestant denominations, the decision of the Supreme Court in the N.Y. Regent's Prayer case was upheld. Declaring that "neither true religion nor good education is dependent upon the devotional use of the Bible in the public school program," the General Board members agreed that the Bible is a necessary source book for other subjects and that "teaching about religion is an essential part of many subjects such as social studies, literature and the arts."

Recognizing the "wisdom and authority" of the Supreme Court's ruling on prayer in public schools, the pronouncement did not rule out prayers altogether. "Prayers for special occasions may well be left to the judgment of those responsible for the program of the public schools in the local community," it said.

The Board also affirmed its belief that the First Amendment to the Constitution, in its present wording, affords the "maximum protection for the religious liberty of all our citizens." Nearly 50 proposals to amend the religious freedom provisions of the First Amendment have already been put forward, the pronouncement noted.

"Religious ideas, beliefs and values, and the contributions of churches, are an integral part of our cultural heritage," said the pronouncement, (but) "teaching for religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and the church or synagogue, rather than the public schools."

A dissenting opinion was presented to the General Board on behalf of Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, a member of the National Council.

Religion

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE:RE-2-5417 233 Broadway, NYC

NEWS SERVICE

(The following news story was sent out this week to all Catholic newspapers and magazines by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service.)

MAV
SBV

INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
LAUDS PRESIDENT'S
NEGRO RIGHTS TALK

NEW YORK, June 13--The Catholic Interracial Council of New York said President Kennedy showed "forthright leadership" and an understanding of the racial situation in his nationwide broadcast on Negro rights.

"For years many Americans have waited for a president of this nation to say what needed to be said with respect to the racial situation in the United States," the council's executive committee said in a statement. "This President Kennedy has done. His address captures the scope, depth and breadth of these issues which have remained unsolve for over three centuries."

The committee said it was particularly "heartened by the President's words" referring to the racial situation as"a moral crisis" facing the country and its people.

"Our confidence in the destiny of America has been renewed by the forthright leadership of our President," the statement concluded.

President Kennedy had stated in his address (June 11) that "we are confronted primarily with a moral issue."

"The heart of the question," he said, "is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated."

The President also said: "One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not yet fully free...And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free."

He said that "we face...a moral crisis as a country and a people, and "it cannot be met by repressive police action."

"It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and, above all, in all of our daily lives," he stated.

The President said he is sending to Congress sweeping legislation designed to speed school desegregation and to open public facilities to every American regardless of color.

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Materials

Relig. statements

The American Lutheran Church

422 SOUTH FIFTH STREET • MINNEAPOLIS 15, MINNESOTA

Office of the PRESIDENT

June 17, 1963

MEMORANDUM TO THE PASTORS OF THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

RE: (1) Civil Rights and the American Negro

(2) The Supreme Court Decision on Bible Reading and Prayer in the Public Schools

In 1942 Dr. Gunnar Myrdal published his monumental two-volume Carnegie study of the racial dilemma in the United States. He found that in our dealing with the Negro we were ignoring the beautifully stated guarantees of freedom set forth in our Constitution and in the ideals of the nation. But he concluded that there was cause for hope in the fact that the United States had a bad conscience about this Pharisaism.

Since Dr. Myrdal wrote, much progress has been made, but this has also tended to highlight how much remains to be done. The birth of new nations in Africa, conferring greater dignity and freedom on the African Negro than his brother possesses in the United States, is robbing the American Negro of his patience. Increasingly the American Negro leaders who counsel patience and forbearance are losing the confidence of their own people.

Today President Kennedy met with about 200 religious leaders whom he had summoned to the White House for a consultation about civil rights. In his address he pointed out that in the last seven to eight weeks there has been a rapid acceleration in the feelings and determination of the Negro people to realize the full rights of American citizenship. He asked for cooperation in achieving a significant breakthrough during the months of July through September. He declared that our job is to make the transition as smooth and as peaceful as possible. Then he pointed out that the time schedule will not be set by Congress or the churches, but by the Negro community.

Many people will remonstrate against the Negro's impatience. Within 24 hours two different cab drivers did this with me. But we have had a hundred years in which to get the job done. We witness today a God's "fullness of time." Eschatalogically, the time for the practice of patience is tapering off for the Negro and it is setting in in earnest for the white man. Are not Amos's words "You have turned justice into poison" applicable to us as a nation? (Amos 6:12b)

In the President's consultation the Attorney General reported that integration in the use of public facilities and equal opportunities for employment and housing meets

with a much larger degree of success in communities where the clergy give their support rather than remaining aloof. What can we as pastors in the congregations of The American Lutheran Church do?* I submit the following suggestions:

(1) If you are without convictions on this issue, ponder the gravity of this hour of judgment in the life of our nation, and let your people know where you stand. (This is important even in northern, rural congregations where there may be no colored people living. With the frequent movings that occur, today's farmer may be tomorrow's city dweller.)

(2) Be sure that your own congregation does not withhold the hand of welcome from a Negro guest or applicant for membership. (See the enclosed copy of a resolution passed by the February, 1963, meeting of the Church Council.)

(3) The Christian has a commission to pray. In your Sunday worship services during June-September, include a weekly petition that God may dispose our hearts in penitence for our racial sins and in a hunger to allow "justice to roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (Amos 5:24).

(4) Encourage your people to write to their senators and congressmen. It is not for us to tell them what kind of legislation is required; but they should know that we expect them to support any legislation that looks toward insuring the Negro of his rights as an American citizen. Let senators and congressmen be advised that this is no time to stymie action by support of or participation in filibustering.

(5) Be quick to encourage your lay leaders to participate in community consultations, bringing together white and Negro leaders for conversation and peaceful action.

Finally, all of us are concerned about the dishonor present events bring to our nation. Communism makes hay out of our iniquity. The proclamation of our foreign missionaries is robbed of much of its power. But God can make the present evil serve for good. Before us lies the possibility that our nation may be the first one wherein God has an opportunity to demonstrate the blessings He can pour out upon a people that recognizes and acts on the truth that God is the Creator and Redeemer of <u>all men</u>.

* * * *

This 17th day of June is also the day when the Supreme Court announced its decision with reference to Bible reading and use of the Lord's prayer in the public schools. It is easy to misunderstand the implications of this decision. This is borne out by the agitation of some people to amend the Constitution, and thus possibly to override the Court's decision. Such action would, in my judgment, be folly. Let us thank God that we have a government that jealously guards the church's right to be the church; but let us not contribute to an anti-clerical, anti-church atmosphere by confusing the rights of the two kingdoms.

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* See enclosed resolution adopted by Southeastern Minnesota District Convention

Our Department of Public Information was solicited for a statement on the Supreme Court's decision. In order that you may be informed of what I said, I submit the text below:

"Today's Supreme Court decision points up a situation that has long existed through tolerance rather than constitutional right. The decision may actually be a plus for the Christian church. It will alert its people to the certainty that community agencies carry no responsibility for Christian nurture. This privilege belongs to the family and the church. Clear recognition of this fact may provide a new sense of "ought-ness" in the church's assumption of this privilege and obligation.

"Without having had an opportunity to see the text of the Court's 8 to 1 decision, it appears that it may become the occasion for new questions. If schools are not to be allowed religious use of the Bible and prayer in instructing the children, is it permissible for a government body to practice this same religion? Congressional opening prayers and the invocation of the grace of God at the opening of the Supreme Court will no doubt receive new scrutiny. The support of chaplains in the armed forces would come in a different category.

"Many earnest Christians may misunderstand the ruling of the Supreme Court and interpret it as antipathy to religion. This possibility is enhanced by the fact that the Court's opinion was occasioned by a case brought by Mrs. Madalyn Murray of Baltimore, Md., an acknowledged atheist. It is therefore increasingly important that Christians use every legitimate opportunity to make it evident that 'we are a religious people' as was stated by the Supreme Court in a decision handed down in 1952. What an opportunity for Christians elected to office or in the service of the government to underscore this statement by their speech, action, and participation in worship services!' "

Fredrik A. Schiotz

Southeastern Minnesota District Convention's Resolution

At the Southeastern Minnesota District Convention, where I shared the information that I intended to send this memorandum to our pastors, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"WHEREAS, Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, General President of The American Lutheran Church will represent The American Lutheran Church at the conference for churchmen called by President John F. Kennedy for next Monday, June 17, 1963, to explore problems in the area of civil rights; and

"WHEREAS, We are mindful that in our own area the matter of civil rights and freedom from discrimination involves the minority group of American Indians as well as Negroes and other minority groups; be it therefore

"Resolved, That the Southeastern Minnesota District go on record as fully endorsing and heartily encouraging Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz in his announced intention to support, on the basis of clear teachings of God's Word, the current endeavors of the President of the United States, to secure legislation that would promote the enjoyment of civil rights on the part of the citizens of this nation; and be it further

"Resolved, That we solemnly pledge to put forth every effort in parish and community to end racial discrimination."

Resolution Adopted by the Church Council of The ALC February, 1963

"WHEREAS, The conference on 'The Church's Concern for a Diverse Society' met in Chicago, November 13-16, 1962, and was sponsored by the National Lutheran Council, Division of American Missions, with representatives from the boards of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in America, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and The American Lutheran Church; and

"WHEREAS, The following statement was referred by the conference to the respective church councils of the church bodies which were represented:

'It is sad that the Church constantly is being robbed of its best weapon: the testimony of non-discrimination in its own congregational life. But, it is infinitely worse that the Church tolerates discrimination in its own confines without doing anything about it. Here we are called to battle and to assert the dominion of Christ in His own Church against powerful enemies who have taken over the leadership. Against these powerful enemies the common church member is powerless. Here the Church is challenged to make use of the disciplinary powers given it by God . . . .'; and

"WHEREAS, The preamble of the Articles of Union of the churches that united to form The American Lutheran Church provides that we 'covenant with one another to face together the responsibility for proclaiming more effectively the Gospel of

our Lord at home and abroad, without limitation of nationality or race'; and

"WHEREAS, The Division of American Missions of The American Lutheran Church operates under the policy that new congregations which are established shall be open to people of all nationalities and race; and

"WHEREAS, The Letter of Call currently used in The American Lutheran Church provides that the pastor shall lead the congregation in fulfilling the responsibility of the parish to witness for Christ and to enlist in active membership in His Church all in the community who are not actively affiliated with a Christian congregation; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the pastors of The American Lutheran Church be requested to renew their effort to instruct congregations in the position of the Church in proclaiming the Gospel to all people; and be it further

"Resolved, That should a congregation not practice the proclamation of the Gospel of our Lord without limitation to nationality or race and not admit to membership in the congregation Lutherans who may wish to transfer into the congregation or not admit people to membership classes who may wish to be instructed, the district president shall report this violation of church practice to the Executive Committee of the District and to the Church Council."

Reprinted from the June 18, 1963 issue of LOOK

Religion

A CHRISTIAN VIEW:

BEHIND THE FIGHT AGAINST SCHOOL PRAYER

BY THE REV. H. B. SISSEL SECRETARY FOR NATIONAL AFFAIRS, UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

IN FEBRUARY, 1958, the Edward Schempp family of Abington, Pa., filed suit in Federal court to stop Bible reading and other devotional practices in the township's public schools. The Abington case and a similar one, begun in Baltimore, eventually wound up in the U. S. Supreme Court, and have provoked vigorous debate throughout the nation.

I lived near the Schempp family and in April, 1958, went to call on them. They showed me some of the scores of letters they had received from all over the country. The vast majority were critical, as might have been expected. But many of them were vicious, and not a few were obscene. Several of the latter were signed, "In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ"! The Schempps are church-going Unitarians.

I left their house with the vague feeling that something was wrong somewhere, not only with religious people who could write in such hatred, but with a religiously oriented society that could voice hatred in the language of faith. But I couldn't put my finger on the problem.

Several weeks later, I saw a television film based on George Bernard Shaw's play, *Androcles and the Lion.* In one scene, a group of Christians are huddled together in a dungeon beneath the Colosseum in Rome. They are to be thrown to the lions the next day. One of their number, a beautiful Christian girl, returns the love of a Roman commander whose troops had marched the prisoners from their remote village to Rome. In the middle of the night, the commander comes to try to persuade his beloved to

save herself from the lions by meeting the requirement of the Roman Government—putting a pinch of incense in an altar fire dedicated to Jupiter. She refuses.

"But it's such a little thing," he pleads. "Why should you die for being so stubborn? You don't have to give up any of your beliefs or take on any new ones. We don't ask you to stop being a Christian. All you have to do is just this little thing, so that the Government may know that you are a loyal subject. Then you and I can get married and live in peace. Is a pinch of incense so great a sacrifice for life, love and happiness?" Again, the girl refuses, although she loves him.

As I watched the TV screen, the memory of my visit with the Schempps flashed across my mind. That memory stirred up others. I thought of the Christmas carols blaring from loudspeakers on Main Street during December, the Nativity crèche on the courthouse lawn, the Easter merchandising madness, the attractive billboards suggesting that all "worship in the church or synagogue of your choice" (courtesy of the local lumber company), the "Jesus Saves" signs along the highways—all sights and sounds testifying that "religion," particularly "Christianity" of some kind, is popular, accepted and more or less "official" in our land.

It occurred to me that since the first century, the tables have been turned. Now, "we" are doing it to "them"—in a much more civilized way, of course. The believer is no longer in danger. Quite the contrary. Today, it is hazardous to disturb the gentle currents that waft church and society along in a mutually supporting relationship.

For today, in dozens of ways, our culture is saying to the non-Christian, the Christian, the Jew, the Unitarian, the humanist, everybody: "Sing the hymn and carol, send the Easter card or Christmas card, support the public prayer, bow your head, say the words, display the Bible, *offer the pinch of incense*. You don't have to change your beliefs or even your behavior. Just follow the forms. It's to your advantage, you know. But be warned. Do not attack any of the symbols of public piety."

When it was worth a person's life to say he was a Christian, his avowal had enormous significance. But when a profession of faith is a worldly advantage and its absence a worldly liability; when the church is at peace with the world—Old Testament prophets called it being "at ease in Zion"—then thoughtful religious people become deeply troubled.

What is a religious community, a church or synagogue, to do in this kind of situation? Today, in spite of mounting budgets, swelling membership and more and more programs, the churches of America seem increasingly like mere Sunday refuges from the frustrations of an organized mass society. Their behavior as social institutions (which is all that can be seen by those on the outside) makes them seem little different from any other benevolent, voluntary associations or lodges. What are they to do? How can their institutional life, the part that is visible to the world, make manifest what they profess in their worship: that they are not man's, but that they belong to Another? How can they speak on public issues and, unlike other social and benevolent institutions, reflect a point of view that rises above self-interest? What, finally, distinguishes a church from a corporation?

When President Kennedy presented Congress with his tax-reform proposals, one recommendation was that a five percent floor be placed under deductible items, including contributions to charity. Many social-welfare agencies that depend upon voluntary contributions for their programs opposed the suggestion. So did many churchmen, and at least one major denominational body expressed deep concern that the proposal might lessen incentives for church giving. The reaction of the welfare institutions was predictable. Unfortunately, that of the churches was too.

As a member of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., I must ask myself and my church: What does it mean to be a Christian in America today? How should a religious community speak and act in such a time? What does God ask of his people, here and now?

There used to be a sign on trains that read: "Dining Car in Opposite Direction." This didn't tell you precisely where the dining car was to be found, but if you were looking for it and ran across the sign, you knew you had to turn around and go the other way.

It may be that this advice is worth being considered by religious people in America, and by their churches. If so, a good way to begin is to examine what they say and do about church-state issues and about the problems of a society that is becoming not more secular, but more, if only on the surface, "religious." Can the direction be changed?

My own denomination, the United Presbyterian Church, has made a small beginning. In May, its highest court, the General Assembly, devoted considerable time to weighing a provocative report full of recommendations on church-state problems and implications about the relations between the churches and American culture. Among other things, the report went on record against many of the practices superficially thought of as being in the self-interest of Protestantism:

- It opposed prayer and Bible reading, as religious observances, in the public schools.
- It opposed the use of public property for religious displays, like the crèche.
- It urged, not Roman Catholic, but wealthy United Presbyterian churches to consider making a voluntary donation to local taxing authorities in lieu of the taxes they don't have to pay.
- The report also suggested that special privileges for clergymen, like those for churches, are at best mixed blessings, because they tend to blunt church capacity for sharp criticism of government and society.
- It urged United Presbyterians to seek amendments to Sunday closing laws that do economic injustice to persons who celebrate the Sabbath on Saturday.

Other Protestant communions—Methodists, Lutherans, Bap-

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tists, United Church of Christ—are undertaking similar studies, both of their relationships with the state and the "religious" climate of our society. The National Council of Churches has called a study-conference on the same subject for February, 1964. These signs are encouraging. But all this systematic concern by church leaders may not be enough to produce the kind of widespread, informed awareness that America's 70 million adult church members need to recover a sense of their own uniqueness and integrity. Nor may it be what is needed to help our nation solve the critical problems of health, education, welfare and politics that are all wrapped up in the church-state, religion-culture dilemma.

There are really two basic problems at issue. One is the problem of the *social* establishment of religion; the other, its *legal* establishment. Remember the pinch of incense required by the Roman Imperial Government? Suppose our Government made no such demand, but all of the forces of public opinion required it. Would that be an important distinction? Yes, it would. It would be the difference between a *socially* established custom enforced by popular opinion and a *legally* enacted statute enforced by the coercive power of the state. This is an important distinction, but not as clear as it might appear to be.

The two problems are so interwoven that in practice it is almost impossible to separate them. But it is of critical importance that Americans—especially churchmen—separate them in their thinking.

Too many Americans still cannot distinguish between what is done by voluntary private agencies and what is done by governmental agencies, between what belongs to *some* of the people and what belongs to *all* of the people. If I choose to erect a Nativity crèche on my front lawn, or on my church's front lawn, and all my Jewish neighbors choose to find it objectionable, so much the worse for their offended sensibilities. In our society, such an act of mine might be a sin against good taste, but it is certainly not an offense against civil law. And the law should protect my right as an individual to express my faith—or whatever I want to express—in this way.

But if the city council decides to build such an exhibit on the courthouse lawn, with or without taxpayers' money, not only may Jews legitimately object, but Christians as well—and take the matter into court if they feel strongly enough about it and have the courage and the money to do so. In my opinion, the state, the Government, has no right under our Constitution to promote one religion, or even all religions, by means of symbol or practice.

It is interesting that the Presbyterian report opposes crèches on public property, not on constitutional, but on theological grounds. They are not "an effective witness to the Lordship of Christ" in this society, says the report.

The First Amendment to the Constitution states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." Legal establishment, as the courts have defined it, case by case, is thus unconstitutional. Social establishment is not. And that is what we have in the United States—a social establishment of religion. This means that pious persons and organizations, as well as those that wish to appear so, can continue to place highly visible religious symbols at various places in our common world. In fact, they can figuratively blanket our society with references to God, prayer, faith, religion. As long as they do it with private money, on private property, or in private institutions, and do not make a public nuisance of themselves, no Government power can stop them. Any responsible civil libertarian, including the few atheists I know, would defend to the death their right to do so. It is protected by our Constitution.

But, at the same time, this social establishment of religion is pushing our Government agencies constantly toward a legal establishment. It generates a mass attitude that tends to overlook the tragic lessons of history, the instances in which a dominant church or sect translated ecclesiastical law into civil or criminal law—from the Inquisition of Spain to the theocracies of Calvin's Geneva, John Cotton's Massachusetts and a few modern states. Past religious tyranny led James Madison to ask of his fellow Virginians, "Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects?"

"Today's cozy link between church and state encourages zealous churchmen to press the state to do what they cannot get their churches to do for themselves."

Equally important to churchmen is this: A social establishment of religion tends to erase the distinctions between the legitimate functions of the state and the unique functions of the church. It encourages zealous churchmen or financially needy church institutions to press the state hard to do what the churches cannot or will not do for themselves. If the churches and parents cannot adequately accomplish the religious and moral education of their children, or cannot reach enough children, then what is more natural than to ask the state to assume that responsibility in the public schools on the ground that it is necessary for the good of society? Or if a church college, started under Christian auspices and intent upon bringing a distinct religious dimension to its campus life, cannot finance itself from private sources of income, what is more natural than that it seek tax funds to continue its work on the ground that higher private education performs a needed public service?

Nevertheless, social establishment tends toward legal establishment. When the Supreme Court ruled that a prayer composed by state officials to be recited in New York public schools was an establishment of religion, public outcry was loud and long. Sen. Jacob K. Javits received in one month 6,146 letters opposed to the Court's decision and only 389 supporting it. Congressmen and senators rushed to introduce bills—74 in the House; 3 in the Senate, sponsored by 22 senators—that would amend the Constitution to permit such prayers by schoolchildren in classrooms.

Two years ago, the Supreme Court held that Sunday-closing laws were legal because they no longer fulfill a "religious" purpose. These laws, went the reasoning, enable millions of Americans to get a day of rest, sleep late, enjoy family recreation or do

whatever they please. Therefore, said the Court, such laws come under the legitimate power of the state to legislate for the general welfare. This finding caused rejoicing in the Lord's Day Alliance, a religious association that is dedicated to promoting the Christian observance of Sunday and has been politically effective in the fight to preserve Sunday-closing laws in some states. But one Protestant theologian's reaction was: "Should we also pray that prayers in the public schools will be adjudged 'nonreligious'? How many such 'victories' should we hope to win?"

As a matter of fact, this kind of "victory" places religious persons in the paradoxical position of having their most treasured acts of devotion degraded to the status of mere teaching tools or gimmicks. For, in order to make sense legally, the argument must take an ironic twist. Here is a paraphrased exchange that took place before the Supreme Court last February (no transcript of the hearing was taken), when the current Bible-reading and Lord's Prayer cases were heard:

Attorney Philip H. Ward III (for the Abington, Pa., School Board): We are teaching morality without religion, cut adrift from theology.

Associate Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.: If that is true, then why does your state permit pupils to be excused if their parents object? You don't excuse them from arithmetic, do you?

Ward: Maybe we shouldn't excuse them, but that's what the people of Pennsylvania want. Pupils may also be excused from physical and dental examinations.

Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg: Isn't that downgrading the Bible?

Ward: No, your honor. The Bible has historical and literary value as a part of our nation's heritage. The people of Pennsylvania have chosen it as the vehicle for instilling morality in school children.

Chief Justice Earl Warren: If the state required children to say the Lord's Prayer, would you say that was constitutional?

Ward: I would make a distinction between prayer as a formal religious act and Bible reading as a nonreligious act aimed at teaching morality.

The attorney for the city of Baltimore couldn't make this distinction. He had to defend Bible reading *and* the Lord's Prayer taken together. He asserted that *this* did not constitute a "religious act." In fact, he maintained that one purpose of the practice was to calm the pupils.

In the Abington case, the Deputy Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania claimed that Bible reading in the public schools is not a "religious practice." But he closed his argument with a counterclaim that "ripping out this practice would express hostility to religion."

I repeat, therefore, that social establishment tends toward legal establishment.

Says the report presented to the United Presbyterian General Assembly, "A church seeking to be itself constantly challenges the state to be a true and authentic state." In other words, a church that has a clear-cut understanding of its unique mission can help the state to delineate its own legitimate sphere of operation and stay within it. If nothing else, the church's being itself will discourage church people from asking the state to perform the religious tasks that not only belong uniquely to the church, but will, in fact, be corrupted if usurped by the state.

A former seminary teacher of mine used to say that the practice of political liberty is not only a *sign* of the inner freedom of the Christian man, but also the necessary *occasion* for its renewal. I think he meant this: The Christian who does not join in specific struggles for liberty in the civil order will almost surely lose the spiritual freedom that is one of the richest fruits of faith. And the church that is content merely to speak of liberty in general, while avoiding the struggle for liberty in particular—in the schools, in the courts, in the streets, in city hall, in the union and the factory and the office—that church is in danger of losing its own freedom.

For this reason, it is imperative that more and more churchmen turn their most serious attention to the knotty problems of church and state that today trouble our society, problems whose handling will require unusual maturity, common sense and self-restraint by clergyman and laymen alike. Religious integrity is really tested when it must face pragmatic problems.

Take the problem of Federal aid to education. Most Protestants who believe that the public schools are in urgent need of Federal help also believe that such help should be withheld from parochial schools. They believe that the Roman Catholic Church has a perfect right to maintain its own schools in order to indoctrinate its children in their faith. But they would deny that the Roman Catholic Church—or any other church—has any right to claim tax money, paid in by everyone, for what Protestants would call sectarian education. The United Presbyterian Church-State Report reaffirms this opposition to the use of tax funds, either directly or indirectly, for the support of parochial schools.

At the same time, Protestants cannot be indifferent to this fact: One out of every eight children—future citizens—gets his education in Roman Catholic grade schools and high schools. The quality of education parochial-school children receive will help determine the kind of citizens they will become and the kind of society we will have. So, if only out of purely self-interested concern for the future of their country, Protestants must care about Catholic education.

Furthermore, well-informed Protestants know that Catholic parochial-school systems are in serious financial difficulty. Classroom and teacher shortages have forced a number of dioceses to give up the early grades of parochial education. For example, in St. Leo's Elementary School in Fairfax City, Va., there are 62 pupils in one second-grade classroom. St. Leo's pastor recently announced that next fall his parish school would close its kindergarten and first grade, and the next two grades in 1964 and 1965, in order to improve the educational facilities in grades four through eight. Catholic children will then have to attend public schools during the first four years of their education. In Cincin-

nati, Columbus, Spokane, St. Paul and other cities, many parochial schools have also eliminated grades. In St. Louis, Joseph Cardinal Ritter announced that no new parochial schools would be built until qualified teachers were found. Five new St. Louis parishes have no grade schools.

If it comes to a choice between poor education in all grades or good education in some, a number of Catholic dioceses will build only high schools and eliminate grade schools.

The plight of public education in many areas is almost equally serious. While a few dissident voices are heard, there seems to be little real argument about the urgent need for some kind of general Federal aid to overcrowded, ill-equipped, understaffed public schools. And if Protestants have a vested interest in the quality of education given to the 14 percent of the nation's youth in parochial schools, Catholics and others have an even larger stake in the quality of education given the great majority who go to public schools.

Yet Federal-aid legislation has been stalemated in the last two sessions of Congress, and indications are that the stalemate will continue. Why? Because Roman Catholics can block education bills that don't include parochial schools, and Protestants can block any proposals that do. Further, Protestants predict a proliferation of non-Catholic parochial schools if tax aid ever becomes available for them. This, they say, would lead to a deterioration of the public-school system and to its eventual destruction.

Nobody now knows the way out of the deadlock. What seems clear to me is that high-level interfaith conversation must go on in a search for a way out. And the sooner this is done the better. The Presbyterian report offers some suggestions. It says, in effect, that "shared-time" arrangements may help; that maybe—just maybe—it is possible and constitutional for tax money to be *considered* for use in the scientific and technical parts of the parochial-school curriculum. In any case, says the report, let's not stop searching for a way out of the blind alley at a time when the general education of *all* the nation's youth is running down.

Another area in which religious doctrines impinge directly upon public policy is that of birth control and general public-health practices. In 1959, the United Presbyterian General Assembly stated its approval of the use of contraceptives for family-planning purposes. While the Assembly has made no positive statement in favor of our Government's making birth-control information and technical aid available to a foreign country, it implicitly has no objections to such a program. This same general position would hold true for the making of birth-control advice and devices available on request in tax-supported clinics and hospitals. The 1959 Assembly also opposed state legislation that prohibits the sale of contraceptives or their prescription by physicians in private practice.

Catholics have an understandable objection to the spending of their tax money for *public*-health programs—such as Chicago's—that promote the use of birth-control information and devices they believe to be immoral. There is a reverse side to this coin. Seventeen states prohibit the sale or distribution of contraceptives except through doctors or pharmacists; five states ban all public sale of such devices. Although these statutes were enacted in the 19th century under Protestant pressure, times and attitudes have changed for many Protestants. Today, they believe that Catholics have no right to keep such laws in operation. Some Catholic spokesmen have agreed that their church is not officially interested in trying to make the private behavior of non-Catholics conform to Roman Catholic canon law. Meanwhile, the laws stay on the books, though they are being tested in the courts.

Still another controversy centers on the use of public money to support church-related hospitals in which medical practice is limited by church dogma. The Roman Catholic Church will not permit therapeutic abortions, while many Protestant churches do not formally oppose them. The Presbyterian report upholds the right of church-related hospitals to restrict medical practices according to church doctrinal commitments, but opposes the granting of public funds to such hospitals.

"The so-called 'wall of separation' between church and state has been breached often by both, each using the other for its own ends."

Despite the fog of church-state confusion in which they are enshrouded, these and other urgent and critical questions of public policy must be resolved quickly, and practically. In any case, the so-called "wall of separation" between church and state is a wall in which history has left holes. It has been breached scores of times both by the Government, which has tried to use the churches for its purposes; and by the churches, which have tried to use the Government for their purposes. I myself went to a seminary on the GI Bill, as did hundreds of others. I heard no objections to the benefits the churches derived from this program. Few people complain about the Government's paying the salaries of military chaplains, although the Presbyterian report points out that this raises serious questions for the *churches*. Many, for example, ask: Are the preaching of the Word of God and the administering of the Sacraments for sale?

I know it is a sign of my bias as a Christian (I hope many other Christians share the bias) that I believe, in the long run, that political and civil liberties are safest when the church is free to be the church. And by "free," I do not mean just free of external coercion. The freedom of the church lies in its recognition of its basic mission: to be deeply involved in the personal, social, political and economic life of the world—but not to be identified with the world; to encourage compassion, a desire for justice and a vision of what it means to be truly human; and to renew that vision by living close to the wellspring of its faith.

Churches and synagogues, clergymen and churchgoers, all must regain the unique sense of purpose and mission that God has given them to perform by worship within and witness without. All need to face, and to deal with, the urgent problems bound up in the issue of church and state. And all need to recognize that when men of faith begin to look to the state as a pillar of religion, the edifice of faith they seek to save has already begun to collapse.

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Crisis

N.C.C. Acts on Racial Crisis

Xian Century - June 19, 1963

New York city.

✦ IT IS NOT EASY to meet the challenge of radical change in race relations and at the same time to act responsibly on several important issues of a different character. But that is what the General Board of the National Council of Churches attempted and accomplished at its meeting here June 6-8. Throughout the meeting the atmosphere seemed taut with awareness of and concern over the current racial crisis. Repeatedly it was predicted that this summer the racial crisis will not only persist in southern states but will spread to northern cities. The General Board confronted the crisis boldly, as befits a body which has led in warning the churches and the country over the dire consequences of injustice and inequality.

Religion

In a significant move the General Board set up a commission of 25, headed by Arthur C. Lichtenberger, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, with a staff under the leadership of Jon L. Regier of the N.C.C.'s Division of Home Missions. The commission will invite the cooperation of Roman Catholic and Jewish organizations, perhaps under auspices of the continuing organization of the Religion and Race Conference. It is expected to send representatives to testify before Congress in behalf of civil rights laws, to organize "negotiations" and "demonstrations," to press for reform within the churches as well as in the civil order. The tone of the action is reflected in the statement that "the General Board authorizes this commission to make commitments, to call for actions, to take risks . . ."

ters should be stripped from the central areas of the nation's capital in a vast urban renewal program. Open occupancy should be applied legally to the whole district. The Negro churches' moral reformation movement is laudable, but it cannot succeed if Negroes continue to be subjected to inadequate housing, inferior schooling and discriminatory employment practices.

Do-Gooder? Who Else!

✦ IT IS A SIGN of cynical times that "do-gooder" has become a term of derision or contempt. Almost any humane or redemptive cause or organization can be and often is blasted by newspapers which hang this label on its advocates. The tag is quite sufficient to intimidate at least some supporters of decency and compassion in human relations. It is particularly effective in terrifying those who consider themselves realists, who find comfort in "sophistication." Hence it is readily employed by tough legislators, who build political careers by protecting the affluent from the needy, and by hanging judges who are gentle with gangsters and fierce with juvenile delinquents. It is a potent weapon in the hands of the John Birch Society and of the radical right generally. It is equally favored by the school of community organizers who "reorganize" communities by conquest, imposing monolithic "democracy" by deriding existing community leadership as do-gooders. The word even appears in editorials of publications whose policies are generally humanitarian and liberal. It is time for some editors to take stock of the verbal company they keep and decide whose side they are on. What is so bad about doing good? If contempt is the proper attitude to take toward the do-gooder, are we by the same token expected to idolize the evildoer?

Quotes and Notes

✦ INTERCONFESSIONAL relations in Colombia were discussed at a recent meeting between 15 Protestant and 11 Roman Catholic churchmen in the Bogota home of President Arnfeld C. Morck of the Evangelical Lutheran Church's Colombia synod. Commenting on the "informal and friendly" exchange, Stewart W. Herman, director of the Lutheran World Federation's committee on Latin America, said: "It [is] especially noteworthy that a meeting of this kind should occur in Colombia, which for many years has been regarded as a notorious example of the persecution and suppression of the Protestant witness. This kind of contact is occurring with increasing frequency all over Latin America."

December 1965 was set as the target date for inauguration of a new united church by delegates from Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Nigeria during a recent meeting in Lagos. A scheme for union will be distributed within weeks to members of the negotiating churches.

Again this summer Scarritt College for Christian Workers in Nashville, Tennessee, is offering a three-week graduate seminar designed for people called on to work in the church school with handicapped or unusually gifted children.

Beginning June 23 and continuing through September 29, the American Broadcasting Company's radio series entitled "Pilgrimage" will be devoted to the nature and work of the National Council of Churches. Tapes of the programs (moderated by Rector James W. Kennedy of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension in New York) will be available for use on any radio station after the first run on A.B.C. Since local broadcast times vary, inquiry to the nearest A.B.C. outlet is advised.

Editorial Correspondence

N.C.C. Acts on Racial Crisis

New York city.

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In a significant move the General Board set up a commission of 25, headed by Arthur C. Lichtenberger, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, with a staff under the leadership of Jon L. Regier of the N.C.C.'s Division of Home Missions. The commission will invite the cooperation of Roman Catholic and Jewish organizations, perhaps under auspices of the continuing organization of the Religion and Race Conference. It is expected to send representatives to testify before Congress in behalf of civil rights laws, to organize "negotiations" and "demonstrations," to press for reform within the churches as well as in the civil order. The tone of the action is reflected in the statement that "the General Board authorizes this commission to make commitments, to call for actions, to take risks . . ."

Cont. back

A mass meeting in Washington was reported to be an early project.

The General Board also endorsed the use of economic pressures as a legitimate means of removing race barriers, pointing out that economic pressures are unjustly used to deprive citizens of minority races of their rights and that it is the business of the churches to reconcile and abate such situations where possible. The board declared further that "when other efforts to secure these rights do not avail," churches and churchmen should "support and participate in economic measures where used in a responsible and disciplined manner to eliminate economic injustice and to end discrimination against any of God's people based on race, creed or national origin." That this is an action of far-reaching importance may be seen in the fact that it applies to campaigns of "selective buying"—a device whose earlier name was boycott—which are currently being used to convince business establishments of the unprofitability of racial discrimination.

Some heat was generated in debate over a long-delayed pronouncement on "The Churches and the Public Schools," authorized in 1953. This is the one issue in relation to which there are more cases pending in U.S. courts than in relation to racial desegregation. The pronouncement expressed the support of the churches for the U.S. system of public education as "a major cohesive force in our pluralistic society" because "we believe as Christians that every individual has a right to an education aimed at the full development of his capacities as a human being created by God." It also endorsed the right of religious groups to establish schools at their own expense and the right of parents to decide whether their children shall attend public or nonpublic schools, but held that churches and parents still have obligations to the public schools. The statement favored the schools' teaching *about* as opposed to instruction *in* religion, advocated use of the Bible as a source book but not as devotional material, supported the "wisdom" and "authority" of the Supreme Court's ruling in the regents' prayer case that "it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the government."

But not all persons at the meeting concurred in the statement. Attorney Charles Rafios, representing Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church, interpreted it as calling for a ban on the name of God in public life. He argued that the statement capitulated to the Supreme Court on the Bible reading issue before the court had handed down its expected verdict and held that any General Board pronouncement "should use care not to seem to repudiate God." He ended with the threat: "If this statement goes out with N.C.C. endorsement, it may be necessary for the Orthodox Church to repudiate membership in the council." It was not clear whether the threat was that of the speaker or of Archbishop Iakovos himself. Henry Pitney Van Dusen attacked the statement on the ground that it failed to mention that God is the "source, ground and vindicator of the truth" and that any system of education that does not recognize this fact is incomplete. The statement was then referred back to its sponsors for revision in the light of criticisms leveled against it; they retained the phraseology supporting the Supreme Court and added to the preamble Dr. Van Dusen's theological affirmation. In this form the statement was approved by the General Board.

Despite concerted pressure from the National Association of Broadcasters on members of the General Board and their constituencies, the board voted 55-5 to urge the Federal Communications Commission to exercise greater oversight of the networks in relation to program content. Its statement scored the broadcasting industry for "lack of accountability" and for subservience to audience ratings. It recommended that the F.C.C. continue periodic reviews of broadcasting licensees, hold stations accountable for public service programs, and make networks as well as stations accountable to the F.C.C. The report also urged Congress to clean its own house by eliminating conflicts of interest among its own members in relation to laws affecting broadcasting, and to prohibit station and network owners from sitting on congressional committees dealing with communications. Passage of this resolution in the face of strong pressure for postponement from the industry demonstrates that the General Board is no rubber-stamp organization.

The meeting completed action on a report from the N.C.C. committee on policy and strategy. This report called for revision of the council's constitution, subject to approval by the General Assembly, which meets in Philadelphia early in December. At an evening dinner in Riverside Church the council paid its respects to and expressed its affection for National Council General Secretary Roy G. Ross, who retires June 30. Two volumes of letters, a silver tray and gifts of money from the N.C.C. staff and the General Board were presented to Dr. Ross at a ceremony presided over by President J. Irwin Miller. Speakers included former council presidents Henry K. Sherrill, Edwin T. Dahlberg and Eugene Carson Blake; Luther A. Weigle, head of the committee of scholars responsible for the Revised Standard Version of the Bible; and R. H. Edwin Espy, associate general secretary. Mr. Espy has been nominated by the General Board to succeed Dr. Ross. Election of a general secretary is the responsibility of the General Assembly. In his response Dr. Ross called the National Council "a means for arousing a public conscience, feeding the hungry, giving guidance to people who have been misguided by their prejudices and helping to build a wholesome society."

HAROLD E. FEY.

Religion
Research

PASTORS' MANIFESTO - 6-19-63

We, the Pastors of Albany, God-fearing servants, accept the responsibility which the trend of our time has thrust upon us. We are faced with the task of establishing relationships between the white and Negro citizens of Albany in order to reach agreements necessary for peace and progress in our city. We prayerfully approach this task in our Lord's Name, asking His guidance and seeking to do His Will.

This nation is an active and growing democracy and we are in full understanding of the ideals and goals of her people. We are called upon to establish the democratic ideal and make it evident in our lives.

We, the Albany Pastors, call upon all God-fearing people in our city to unite as never before, laying aside old wounds, to build a city of true brotherly love.

Since laws which have separated us have been wiped from the books, we seek to encourage responsible, civic minded, and moral citizens to rid our city of the evils of undemocratic living. We pledge to work for the enforcement of the spirit of the law as well as the letter of the law - words written "not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God -- for the Spirit gives life."

The problem of our community is a part of a world-wide problem, and by observation we have noted that whenever and wherever men of good will have come together and were willing to reason their problems out, workable solutions have been found. We believe with the help of the Almighty God the same may be obtained here.

We pledge that we as ministers of the Gospel and leaders of our congregations will make the needed sacrifices, will work shoulder to shoulder with all Albanians to seek to understand, to forgive, to work unceasingly for honest discussion and solution of our present problems. We remember the words of our Master:

> "A man may say, 'I am the light'; but if he hates his brother, he is still in the dark. Only the man who loves his brother dwells in light; there is nothing to make him stumble. But one who hates his brother is in darkness; he walks in the dark and has no idea where he is going, because the darkness has made him blind."

With the full realization that love is not a matter of words or talk, but must prove itself in action, we a group of 47 ministers pledge our strength in overcoming the evils in our city.

all Negro ministers

E. James Grant
Robert Lark
J. B. Branch
F. W. White
Benjamin Gay
L. C. Reynolds
J. C. Harris
Jerris Johnson
R. R. Johnson
Roland Jenkins
J. Wesley Lowe
Gus Jones
Albert Partor
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Committee For Christian Social Action
Convention of the South
United Church of Christ
June 24, 1963

A Committee for Christian Social Action has been appointed by the Convention of the South, acting conference of the United Church of Christ (Congregational Christian Churches), meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, June 18-21. The Convention of the South is composed of 25,000 members residing in ten states from Virginia to Texas. Being duly appointed and authorized by the Convention of the South the Christian Social Action Committee releases the following statement for guidance and implementation:

First, we call upon the President of the United States, the Congress, and State and local governmental officials to act personally and through all channels and authority available to them in setting the course of this Nation in the pursuit of racial justice. We wholeheartedly endorse the Civil Rights Bill proposed by the President of the United States and further call upon the Congress of the United States to enact immediately the Civil Rights Bill. In particular, we encourage those senators and congressmen from the states located in the South to abondon such tactics as the filibuster and face this over-riding moral issue of our time. We submit that acts of evasion and accommodation on the part of all governmental officials must be replaced by Christian and democratic conviction as evidenced by forthright and immediate legislative action.

Secondly, we call upon all of the United Church of Christ in America to give full support to the forthcoming proposal of the President of the United Church of Christ in his efforts to implement an effective program to end discrimination now. In this connection, all clergymen and churchmen of the United Church of Christ in America are reminded that they are

obligated to act personally and directly to give financial support to the General Synod of the United Church of Christ; to become personally involved in putting our own house in order in the pursuit of racial justice; to make available our church buildings, facilities and resources to be utilized as places of assembly or as otherwise needed.

Thirdly, we call upon each member of the Convention of the South and each member of the United Church of Christ in America to free themselves from provincialism and out-moded traditions and stand up and be counted without fear of arrest or economic reprisal. We remind each member that by his commitment to the Gospel of Jesus Christ that he is responsible, under God, for setting the course the United Church must take in the pursuit of racial justice. In this connection, the Convention of the South, through the General Synod, pledges financial support for those who have the courage to stand and who may be arrested. It also pledges financial support to those who may be the victim of economic reprisals as a result of their stand in this struggle for human decency.

Fourthly, we call for the immediate realignment of all conferences and associations, of the United Church of Christ, along geographical rather than racial lines. To facilitate this matter we recommend that the various conferences and associations discard delaying tactics, imaginary fears, and general pussy-footing with a revolution and get down to the business of a courageous program of action in the realignment of all conferences and associations within the United Church of Christ.

Finally, the Convention of the South supports continued demonstrations for freedom and justice wherever conditions warrant such demonstrations. We would further suggest that a means to end demonstrations would be the total removal of all those elements and devices which tend to

obstruct freedom and justice. Until such time we suggest that demonstrations continue until all men are truly free. It is our prayer that men and women who honestly possess good will rise to the occasion and by God's help resolve the greatest issue of our time.

ELSA KRUUSE, *Editor*

The Religious Newsweekly

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
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This week's significant events in the cooperative church movement —in the community, the nation and the world.

26RNW6/25/63

June 25, 1963

National Council Leaders Comment On Supreme Court Ruling

Following the recent decision of the Supreme Court concerning Bible reading and prayers in the public schools, spokesmen for the National Council of Churches declared: "The Supreme Court has again fulfilled its function of settling peaceably disputes in the American community."

The statement signed by J. Irwin Miller, President, and Dr. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary, underlined that "the National Council of Churches has expressed its concern for the freedom of conscience which the decision of the Court seeks to serve."

Quoting passages from the action taken this month by the Council's General Board, the statement said: "The Council agreed with the Court that it is 'no business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the Government.'"

"The decision of the Supreme Court serves as a reminder to all our citizens that 'teaching religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and community of faith rather than the public schools,'" said the statement in conclusion.

Another early reaction to the Supreme Court's decision came from Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger, Protestant Episcopal Church, who stated: "The Court makes it clear that it is not the task of public schools to inculcate religious beliefs or habits of worship. This is the task of our homes and churches and synagogues." The Bishop underlined that "We are indeed a religious people," and added that "the Court does not rule out objective study of religion in public schools -- indeed the Court encourages such study."

renewal

III/4 JUNE, 1963

martin luther king, jr.

prologue

Perhaps no living American has better expressed the revolutionary spirit of our age than Martin Luther King, Jr., the man portrayed on the cover of this publication. When Dr. King was in Birmingham jail he addressed a letter to clergymen who had criticized him for the "poor timing" of the Birmingham demonstrations. Excerpts from that letter are printed on this page and the next. If you read nothing else in this issue, read the letter. Ponder it. Enter into it. And then perhaps you will understand not only the seething momentum that is gathering within a Negro community that has determined in mass numbers to throw off the shackles of slavery and segregation. Perhaps you will also see that your destiny as an individual—our destiny as a nation—is dependent on a willingness to do all that is possible to eradicate the sin under which we all live.

There is an uncompromising quality in the remaining articles in this issue. Some offer deep understanding of the racial dilemma. Others offer concrete courses of action which Christians and others can take to speed the end of racism. But without exception the articles recognize that we live in a time when the compromises we have made with ourselves and our Negro brothers are no longer possible. Look long at the photographs of Robert Newman, taken during the Birmingham crisis. Read carefully the suggestions of Will D. Campbell regarding the possibilities of church action. Search your heart, as you digest the suggestions of Raymond Hilliard, to see whether you are not implicated in the forms of segregation he describes and whether or not you can work to end these barriers.

If you find yourself discouraged, unable to act, seek counsel from those who have taken their own faltering steps toward brotherhood.

Above all, realize that the very integrity and life of Christ's Church in America is at stake: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

EMANCIPATION—1963

By MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mother and father at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored;" when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs.;" when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness;" — then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleekness of corroding despair. I hope, Sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

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Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' Council-er or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action;" who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

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There was a time when the church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was the thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were a colony of heaven: and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number, but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

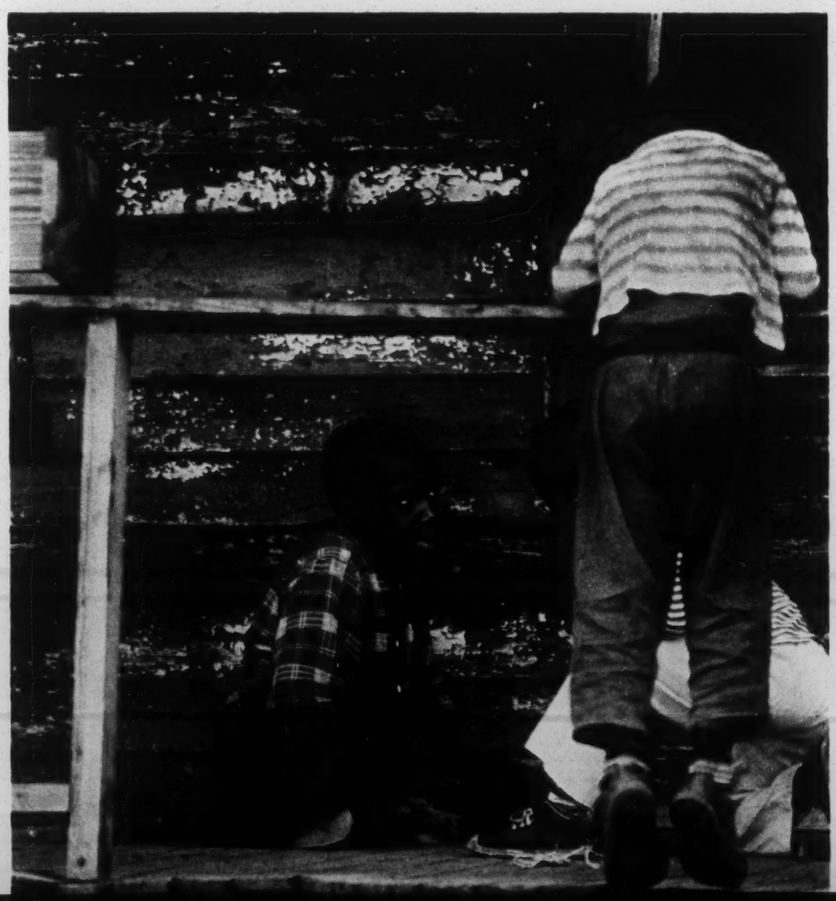
Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to status-quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true *ecclesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

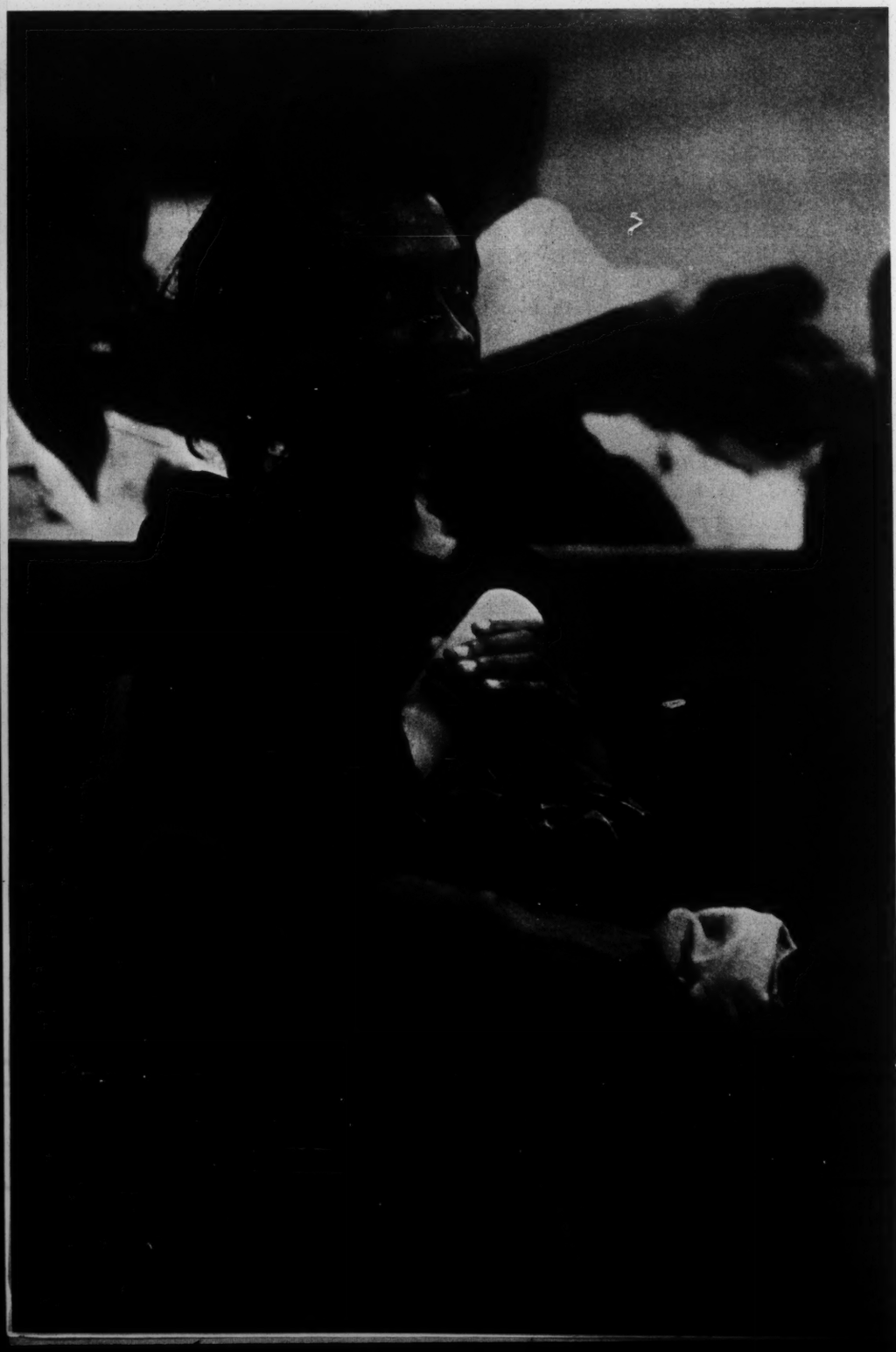
I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson scratched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our foreparents labored here with wages, they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation —and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continue to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

Negro children: "You have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: 'Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?'"



EPITAPH FOR AN ERA

As dawn broke on Sunday, May 12—a Mother's Day whose significance was extolled from the pulpit of almost every church in the city that morning— I stood on the balcony of my motel in Birmingham watching the giant flames rise a scant three blocks away. For hours I had witnessed with a mixture of shock, frustration and fear the aftermath of the two bombings which wrecked the A. G. Gaston Motel and the home of the Reverend A. D. King and imperilled the fragile bi-racial agreement that had been concluded between Negro and white leaders after more than one month of unprecedented demonstrations in the city whose adage is, "Hard times come here first and stay longest". The flames licked the sky; the breeze pushed billows of smoke out toward the steel mills, symbol of Birmingham's metamorphosis from a rural post-Civil War junction to a steel city of a half-million segregated souls which, from its founding, has been dependent on Northern capital and an uneasy racial *status quo*.



The flames, an outgrowth of rioting near the bombed Gaston Motel, were emblems of the meaning of Birmingham: after three-hundred and forty years of servitude Negroes in a citadel of massive resistance to integration were standing with backs straight, some violent, most nonviolent, declaring to the world what the world should have realized when Rudyard Kipling's notion of "the white man's burden" crumbled in the wreckage of colonial empires; "We shall overcome!"

Perhaps the most important meaning to be drawn from the Birmingham experience is precisely this: that Negro leadership—until now either nonviolent or oriented toward court decisions—can no longer afford to move, in Martin Luther King Jr.'s phrase, "at horse-and-buggy pace to get a cup of coffee at a lunch counter".

The new era that has emerged is, after Birmingham, completely recognizable. It is recognized by the Chicago taxi driver I listened to on my return from Birmingham. Suddenly, when held up in traffic by a Negro-driven car, he shouted, "I'd like to run over every one of those jigs." "Why?" I asked. "Because they're getting too much too fast." He was not entirely correct. In Birmingham, indeed throughout the country, progress for most Negroes has been almost non-existent. Even if the terms agreed to by white and Negro leaders in Birmingham are implemented, they can only be a spur to future demonstrations—Nashville, Tennessee, is the best example of this pattern—when Negroes realize how little they have won. What the cab driver did see, however, was that the time for a show-down has come.

A Birmingham mother joins hundreds at the mass meeting which followed the bombings. In her face lies the answer to the question, "Do Negroes really want freedom?"

"What occurred was not some long-anticipated development, but a painful, shattering, six-week revolution which left whites only embryonically aware of the implications of Uncle Tom's departure from the Southern landscape."

Where were the voices of reason in Birmingham? The question is somewhat naive. For most clergymen "reason" constituted a return to peace. For local businessmen, reeling under the weight of an effective Negro boycott, coupled with the fear of shopping downtown that had gripped white residents, "reason" constituted at least some concession to Negro demands.

On Monday, May 13, I met with a small group of white persons in an office of Birmingham's University Medical Center; the doors were closed "to avoid the possibility of offending a neighbor who does not share our views." The group included local pastors and members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. For years the Alabama Council has tried to exert a reconciling influence in the area of race relations. The Birmingham chapter used to meet in the offices of the local Chamber of Commerce until "the Klan chased us out" in 1954. Klan members arrived at a meeting, took pictures of participants, and the Council changed its meeting place in order "not to embarrass the Chamber of Commerce." The conversation which took place on Monday sheds much light on the background of the Birmingham crisis.

The group was unanimous in feeling that the white climate of opinion in Birmingham had changed radically during the past several years. Two years ago a triumvirate city commission, which included "Bull" Connor and which ran on a racist platform in the wake of Negro demonstrations in 1960, was elected by an overwhelming majority. Parks and other public facilities—except for the zoo —"They didn't know what to do with all those animals."—were closed to circumvent court decisions ordering integration. Birmingham's economy, already jeopardized by the city's racist image, suffered further decline. In 1963 the city, having voted to change its form of government, elected Albert Boutwell as mayor. In a brief two years, Connor's repressive reign had been rejected—largely by a coalition of younger business leaders, Negro voters, and possibly in one observer's view, persons who "were tired of not being able to play golf". With Boutwell's election there seemed to be a majority in the city who recognized that racial accord of some sort was essential to economic survival. Birmingham seemed ready to accept George Leighton's view of 1937: that "the social cost of 'keeping the nigger in his place' is beyond computation."

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The role of white churches in the Birmingham crisis is best introduced with an incident recounted by Episcopal clergyman Louis Mitchell whose efforts to speak out on racial matters in Birmingham have forced his resignation from the suburban parish where he serves as assistant to the minister: A local clergyman berated white realtor-spokesman Sidney Smyer, Sr., for reaching the four-point bi-racial agreement on the basis of materialistic motivations. In reply Smyer openly acknowledged the economic motive and made no apology for it. What Smyer's clerical critic failed to realize, says Mitchell, is that *his* reasons as a minister for *not* speaking out were equally motivated by economics. The best way for a white minister to hold down a job in Birmingham is to remain silent on the racial issue.

Some clergymen have broken the pattern of silence. The pastor of the local Unitarian Church, which has traditionally seated Negro worshippers, has spoken out against racism. But the emergence of a liberating voice in Birmingham has been immeasurably damaged by the failure of local newspapers and radio stations to give coverage to public utterances such as the statement of five white and four Negro ministers issued on April 11. The statement was signed by the Reverends Paul E. Cosby, Joseph Ellwanger, Robert Brank Fulton, Harold D. Long, Louis L. Mitchell, Jr., Ervin R. Oermann, J. E. Robinson, G. L. Terrell and H. C. Terrell. The statement read, in part: "We . . . affirm the rightness of the aims of all who seek equal employment opportunities and equal access to all public facilities regardless of color or creed." These aims, the statement concludes, are rooted "in the historic Christian teaching of the oneness of humanity in Christ." One of the signers observed that it would have been possible to obtain more signatures from Negro pastors but that "it was thought well to have more of the former variety." When the Birmingham Ministers Associa-

"The judgment—that the Negro will attain equality—has been passed upon America. The white man's only freedom lies in responding to that judgment, whether with dogs and fire hoses which further incite the Negro, or with repentance that may, or may not, alleviate the inevitable suffering involved in predestined social change."

tion was asked to endorse the four-point bi-racial agreement, the Association's Executive Committee refused to do so. Why? I asked a prominent white clergyman. Were the ministers afraid or did they refuse because of personal conviction? For both reasons, the clergyman responded.

On Monday evening the Vestry of one of Birmingham's wealthiest churches met. The main item of business: sprinkler systems.

The most outspoken and incisive white resident of Birmingham is a man who would shun any label, a brilliant lawyer in his early thirties whose office wall is hung with blown-up political cartoons related to his successful advocacy of reapportionment in Alabama. He has defended Negroes. He has angered extremists on both sides of the fence. After receiving a threatening phone call during the administration of former Mayor Art Hanes, he called Hanes in the dawn hours and indicated that he would call Hanes at any hour of the day in response to any future telephone intimidations. For a time, the calls ceased. On Monday afternoon I joined reporters in the office of Charles Morgan, Jr., reporters who had come to the young lawyer to gain insight into the Birmingham crisis.

What had been the decisive factors in the reaching of a truce in Birmingham? Morgan echoed the opinion of other observers who noted that the use of large numbers of children and youth in demonstrations had broken the back of white resistance. "The Negroes have a new tactic: the use of kids." It is "an excellent technique", Morgan observed, "but it is not nonviolence." He referred to the children running through department stores and knocking merchandise out of place. In defending the use of children, Martin Luther King, Jr., had emphasized that they, along with all demonstrators, were schooled in the nonviolent technique. Every demonstrator was required to give allegiance to the "Commandments for Volunteers", ten rules which include the injunction: "Refrain from the violence of the fist, tongue, or heart." It is generally agreed that none of the acts of violence perpetrated by Negroes during the Birmingham demonstrations were committed by demonstrators.

What did Morgan feel about the church's role in the crisis? "The church has not been a leader, but a follower . . . The new motto today is 'Go to the Supreme Court of your choice on Sunday, but go to the Supreme Court.'" The church has existed far too long under the illusion that this is "a world of sweetness and light." But "the church doesn't have any idea of what it's supposed to be. This world is not a world of sweetness and light, and that's the joy of living here, besides the fact that it's home."

Birmingham attorney, Charles Morgan, Jr.

"I'm trying to seel this thesis," said Morgan earnestly. "This city is an example of what people go through when they are consistently denied the rights of the First Amendment. Nobody here had any education concerning the basic problems. The network TV shows (about segregation in Alabama) were never shown here." His point was well taken. For it was evident in the faces and words of Birmingham residents, particularly after the Saturday bombings, that what had occurred was not some long-anticipated historical development, but a painful, shattering, six-week revolution, a revolution which left whites breathless with fear and only embryonically aware of the implications of Uncle Tom's departure from the Southern landscape.

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Many aspects of the Birmingham crisis remain unexplored. What of the influence exerted by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company (a division of U.S. Steel) on Birmingham's economic situation? T. C. I. pours an estimated five million dollars a week into the city's economy. U.S. Steel President Roger Blough reportedly urged reconciliation in Birmingham, but it is inconceivable that a company whose dependents number one in six Birmingham residents could not have exerted more influence at an earlier date, had it chosen to do so.

What of the future of the nonviolent movement? A number of critics focus their fears on the Black Muslim Movement, failing to recognize that the nonviolent movement has aroused far more *white* violence than the Muslims have aroused *Negro* violence. Today the Black Muslim Movement may be feared less as a political force than as an ideology which bears striking resemblance to white racist extremism, a long term phenomenon that has provoked far less antipathy than the recently promulgated Muslim philosophy. What whites are finally realizing—and prematurely and erroneously linking with the Black Muslim Movement—is that the Negro stands very close to the use of overt violence in the struggle for freedom.

If such violence occurs it will be due in large part to the failure of the nonviolent movement to successfully organize the rapidly-growing militancy of Negroes. For it can now be said with some accuracy that in both the South and the North, William Stringfellow was right when he contended, at this year's National Conference on Religion and Race, that initiative in racial matters has passed from the hand of the white man to the hand of the Negro.

From a theological standpoint, the judgement—that the Negro *will* attain equality—has been rendered. The white man's only freedom lies in responding to that judgement, whether with dogs and fire hoses which further incite the Negro, or with repentance that may, or may not, alleviate the inevitable suffering involved in predestined social change.

Perhaps the Birmingham experience will finally enable the white man to acknowledge the fact that the Negro is as potentially sinful as the white man—in moments of honesty—knows himself to be.

—STEPHEN C. ROSE

Adapted from a longer article in Christianity and Crisis Magazine.

Children play in the charred remains of one of the buildings burnt during the rioting which followed the May 11 bombing of Birmingham's A. G. Gaston Motel. Crucifixion, chaos, humanity, joy: all are mingled, and the question remains: "What will the future of our nation be?"

A white Southern Christian points a way for the Church

A TIME FOR REPENTANCE

By WILL D. CAMPBELL

The question comes, what can we *do*? Although I insist that a more appropriate question is, "What can we be?" the question deserves treatment. But any treatment I give the question presupposes true renewal of church and synagogue in their inner life. Until we are able to proclaim categorically and with authority, "We are Jews and this is the way we behave in this household of God," and, "We are Christians and this is the way this family behaves because of what it is." Until we are able to say that—there is nothing we can do, for we are too much a part of the culture in which we live.

And I would say further that generally someone who has to ask doesn't really want to know. Often what we really mean is, "What can we do to improve race relations and still maintain the strength and rate of growth of the institution?" The answer to that question is, "Nothing!" For the cobblestones of a daring and radical and prophetic religion is the road to death. Furthermore, even if we ask the question in all sincerity with a well-defined and established inner life we must understand that the secular agencies and government are better prepared to do most of it than we are. We must understand that our actions must be based, not on what we may be able to accomplish, but on the basis of what we are, and on the basis of our very nature.

The first thing we can do is repent. There can be no reconciliation without repentance. And we are all involved. You don't have to own a cotton plantation in Sunflower County, Mississippi, to be involved. If you wear a cotton shirt you contribute to American racism, you are a part of the sin we are discussing.

Across the street from where I once had an office in an American city there was a house of prostitution—so they said. A small grocery located in the building was managed by a Negro lady. The establishment proper was owned by whites. We used to go there for take-out sandwiches when we had interracial gatherings and had to eat in the office.

On one such occasion when I went for the sandwiches, the manager of the grocery was not there and in her place was the white proprietress. When I inquired as to where Mrs. X was, the white lady began to weep and told me of the untimely death of Mrs. X the night before. And then in fits of tears she told me of her deep affection for Mrs. X. And it was apparent that her tears were not the patronizing tears of the Old South weeping for a passed-on Aunt Jemima or a departed Mammy. Here was genuine grief for a friend and peer.

This was in the era of the kneel-ins. And as I sought to console this proprietress of a house of prostitution, I could not help but feel the tragedy of a culture in which this woman would have been unwelcome in the respectable churches in the area, but was deeply mourned for in a bawdy house. No wonder a prophet whom most white council members and most neighborhood protective association members call Lord said to some of the "good" people of his day that those who sold their bodies for pay and those who cooperated with occupying forces for pay were closer to the Kingdom of which he spoke than they—"Truly I say to you, scalawags and whores enter the kingdom of God before you." Woe unto a generation when a human soul finds more acceptance and community in a whore house than in a church house!

Having repented what can a local congregation do—where can it go from there? Are we suggesting that the duty of the local congregation is to get together every weekend and say, "God is Supreme, let us pray"? Far from it.

Certainly high up on any list would be the area of housing. I am grateful that churches and religious groups have already pioneered in that field to some extent. Both the National Council of Churches and several denominational and religious groups have provided advisory services on a sustaining basis to local community organizations which have done such things as securing open occupancy pledges, gathering information and data on the private housing market, putting buyer in touch with seller and following up the situations in the capacity of counsellor as long as it is needed. These have been pilot projects.

Now with the recent Executive Order on housing there will be a ready made opportunity in every American town and city for local congregations to carry out such a program. Any one of the convening agencies of this conference is prepared to offer materials which would give you the information needed. Whereas the school desegregation crisis has affected but a few southern communities, the housing order has more far-reaching implications and will offer every church and synagogue a chance not only to be the conscience of the community but also

an opportunity to involve itself in appropriate direct action. It takes no genius to predict that the housing order, if enforced and supported, will do far more to change the racial picture in America than did the Supreme Court decision on public school education of 1954.

A second dramatic and significant development among minority groups is the current emphasis on voter education and registration. In some states nearly half the population is disfranchised on the grounds of race alone. Such agencies as the NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and the Urban League are cooperating in voter education drives in a project administered by the Southern Regional Council. What more appropriate could a local congregation do than to sponsor one such drive itself working through its youth. It is disheartening to me that about the only time religion is mentioned in political circles is when the bigots inject it to discredit a candidate. Could it not become a major moral influence through such efforts as the one mentioned?

A number of previously all-white colleges and universities have now declared an open policy. But they are finding that no Negro students apply. Why could not a local congregation recruit and offer scholarships for students to attend these schools? Especially since most of the schools in that category are church related.

I would also mention a very interesting movement among some African Christians to send missionaries to America—not to preach racial tolerance, but to preach the gospel as they have understood it from other missionaries. If that movement develops the very act of their preaching to us, white America may be spared. Local congregations can ask for such help just as African congregations have requested it in the past. But it can't be done in the old patronizing manner of thinking there is something virtuous in seeing the cute and quaint African costumes on Sunday morning or during Brotherhood Week. Rather we must ask because we need the freshness

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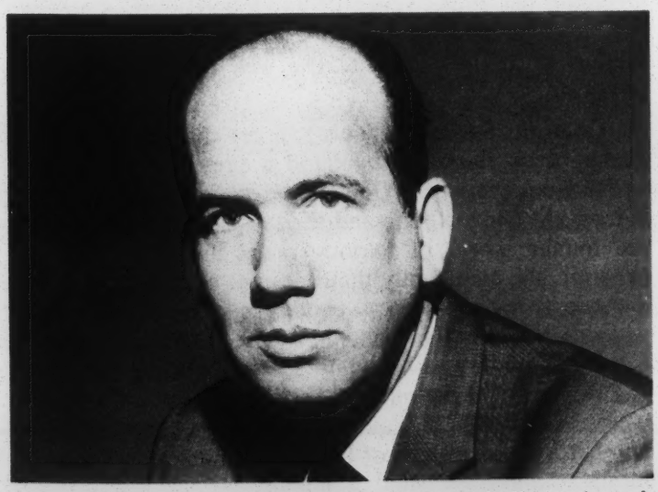

For the past seven years Will D. Campbell, an American Baptist minister and Episcopal Lay Reader in the Diocese of Tennessee, has served as Director of the Southern Office of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. In that capacity he has observed at first hand every major racial crisis in the South. His duties have ranged from visiting and counseling with local pastors caught in racial crises to advising and administering special bi-racial committees appointed by city officials until they could employ their own director and personnel. He has lectured throughout the country to such diverse groups as national church bodies in annual session to Laymen's Conventions in deep southern states. His articles on race relations have appeared in more than a dozen journals.

Race and the Renewal of The Church, **his only book, made a strong plea to the churches to channel their approach in race relations away from humanistic and humanitarian efforts to manipulate society to the more daring and radical demands of Christian theology.**

Mr. Campbell recently resigned his position with the National Council over what he termed "basic theological and metholological differences existing within the department." His plans for the future are uncertain but he hopes "to remain in the South and preach the Gospel—the only hope for ending American racism."

His article is excerpted with permission from RACE: Challenge to Religion, by Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1963.

Downtown Birmingham. As we go to press, the future of many large cities is in jeopardy, pending the peaceful solution of racial problems which are common to many areas of this country. More than ever, the time for constructive action is now.

of their preaching, because we need their witness and ministry for the health of our souls.

Once a congregation has discovered its real nature it no longer fears criticism or persecution and no longer needs to protect its institutional growth. It is then willing to be used up in the service of God and mankind. Thus it can then make use of the mass communications media to reach the community. Who, having a light, hides it under a bushel? Who? Why, churches and synagogues. When the going really gets rough if we venture out at all it is often after we have made sure the press won't be there and that no names will be named and no pictures made lest we ruin our *effectiveness.*

Now we aren't really worried about our effectiveness are we? We're worried about our institutional hides. So for the most part we have turned radio and T.V. over to the bigots and crackpots who hawk their wares of bigotry in the name of religion on every band and channel in the country. When we have finally declared that we are a people of God and are against discrimination and injustices of all kinds we are no longer afraid to shout it to the winds. And he that hath ears to hear let him hear.

Or a local congregation can do what one let its leaders do in Oxford, Mississippi, on what the natives call "the longest night." Their priests went out into the face of death and hell as a sort of two-man truth squad, relieving students of knives, shovels, bottles, bricks and other more advanced trinkets of pleasure. What happened on that night made me proud to be a Mississippian, for a few native sons, James Meredith one of them, Father Duncan Gray another, showed what it meant to be men of faith, and they are both products of Mississippi. Certainly I was ashamed of the chaff, but the grain stood out in a manner seldom witnessed in this century. And there is a subtle Oxford almost daily in the average American city.

What's the difference really if two people are killed by bullets or two people die because they are forced to a life of squalor and poverty and ghettos and lack of opportunity because of the color of their skin? What difference except social respectability and headlines and subtleties? And it happens every day. But how many cities have a James Meredith to challenge it and how many local congregations provide or would even tolerate a Duncan Gray or a Kilmer Myers to "light the dark streets" in support of the challenge? This is not a defensive effort to say Mississippi isn't so bad after all. It is rather an effort to say it is worse than its most severe critics say but that it isn't different from the rest of America—it is typical.

Take a neighborhood in Manhattan where 80% of the young people between 16 and 18 years old who have finished high school or have dropped out and are Negroes and who find it utterly impossible to find employment and turn to all forms of death and despair—drug addiction, alcoholism, illegitimate relations, crimes of various sorts. Thousands are dying daily and their lives of crime are retreats from society and they suffer the same kind of denial—the denial of fellowship and opportunity—that James Meredith suffers. Consider the increasing breakdown of relationships between white liberals and Negro youths in these areas and it is frightening. When a congregation has found renewal, has found itself, it will not only lend its minister and laity to such a ministry, it will literally push them into it. The well have no need of a physician.

Or again Sunday Schools can get their studies out of cinder block classrooms painted a pretty blue and often as far from the world God placed us in as Oral Roberts is from the Mayo Clinic and the laboratory of human life; the human world of various racial and ethnic groups. Where is the community that does not offer a local church a peace corps situation, a childern's camp to be built, a widow's house to be painted, a desecrated synagogue or a bombed church to be rebuilt? I would trade one weekend of such labor by an inter-racial group of young people who discuss with their leaders and experience with one another the dimensions of their faith, for a year's curriculum in the average Sunday School.

Well, I'm finished. We began by saying it is too late. It is never too late for faithfulness. In the process of our being faithful to the God we worship and seek to serve, society might be changed. But we must not be faithful in order to change society. And if there is to be any increase from the fruits of our labors, let God be the giver.

What of the North?

NEW HORIZONS, NEW HOPES

By RAYMOND M. HILLIARD

What is the common denominator of the poverty that afflicts millions of Americans in this space age? Take a hard look at the poor people who are huddled and hidden away in your own community. What will you find? You will find: illiteracy, ignorance, or an educational deficiency of some sort to be the oppressor which commits the poor person and his dependents to a sorry condition of dependency on public support and is keeping him there. True you will find some who are dependent because of illness but these will be a minority. The uneducated person who is not poor today *will* be poor tomorrow.

In yesteryear there were all kinds of jobs for the uneducated, good jobs with good pay, jobs with dignity, whose holders were respected citizens of all of our communities. In yesteryear there were countless young people who dropped out of school—far more than now—but there were plenty of useful, remunerative things they could do. Today the young people who drop out of school can find nothing to do; they face a whole lifetime of idleness which must lead inevitably to dependency, deterioration, despondency or delinquency. The people on relief today with all of their dependents are those who dropped out of school yesterday; the people on relief tomorrow will be those who are dropping out today.

This age of automation is awakening America to a recognition of the causal relationship between illiteracy and poverty. Three frightening additional phenomena are also emerging:

- That illiteracy is far more extensive than had been realized;
- That number of grades or years in school is not a safe measure of educational attainment;
- That, whereas ability to function at the fifth grade level has been the definition of functional literacy, that level has risen and is rising very rapidly as a standard or level of economic literacy—the level at which a person can secure and hold a job. Most employers have their doors shut tight against anyone without a high school diploma.

Here then is the major cause of today's poverty; here is the reason for high costs of relief. Punishing people for their poverty won't help, badgering them with investigations, violating their small rights of privacy, condemning them for alleged immorality, putting them in jail, calling them loafers, and idlers, and cheats and frauds, which few of them are, will avail nothing. Such escapist approaches, together with the quack remedies, such as high residence laws, arbitrarily cutting relief grants below an already irreducible minimum, stopping grants to children after a mother has an out-of-wedlock child, these also avail nothing except to hurt people already terribly hurt by deprivation. Citizens, officials and organizations who take refuge in the luxury of such primitive, punitive proposals are enemies of progress. For poverty is the real illness of our American society and he who stands in the way of its cure is indeed an enemy. A legislator in Illinois has said: "We want to make it uncomfortable for people on relief. The only way we are going to give any inducement to go out and find jobs and get off relief is to make it uncomfortable for them to live."

PROSPERITY BLINDS US

The fact that most of our people are prosperous—have never had it so good—tends for them to obscure the very existence of the poor hidden away in their wretchedness, their hopelessness and their despair. As Michael Harrington points out in his book, "The Other America, Poverty in the United States," the poor are becoming more and more invisible. They live in another world cut off from communication with the world we know and seeming to be without hope that things can ever be better.

Where, then, in this bleak scene are new horizons, new hopes?

The new hope is education, especially of adults, and especially of drop-out prone children. In Chicago, we have seen the new light of hope radiate from the faces of our welfare recipients. I wish you had been with me to attend a recent graduation of 211 adults from the eighth grade and had seen the face of each, beaming with pride, illuminated with hope, as he or she received an elementary school certificate.

I wish you could have been with me to see 25 men go off relief in a body, at a graduation exercise of a class where they had learned to become Yellow Taxi drivers. Five such classes have not been completed and many more will follow. Many of these men were able to qualify because they had been taught to read and to write in Chicago's basic literacy classes and, as a result, they could make out trip sheets, write receipts and reports and read street signs.

But, you will say, we have always had education and have recognized its value. Where is the new hope in education? The new hope is the recognition by society that education is now indispensable to independence. The new hope must also be a determination by society that *all* people get whatever education they need for as long as they need it to enable them to rise from their dependency on relief and get a job. It is this determination which underlies the action taken on March 14, 1962 when Chicago launched its massive attack on illiteracy. Where necessary, able-bodied people, now dependent on relief,

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RAYMOND HILLIARD is Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. His article was adapted especially for RENEWAL from a speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the California Association for Health and Welfare, Los Angeles, California, March 27, 1963.

are required to attend basic literacy and other classes to which they are assigned. They report as assigned, and do the work assigned or they forfeit their grants. The welfare department refers and the Chicago Board of Education educates. As our saying has it: We in welfare furnish the customers; the school people take it from there. Two great public agencies, welfare and the school system, have thus joined forces and pooled resources to attack a problem of mutual concern and the results so far have given us hope that now at long last we are using the proper instrument to attack the bed rock cause of poverty.

BUT WHERE ARE THE JOBS?

At this point many people ask: Suppose you succeed in educating and even training all of these people, where are the jobs? There are 6,000,000 unemployed in our land. Will the hopes of these people be dashed when, at the completion of their education or training, they find no jobs awaiting them? Here again, I think I see a new horizon, a new hope, if we but have the courage and the sense to reach for it and seize it. It is, as I hope you will agree, an attainable goal, one long overdue. It lies in an all out attack on the underemployment of Negro and other minority group people.

For a long time, there has existed in this country, a secondary, less discernible, form of discrimination, a habit, even among firms with non-discriminatory hiring policies, of always hiring the Negro for the lowest level job and then keeping him there or thereabouts, not permitting him to rise to his highest skill or his highest ability. In Chicago, I often wonder how many Negro college graduates are working sorting mail in our huge post office. There are few Negroes studying medicine, because hospital appointments for them are rare. Same for dentists, same for nurses, same for medical and hospital technicians, same for airline stewardesses. I know how few Negro executives, senior and junior, there are in Chicago because as I walk around our business district, the only Negroes I see are dressed in the garb of laborer or messenger, except for a sprinkling of Negro lawyers. Jobs as clerks, jobs in banks, even jobs in factories, or as waitresses are seldom open to Negro girls. Their life so far is confined principally to domestic service and, worst of all, day work. Negro secretaries still are rarities. Too few Negroes are used in the food service industry.

RACIAL BARRIERS

Here then, is the hope: that a significant, sizable number of jobs may be opened up by means of ending this form of underemployment.

There are all kinds of jobs going begging, not that the unemployed of today, the people on relief, can fit into them, but there are people already in the labor force or about to enter the labor force who can move up and fill the available upper echelon jobs.

- Negro young men can study medicine and reduce the shortage of doctors which is particularly acute in institutions which are now staffing with men from abroad. We have the material at home; let us develop it, not bar it. What is said of doctors is true of dentists.

Birmingham's A. G. Gaston Motel and the remnants of an adjoining trailer court following the bombing of May 11. Will the great cities of the North become the subjects of photographs such as this? Or will what Raymond Hilliard calls "the forces of enlightenment and righteousness" rise up with creative visions and strategies to eliminate the root of prejudice that stands at the base of virtually all urban problems?

- Negro girls can become nurses to fill the nurse shortage which the hospitals try to meet by recruiting nurses from the Philippines and from Ireland.
- Negro men and women, now in menial hospital jobs can, through attention, training, and removal of barriers, become technicians of the various kinds which are in such short supply.
- Attractive Negro girls can fill the airline stewardess positions for which the airlines are forever recruiting.
- Negroes in business and in industry, with the education they already have or the education they can get, can become executives if only the racial barrier is removed.
- Negro girls can clerk in department stores as was demonstrated to all Chicago by our Carson, Pirie, Scott and Company and its courageous pair of top executives, John Pirie and Virgil Martin.
- I despair of the banks, but maybe prayer and the good example of industry customers can persuade them to permit a Negro to be at least a teller.

Going along with all of these steps is another giant step that would not only facilitate employment but would also be the beginning of an almost automatic solution to the problem of segregation in schools and racial tensions between groups, and this giant step would be open occupancy. In Chicago, many of our businesses and our industries, large and small, have left the city and relocated in the suburbs. In every case they have left their Negro employees behind simply because their Negroes are unable to follow them. They are not allowed to live in the suburbs or in neighborhoods nearby. A simple change in suburban attitudes on race would save suburban tax dollar going for relief.

CONDEMNED FATHERS

Removing racial barriers and investing in education and training of the people deficient therein can also be the most significant and promising solution to the present problem of large numbers of people now relying on Aid to Dependent Children. The real cause of this dependency is the inadequacy of the typical Negro ADC father. He is condemned to this inadequacy, however, by being deprived of the qualification that is the number one requirement for a good American father. What is that requirement? The good American father must be a good provider and our typical ADC father with his shortage of skill, lack of education, and racial barriers to surmount can never be a good provider and his marital union, legal or otherwise, is doomed from the start. This principal cause of ADC and its attendant illegitimacy can be dealt with by seeing that this father is permitted to get a job, have the equipment in education and training to hold it, and earn a decent wage. He'll stay home and ADC will diminish.

These are just some examples to show that there is hope, that removal of racial barriers of discrimination against initial employment and against advancement in employment can open up countless jobs and give to the people who will move into them a higher horizon and to those who fill the vacated lower down jobs, a new hope. It can also offer hope to the taxpayer—hope of lightened taxes for relief.

But what is the hope that this attack on the underemployment of Negroes and others can be effective? The new hope, as I see it, is the recent entry into the ranks of those who have been trying to fight discrimination of a majestic, divinely-guided, new power whose force and whose strength can be greater than government, greater than any community or national organization, greater than any force that could take the field.

A MIGHTY ARMY

This new force was mobilized recently when all of the major religious groups of America came together in official assembly, set aside all doctrinal differences, and united to join their forces and their might in a great new crusade against a social and economic injustice which all have agreed and have declared to be an enemy and a sin in their sight and in the sight of God. The three major faiths, convened by their top leadership—the Synagogue Council of America, the National Council of Churches, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference —came last January to Chicago for an unprecedented historic meeting in which they declared their holy and unified purpose of putting an end to the evil of race discrimination in America. This was the National Conference on Religion and Race. In this, there is hope, a mighty army led by God.

The hope of wiping out poverty in Chicago and in America should not be blocked by any fear that it will cost a lot of money because it won't; the result is attainable at negligible cost. Take the year ahead in Chicago. We will spend in the neighborhood of $200,000,000 in relief grants and the amount will rise if poverty increases. To attack poverty in Chicago which is costing such great and needless sums in relief grants, would involve dealing with about 50,000 family heads, a group of manageable size, and preparing them through education chiefly for a transition from dependency into independence and the pride of self-support.

The education would cost (for 20,000 of the 50,000 this coming year)	$1,300,000
Abolition of discrimination in all hiring would cost	Nothing
Abolition of underemployment would cost	Nothing
Letting Negroes live where they wish would cost	Nothing
Open occupancy would cost	Nothing

The price is right; the time is right. If the forces of enlightenment and righteousness will take the field, there can be for the poor people of America a new life, new horizons, new hopes.

From his book, "The Fire Next Time":

A MESSAGE TO ALL AMERICANS

Behind what we think of as the Russian menace lies what we do not wish to face, and what white Americans do not face when they regard a Negro: reality—the fact that life is tragic. Life is tragic simply because the earth turns and the sun inexorably rises and sets, and one day, for each of us, the sun will go down for the last, last time. Perhaps the whole root of our trouble, the human trouble, is that we will sacrifice all the beauty of our lives, will imprison ourselves in totems, taboos, crosses, blood sacrifices, steeples, mosques, races, armies, flags, nations, in order to deny the fact of death, which is the only fact we have. It seems to me that one ought to rejoice in the fact of death—ought to decide, indeed to earn one's death by confronting with passion the conundrum of life. One is responsible to life: it is the small beacon in that terrifying darkness from which we come and to which we shall return. One must negotiate this passage as nobly as possible, for the sake of those who are coming after us. But white Americans do not believe in death, and this is why the darkness of my skin so intimidates them. And this is also why the presence of the Negro in this country can bring about its destruction. It is the responsibility of free men to trust and to celebrate what is constant—birth, struggle, and death are constant, and so is love, though we may not always think so—and to apprehend the nature of change, to be able and willing to change. I speak of change not on the surface, but in the depths—change in the sense of renewal. But renewal becomes impossible if one supposes things to be constant that are not—safety, for example, or money, or power. One clings then to chimeras, by which one can only be betrayed, and the entire hope—the entire possibility—of freedom disappears.

—JAMES BALDWIN

Epilogue

Perhaps there can be no epilogue. For it is patently obvious that we write these words in the midst of a revolution, a revolution perhaps even more justified in its intent than the American Revolution. If this be an epilogue, let it be an epilogue to the era during which white Christians were largely unwilling to accept the Negro as an equal. Let it be an epilogue to hypocrisy, to inaction, to rebellion against the clear call of God manifested in history.

The greatest tragedy confronting white Christians today is that the faltering steps toward the elimination of prejudice may be motivated by fear rather than by compassion. Indeed, it almost seems too late for the Church to be more than an onlooker as the wave of equality crashes on the beach of history. Before the Civil War the abolitionists were willing to suffer for their profound belief that slavery was evil. Many abolitionists were also Christians. But after the Civil War, when the Negro was technically freed, the very persons who advocated freedom began to retreat. Meeting the Negro "face to face" these white liberals of their day lost some of the fervor that they had had. The Negro was, after all, human. The effects of enslavement and torture made him unattractive, unfit—in the white man's view—for participation in "civilized society". The white emancipators backed off. The Negro became a victim first of paternalism, then ultimately of segregation and discrimination.

Years of segregation have left vast majorities of Negroes little more prepared for participation in what the white man arrogantly considers to be "civilized society", namely "white society" than they were a century ago when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps this is the reason why the white liberals of *our* day seem to be on the retreat. It is one thing to love the Negro in the abstract, to weep for his sufferings in the comfort of a seemingly invulnerable security; it is another thing to accept the Negro as a brother, to live with him, to accept him personally, yes, even to criticize him in the way that one criticizes a good friend. There can be no greater betrayal of the Negro at this point in history than the failure to couple compassion with the immediate willingness to accept the Negro *in person* when he comes to your home, your church, your place of employment, your golf club.

We have reached the point when it is utter hypocrisy for white persons who call themselves Christian to justify themselves with the array of slogans that have become the stock and trade of persons who would avoid the real issue at stake: "I have some very good friends that are Negro" (meaning that only Negroes who please the white person, who measure up to the right sanitary standards, the acceptable educational level, are worthy of friendship). "I'm personally *for* integration, but I wouldn't want to offend my neighbors" (meaning that one is no more willing to accept integration than his neighbors, only more sophisticated in motivation). "Negroes have to earn their right to citizenship" (meaning that the white man shares no responsibility for the denial of citizenship).

We have reached the point in history when we must raise the question, "Will the Negro accept the white man?" before even considering the question of whether the white man will accept the Negro.

As the Negro gains his freedom—with or without white assistance—what can the Christian do? He can—with the Grace of God—throw away all of the rationalizations and preconceptions that have secured him against involvement in the struggle. He can—with the Grace of God—join forces with those who are working to bring peaceful change. He can—with the Grace of God—prepare himself to stand alone, willing to suffer for the sake of belief. In innumerable ways he can participate in the great change that is remaking the fabric of American society.

Finally he can accept the awesome judgment contained in the First Letter of John: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: . . . for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

Extra copies of this issue of RENEWAL can be obtained in bulk mailings of 10 or more for ten cents per copy. We hope this issue will be useful in Church study programs as laymen seek to come to grips with the thorny problems of race relations in their own communities. Order from RENEWAL, Room 1302, 19 So. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Illinois.

RENEWAL's next issue will appear in September.

The expense of publishing and mailing RENEWAL has impelled us to ask churches receiving bulk mailings to pay a nominal fee for this service. A letter to this effect has been sent to recipients of bulk mailings. The fee for one year's bulk mailing is one dollar per year per issue ordered, half price for bulk orders in excess of 100.

TO OUR READERS:

The imperatives which led us to publish this issue prevented us from printing letters that have been piling up on our desk for months. We were also prevented from printing a glowing editorial of thanks to those readers who have voluntarily contributed more than $2000 to help cover printing and mailing costs of RENEWAL. In the brief space of this page, we'll try to respond to some of these items.

RENEWAL wishes to thank individual readers and also the William C. Whitney Foundation for its recent grant of $2500. Contributions from these two sources will enable us to cover publishing costs for 1963. We would also like to welcome new readers. Our present circulation numbers almost 14,000, more than twice what it was when we began publication as a magazine for laymen in September 1962.

If we could sum up the content of the letters on our desk, their message might be this: Protestant laymen are becoming more and more interested in seeking ways to increase the scope and depth of their faith. While acknowledging the need for "the church building", they seem anxious to seek new forms of discipleship. We received one letter from a minister indicating displeasure with Gordon Cosby's article in the April issue. In his article Cosby suggested that the church give up its present institutional structure. Our correspondent stated: "I guess I am just sick of hearing the attacks upon the Church which has all my life wrapped up in it." This conflict is symbolic of the era we are entering: an era of doubt, an era of exploration, possibly an era of renewal and reform.

The Rev. Julius Belser, minister of the West Side Christian Parish's Church of Hope in Chicago, writes: "In Illinois the poor pay proportionally higher taxes. The poor wash dishes, wash cars, pick the crops, do many strategic jobs on which we all count...The present proposal to put ceilings on public aid amounts smashes hardest the most needy--the large or most disadvantaged families...This is no solution, it can only increase the delinquency, school drop-out rate, etc. These families need <u>more</u> intensive care...There is a tremendous need for communication between the inner city and the outer city people in our society." Perhaps the only thing that will convince those in power that rehabilitation is a more sensible solution than revenge is the growth of an informed public willing to speak out on complex and often irrational issues. In this spirit, we join others in congratulating the Chicago Daily News and WBBM-TV for their recent work in publicizing the effects of slum life and for showing that there is only one way to eradicate slums: take the profit out of them.

Two important new programs are being developed by the Chicago City Missionary Society. Mr. James Twomey, an Episcopal layman and housing expert, has joined the CCMS staff to develop a Middle Income Housing Program under Society sponsorship. The Rev. William Cohea joined the Society staff on June 1. His job will include the inauguration of vocation-centered discussion groups within Chicago's business-industrial community. Full elaboration of both these programs and their implications will be presented in forthcoming issues of RENEWAL.

Pope John. He wanted no long obituary. He did want unity. He did want world peace. The era of Protestantism as a "religion unto itself" has past. One suspects that Pope John saw that the era of the Roman Catholic "religion unto itself" was drawing to a close. The new era, by God's grace, will take cognisance of these words of C. G. Jung: "Anyone who appreciates the legitimacy of the two viewpoints, of the two branches into which Christianity has been split, cannot maintain the exclusive validity of either of them, for to do so would be to deceive himself. As a Christian, he has to recognize that the Christendom he belongs to has been split for four hundred years and that his Christian beliefs, far from redeeming him, have exposed him to a conflict and a division that is still rending the body of Christ. These are the facts, and they cannot be abolished by each creed pressing for a decision in its favor, as though each were perfectly sure it possessed the absolute truth. Such an attitude is unfair to modern man; he can see very well the advantages that Protestantism has over Catholicism and vice versa, and it is painfully clear to him that this sectarian insistence is trying to corner him against his better judgement--in other words, tempting him to sin against the Holy Ghost." Let Christians--Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox - accept the fact that if God wills Christian unity, unity will come. Let us be ready to accept the unity that He ordains.

RENEWAL is published monthly September through June by the Exploratory Program in Journalism of the Chicago City Missionary Society, a Protestant agency concerned with the renewal of the church in the metropolis, the Reverend Don Benedict, General Director. RENEWAL staff: Stephen C. Rose, Editor; Virginia Sutch, Associate Editor. CCMS office: 19 So. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Ill. CE 6-4830. There is no subscription fee for RENEWAL; contributions to help pay for publication and distribution are needed and welcome.

FROM: OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 2, 1963

Protection of persons engaged in voter registration, and a felling of registration barriers against Negroes were reported priority goals of the Department of Justice today.

Attorney John Doar of the Department's Civil Rights section told the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University that the Justice Department plans increasing the staff of its Civil Rights section this fall, or earlier. The section now employs 20 lawyers, 22 persons in special research and 10 others to handle records. He outlined a number of cases the Department has handled or, is working on, involving use of the 1957 Civil Rights Laws, mostly in Mississippi.

The Department expects to bring before a three judge federal court by fall what it calls "The Big Suit Against the State of Mississippi". If successful the single case would wipe out racial discrimination by registration boards in that state.

In detailing cases, Mr. Doar cited several where federal action brought release from jail for Negroes arrested in connection with voter registration, principally in Mississippi. The Department has some of these cases pending.

Citizens have now a secured right to engage in voter registration, affirmed in U. S. vs. Wood, a case in which youthful John Hardy of Nashville, Tennessee. was beaten and jailed in Walthall County, Mississippi. He had accompanied two persons to the Walthall court house to get regis-

tration blanks. The breach of peace charges were dismissed by federal court order.

Passage of legislation such as Title III congress refused to put in the 1957 Civil Rights Laws would enable the Justice Department to extend its area of action where Negroes are denied the right to engage in non-civil rights activities, Mr. Doar said.

He outlined among deterrents to voting Negroes face in Mississippi, disallowance to pay poll taxes, threats and actual violence upon the person and property of Negroes seeking to register, arrests on "trumped" charges for engaging in voter registration. Along with legal action, the Justice Department is employing a"persuasion program" to enlighten recalcitrant officials on the enormity of racial discrimination in voting rights about them. He cited a case where the government paraded some 45 illiterate and near-illiterate whites, all of whom had been registered without difficulty, together with a larger number of Negroes in the same county whose economic standard and education was far superior to that of the white witnesses, but who had been denied voting rights.

Mr. Doar said the Department discovered that in several Mississippi counties hundreds of Negroes had been registered and voting prior to 1954 when the Supreme Court handed down its school desegregation decision. Since, he said, only a few have been issued registration certificates under revised election laws.

The youthful Justice Department aide lauded southern Negro youths as "the real heroes who are fighting the battles in the south" and who are shaping a new nation. They, he said, will have a big role "in our future as a nation. There's no question about this."

John H. McCary
Institute Reporter

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FROM: OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 2, 1963

The nation's liberals, colored and white, were urged to "bridge gulfs and tear down walls" on the civil rights front by a Southern Regional Council official, Tuesday night.

Attorney Marion A. Wright, vice president of SRC, rallied liberals to participate in the "birth of a genuine partnership between white and Negro" which began with the sit-in efforts of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina in February of 1960 to the end, or near end, of segregation and racial discrimination. "We have moved towards the millenium of the South when those who could, took up the cudgel for those who couldn't eat at lunch counters," he said. "We now have a lasting, common fraternity between the races and we must never again go our respective ways."

Attorney Wright sees problems yet to be resolved. Among them: 1. development of strong civil liberties to implement civil rights gains; 2. and establishment of a world government to redress racial wrongs. "Clouds of fear still hang over the heads of many southerners, causing men to whisper their views rather than shout them from housetops", he said, adding: "civil rights will never be secured until civil liberties are secured."

Mr. Wright warned that, while segregation is on the way out, "southern political minds haven't changed an iota since the days of John C. Calhoun." He also warned against those who "would drive lines separating us" among forces already at work to negate gains. The SRC executive charged that history shows northern states ended discrimination only to re-establish it in more effective, subtle forms.

John H. McCray
Institute Reporter

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FROM: OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 1, 1963

Segregated housing is the "root" of all other forms of racial discrimination, and is increasing rather than decreasing, the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute was told at Fisk University today.

John McDermott, Director of the Catholic Interracial Commission of Chicago, said residential segregation is the "most intimate" of segregation problems, and both north and south, especially in the suburbs of urban communities, is greater than ever before, increasing while segregation in other categories is being decreased. Southern communities, he said, are adopting housing segregation patterns of northern cities as a device for retaining segregated public schools.

Two federal housing officials, Albert Thompson of FHA and Hubert Jackson of PHA, both of The Atlanta Regional Housing Office detailed counter segregated housing federal programs by the Presidential Order of November 20, 1962. The Order (No. 11063) and other federal directives represent a "shift from support to opposing" residential segregation by the government, Mr. Thompson said.

"We won't get to the root of segregation until we do something about segregation in housing", McDermott said. He and the other speakers described residential segregation as being "accepted under agreements" among real estate agencies, developers and builders of housing, and lending agencies. Thompson outlined 12 sections of the executive order, which was one of five steps McDermott suggested as aides in resolving a

"tough issue". They are:

1. Fair Housing Laws; 2. a New Presidential Order, implemented to be made effective; 3. increase in number of builders already practicing integration in developments, etc. 4. support of new Veterans Administration and FHA policies; and 5. increasing the number of Fair Housing Committee groups, which Mr. Thompson said number over 250.

PHA, established in 1937 to aid low-income families, has maintained an equal or proportional percentage of units in each area for minority groups, Mr. Jackson said; and adopted a policy aimed at eradication of residential segregation. New contracts of the agency, he said, definitively outlaw segregation, and housing projects are instructed to operate similarly to a plan adopted at Louisville, Kentucky following a 1957 NAACP suit. The "Louisville Plan", permits a family to exercise a choice for rental use of any one of the housing projects.

John H. McCray
Institute Reporter

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MEMORANDUM CONCERNING ADMINISTRATION'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

AS BACKGROUND FOR MEETING

HOTEL ROOSEVELT, JULY 2, 1963

This memorandum is intended to be of assistance to the groups meeting on July 2nd in considering what techniques to utilize and how best to work together to bring about the passage of the Administration's Civil Rights bill. The memorandum outlines the significant provisions of the bill and makes clear that what the President is asking from Congress is as moderate and restrained as it is necessary to the future of our country; it also sets forth some of the legislative problems in both the House of Representatives and the Senate and some of the immediate target areas for mobilization of opinion.

A.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CONTAINS

The President's civil rights program has been introduced in the House by Congressman Celler as H.R. 7152 and in the Senate by Senator Mansfield and 45 others as S. 1731. It is the most comprehensive civil rights bill ever to receive serious consideration from the Congress of the United States.

The "Civil Rights Act of 1963" contains eight titles relating to voting rights, public accommodations, school desegregation, Community Relations Service, Civil Rights Commission, non-discrimination in Federal programs, Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and miscellaneous provisions.

TITLE I -- Voting Rights

The first title relates to voting rights. It repeats, without substantial change, the Administration's voting bill sent to Congress in February of this year. It would:

(1) Prohibit the application of any standard, practice or procedure in determining qualifications to vote in any Federal election different from those applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found qualified to vote by State officials.

(2) Prohibit denial of the right to vote in Federal elections because of immaterial errors or omissions in registration applications or other acts requisite to voting.

(3) Require literacy tests given in connection with registration to vote in Federal elections to be in writing or transcribed.

(4) Establish sixth-grade education as a presumption of literacy in connection with any test given to qualify to vote in a Federal election.

(5) Amend the 1960 Civil Rights Act to provide that, when less than 15 per cent of potential colored voters are registered in the area, the court shall issue orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote and may appoint temporary referees to take applications for registration pursuant to its order.

(6) Provide for expeditious handling of voting cases in which the United States is plaintiff.

These voting provisions constitute improvements in the operations of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. But it is readily apparent that they are both moderate and limited and wholly within the spirit of the 1957 and 1960 Acts. Indeed, the first four provisions noted above apply only to Federal elections, although there would appear to be constitutional authority to apply them to state elections as well.

The first two provisions, although primarily declaratory of existing constitutional and statutory requirements, will help persuade some reluctant judges by making the constitutional requirements clear.

The requirement that literacy tests be in writing or transcribed would make proof of discrimination simpler in many instances.

The provisions relating to a presumption of literacy based on a sixth grade education would make arbitrary denials by state officials more difficult and, when any arbitrary denials are challenged in court, this provision would take effect and create a presumption of literacy in favor of the person applying to register.

The provision for court orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote when the complaint alleges that fewer than 15 per cent of the Negroes of voting age in the area involved are registered to vote, makes possible meaningful interim relief during the customary lengthy litigation period. And the provision for temporary voting referees, despite the failure to date of the referee provisions of existing law, may nevertheless help persuade some judges to move ahead on this front.

The provision for expediting voting cases brought by the United States cannot make hostile judges act quickly, but it can be useful in some situations and will expose those judges who deliberately slow down judicial proceedings in voting cases.

There are stronger proposals in the voting field than those contained in the Administration bill. One of these, for example, is the Federal registrar system proposed by the Civil Rights Commission in 1959 and rejected by the Congress in the 1950 legislative battle. Administrative action of this character can provide mass enfranchisement which the court-centered programs never can accomplish. Yet every legislative advance

cannot be obtained at once and the Administration proposals outlined herein will reenforce the 1957 and 1960 laws and give the Department of Justice additional tools in this important area.

TITLE II -- Public Accommodations

This is the most important title in the Administration bill. It would establish the right to service free from discrimination in places of public accommodation and business establishments. Included would be (i) any hotel, motel, or other public place furnishing lodging to transient guests from other states or traveling in interstate commerce, (ii) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena, stadium, exhibition hall or other public place of amusement customarily presenting entertainment which moves in interstate commerce, (iii) any retail shop, department store, market, drugstore, gasoline station, restaurant, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other public eating places, if goods and services are provided substantially to interstate travelers, or goods held out to the public have moved in interstate commerce, or the activities or operations substantially affect interstate commerce.

Those refused service would have the right to sue for preventive relief. In addition, the Attorney General could enter suit on receipt of a written complaint, if the complainant is unable to bring suit because of financial reasons or fear of reprisals. If successful, a complainant would be entitled to reasonable attorney's fees.

Before filing suit, the Attorney General would be required to refer the complaint to the Community Relations Service provided under Title IV of the bill and to any appropriate state agency with authority to prohibit the discriminatory practice.

The bill relies on both the Fourteenth Amendment and the interstate commerce clause for its constitutional base, although the Attorney General in his June 26th testimony before the House Judiciary Committee relied almost exclusively on the interstate commerce power. Some Republicans prefer the Fourteenth Amendment route and it would probably be well to urge that the bill continue to be predicated on both constitutional bases. Added emphasis on the Fourteenth Amendment would also obviate the necessity of drawing lines between interstate and local facilities as does the Administration bill.

The President has acted decisively in meeting the problem of discrimination in places of public accommodation and this provision is certainly the most significant provision of the Administration's civil rights package. By the same token, it will inevitably engender the most opposition in Congress and the most efforts to compromise it.

One such compromise proposal is already being discussed — namely, a limitation on the size of the establishment covered by the provision. It is true that a small rooming house in which the owner resides, the so-called "Mrs. Murphy rooming-house", retains many of the characteristics of a home and there may there be some reason for protecting the right of privacy of the home-owner. But there is no privacy in a store or restaurant or entertainment facility open to the public and, all such facilities, large or small, should be covered by the bill.

Even more dangerous - far more dangerous - is the compromise being suggested in some quarters to take the enforcement provisions out of the bill and leave it as entirely voluntary through conciliation. But conciliation is only valuable if there is ultimate enforcement behind it and anything that deprives the Administration package of an enforceable public accommodations title would be a tragic defeat for civil rights. What happens on the effort to take the enforcement provisions out of the public accommodations title will be a measure of success or failure for the Administration's bill.

TITLE III — School Desegregation

Under this title, technical assistance, grants and loans would be made available to school boards to meet problems arising out of school desegregation or the adjustment of racial imbalance in schools.

The more important part of this title authorized the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of complaints and a determination that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

As the Attorney General made clear in his testimony on June 26th, this title "would thus combine a program of aid to segregated school systems, which are attempting in good faith to meet the demands of the Constitution, with a program of effective legal action by the federal government . . .these programs would smooth the path upon which the Nation was set by the Brown decision. The school desegregation title is second only to the public accommodations title in furthering civil rights in America.

As in connection with the voting provisions of Title I, the moderate and limited nature of the President's proposals on school desegregation should be noted. The school desegregation provisions contain no requirement that school districts begin compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in 1963 as was promised by the Democratic Platform and as is contained in S. 772 and H.R. 1766, the so-called Clark-Celler bills. Furthermore, the Attorney General is limited in the Administration's bill to bringing suits only where complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings, a restriction on his freedom in school desegregation cases which was not included in the 1957 grant of authority to act in voting cases. Finally, it should be noted that there is no provision in this title or elsewhere in the bill for an across-the-board Part III authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit, not only in school cases, but in all

situations where persons are denied their constitutional rights because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Such a provision (which could be offered as an emendment to the President's bill) would not only reach hospitals, libraries, parks and other recreational facilities, public buildings, etc., not covered by the Administration's bill, but would also give the Attorney General power to enjoin state interference with peaceful protests as in Birmingham and elsewhere. But moderate and limited as Title III is, it is a major step in the direction of integrated schooling and a vital and necessary part of any civil rights package.

TITLE IV — Community Relations Service

A new agency, Community Relations Service, would be established under this title of the bill. Its purpose would be to help resolve problems arising from discriminatory practices by bringing together the people of influence in both races.

Such an agency would serve a useful function if the bill as finally enacted provides strong protection for the constitutional rights of minority group citizens. It could in no way be considered as a substitute for enforcement authority. As a complement to enforcement authority, it should have real value.

TITLE V — Civil Rights Commission

Title V would extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights for four years and authorize it to serve as a national clearing house to provide information, advice, and technical assistance to private and public agencies.

Because of its fine record, the Commission is deserving of support for extension and additional grant of authority. It could be hoped, however, that the agency could be made permanent in order to free it of the necessity of constantly revising its plans and to give it the stability it needs to conduct a continuing operation.

TITLE VI — Withholding of Federal Funds

This title would authorize withholding of Federal funds from any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, when discrimination is found in such a program or activity.

Again the moderate nature of the President's civil rights bill is evidenced by this provision. Many persons believe that the President already has the authority to withhold federal funds from any program or activity in which unconstitutional discrimination is found. (Nevertheless the President has asked for this authority from Congress, apparently to buttress with Congressional approval what he desires to do in this area.) While the President would probably be in a position to act on his own initiative, this provision would add Congressional support for his action

and should have the full support of all the groups. Federal funds contributed by all the people should never be utilized in a way that discriminates against some of the people who contribute those funds.

TITLE VII — Equal Employment Opportunity

Under this title, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be reestablished as a Commission and given statutory authority under which to operate.

The authority proposed should be granted. The present Committee is handicapped by limited funds and manpower. It is also apparent that it is reluctant to exercise its full authority because of fear of Congressional reprisals. A Congressional grant of authority with subsequent financial support could considerably strengthen the agency in fulfilling its mission.

The enactment of this provision is not, however, a substitute for national FEPC. Such a law with strong enforcement procedures, as promised in the 1960 Democratic platform, is one of the most necessary legislative requirements. Several bills establishing an FEPC are pending in Congress. The adoption of one of these as an amendment to the Administration's civil rights bill should be strongly supported and the President's message to Congress gives his stamp of approval to this effort.

TITLE VIII — Miscellaneous

The last title authorizes necessary appropriations and provides a separability clause in the event any provision of the bill is held invalid.

* * * * * * *

As we have seen, the President's bill is wholly necessary if freedom and equality are to win out in America. It is a strong and a good bill. Yet, as we have also seen, it is far from an extreme or all-encompassing measure. There is no room for compromise or weakening. The task of the groups who are meeting and mobilizing is to see that neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate weaken this vital measure.

B.

OBTAINING PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE ADMINISTRATION BILL, H.R. 7152

The object of the pro-civil-rights organizations should be to obtain the passage through the House of Representatives of a bill at least as strong as H.R. 7152, and, if at all possible, a stronger bill. The stronger the bill that comes out of the House, the less the damage from any dilution by the Senate. Certainly every effort must be made to safeguard against any weakening of the Administration's bill in the House.

This will not be easy. Most of the public attention has been focused on the Senate because of the drama involved in a filibuster in that body. But there are many pitfalls in the House as well.

H.R. 7152 is presently before the House Judiciary Committee. The Attorney General testified in support of the Administration bill on June 26th and hearings will likely go on through July. Consideration should be given to having the strongest possible testimony presented to the House Judiciary Committee without unduly delaying the Committee's action reporting out the bill. Possibly some of the organizations will want to combine their testimony. Thus, for example, if the three religious faiths were to present joint testimony (for the administration's bill and possibly for strengthening amendments) this would have a real impact upon the Committee.

The first focal point of pressure must be upon the members of the House Judiciary Committee:

Democrats	Republicans
Emanuel Celler, New York	William M. McCulloch, Ohio
Michael A. Feighan, Ohio	William E. Miller, New York
Frank Chelf, Kentucky	Richard H. Poff, Virginia
Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana	William C. Cramer, Florida
Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey	Arch A. Moore, Jr., West Virginia
E.L. Forrester, Georgia	George Meader, Michigan
Byron G. Rogers, Colorado	John V. Lindsay, New York
Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts	William T. Cahill, New Jersey
Jack Brooks, Texas	Garner E. Shriver, Kansas
William M. Tuck, Virginia	Clark MacGregor, Minnesota
Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland
John Dowdy, Texas	James E. Bromwell, Iowa
Basil L. Whitener, North Carolina	Carleton J. King, New York
Roland V. Libonati, Illinois	Pat Minor Martin, California
Herman Toll, Pennsylvania	
Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin	
Jacob H. Gilbert, New York	
James C. Corman, California	
William L. St. Onge, Connecticut	
George F. Senner, Jr., Arizona	

Concentration should be had on the Republicans (other than Lindsay who is extremely pro-civil-rights), as most of the non-Southern-Democrats will probably support the Administration's bill. All should be urged to support H.R. 7152 in full and to substitute an across-the-board Part III for the limited school-desegregation Part III in the bill.

Assuming that the Administration bill, as is or as strengthened, comes out of the House Judiciary Committee, the next major problem will be the Rules Committee. It is likely that Chairman Howard Smith will try to avoid Committee meetings and thereby stall a rule on the bill. There is, however, a procedure for forcing a Committee meeting which requires the support of 8 members of the 15-member Rules Committee. There are only 5 certain supporters for such action (Madden, Delaney, Bolling, O'Neil and Sisk, all Northern Democrats). The other 5 Democrats are Southerners and it will

therefore be necessary to get the support of 3 of the 5 Republicans on the Rules Committee for this maneuver. The 5 Republicans on the Rules Committee are Brown of Ohio, St. George of New York, Smith of California, Hoffman of Illinois and Avery of Kansas. Although this matter will not be before the Rules Committee until August, efforts to build support for H.R. 7152 and for a rule to bring it to the floor in the Districts of those five Congressmen should be undertaken immediately. Obtaining the support of the Republicans on the Rules Committee will not only make it impossible for Chairman Smith to stall interminably by avoiding meetings, but will also assure the necessary votes for the rule once the meeting is held.

Of course, there are alternative ways around the Rules Committee. One is a discharge petition of 218 signatures. The other is what is known as calendar Wednesday. But both of these procedures are difficult and time-consuming and a real mobilization of sentiment upon the 5 Republican members of the Rules Committee can render them unnecessary.

Sometime in late August or more likely in September, the bill should reach the floor of the House. If the bill at that time is as strong as we hope it will be, the job will be one of defeating weakening amendments. If the bill is weaker than the present Administration bill, the job will be one of strengthening it. Unfortunately, strengthening amendments are subject to a strict germaneness rule, but this is a bridge which need not be crossed at this time.

The job of the organizations when the bill reaches the floor of the House will be to bring maximum pressure on 50 or 60 possible but not certain votes. There are about 150 Democratic votes from outside the South that can be counted on for the Administration's bill. There are some 10 to 20 Republican votes that can be counted on. The winning votes will have to come from approximately 10 questionable non-Southern Democrats and 40 or 50 Republican moderates. At an early date, these possible but uncertain votes must be identified and mobilization of opinion pinpointed upon their Congressional districts.

C.

OBTAINING PASSAGE BY THE SENATE OF THE

ADMINISTRATION BILL, S. 1731

It can be estimated that the House bill will most likely come to the Senate in September. But that by no means indicates that there is nothing that should be done in relation to the Senate at this time.

Only 46 Senators (37 Democrats and 9 Republicans) have signed the Administration bill, S. 1731. An immediate task is to get non-Southern Democrats and moderate Republicans to sign the bill, so that there is a very clear and definite majority committed to the President's package. The non-Southern Democrats (and liberal Southerners) who have not signed are Anderson, Bartlett, Bible, Cannon, Edmondson, Gore, Hayden, Kefauver, Lausche, Monroney and Yarborough. The moderate Republicans who have not

signed are Aiken, Allott, Boggs, Carlson, Miller, Morton, Prouty, Saltonstall and Smith. By immediate concentration on these Senators, it should be possible to get a majority of the total Senate in support of the bill at once. (On the technical question of how a Senator puts his name on a bill which has already been introduced, it is suggested that he ask Senator Mansfield to request unanimous consent that such Senator's name appear as a sponsor on the next printing of the bill).

The hearing situation in the Senate is more complicated than in the House where the Administration bill will undoubtedly be reported out in some form or other by the House Judiciary Committee. In the Senate, the normal Committee to handle this bill is also the Judiciary Committee, but because of its Chairman and its composition, the Senate Judiciary Committee is unlikely to report out a bill. Despite the unlikelihood of reporting out a bill, it is probable that the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on the Administration bill. A strong record should be built by the organizations in support of the Administration's bill and strengthening amendments, as Senator Ervin, Chairman of the Subcommittee, will be using his remarkable talents to build a negative record.

Since the Senate Judiciary Committee has always been a roadblock to civil rights legislation, the Senate Commerce Committee, which has the public accommodations provisions of the Administration package before it, is holding hearings on those provisions (S. 1732). Certainly the pro-civil rights groups will want to testify and build a strong record in support of the public accommodations bill. It is important that as strong and favorable a report on this bill be made to the Senate as early as possible. The Senate Commerce Committee consists of the following:

Democrats	Republicans
Warren G. Magnuson, Washington	Norris Cotton, New Hampshire
John O. Pastore, Rhode Island	Thruston B. Morton, Kentucky
A.S. Mike Monroney, Oklahoma	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina	Winston L. Prouty, Vermont
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio	J. Glenn Beall, Maryland
Ralph W. Yarborough, Texas	
Clair Engle, California	
E.L. Bartlett, Alaska	
Vance Hartke, Indiana	
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming	
Philip A. Hart, Michigan	
Howard W. Cannon, Nevada	

Of these, Magnuson, Pastore, Engle, Hartke, McGee, Hart, Scott and Beall have already supported public accommodations by sponsoring S. 1731 and S. 1732. The remainder, other than Thurmond, should be urged to give S. 1732 their full support.

Senate hearings will also be held on FEPC legislation (S. 773) by Senator Clark, a subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The groups will want to support this legislation with testimony and demonstrate strong support for strengthening the Administration's package with an FEPC amendment.

It is not clear yet what the strategy will be when the Administration bill comes over from the House to the Senate. The normal procedure would be for the House bill to go to the Senate Judiciary Committee, but this would likely be sending it to almost certain death. One possible alternative would be to stop the bill at the desk, as was done in 1957, and not refer it to the Senate Judiciary Committee at all. Another alternative would be to refer the House bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it to the Senate within a week or two weeks. Still another possible alternative would be for the Senate to take up the bill on public accommodations from the Senate Commerce Committee (S. 1732) and amend it with the additional provisions of the House bill; by changing the number of the House bill, it could then go to conference with the House bill. There are undoubtedly other possibilities as well, but this bridge need not be crossed at this time.

What should be understood at this time is that in one form or another the Southerners will try to water down the bill. They can filibuster against taking up the bill and they can filibuster against the bill itself. The filibuster against taking up the bill will be more difficult for the Southerners because they can only speak twice on a bill or motion and their time will run out. The filibuster against the bill is easier because they can speak twice not only on the bill but on all amendments. The answer to this, of course, is to table the amendments as fast as they come up. It is, therefore, important that at some stage we obtain the pledge of 51 Senators to round-the-clock sessions of the Senate and to the tabling of all amendments.

This discussion of the Senate situation is based on the assumption that cloture (2/3rds of those present and voting) will not be obtained. It is hoped that this assumption is incorrect and that cloture may be obtained. Sometime in September or October, it will be the role of the organizations to seek to obtain the 10 or 15 doubtful votes needed for cloture. If this can be done, round-the-clock sessions will not be necessary. If it cannot, however, round-the-clock sessions will be necessary and 51 determined Senators can break the filibuster.

The Administration wants no compromise; it is in this fight for its own bill for all it is worth. If the groups do their job of mobilization, there can be a total victory for the Administration bill. This is the year it can be done — and must be done.

Religion

FROM: OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 3, 1963

Approximately 10 percent of the nation's Negro workers are unemployed against two percent of the white workers out of work. The higher incidence of Negro unemployment is explained in racial discrimination by employers and, an inadequate background of training of Negroes. The federal government is working on both factors.

This was the gist of what Hobart Taylor, Jr., executive vice chairman of the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity, told the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University today.

COEEO, or the President's Committee, was created by President Roosevelt's executive order 8802 in 1941, primarily to harness the nation's labor resources in support of World War II; it handled complaints of industry and business denying jobs to Negroes on a race and color basis.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower continued the agency with executive orders of their own. However, the agency had no power to force an industry or firm found discriminating to quit doing so.

President Kennedy retained COEEO in Executive Order 10925 in 1961, but vested it with power, then and subsequently, to deal with discrimination in employment differently than had been the case with his predecessors. For one thing, the agency assessed changes brought on by automation, technology, degree of training, effects of residential segregation, etc. Secondly, it was given power to recommend cancellation of contracts of firms doing business under government contractual involvement, or "black list" firms who fail to drop employment discrimination.

Mr. Taylor reports that the agency has not cancelled a single contract since the Kennedy order. Firms that have been ordered to comply with non-discriminatory provisions of their contracts, they have done so.

Mr. Taylor said that before COEEO's present program was effected Negroes represented about 3.8 percent of the employed. A check of 44,000 newly employed persons showed 11,000 or 25 percent of them colored. The agency has handled about 4,000 cases involving discrimination charges during its first two years, half of which involved the federal government; the remainder involved non-government firms. It achieved 70 percent success in the federal area and 40 percent with non-government.

The agency official estimated it may take the next 100 years to work out of economic, educational and sociological drawbacks of the Negro worker and place him on par with white qualification and preparation; industry and labor unions are both enlisted to help train and use Negro workers. One hundred unions signed anti-discriminatory pledges last year, Taylor said, and are being urged to live up to promises.

Taylor saw jobs for Negroes as the major objective of the current Negro drive and "an important part of the answer" to the race problem. The question "certainly is not who wants to associate with whom", he said. "Negroes realize they are on the shortend of the stick and don't want to live any more like they have had to."

He urged individual responsibility as aiding solution and: 1. young people should remain in school; 2. technical training for Negroes; 3. use of the older citizen; and, 4. understanding, "which is the true basis of our efforts - developing individual Americans."

John H. McCray
Institute Reporter

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A CALL FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 5, 1963

WHEREAS, the racial crisis in this summer of 1963 is a sign of God's action in the history of the United States, the Church must now become radically committed at particular times and places to the struggle of our fellowman:

TO GET the best job for which he is qualified and not be told to "come back later;"
TO WORK at the top jobs and not just those in the lowest-paid categories;
TO ESTABLISH fair employment practices in Federal law and in all other levels of government, since discrimination in employment robs a man of daily bread for himself and his family;
TO EXPOSE the cant and hypocrisy which keep him down even among those supposed to be his friends, whether they be churches, labor unions, management or political organizations;
TO LIVE where he pleases without paying the double-standard dollar;
TO GET the best schooling possible even if desegregation upsets educational traditions;
TO GAIN acceptance as a person of worth who may marry whomever he loves and whoever loves him;
TO SECURE public accommodations freely and without insult;
TO EXERCISE his God-given rights to protest injustice without suffering the intolerable penalties that we regularly read of in the newspapers;
TO GAIN a larger share in the ownership and use of capital;
TO RECEIVE equal protection under the law and equal justice in the courts;
TO OBTAIN crash programs of special assistance in such critical areas as health, education, welfare, citizenship, housing, and employment to enable victims of racial discrimination to achieve equality-in-fact;
TO PUSH for all that is due here and now without heeding those who counsel patience, moderation, and gradualism;
TO REGISTER, VOTE, AND RUN FOR OFFICE without fear of retaliation, either overt or subtle;

THEREFORE, the General Synod, in session in Denver, Colorado, seeking to bring the light of the Christian gospel to bear on the present crisis in race relations confronting our country and the world, and thankfully recalling the long established positions of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church and now the United Church of Christ in the field of relations between the races, on July 5, 1963 takes the following actions:

A. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to uproot intolerance, bigotry, and prejudice within our own lives and to replace them with good will and the determination to strike down immediately the barriers which divide men on account of race. The General Synod calls upon all members to make it plain to all the people with whom we live and work that the Church and the members thereof stand for brotherhood.

B. The General Synod believes that the United Church of Christ must free itself of segregation.

1. To this end, and understanding that the decision must be made for itself by each local congregation, the General Synod urges the churches to declare officially and publicly that their fellowship is open to all who qualify for membership without any restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background The General Synod also urges the churches to declare officially and publicly a policy of calling pastors and employing church staff members without any restrictions as to race, class or ethnic background. When these actions are taken, the General Synod asks that a report be made to the Secretary of the Church.

2. The General Synod urges the conferences and the associations of the United Church of Christ to become fully integrated "with utmost dispatch."

3. The General Synod promises to utilize to the full the contribution that its Negro members and other racial and minority groups can make to the life and work of the United Church, giving these persons their share of leadership opportunities and responsibilities.

4. The General Synod calls upon institutions related to the Church to desegregate forthwith.

C. The General Synod proposes to mobilize the manpower and means of the Church for racial justice.

1. To this end, the General Synod requests the President of the Church, after consultation, to appoint a committee consisting of eleven non-national-staff persons, including in its membership both white and Negro persons who are trusted throughout the Church and have competence in the field of race relations. The life of this Committee shall extend until the next meeting of the General Synod.

2. The General Synod votes to give to that committee the power to decide how the resources of the Church contributed for this purpose will be used in the effort to secure racial equality and social justice both at home and abroad.

3. The General Synod accepts the offer of the Council for Christian Social Action and the Division of Church Extension of the Board for Homeland Ministries to provide the services of Dr. S. Garry Oniki; approves Dr. Oniki's appointment as executive coordinator of this effort; and suggests that the work and program of this committee normally be implemented by committing it to one of the existing agencies so that money can be conserved for actual program needs. In other cases, the committee would be authorized to borrow on a temporary basis experienced staff from the instrumentalities.

4. The program which this committee shall project could include but need not be limited to:

a. Mobilizing the whole membership of the Church, to join where possible with our Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish brethren, on a community basis, to meet the need of the situation on the local level;

b. Providing bail bonds for those who are arrested as they demand social justice;

c. Providing legal defense for such persons;

d. Providing economic aid to persons who lose their jobs because of their participation in activities in behalf of racial equality;

e. Providing financial aid for institutions whose support is threatened by those who oppose an "open policy" of service;

f. Mobilizing the United Church of Christ, its individual

members, congregations, associations and conferences to press for the adoption of legislation to guarantee civil rights;

g. Supporting and commending those church members who successfully begin the integration of their own immediate neighborhoods;

h. Extending the program of voter registration;

i. Urging Christians to give all possible assistance to small businesses in making the transition to nonsegregation;

j. Providing other emergency or long-term help, the need for which only the future will reveal.

(NOTE: All this work, where at all possible, shall be undertaken in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, state and local councils of churches, the National Conference on Religion and Race, and other interreligious and community groups.)

D.

1. The General Synod challenges the people of the United Church of Christ to bring an emergency special offering of funds to cover the cost of this program. The General Synod votes that the first of these offerings will be received this fall. The setting of the date for the second offering is left to the Executive Council.

2. The General Synod commits the responsibility for raising these funds to each congregation and to each member of the Church, under the direction of the Stewardship Council.

3. The General Synod also authorizes the officers of the Church to borrow against these offerings to be received to the extent of $100,000 in order to begin the work immediately.

4. The General Synod votes to receive an offering at the coming Sunday night ecumenical service here at General Synod as the beginning of this fund, and suggests that congregations and individuals that wish to add to this fund before next fall will be able to do this by sending their contributions to the Treasurer of the United Church of Christ, 297 Park Avenue South, New York, New York (10010).

E. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to pray that justice and good will shall prevail and then to work in order to make the fulfillment of that prayer possible.

Other Actions on Race Relations

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 10, 1963

A RESOLUTION ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The Fourth General Synod urges all instrumentalities, conferences, associations, churches and church-related institutions:

1. To review their current employment policies in respect to the calling of ministers, the employment of professional personnel and other staff, and to take affirmative steps to implement fair employment practices;

2. To further fair employment practices by including nondiscriminating provisions in all contracts and agreements;

3. To purchase services from and, in the investment of funds, to give preference to those firms which follow fair employment practices;

4. To advocate, demonstrate and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing for federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a nonpartisan basis in this session of Congress.

The Fourth General Synod approves the authorization of a committee by the Executive Council to evaluate the policies and practices in the United Church of Christ in respect to fair employment, to initiate procedures for prompt and effective achievement of fair employment policies and practices, to give attention to:

a. location of specific job opportunities,
b. use of personnel records with the churches,
c. special emphasis on locating qualified persons regardless of race in recruitment of personnel,
d. initiation of in-service training for purposes of promotion,
e. discovery of potential existing leadership,
f. development and training of leadership,
g. promotion and upgrading of personnel on the basis of ability, and
h. transmittal of information about nondiscriminatory practices and procedures to agencies used for recruitment of personnel,

and expects the committee to report periodically to the Executive Council of the General Synod.

The Fourth General Synod instructs the Council for Christian Social Action to present testimony in support of Civil Rights and fair employment practices legislation before committees of Congress.

POLICY OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

General Synod declares its policy to be to contribute funds only to institutions and churches which as of July 1, 1964, have a policy of openness without respect to race, national background or ethnic origin, and further urges the instrumentalities, conferences and churches to adopt and pursue such a policy in respect to contributions.

LOCAL STUDY AND ACTION

General Synod urges ministers and local churches to study the findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race and to cooperate in interfaith action on race in their communities.

Additional copies of **A Call for Racial Justice Now** with the related resolutions and actions on race relations may be ordered at 5 cents each, $2.50 per hundred from

Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
2969 West 25th St., Cleveland, Ohio 44113

or

Central Distribution Service
United Church of Christ
1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

SA-R-0963—10M

shall we still betray our Lord?

racial justice now

THE UNMISTAKABLE CRISIS

THE MOUNTING TIDE of vigorous actions to secure full civil rights for all American citizens has at long last moved into the center of this nation's attention and has precipitated an unmistakable crisis.

The crisis must be seen as involving not only fundamental concepts of freedom, justice and compassion for our fellowmen, but also obedience of the Church to its Lord.

The Church of Christ can make no compromise with discrimination against or segregation of peoples on the basis of race, and still be faithful to her Master. God came to dwell among men in the person of a man. He died and rose again for every man.

It must be said that while many Christians have worked hard in this cause, the Church has not been free from sin in this serious issue.

Up to now there always has seemed to be time for gradual change. But now, in the providence of God, the issue is sharply focussed. The basic issue is unchanged but has become more obvious.

As the demands for equal treatment take shape in almost every city, the entire nation faces the threat of violence and a developing mood of frustration.

There is a growing consensus that the next months may be a decisive period in American history in dealing with this haunting sin. The world watches to see how we will act – whether with courage or fumbling expediency.

In such a time the Church of Jesus Christ is called upon to put aside every lesser engagement, to confess her sins of omission and delay, and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other.

The United Church of Christ, by vote of its 1963 General Synod, is committed to move on all fronts of the struggle. It now calls upon every member-church and individual member to join forces in a concrete program for racial justice now.

We would respond to this call with our offerings of hand and heart as this day we lay them before God.

order of worship

This service begins immediately after the sermon or hymn following the sermon.

A LITANY OF GRACE AND RACE

ACT OF CONFESSION

Leader: Let us pray. O God who has made us one people, we have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to thee, giver of human dignity and human rights.

We have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social, and private life.

In our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions, and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments.

We have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of our faith.

Unison: *We repent our failures and ask thy forgiveness, even as we would ask the forgiveness of those whose rights have been withheld and whose dignity has been offended.*

(Moment of Silence)

ACT OF SUPPLICATION

Leader: Let us pray.

Unison: *While there is still time, O Lord, enable us to seek a reign of justice,*

Leader: In which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed;
public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all;
equal educational and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

Unison: *While there is still time, O God, enable us to seek a reign of love,*

Leader: In which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones;
racial barriers will be eliminated;
the stranger will be sought and welcomed;
any man will be received as brother—his rights, our rights; his pain, our pain; his prison, our prison.

Unison: *While there is still time, O God, enable us to seek a reign of courage,*

Leader: in which as thy people, we shall make our faith our binding commitment;
in which we shall willingly suffer for justice and love;
in which our churches shall lead, not follow.

Unison: *While there is still time, O Lord, enable us to seek a reign of prayer,*

Leader: in which thou art praised and worshipped as the
Lord of the universe,
before whom all racial idols fall,
who makest us one family
and to whom we are all responsible.

Unison: *O God, give grace to us the living, and heal*
the wounds of racial strife;
that we may keep faith with thee, who lovest
every man as if he were all, and all as if
they were one.

Amen.

OFFERING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW

Collection of Gifts, no music will be played or sung.

Doxology or "All Things Come of Thee"

PRAYER OF INTERCESSION

(To be read by minister, congregation seated)

O God, Father of all mankind, we bring before thee the burden of those who today struggle for human dignity and freedom, for the rights of every man.

We pray for all public servants who contend for social righteousness – the President of the United States, members of Congress, judges, city and state officials, journalists and commentators on the news, educators and social workers, employers and labor leaders, clergymen and others whose voices shape public opinion and the common life. Give them the decisiveness of a supreme ideal. Make them transparently sincere in all they profess to feel and do, and fearless before thee alone. Keep them resolute and faithful until their task is done and temper them always by the spirit of reconciliation.

We pray for those who so long have been humiliated and now seek redress of wrongs not with violence and vengeance but with the power of prayer and disciplined action in the spirit of Christ. Keep them in this way of the Cross, wherein is strength beyond their strength, victory after sacrifice and beneath whose shadow is ultimate healing and peace. This we dare pray only as we ourselves advance to walk with them the steep ascent.

We remember before thee also those who having been wronged would now fight evil with evil and deepen the social rift. Show them that to debase others is to debase themselves.

Have pity, Lord, on all who oppose the demands thou art making in this crisis, whether they do so by violence of hand or mouth or heart. Tear from them the pride, prejudice and fear in which they themselves are entrapped. O Spirit of God, enlighten and correct them – do even so to us where we fail thy will in ways we presently go.

We bear before thee all those who in this present hour of trial hesitate to answer the call of conscience. Make known to them that nothing is too early or too late which is in due time for thee. Though there appear a dark valley of misunderstanding and alienation, let none persuade himself he knows a way around. Let each put right before self-interest, others before self, principle before reputation and thee, O God, before everything else.

Until deliverance come, grant, O God, that all who suffer from unrighteousness and all who suffer for the sake of righteousness may possess their souls in the companionship of the suffering and over-coming Lord.

Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, forever and forever. **Amen.**

HYMN – "Rise Up, O Men of God"

BENEDICTION

The following commitment form has already been used by many members and communicants of the United Church of Christ. It is here offered as a help to anyone who desires to bind himself to a Christian discipline of action in behalf of racial justice.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED

IN response to the summons of the Fourth General Synod, calling the members of the United Church of Christ to commit themselves before God and the nation to racial justice now,

I COMMIT MYSELF AS A CHRISTIAN:

- To work now for inclusive membership in my church;
- To seek now the enactment of appropriate civil rights legislation in the areas of education, employment, housing, public accommodations, and voting at every level of government, and to protest the evasion of such laws;
- To engage now in persuasion, in negotiation, in reconciliation and in non-violent responsible demonstrations when such actions are necessary for racial justice;
- To establish now at least one friendship across racial and cultural lines;
- To fortify myself and deepen my commitment to racial unity and justice now by daily prayer, by study, and by sharing my experiences with others.

_____

Signature

_____

Date

(Please retain this copy so that from time to time you might renew your commitment)

racial justice now

I desire to enroll in the FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED.

Name: _____
(Print)

Church: _____

Address: _____

_____

(Please detach and return the above application to the Committee for Racial Justice Now, United Church of Christ, Room 94, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.)

we shall betray our Lord . . .

. . . if we take no action now

Prepared for the United Church of Christ by the Stewardship Council, 1505 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Pa. ■ Acknowledgments: The introductory word to the order of worship was adapted from a statement of the National Council of Churches, the litany from the "Appeal to Conscience," issued by the National Conference of Religion and Race.

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Religion

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. • TN 7-8400

CHURCH AND RACE

July 6, 1963

CARROLL GREENE, JR.,
Editor

DOUGLAS BUSHY,
Consultant

A Periodic News Bulletin Issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations, Division of Christian Citizenship, of which the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley is Executive Secretary.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TAKES STEPS TO IMPROVE ITS RACIAL PRACTICES

For the past year, the National Council has been undertaking a rigorous program to improve racial equality and inclusiveness in its own life. The group charged with this effort is the Joint Staff Committee on Race Relations, authorized by the Presiding Bishop and Directors. It includes representatives of all Departments and the two General Divisions of Laymen's and Women's Work. The Committee undertook a thorough study of current practices and made several recommendations for change to the Joint Program Planning Committee. Each recommendation has been carefully considered. Many have been implemented by administrative action, or by National Council action where policy is involved.

Actions include the extension of staff (non-officer) recruitment to agencies drawing on non-white workers; re-statement of equal opportunity in the employment and promotion of staff; efforts to lessen social distance within the staff; and special efforts to assist non-white workers in qualifying for advancement. Various recommendations to effect the employment of more non-white officers were to be given further study and are reported here later. Special attention was also agreed upon for the seeking out of qualified non-whites for Advisory Committees and other such bodies. Unequivocal action-later endorsed by Council-was taken to assure that Council-sponsored meetings of any type would only be held in entirely open sites, with written advance assurance to be secured. Similar action was taken to assure that participation in all meetings would be open, including active and conscious efforts to encourage nominations of non-whites. In fact, the involvement of any Council officer in any segregated meeting was discouraged to the

point of requiring written approval by the officers unit director before it could take place.

Because of recognition of race as a religious issue and one involving the attitudes and work of all staff, the Presiding Bishop's 1963 Holy Week Conference for all National Council officers was devoted to the subject. Since the purpose was to confront officers with a frank evaluation of the racial situation, and since there are only two members of minority groups among the officers, twenty Negro Churchmen were invited to participate. Half were clergy and half laymen from the human relations fields. Following major presentations on: "Race as a Religious Issue"; "Negroes and Whites in the United States Today"; "The Church and Race"; the officers met in small groups (with two guests to secure real exchange) to explore their own reactions and attitudes. During the second half of the Conference, officers met in task groups to develop recommendations on specific areas of National Church life where racial change is needed. These recommendations were referred to the Presiding Bishop's Joint Program Planning Committee for action.

The results of the Conference were more than the most hopeful had anticipated. Almost without exception, the officers were shaken by the experience and determined to work for integration and racial justice as an important part of their jobs, whatever their assignment. The whole officer corps of nearly 100 is now, in a sense, a part of our race relations personnel, working with the assurance that their actions will have the support of group conviction.

This month, the Joint Program Planning Committee acted on the recommendations of Officers' Conference, thereby taking several additional steps. It completely rejected the "freedom of movement" restriction on officer employment, making it necessary to secure special dispensation from the Presiding Bishop and Director's meeting to put restrictions on any officer job. It outlined concrete steps for recruitment of non-white officers including a letter from the Presiding Bishop to all bishops, deans, and others; solicitation of nominations from a variety of sources; sharing of job-openings and available personnel facts; and plans for in-service training to allow for development of skills after employment, rather than prehiring requirements. Scholarship assistance to non-whites will also be increased. Thorough dissemination of existing Council policy on non-discrimination was also planned for. The Committee even forbade the finalizing of Advisory Committee memberships until the possibilities of non-white personnel had been thoroughly explored.

We are well aware that there is much more to be done and that implementation will require perseverance and watchfulness. We are also convinced, however, that the National Council is now approaching the securing of racial justice and inclusiveness with solid conviction and a sense of direction.

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DR. ROBERT SPIKE
OUTLINES COMMISSION'S
PROGRAM AT SEABURY HOUSE

The Rev. Dr. Robert Spike, Chief-of-Staff of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, met at Seabury House on June 28th with the Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations. He reported that the Commission will concentrate its efforts to eliminate racial discrimination as outlined below:

1. Legislation

Civil rights legislation now before Congress is a priority area. The Commission will in the near future direct a message to Congress, as well as, to individual Congressmen urging the passage of this legislation. Any partisan use of this legislation, including a filibuster, will be regarded "as an affront to the Christian conscience." The Commission is now in the process of setting up a staff in Washington to effect its aims. Every effort is being made to obtain tri-faith support for the passage of this legislation this summer. And the Commission's efforts will be coordinated with those of Roman Catholics and Jews.

Dr. Spike pointed out that "perhaps the key to Protestant bodies rests with their membership in the Middle West," for these are the areas where the Negro protest movement is weakest. The participation of church groups in these areas, therefore, becomes crucial.

2. Community Action and Demonstrations

Church officers and laymen are encouraged to take part in local direct-action demonstrations sponsored by responsible human rights organizations adhering to the principle of non-violence. It is absolutely essential that picket lines be integrated. White Christians are unequivocally urged to join Negroes on the picket line. Bishops, other Church officers, and laymen are urged to make this kind of Christian witness at this time. As a first step in involvement by Church officials in the protest movement, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches and a member of the Commission will participate along with other clergy and laymen in a Maryland protest this week.

Dr. Spike noted that despite indisputable proof there has been a strange silence in the mass media about the brutality occurring in many of the jails where demonstrators have been held. See: IN SUPPORT OF PROTEST.

3. Desegregation in the Life of the Church

The Commission is requesting the National Council of Churches to include Negroes on its Executive Council immediately. Dr. Spike stated that the excuse for not having Negroes represented in various top bodies has been, "We can't find qualified Negroes." He said the Commission's answer to that is, "If you can't find them, then train them." Further, every denomination will be asked to frame and implement resolutions similar to the one passed by the Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D.C. See: WASHINGTON DIOCESE ELIMINATES INSTITUTION BARRIERS. The Commission has noted that one-and-a-half billion dollars are spent yearly for the construction of new church edifices. Each denomination is, therefore, being asked to write in a fair employment stipulation as a condition for letting of contracts to builders

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THIRTY-TWO EPISCOPAL
CLERGY IN WASHINGTON "MARCH"

Thirty-two Episcopal priests volunteered to participate in the June 14th protest against racial discrimination in Washington, D.C. Invited to historic St. John's Church by the Rector, the Rev. John Harper, the group was led in prayer by the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, a representative of the Southern Leadership Conference. Later the clergymen joined several thousand other participants in a silent "march" from the White House to the Justice Department. At the Justice Department they heard Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy tell of current efforts by the Justice Department to end racial discrimination in the United States.

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DIOCESE OF WASHINGTON
ELIMINATES INSTITUTION BARRIERS

The following resolution was passed by the Diocesan Convention of Washington, D.C., on May 6, 1963. The Diocese of Washington is happy to report that the one agency holding out against desegregation has changed its policies.

Diocese of Washington
May 6, 1963

Whereas, the Church recognizes the human dignity of all men and the Episcopal Church as a strong policy against discrimination in any form when practiced against persons because of race, color, or national orgin, and

Whereas, discrimination is not in keeping with human dignity and decency and the democratic principles of equal rights and equal opportunity for all, and

Whereas, the Convention of the Diocese of Washington of 1960 accepted a statement of the Department of Social Relations of this Diocese to wit, "That in our diocesan-related institutions, the services offered will be offered to all people without regard for race or color," and

Whereas, such institutions are responsible to the Church as the expression of its social concern and its charity, and

Whereas, the social services that the Church desires to render through its diocesan-related institutions are human needs that are shared by all of its people alike, who are in need of the services rendered, and

Whereas, the urgent need of all of the Church's people for the services rendered by its diocesan-related institutions compel the Church to avoid procrastination, subterfuge, and hypocrisy, and

Whereas, the Bishop of the Diocese of Washington is the President of the Diocesan-related corporations, and

Whereas, some diocesan-related institutions have failed to offer their services equally to all people, without regard for race or color.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Bishop of the Diocese of Washington be requested and the Executive Council be directed to take steps to insure that all related schools and institutions now in existence and to be created in the future by the Diocese, its parishes, missions and separate congregations in communion therewith, be available to all people of the Diocese.

Be it further resolved that the Executive Council as its first order of business create a committee to re-emphasize to the diocesan-related institutions the Episcopal Church's strong policy against discrimination in any form when practiced against persons because of race, color, or national origin, and give them every possible assistance on steps to lead to the elimination of these practices within these institutions within six months.

Be it further resolved that in the event such racially discriminatory practices are not eliminated in the specified time that the Bishop be requested and the Executive Council be directed to take such action as may be necessary to disassociate such diocesan-related institutions from Diocesan and Parochial moral or financial support.

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CLERGYMEN ATTEND
MEDGAR EVERS' FUNERAL

Ten Episcopal clergymen from across the nation attended the funeral of Medgar Evers in Jackson, Mississippi on June 15th. Among those in attendance was an officer of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Associate Secretary of the Division of Christian Citizenship. The Rev. John B. Morris, Director of the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity (ESCRU) was also among those present.

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INCREASED SUPPORT
URGED FOR RESPONSIBLE
HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Churchmen are urged to give their full moral and financial support to the human rights organizations listed below. Such support is in keeping with the spirit of the Presiding Bishop's Whitsuntide message in which he stated:

> ..."I would ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help."

a) The Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta 3, Georgia (The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director. Tax Exempt)

b) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. (Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary. Not Tax Exempt)

c) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Legal Defense and Education Fund, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. (Mr. Jack Greenberg, Legal Counsel. Tax Exempt)

d) The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 332 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President. Not Tax Exempt)

e) The Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y. (Mr. James Farmer, Director. Not Tax Exempt)

f) The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta Georgia (Mr. James Forman, Director. Not Tax Exempt)

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TRI-FAITH WASHINGTON
CLERGY UNITE TO ACT
AGAINST RACIAL INJUSTICES

Leaders of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths met on June 5th and announced the formation of a permanent Interreligious Committee on Race Relations to "work for equality of opportunity for Negro citizens" in many fields. The forty-two member committee includes the Rt. Rev. William F. Creighton, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D.C. The emphasis of the committee is on the need for citizens to show by action the beliefs they profess.

Though preaching will undoubtedly be a part of this moral drive, it certainly will not end there. Seven committees composed of clergy and prominent laymen have been formed to take action in such areas as housing, education, and employment. The new Washington Interreligious Committee on Race Relations is the outgrowth of the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago last January and to date it is the most vigorous of several such groups organized throughout the country.

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IN SUPPORT
OF PROTEST

The Presiding Bishop's Whitsuntide message called upon Churchmen to "support and strengthen the protest (of Negro Americans for their rights) in every way possible." In similar terms, the action of the General Board of the National Council of Churches authorized its staff to encourage "negotiations, demonstrations and direct action in places of particular crisis." Members of the General Board committed themselves to engage personally in such action.

Events in the last few months make very clear that the crisis has reached a stage in which armchair exhortations no longer count (if they ever did). A mark of the latent moral authority of the Church is the degree to which Negro action

leaders have called on Church offices, the clergy, and lay groups for assistance in the last month. The role of negotiation and of interpretation of need to the white community cannot be exercised from outside the struggle; it must be earned by involvement.

Contrary to the views of those who wish it were otherwise, there is no major disagreement among the responsible Negro action groups on objectives. The competition for leadership between these groups, suddenly thrust into the national limelight, is real, and in specific instances has blunted the effectiveness of their protest. But there is a closing of ranks, notably behind the legislative program, and the projected assembly in Washington set for August 28th. Use of legal process to win change is still the undergirding of the whole movement; use of demonstration, boycott, and other exertions of non-violent moral force is accepted by all the Negro groups as an important weapon in the campaign. There is a division in the Negro community--between the non-violent forces of NAACP, CORE, SCLC and SNCC on the one hand, and the anti-democratic, white-hating racists of the Muslims, Black Nationalists and others. If the American dilemma is to be solved peacefully, white Americans must recognize this fact and lend support to the legitimate social revolution being led by the non-violent forces.

That would seem to be the issue involved in the question of official support of the protests. The Presiding Bishop's message calls for such support, and it is being planned for and given. Several expressions of support now being undertaken will be reported in our next bulletin. One of the first, and perhaps symbolically one of the most meaningful, was a delegation on national Church leaders who represented American Protestantism at the Evers' funeral (in addition to the Episcopal clergy there).

One of the critics of this action has suggested that it represents a move from support of evolutionary to revolutionary means. The crisis today is a revolution, in our mores and in our national self-understanding. The direct involvement of the Church may help to insure that it is a non-violent revolution.

ACTION SUGGESTION:

In communities where the Church has not been involved in the terms suggested here, an essential first step is contact with local Negro leadership of the action organizations, to develop working relations, and to find out where and when the Church's presence may be helpful.

ACTION SUGGESTION FOR COMMUNITIES DEEPLY TORN BY PROTEST:

Documented evidence of police brutality against Negro and white demonstrators in jails in a number of communities makes it essential that 24 hour chaplaincy service be provided in all jails where demonstrators are being held to protect demonstrators against the possible excesses by the police. Preferably this should be done locally, with clergy taking turns. Humanitarian and pastoral concern should make this an absolute minimum of local involvement.

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PRESIDING BISHOP APPOINTED
CHAIRMAN OF COMMISSION ON
RELIGION AND RACE

The Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was recently appointed Chairman of the new Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. The Commission is organized to effect ways and means of applying the Christian Gospel to the whole area of race relations. Its immediate and continuing aims are:

1) The encouragement of negotiations, demonstrations, and direct action in places of particular crisis.

2) The mobilization of resources to encourage legislative and executive acts in order to bring dignity, equality, and justice to all Americans.

3) The mobilization of the resources of the Churches in order to put their own house in order by desegregating all of the institutions of the Church.

4) The development and implementation of long term plans and strategies so that a continuing design of action will move us steadily towards the goal of full human rights for all.

Among other clergymen serving on the Commission are: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Buell Gallagher and Archbishop Iakovas. Episcopalians on the Commission include: Mr. Ralph MacGill, Dr. Kenneth Clark, and Mrs. Helen Peterson.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Spike of the United Church is the Commission's Chief-of-Staff. Dr. Daisuke Kitagawa, Executive Secretary, Division of Domestic Mission, Home Department, National Council of the Episcopal Church, on July 1st assumed full-time staff responsibilities in the National Council of Churches for work on the Commission. His services will be credited towards the support of the Commission in 1963 by the National Council of the Episcopal Church.

Other Episcopal National Council staff working in conjunction with the Commission are: The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, and Mr. Douglas Bushy. A new staff member, not yet named, will also work in close harmony with the Commission and other Communions.

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ADVISORY COMMITTEE
MEETS AT SEABURY HOUSE

The eighteen-member Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations, appointed by the Home and Christian Social Relations Departments to assist National Council staff in their program, met at Seabury House on June 28th and 29th. Co-chaired by the Rt. Rev. Roger W. Blanchard of Southern Ohio, and the Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion of Southwestern Virginia, the group reviewed the current racial situation in detail, and focused its discussion on program plans in the areas of legislation, direct action, and a 'stepping-up' of desegregation of the Church's own life.

The Advisory Committee made the following recommendations to the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines and the Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke, as Chairmen of the Christian Social Relations and Home Departments to request the Presiding Bishop to:

1. Call a special meeting of American bishops in Toronto on the issue of race on the first available free evening during the Anglican Congress, or the day before. Adequate publicity to be given to the call. The Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke in a telephone conversation suggests that it might be a special meeting of bishops present though not a formal meeting of the House of Bishops. Mr. Warren Turner suggests that it could be done by writing all of the bishops coming or at least some in most critical areas, north and south.

2. Appoint a special committee of bishops to prepare a draft of a pastoral letter or statement for presentation to the House of Bishops at the August meeting. The pastoral or statement should back up what the Presiding Bishop said in his Whitsuntide message, with particular emphasis on legislation; a reference to direct action, with the possibility of support by name of the legitimate aims of the action organizations; and other practical action suggestions.

As part of the process, there should be a meeting of the committee with representatives of the action agencies in July.

3. As a part of the considerations of the committee and the statement, attention should be given to the Washington 'march' tentatively set for August 28th, concerning the possibility of direct involvement of bishops in this action. The Advisory Committee and staff recommend a call to Episcopalians at the time of such demonstrations to an assembly in the Washington Cathedral to decide the appropriate tactics of our participation. We must be in close contact with action groups in planning for such participation.

Members of the Advisory Committee, in addition to Bishops Blanchard and Marmion are:

The Rev. Theodore Gibson, Miami, Florida
The Rev. Duncan Gray, Oxford, Mississippi
The Rev. Richard Martin, Brooklyn, New York
The Rev. John B. Morris, Atlanta, Georgia
The Rev. John Teeter, Skaneateles, New York
Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, Charlottesville, Virginia
Mr. Will D. Campbell, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, New York, New York
Mr. Julian Dugas, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Everette Hall, Dillon, South Carolina
Mrs. Charles Lawrence, Pomona, New York
Mr. John McKnight, Evanston, Illinois
Dr. John F. Potts, Denmark, South Carolina
Dr. Frederick B. Routh, Washington, D.C.
Mr. T. Deal Reese, Beaumont, Texas
The Rev. Joseph W. Nicholson, Ph.D., St. Louis, Missouri

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BOSTON
EPISCOPAL
CLERGY TAKE LEAD IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION CRISIS

The fight against "de facto" school segregation in Boston is being led by Negro parents and a bi-racial group of clergy who, on June 17th organized several "Freedom Schools." The clergy leaders included the following Episcopal members: The Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, the Rev. Messrs. Gilbert S. Avery, III, James Breeden, Charles Buck, Hugh Findley, John J. Harmon, and C. DeWitt Hastie. One of the group's organizers, the Rev. James Breeden, stated that these schools were set up as a protest against "de facto" segregation in the public schools of Boston, Massachusetts and that the "Freedom Schools" are in effect dramatizing before the white community that Negroes believe an attitude of white superiority exists and that this attitude must change before racial progress can occur. Fr. Breeden added, however, "Everyone must deal with this problem in the best way he knows how."

On June 18th, Negro junior and senior high school students who volunteered to stay away from public schools during the one-day protest attended classes at one of the several centers organized throughout the city. Senior high students met at St. Mark's Social Center and junior high pupils attended classes at churches in the area of their regular schools. Students were only permitted to enroll with parental consent. At the end of the day students were given certificates for parents and teachers to certify that they attended the workshop all day.

Discussions in the "Freedom Schools" centered around Negro history, the philosophy and methods of non-violence, citizenship, and the patronage of businesses having fair employment practices. Also, discussed were the legal rights of citizens in relation to the United States Constitution, the police, housing, jobs, and education.

Determined to ward off even the possibility of violence, Fr. Breeden urged, "full respect to those who volunteer to support the 'stay-out' and to those who do not." In addition to the day sessions, an evening session was planned for students who elected to attend public school.

Speakers traveled from one center to another during the day. Films on the Negro freedom movement were shown at some centers, and booklets and pamphlets were distributed to participants.

Among those of the academic community who volunteered to form a "Freedom Faculty" were Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, professor of sociology at Harvard University, and Dr. Sumner Rosen of Simmons College.

In an opening talk Bishop Stokes told the students, "You represent a very powerful movement. You must see that this movement is used constructively for good. It must be carried out responsibly." Nearing the end of his talk, Bishop Stokes said, "I hope when you go back to school, you make the next two days the best days of the year and that your influence will help improve the whole school system.

At the end of the one-day protest a staff writer for "The Christian Science Monitor" reported: "Quiet and effective is about the only way to describe today's boycott by Negro pupils of the Boston junior and senior high schools." An estimated 3,000 of the approximately 5,000 students stayed away from classes and fears of violence proved unsubstantiated. Similar student meetings are planned throughout the summer months.

ACTION NOTE:

Those conducting daily vacation Bible schools and summer youth programs might well consider including some or all of the "Freedom Schools" approaches. Further details on this program as well as tips on local resources in your area are available from the Department of Christian Social Relations, Division of Christian Citizenship, The National Council, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York.

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"LETTER FROM
BIRMINGHAM JAIL"
AVAILABLE

Single copies of Dr. Martin Luther King's profound and moving "Letter From Birmingham Jail" are available free of charge from the Episcopal Church Center, Division of Christian Citizenship, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York. Bulk orders are available at cost; which is 6¢ per copy for orders of 1,000 or more; 8¢ per copy up to 999; 10¢ per copy up to 99. All bulk order requests should be sent directly to: The American Friends Service Committee, 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.

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"THIS IS NONE
OTHER THAN THE
HOUSE OF GOD"

The Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke, Bishop of the Diocese of Bethlehem, reports that signs bearing this message have been placed in all the churches of that diocese:

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

People of all races and nationalities

are welcome in this Church.

"This is none other than the House of God."

The Diocese of Bethlehem The Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke, Bishop

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CLERGYMEN TURNED AWAY AT
RESTAURANT IN RALEIGH -ALL
RESTAURANTS NOW REPORTED OPEN

The Negroes of Raleigh, North Carolina intensified their efforts against racial discrimination in public accommodations during June. The height of their protest coincided with the Summer School of Religious Education at St. Augustine's College in that city.

A local newspaper, THE NEWS AND OBSERVER of June 13 reported the following incident:

"Six Episcopal clergymen-four Negroes and two whites-were turned away when they attempted to eat at the downtown S&W Cafeteria about 5:30 p.m. The ministers are attending a church conference at St. Augustine's College here.

"The two white ministers identified themselves as the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary of the Division of Christian Citizenship of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director of the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity.

"The Negro ministers were the Rev. Joseph N. Green, Pastor of St. Augustine's Chapel here; the Rev. Kenneth Hughes of St. Bartholomew's Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Rev. Irving Mayson of St. Phillip's Church in Akron, Ohio; and the Rev. Tollie Caution of New York, who is Associate Secretary of the Division of Domestic Mission of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

"Barred from entering the cafeteria by management personnel and a policeman who stood inside the door, the ministers said they had prayed and read the Bible aloud "for God to open the hearts and minds of those who will not see."

The Directors of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau issued the following statement to all of its members:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh."

ACTION NOTE:

People of good-will must take the leadership in the human relations field and must do it now. The transition from segregation to Christian inclusiveness is far easier when leadership is kept out of the hands of demagogues.

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Pastor Halvorson

JUL 1 0 1963

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

231 MADISON AVENUE. NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

AREA CODE 212 LEXINGTON 2-3410

Office of the President

July 8, 1963

Dear fellow-pastor:

I am grateful to the Executive Council for permitting, and indeed encouraging, me to write a straightforward pastoral letter to you on the Christian attitude toward our neighbors of other races. The implications of the Gospel in this regard are so plain that, theologically, a letter like this is superfluous. I can hardly imagine that a single man in the ministry of our church is unclear on that score. If he is, I confess that I have grave doubts either about his perceptiveness as to what the Word of God teaches or about the state of his Christian obedience. The good that my words are intended to accomplish is to help us to strengthen and if necessary awaken, one another and, beyond that, to arouse each of us to action.

My colleagues on the Executive Council and I regret that its action and this letter will seem to have been prompted by the current racial crisis in the United States. That is true only on the surface. The position we are expressing now has not been wrung from us reluctantly by recent or impending events. We say what we say because it is intrinsically right. It represents the firm, and in my case intense, conviction of our minds and hearts.

No secular motivation, powerful as it is, accounts either for the fact of my writing or the substance of what I write. Not the devastating effect of racial inequality within the United States on its image abroad - which has made me cringe a thousand times as I have seen it in all parts of the world and which vitiates its aspiration to a role of moral leadership. Not the inconsistency of America's almost self-righteous support of national independence and full civil rights for colored peoples overseas at the same time that it flagrantly fails to see the beam in its own eye at home. Not even the "natural rights" on which the whole theory of democracy rests.

The position that Christians take on race has spiritual roots. It arises directly out of our view of God and of man; and belongs to the essence of our faith. It is accusingly simple and brooks no disagreement. Men, created by God and redeemed by Christ, are equals and are meant to be brothers. No man is a hair's breadth above or below another in God's affection nor can he be in a Christian's regard. Any disabilities on the basis of race within the Christian family are evil. They are an affront to the Lord and a sign of deviation from Him.

We all agree on this. The time has come to act.

What it means for the congregation of which you are a pastor or the institution in which you carry on your ministry is plain. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is otherwise eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need, should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on an equal basis with the people of the majority race. Not only that, the church must be more than passively ready to receive those who come. It is bound in conscience, it is under the command of its Lord, to seek souls. Every congregation ought to do so without any discrimination because of the color of a man's skin. I believe this vigorously and practice it myself. I call on you to do so too.

Our obligation goes much further in civic affairs, as the Executive Council's statement points out emphatically in its fifth resolution. I commend it to you earnestly without attempting to elaborate it. The deficiency of which you and I have most frequently been guilty is not in the mind; we know what we ought to do. Nor in the heart; our sympathies are on the side of those who have too long been deprived of equality of treatment. Our fault, which we ought not tolerate in ourselves any longer, has been in the will. Under God, the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example.

All of this is not very spectacular, measured in present-day terms. It will taste too much for some like staid Lutheran conservatism. But do not let anyone dismiss this charge to his soul as weak or having an uncertain sound.

I trust the power of Law and Gospel. The Lord trusts you.

Fraternally yours,

Franklin Clark Fry

FCF/md

WHEREAS the Church of Jesus Christ must heed God's call to practice love and justice in human relations; and

WHEREAS predecessor church bodies of the Lutheran Church in America have expressed themselves against the evils of segregation and discrimination on the basis of race (Augustana Lutheran Church - 1948, 1956; The United Lutheran Church in America - 1952, 1956, 1958); and

WHEREAS action compatible with the Christian responsibility for love and justice is necessary; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, acting in behalf of the Lutheran Church in America:

1. affirm the 1952 statement of The United Lutheran Church in America and the 1956 statement of the Augustana Lutheran Church, regarding race relations, pending a pronouncement by a convention of the church on this matter;

2. declare its conviction that any segregation or discrimination on the basis of race in the congregations, agencies and institutions of the church is in violation of God's will;

3. commit itself to work for eradication of such segregation and discrimination wherever they may exist;

4. call on the congregations, synods, institutions, boards, commissions and auxiliaries of the church to develop within their assigned areas of responsibility programs of self-examination and action leading to justice in race relations;

5. urge members of the congregations to initiate and support efforts at reconciliation between the races in their communities and to support proper legislation designed to assure equal opportunity for all citizens in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to all facilities serving the public; and

6. authorize and request the president of the church to send to all the ministers of the LCA and their congregations, a pastoral letter expressing the conviction and concern of the church on the fundamental moral issues of love and justice in race relations.

7/1/63

Religion

SPECIAL RELEASE - Lutheran Human Relations Association of America
Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana
Telephone 219 Howard 2-5111 Ext 69

Dated July 9th, 1963

This past week end Valparaiso University in Indiana, some sixty miles east of downtown Chicago, was the gathering place for people from twenty eight states of our country, concerned about human relations problems. The more than three hundred Lutherans and representatives from other communions attended three days of sessions in which they heard Dr. Richard R. Caemmerer, Head of the Department of Practical Theology Concordia Seminary, St. Louis; Dr. James Mc Bride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council and resident of Sumter, South Carolina; and Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University in Nashville speak. Recognizing the problems facing church members and citizens of the United States in the matter of race relations, the Institute concerned itself with tracing the roots of the problem, and thus probing the history of the South, the history of the church, and the basic theological concerns involved.

The Reverend Ronald Goerss, student pastor at UCLA was re-elected Secretary, Miss Ellen Sweet, treasurer, and Dr. Clemonce Sabourin of Mount Zion Lutheran Church in Harlem to his sixth term as president of the national organization of Lutherans devoted to "help the church fill its role of leadership in the matter of human relations." The election took place in the annual meeting of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America conducted in conjunction with the Institute. New officers of the organization named in this meeting are Richard K. Fox of Washington, D.C., attached to the United States Department of State, and H. Dixon Hemma, Assitant Executive Director of the Wheatridge Foundation in Chicago.

An outstanding feature of the Institute this year occurred Sunday afternoon when two pastors who have been very much in the forefront with

concern for good racial relations in their home state of Alabama reported on conditions there. Their dialog was followed by a bi-racial panel of youth. These were nine southerners who had spent one week visiting in Chicago homes, discovering for themselves the North at its segregated worst and integrated best, and observing a variety of stances among the people of different racial roots, ranging from anxiety to resignation, from hate to apathy. Their report concluded that they had enjoyed a reassuring experiencing of new dimensions of the body of Christ. Plans are underway to extend this program so that opportunities will be provided for Northern youth to visit in Southern homes in the future.

A resolution sponsored by the Institute calls for alerting pastors to utilize their pulpits to point up sins of racial nature; for urging Christian citizens to give active support to the President of the United States and to Congress for prompt enactment of just civil rights legislation; for Christians to demonstrate their protest against unjust discrimination and degrading practices which would limit Negroes from reaching their maximum potential before God.

Religion
General
1963

Actions of the Fourth General Synod

of the United Church of Christ

A PRONOUNCEMENT ON

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO FREEDOM AND WELFARE

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 10, 1963

THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Man owes his absolute allegiance to God who is revealed through Jesus Christ. He also owes a conditional loyalty to the state as a structure existing under the providence of God for the establishment of justice, security, order, and general welfare. Any discussion of Christian freedom as it relates to government must start with these premises. Freedom for Christians is not freedom from all restrictions but freedom to love God and our neighbors as ourselves. God has created us as members one of another, responsible to Him, and He calls us to mutual service. In our world today, we cannot adequately fulfill these Christian responsibilities without the use of government.

Our Christian understanding of freedom and government derives from the doctrines of God and man. The sovereignty of a just and loving God places upon all persons the responsibility of obeying Him and fulfilling His demands for justice and order; therefore, persons must be free to respond to Him according to their faith. God is sovereign over all life, including the state. No authority can rightfully exercise power in a way that is contrary to the will of God. Citizens responsible to God for the exercise of their freedom must support the rightful uses of power and oppose unlawful or unjust uses of power. We affirm that just governments do derive their powers from the consent of the governed, and that as Christians we have an obligation to be concerned about the very form and function of the governments which serve us. Christians, seeking to know and to do God's will, must act in the light of conscience even though this places them, from time to time, in tension and conflict not only with the state and other citizens, but even with other Christians. The Christian church, called to witness to God's will and to serve man in the light of the Gospel, has the right and duty to speak its judgment on the purposes, policies, and practicies of government.

The Christian doctrine of man asserts the worth of the person loved of God, created in His image, and called to sonship in His kingdom. This requires that man be free to develop his highest potential and that he fulfill his obligations to help build a just and orderly society. Government is one essential means by which this freedom is protected and enlarged and these obligations are met.

The Christian teaching that all men are sinners and that man's world is therefore imperfect provides a Christian imperative for freedom and a warrant for democratic government. Aware of his sinfulness, the Christian will never suppose that his own opinions are completely objective; he will understand that he needs the criticism of others as they need his criticism. As Reinhold Niebuhr has said, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

As Christians we recognize that human sinfulness can distort and corrupt any social institution including the state. Even democratic governments may act in a tyrannical or unjust manner. This may justify civil disobedience when government becomes tyrannical or oppressive. On the other hand, a Christian conception of freedom respects the maintenance of law and order as a proper and necessary function of government.

FUNCTION OF DEMOCRACY

A function of democracy is to provide a stable atmosphere for the maintenance of balance between social controls and individual initiative. The assumption that government is inevitably a threat to freedom is mistaken. Such a view results in hostility toward any measure, regardless of its merit, which increases the role of government. It often denotes a lack of faith in and understanding of the democratic process. In a responsible society, the democratic process provides every person the right to participate effectively in making the decisions which affect himself. Democratic government is thus the most representative agency through which the people can pool a portion of their power and other resources to make judgments as to public priorities in the accomplishment of some of their great purposes. Such purposes include the provision for the general welfare and common defense, the furtherance of justice and equity, the protection of freedom, and the enlargement of individual opportunity. For responsible government will seek to provide security at home and abroad in a way which enhances, not inhibits, freedom and also relates freedom to order, justice and welfare. It will provide a framework of law which enhances the capacity of man to use other agencies and instrumentalities, public and private,

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individual and corporate, charitable and profitable, in meeting the needs of man and community. It is a valid role of government to mediate when necessary among conflicting interests in society, especially when hostility to government reflects a preference for special interest over the general welfare.

Some form of government is essential since the only alternative would be anarchy. But the specific actions of any government stand under the judgment of God and man, depending in part upon the extent to which the action is conducive to, or destructive of, freedom and the public welfare.

THE NATURE OF MODERN AMERICA

We call attention to changes, both national and international, which have caused the structure and role of the government of the United States to expand far beyond the expectations of the framers of the Constitution. The nation has grown in area, population, power and responsibility. The rapid industrialization of the American econonmy with its attendant increasing concentration of economic power has in some respects increased freedom by giving the individual more choices of vocation and action. In other respects, as in its mechanization and automation, it has created conditions which have often left him less free to maintain his personal identity and to achieve and express his highest potentiality and creativity. To this should be added the growth and interdependence of gigantic organizations of business, labor, agriculture, and other special interests; urbanization with all the problems of urban living; the mobility of our population across state lines; the complexities of our economic order; the social and economic tensions created by racial discrimination; and the new problems presented by the nuclear age.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

All of these forces have placed great pressure upon agencies of government at all levels. The Christian has an obligation to re-examine and change as necessary the shape and action of his local and state governments so that these can better serve the needs of his fellowmen. The frequent failure of citizens to perform their civic duty through responsible local and state action has only added to the growing burden upon the *federal* government, which is already burdened with inescapable national and international problems. The need to give political attention to the nation does not absolve us from responsibility in our local communities and states.

The role and cost of all government has been most sharply increased by acceptance of new responsibilities both at home and in relation with the other nations of the world. The fulfillment of these responsibilities may well demand of the citizen more taxes and greater public service. Performance of our civic obligations is an essential part of our Christian stewardship.

Our position has been well expressed by the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches:

"While the state [i.e. government] is sometimes the enemy of freedom, under many circumstances the state is the only instrument which can make freedom possible for large sectors of the population. The state is not the source of social justice, but it must be its guardian, ready if necessary to accept responsibility to counteract depression or inflation and to relieve the impact of unemployment, industrial injury, low wages, and unfavorable working conditions, sickness and old age. But in doing so the state remains the servant not the lord of social justice. Therefore we must warn against the danger that the union of political and economic power may result in an all controlling state. In contradistinction to actions of the state it is the task of the non-governmental sectors in economic life to be the guardian of responsible private action in society. But within the private sector, both employers and employees in all their varied organizations in their turn are the servant, and not the lord of freedom and welfare. When necessary in the public interest, the state must intervene to prevent any center of economic or social power which represents partial interest from becoming stronger than itself, for the state alone has the power and the authority under God to act as trustee for society as a whole."*

A CALL FOR CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

THEREFORE, we call upon the members of our churches as Christians and citizens, in addition to individual and voluntary efforts, to recognize the rightful role of government in promoting freedom and welfare and to work through their governments at all levels:

1) to promote the general welfare, with particular concern for the protection of those with special needs, be it in education and health, work and leisure, housing and economic security;

2) to secure and defend equality of opportunity for all citizens in employment, housing, education, voting, the administration of justice, and access to public services and accommodations;

3) to safeguard the right of freedom of expression as guaranteed in the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, including the right within Constitutional limits to express opposition or commendation to our government or to advocate peaceful change to alternative political and economic systems without being intimidated or harassed;

4) to protect and respect freedom of religion for all;

5) to revise governmental policies and procedures which obstruct efficient and effective functioning of the democratic process;

6) to support through our foreign policy the freedom and welfare of other peoples and nations as well as our own.

The members of the United Church of Christ, the local churches, the associations, the conferences, the instrumentalities, and the General Synod have not only a right but a responsibility to express their views on governmental policies in the light of their Christian convictions. This involves evaluating policies that our local, state and federal governments have adopted or are considering, and advocating policies which these governments ought to adopt.

CONCLUSION

In summary, therefore, government must meet the changing needs of the people without being bound by the assumption that the growth of government is inherently a threat to freedom. If Christians work with others to preserve and strengthen the process of democracy, government can be an indispensable instrument for promoting the well-being of society without placing in jeopardy the freedom of the individual.

*Report of Section III: "Social Problems—The Responsible Society in a World Perspective," Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1954.

Actions on the Report of the Council for Christian Social Action

In the face of the enormous and complex issues which mankind faces, an intensive and far-reaching program of social action was never so much needed as today. Endeavoring to be "servants in the service of men," Christians must seek and must do the will of God wherever the powers of evil, so flagrantly challenging in our time, must be met, in order that justice, peace and love may prevail.

It is to help the churches meet the issues of such a time that the Council for Christian Social Action exists, established by the United Church of Christ to make "the implications of the Gospel effective in society."

The Report Committee recognizes that there exists difference of opinion respecting the kind of program which the CCSA has developed. Since the CCSA functions in controversial areas of witness, such differences are inevitable. The committee has received three memoranda involving criticism: (1) from an unofficial group of laymen in Southern California, (2) from the deacons and trustees of a church in New Jersey, and (3) from one individual. The Report Committee has given attention to these criticisms, but feels that their point of view does not reflect the will of the United Church of Christ in these crucial testing times. It is the conviction of the Report Committee that the CCSA has competently and creatively served our churches.

We recognize that in developing and promoting "a program of social education and action," errors and mis-judgments may be made by the CCSA. The CCSA should not be held in its own mind or in the mind of its supporters as infallible. Criticisms are welcomed. We are confident that the CCSA gives respectful attention to such criticisms. The Report Committee expresses its confidence in the CCSA and its staff; believes that they serve our churches well; and thus we strongly encourage full support of the CCSA among our churches.

MISSION OF THE CHURCH

- General Synod commends the Council for Christian Social Action for the statement (in Advance Reports pp. 125-127) on the mission of the Church and the functions of the Council for Christian Social Action with respect to implementing this mission.

FIELD SERVICE

- General Synod, believing that the program of social action needs to be established primarily in the local church, encourages the Council for Christian Social Action to develop more extensive field services, as budget permits, and suggests that the Conferences endeaver to provide trained leadership in social action on their staffs as a service to their churches.

STUDY PAPERS

- General Synod approves the preparation of study papers by the Council for Christian Social Action in which varying points of view are presented and questions raised for study and discussion.

VALUE OF STATEMENTS

- General Synod recognizes validity and value in the issuance by the Council for Christian Social Action of statements as useful guidance to churches and individuals with respect to decisions on social issues. We believe that the expression of views by the Council for Christian Social Action on specific issues provides necessary leadership. We commend the procedures (outlined in Advance Reports, p. 127) which have been designed to assure competent judgments. These procedures should be conscientiously followed. We encourage even fuller consultation with local church groups and with authorities expert in particular fields to ensure the greatest possible care in preparing a final statement or a study paper.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- General Synod commends the Council for Christian Social Action for its educational program with respect to the United Nations, and urges expansion of this program. It recommends that the Council for Christian Social Action explore ways of securing financial support through Conferences and Associations to send delegates to UN seminars, and suggests that individual Conferences explore the feasibility of sponsoring a UN seminar for their own churches. It makes appreciative note that the International Relations Office of the Council for Christian Social Action is now housed, for more effective service to the churches, in the new Church Center for the United Nations adjacent to the UN.

TAX EXEMPTION FOR CHURCHES

- General Synod commends the Council for Christian Social Action for its statement on Tax Exemption for Churches (Appendix B, pp. 142-143 of Advance Reports) and encourages further study of this question by the Council for Christian Social Action, instrumentalities, conferences, and churches.

ECONOMIC LIFE SECRETARY

- General Synod endorses the decision of the Council for Christian Social Action to appoint an Economic Life seretary when budget permits, to serve as a specialist in the relationship of the Gospel to such matters as automation, tax policy, poverty, labor-management problems, agriculture, and business and vocational ethics.

WASHINGTON OFFICE

- General Synod values the services performed by the Washington Office of the Council for Christian Social Action (as described in Advance Reports, pp. 138-139). This provision of a staff resource person in the area of governmental issues is deemed an appropriate church program.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

- General Synod commends the staff of the Council for Christian Social Action for leadership given in cooperative programs on an interdenominational and national level (as noted in Advance Reports, pp. 133-135).

RAPIDLY CHANGING ECONOMY

- General Synod in connection with the emphasis on urbanization within the United Church of Christ requests the churches to consider the interdenominational emphasis for 1963-64 on "Christians in a Rapidly Changing Economy" as an integral part of the urban emphasis.

FUNDS COMMENSURATE WITH RESPONSIBILITIES

- General Synod notes the difficulty faced by the Council for Christian Social Action, due to financial limitations, in fulfilling the expectations of churches, and requests the Budget Committee in the next budget allocations to provide funds commensurate with the responsibilities and needs in this field.

A CALL FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 5, 1963

WHEREAS, the racial crisis in this summer of 1963 is a sign of God's action in the history of the United States, the Church must now become radically committed at particular times and places to the struggle of our fellowman:

TO GET the best job for which he is qualified and not be told to "come back later;"
TO WORK at the top jobs and not just those in the lowest-paid categories;
TO ESTABLISH fair employment practices in Federal law and in all other levels of government, since discrimination in employment robs a man of daily bread for himself and his family;
TO EXPOSE the cant and hypocrisy which keep him down even among those supposed to be his friends, whether they be churches, labor unions, management or political organizations;
TO LIVE where he pleases without paying the double-standard dollar;
TO GET the best schooling possible even if desegregation upsets educational traditions;
TO GAIN acceptance as a person of worth who may marry whomever he loves and whoever loves him;
TO SECURE public accommodations freely and without insult;
TO EXERCISE his God-given rights to protest injustice without suffering the intolerable penalties that we regularly read of in the newspapers;
TO GAIN a larger share in the ownership and use of capital;
TO RECEIVE equal protection under the law and equal justice in the courts;
TO OBTAIN crash programs of special assistance in such critical areas as health, education, welfare, citizenship, housing, and employment to enable victims of racial discrimination to achieve equality-in-fact;
TO PUSH for all that is due here and now without heeding those who counsel patience, moderation, and gradualism;
TO REGISTER, VOTE, AND RUN FOR OFFICE without fear of retaliation, either overt or subtle;

THEREFORE, the General Synod, in session in Denver, Colorado, seeking to bring the light of the Christian gospel to bear on the present crisis in race relations confronting our country and the world, and thankfully recalling the long established positions of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church and now the United Church of Christ in the field of relations between the races, on July 5, 1963 takes the following actions:

A. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to uproot intolerance, bigotry, and prejudice within our own lives and to replace them with good will and the determination to strike down immediately the barriers which divide men on account of race. The General Synod calls upon all members to make it plain to all the people with whom we live and work that the Church and the members thereof stand for brotherhood.

B. The General Synod believes that the United Church of Christ must free itself of segregation.

1. To this end, and understanding that the decision must be made for itself by each local congregation, the General Synod urges the churches to declare officially and publicly that their fellowship is open to all who qualify for membership without any restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background The General Synod also urges the churches to declare officially and publicly a policy of calling pastors and employing church staff members without any restrictions as to race, class or ethnic background. When these actions are taken, the General Synod asks that a report be made to the Secretary of the Church.

2. The General Synod urges the conferences and the associations of the United Church of Christ to become fully integrated "with utmost dispatch."

3. The General Synod promises to utilize to the full the contribution that its Negro members and other racial and minority groups can make to the life and work of the United Church, giving these persons their share of leadership opportunities and responsibilities.

4. The General Synod calls upon institutions related to the Church to desegregate forthwith.

C. The General Synod proposes to mobilize the manpower and means of the Church for racial justice.

1. To this end, the General Synod requests the President of the Church, after consultation, to appoint a committee consisting of eleven non-national-staff persons, including in its membership both white and Negro persons who are trusted throughout the Church and have competence in the field of race relations. The life of this Committee shall extend until the next meeting of the General Synod.

2. The General Synod votes to give to that committee the power to decide how the resources of the Church contributed for this purpose will be used in the effort to secure racial equality and social justice both at home and abroad.

3. The General Synod accepts the offer of the Council for Christian Social Action and the Division of Church Extension of the Board for Homeland Ministries to provide the services of Dr. S. Garry Oniki; approves Dr. Oniki's appointment as executive coordinator of this effort; and suggests that the work and program of this committee normally be implemented by committing it to one of the existing agencies so that money can be conserved for actual program needs. In other cases, the committee would be authorized to borrow on a temporary basis experienced staff from the instrumentalities.

4. The program which this committee shall project could include but need not be limited to:

a. Mobilizing the whole membership of the Church, to join where possible with our Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish brethren, on a community basis, to meet the need of the situation on the local level;

b. Providing bail bonds for those who are arrested as they demand social justice;

c. Providing legal defense for such persons;

d. Providing economic aid to persons who lose their jobs because of their participation in activities in behalf of racial equality;

e. Providing financial aid for institutions whose support is threatened by those who oppose an "open policy" of service;

f. Mobilizing the United Church of Christ, its individual

members, congregations, associations and conferences to press for the adoption of legislation to guarantee civil rights;

g. Supporting and commending those church members who successfully begin the integration of their own immediate neighborhoods;

h. Extending the program of voter registration;

i. Urging Christians to give all possible assistance to small businesses in making the transition to nonsegregation;

j. Providing other emergency or long-term help, the need for which only the future will reveal.

(NOTE: All this work, where at all possible, shall be undertaken in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, state and local councils of churches, the National Conference on Religion and Race, and other interreligious and community groups.)

D.

1. The General Synod challenges the people of the United Church of Christ to bring an emergency special offering of funds to cover the cost of this program. The General Synod votes that the first of these offerings will be received this fall. The setting of the date for the second offering is left to the Executive Council.

2. The General Synod commits the responsibility for raising these funds to each congregation and to each member of the Church, under the direction of the Stewardship Council.

3. The General Synod also authorizes the officers of the Church to borrow against these offerings to be received to the extent of $100,000 in order to begin the work immediately.

4. The General Synod votes to receive an offering at the coming Sunday night ecumenical service here at General Synod as the beginning of this fund, and suggests that congregations and individuals that wish to add to this fund before next fall will be able to do this by sending their contributions to the Treasurer of the United Church of Christ, 297 Park Avenue South, New York, New York (10010).

E. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to pray that justice and good will shall prevail and then to work in order to make the fulfillment of that prayer possible.

A Resolution on Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 10, 1963

General Synod, in line with its earlier actions on the issue of racial justice, supports the following resolution on "Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation":

The Fourth General Synod urges all instrumentalities, conferences, associations, churches and church-related institutions:

1. To review their current employment policies in respect to the calling of ministers, the employment of professional personnel and other staff, and to take affirmative steps to implement fair employment practices;

2. To further fair employment practices by including nondiscriminating provisions in all contracts and agreements;

3. To purchase services from and, in the investment of funds, to give preference to those firms which follow fair employment practices;

4. To advocate, demonstrate and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing for federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a nonpartisan basis in this session of Congress.

The Fourth General Synod approves the authorization of a committee by the Executive Council to evaluate the policies and practices in the United Church of Christ in respect to fair employment, to initiate procedures for prompt and effective achievement of fair employment policies and practices, to give attention to:

a. location of specific job opportunities,
b. use of personnel records with the churches,
c. special emphasis on locating qualified persons regardless of race in recruitment of personnel,
d. initiation of in-service training for purposes of promotion,
e. discovery of potential existing leadership,
f. development and training of leadership,
g. promotion and upgrading of personnel on the basis of ability, and
h. transmittal of information about nondiscriminatory practices and procedures to agencies used for recruitment of personnel,

and expects the committee to report periodically to the Executive Council of the General Synod.

The Fourth General Synod instructs the Council for Christian Social Action to present testimony in support of Civil Rights and fair employment practices legislation before committees of Congress.

Other Actions on Race Relations

POLICY OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

General Synod declares its policy to be to contribute funds only to institutions and churches which as of July 1, 1964, have a policy of openness without respect to race, national background or ethnic origin, and further urges the instrumentalities, conferences and churches to adopt and pursue such a policy in respect to contributions.

LOCAL STUDY AND ACTION

General Synod urges ministers and local churches to study the findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race and to cooperate in interfaith action on race in their communities.

A RESOLUTION ON NUCLEAR TESTING

Adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, July 10, 1963

WHEREAS, the Second General Synod in its "Call to Christian Action in Society" said: "We therefore call upon our churches and their members to pray and work . . . for effective international control and reduction of all national armaments, including the testing of nuclear weapons;" and

WHEREAS, the Third General Synod in its Pronouncement on "National Responsibility and International Relations" said: "We welcome the increased attention now being given by both government and private organizations to plan for the reduction, control, and eventual elimination of national armaments. We also urge the United States to persist in the effort to reach multilateral agreement on the cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons testing;" and

WHEREAS, the government of the United States is working toward this goal, as evidenced by repeated Presidential statements, by persistence in negotiations with other nuclear powers, by the announced intention to engage in new discussions in Moscow in July of this year, following the failure of the Geneva Conference to reach agreement, and by the decision to conduct no further tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so; and

WHEREAS, by providing a first step in the reduction and control of armaments, by eliminating future fallout, and by helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, a test-ban treaty is in the interests of American security, as well as in the interest of general human well-being;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Fourth General Synod of the United Church of Christ, meeting in Denver, Colorado, July 4-11, 1963, commend and support the continuous and now renewed effort by our government to reach agreement by the principal nuclear powers on the permanent cessation of nuclear weapons testing; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Synod, in pursuance of its previous pronouncements, urge all our churches and all their members to communicate to the President and to their United States Senators their support of this effort, and be it further

RESOLVED, that if a test-ban treaty is agreed upon by the negotiating powers, and assuming that such treaty will carry safeguards for the security of the United States and of the free world, the Council for Christian Social Action is authorized and requested, by communications to our churches and by testimony in the United States Senate, to work for its favorable consideration by the Senate.

IMPLEMENTATION

General Synod approves the "Resolution on Nuclear Testing," commending it to the churches for study and discussion and directing that the required actions be taken by the officers of the General Synod and the CCSA.

RESOLVED, that the General Synod, through the Secretary of the United Church of Christ, communicate the Resolution on Nuclear Testing to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the chairmen of the appropriate committees of the Senate.

NOTE

A Pronouncement is a declaration of Christian conviction on a matter of social principle, approved by General Synod and directed to churches and to the public.

A Resolution is a recommendation for action in a specific situation in application of declarations of Christian conviction and social concern previously agreed upon by General Synod.

Copies of **A Pronouncement on the Relation of Government to Freedom and Welfare** may be ordered separately at 5 cents each, $2.50 per hundred.

Copies of **A Call for Racial Justice Now** with the related resolutions and actions on race relations may be ordered separately at 5 cents each, $2.50 per hundred.

Copies of **A Resolution on Nuclear Testing** may be ordered at 5 cents each, $2.50 per hundred.

Additional copies of **Actions of the Fourth General Synod** may be ordered at 10 cents each, $5 per hundred.

Send all orders to

Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
2969 West 25th St., Cleveland, Ohio 44113

or

Central Distribution Service
United Church of Christ
1505 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

SA-G-0963-20M

Religion

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632 - (Corner 20th Street)
New York 11, New York
Telephone: (212) AL. 5-7575-6

July 23, 1963

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ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to welcome Mr. Mathew Ahmann to the staff of the National Conference on Religion and Race. He began his work as Field Secretary on July 1, 1963. He will work from his Chicago office, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois - Telephone: (312) - MOhawk 4-8222. Mr. Ahmann will continue to give a minimal amount of time to the National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.

I will share the field work with him but he will assume, for the time being, the primary responsibility for corresponding regarding local inter-religious and inter-racial committees.

Publications of the NCRR will be distributed through the New York headquarters - 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, 10011, New York. Consignment of literature can be made with the privilege of returning unsold items for credit*.

Wherever possible, on the invitation of a local inter-religious group, Mr. Ahmann or I will be pleased to meet with such leadership and otherwise to endeavor to be of help.

Sincerely,

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Galen R. Weaver
Executive Director

GRW/cjt

*NOTE: YOU MAY USE THE REVERSE SIDE AS AN ORDER BLANK.

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632 - (Corner 20th Street)
New York 11, New York
Telephone: (212) AL. 5-7575-6

July 23, 1963

TO: Delegates at the Chicago Conference
Coordinators of Local Inter-Religious Committees
Agencies related to the National Conference on Religion and Race

FROM: Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director, N. C. R. R.

In an unprecedented unity of action in legislative advocacy, the National Catholic Welfare Conference (Social Action Department), the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America will present the enclosed testimony tomorrow to the House Judiciary Committee. Later there will be similar testimony before Senate committees.

We are pleased to distribute the text to you and earnestly request that you take whatever supporting actions are within your power at the earliest possible moment.

Suggestions of things you might do

---Study the President's Civil Rights proposals carefully so you are well informed. Herewith we are including an analysis which is the best presently available. It can be a very useful tool for individuals and groups. The bills themselves may be had by writing to your Senators or your Congressman: S. 1731 and H. R. 7152. Beyond the President's "package" are H. R. 405 and S. 773 that make strong identical proposals that would establish a federal fair employment practices procedure. This would go beyond Title VII of "Civil Rights Act of 1963".

---Visit, telegraph, telephone or write to your Senators and your Representatives strongly presenting your views on this legislation. The memorandum will give you help in deciding on whom to concentrate your efforts. "A letter a week" campaign by many individual citizens is a worthy idea.

---Enlist as many other voters as possible to do the above - by conversing with other citizens, by group meetings in your home, church or other organizations, by door to door solicitation. THIS is the summer - and fall, if it takes that long - to accomplish a too long delayed, broad federal attack on discrimination in the name of morality, religion and public order and welfare.

---Join with local civil rights groups in mounting an educational campaign via letters to the newspapers, display ads, radio and TV, speakers' panels, sermons, demonstrations, etc., etc.

---Go to Washington, preferably along with fellow church or synagogue members to make evident your positive support for this legislation - call on your Senators and Representatives - to encourage those who are favorable, persuade those who are "uncertain", and awaken those who are blind to the realities of today's world.

(Continued)

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632 - (Corner 20th Street)
New York 11, New York
Telephone: (212) Al. 5-7575-6

July 23, 1963

TO: Delegates at the Chicago Conference
Coordinators of Local Inter-Religious Committees
Agencies related to the National Conference on Religion and Race

FROM: Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director, N. C. R. R.

—Write the N. C. R. R. and tell us what you have done and what you think N. C. R. R. should do. We will share such news through the Newsletter.

I do want to let you know that many very remarkable consequences of the Chicago Conference are taking place all over the nation.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Galen R Weaver.

Galen R. Weaver
Executive Director

GRW/cjt

TESTIMONY
ON
CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
PRESENTED TO
COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE
SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

JULY 24, 1963

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, my name is Dr. Eugene C. Blake Accompanying me are Rabbi Irving Blank and Father John Cronin. It is an unprecedented and indeed historic event that I speak for the social action, and racial action departments of The National Council of Churches, The National Catholic Welfare Conference and The Synagogue Council of America. The following denominations and religious organizations join in presenting this statement and have representatives at the Hearing: (See Appendix for names of representatives and additional denominations) American Baptist Convention; Board of Social Concerns and the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; Church of the Brethren; Disciples of Christ; Moravian Church in America; The Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church; United Church of Christ; United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; The National Council of Catholic Youth; The National Federation of Catholic College Students and The Newman Club Federation. Central Conference of American Rabbis; National Conference of Synagogue Youth, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; National Federation of Temple Youth, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; National Women's League, United Synagogue of America; Rabbinical Assembly; Rabbinical Council of America; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; United Synagogue of America; United Synagogue Youth, United Synagogue of America; and Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Racial discrimination and segregation still continue to deny persons basic human rights in this country one hundred years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. There is growing determination on the part of Negroes to achieve full rights and opportunities for all people regardless of color, race or national origin, now. Negro people, as well as the religious groups submit-

ting this testimony, are clearly aware of the disabilities upon Spanish-speaking Americans, Indian Americans as well as upon people of Asian background. The Supreme Court has indicated that civil rights are "present rights". The actual opportunity to exercise these long overdue rights must be made available to all people now. There is growing dissatisfaction with gradualism and promises of future progress. The heroic courage and suffering involved in organized direct action in many parts of the country are indications of the firm resolve to achieve these goals now.

The Nation faces the challenge to make full justice and equal opportunity for all people regardless of color, race or national origin, a reality now. This is the basis of achieving full freedom for all people. There can be no further delay in keeping faith with the responsibility to put the principles we profess and the obligations that we acknowledge into action. Racial discrimination and segregation continue to dim the hopes and to negate the promises set forth in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights." Now is the time to realize these hopes. Now is the time to fulfill these promises. This requires the Nation to engage all of its resources, religious, educational, political, industrial, economic and social to deal creatively and constructively with the problem.

The religious conscience of America condemns racism as blasphemy against God. It recognizes that the racial segregation and discrimination that flow from it are a denial of the worth which God has given to all persons. We hold that God is the Creator of all men. "In the image of God created He them". Consequently in every person there is an innate dignity which is the basis of human rights. These rights constitute a moral claim which must be honored both by all persons and by the State. Denial of such rights is immoral.

These beliefs have been repeatedly expressed by the religious leadership of our Nation. Major religious bodies hold simply that God created all men regardless of color, race or national origin, with equal rights and dignity. They affirm that differences among individuals stemming from such factors as heredity, education, cultural background and opportunities do not in any way affect basic human rights. Thus they have specifically condemned racial discrimination, segregation and prejudice as incompatible with the principles of faith in God. As supporting documents to this statement, I am attaching copies of declarations of principle by the national conferences or councils of religious bodies as well as by the general assemblies or conventions of individual denominations.

I call the attention of this committee to the National Conference on Religion and Race held in January of this year. This conference has no precedent in American history. Nearly 700 delegates from 67 major religious bodies, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish, united in endorsement of "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People", which is also appended to this statement. These delegates left Chicago firm in the resolution that churches and synagogues stand as one in their determination to bring about full justice and equal opportunity for all people regardless of race in the United States of America. Since the conference, activities being carried on in more than 30 cities as well as expanded and intensified interracial programs being conducted by many church and synagogue organizations are indications that this determination is being implemented.

Those human rights which men look to government to protect are called civil rights. The churches and indeed our free society as a whole, look to the State to incorporate these rights into its legal system and to insure their observance in practice.

The Message of the President of the United States on Civil Rights delivered to the 88th Congress on June 19, 1963 recognized the necessity to protect certain civil rights by enacting legislation. This message clearly sets forth the need

for legislation to guarantee the availability of voting rights; to assure equal accommodation in public facilities; to facilitate desegregation of schools; to achieve fair and full employment and to establish a community relations service. Also the President submitted to the Congress a proposed act "The Civil Rights Act of 1963". This is a bill "To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in education, to establish a Community Relations Service, to extend for four years the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes."

As churches, synagogues and religious leaders, our concern is with the purpose of civil rights legislation and with the moral principles that indicate the necessity of enacting such legislation. The knowledge and judgement of the Congress and particularly of the Committees that have heard extensive testimony, will enable them to work out the details of legislation which will ensure the civil rights of all people in the Nation. Therefore we shall discuss the purposes and principles which we believe should underlie the enactment of the legislation proposed by the President of the United States. Religious people are committed to the belief that in this Nation, local, state and national governments deriving "their just powers from the consent of the governed" are responsible to God and to the people to maintain the freedom of all men under their respective jurisdictions, to exercise human rights with due regard for the rights of others and for the public order.

The right to vote is a human right which is guaranteed by the basic law of the land. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States specifically provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of

race, color or previous condition of servitude". Yet it is a fact that on the basis of color or race hundreds of thousands of citizens are denied the opportunity to register and to exercise the right to vote. Therefore we welcome and support legislation which will provide realistic guarantees for all citizens regardless of race or color, the full opportunity to register and to exercise the right to vote. Moreover we believe that the proposals for legislation set forth by the President of the United States on this subject are an important step in this direction.

For many years most national religious bodies have by official action held their meetings only where all public accommodations and facilities in hotels or other places of meetings are open to all participants without regard to race or color. Specifically this means that room assignments, building or hotel entrances, meeting rooms, lobbies, elevators, dining rooms and all building or hotel facilities or services must be available to all people regardless of race or color. Therefore these church bodies have not been able to meet in places or localities which practice racial discrimination in public accommodations.

This experience along with concern about the immorality of racial segregation and discrimination stated above and the increasing mobility of the American people cause churches, synagogues and religious leaders to highlight the importance of equal access to facilities serving the general public. These include stores, restaurants, theaters, retail establishments, service shops, places for amusement and recreation as well as hotels, motels and lodging accommodations. In many states and cities, discrimination in such facilities is currently prohibited by law. The broadening of such prohibition by a federal law is not a drastic step. Nor is it an invasion of property rights as some have claimed. Neither law nor morality sanction the concept of the absolute right of property. Both insist that the property owner must use his property in a socially responsible fashion. We have zoning laws, traffic ordinances,

license and inspection requirements as well as scores of other rules and regulations that currently enforce the concept of socially responsible ownership. If we can protect citizens against the injury caused by blaring television sets surely we can give equal protection against the deep affront and humiliation caused by racial discrimination in public accommodations.

The churches and synagogues have repeatedly affirmed the right to full and equal opportunity for all people to participate on a non-segregated basis in public schools and colleges.

Many religious bodies hailed the United States Supreme Court decision rendered in 1954, declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional, as an important step in achieving fuller human rights for all people in our Nation. But they are dismayed at the slow pace of implementing the decision in the nine years since it was rendered. The proposals in the Civil Rights Act of 1963 for assistance to facilitate desegregation of public schools are positive, creative and constructive steps designed to aid school boards as well as other state and local governmental units concerned with public education to step up the pace of desegregation. Provisions of this type need to be enacted into law if the inequalities in educational opportunities based upon color or race as well as the resulting social, economic, psychological, cultural handicaps to the people discriminated against and to the Nation as a whole, are to be eliminated.

Moreover the continuance of racial segregation and discrimination in public schools cause religious bodies to be concerned over the fact that parents many of whom have meager financial resources at their disposal, must bear the costs of legal proceedings to obtain equality of educational opportunity for their children. The ability or inability to obtain the opportunity to exercise civil rights must not be made dependent upon the financial resources at a person's disposal. We believe that all persons unable to bear the costs of legal proceedings should be relieved of the financial burden of securing rights which

are theirs by virtue of their citizenship but which are illegally and immorally denied. Therefore we support the proposal which authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to institute civil actions in the name of the United States in district courts upon receiving a signed complaint; upon the determination that the signer or signers of the complaint are unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and upon determination that such action will materially further the orderly process of desegregation of public schools.

The goal of the Nation is clear. Every person must have the opportunity to exercise the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Agencies or instrumentalities are needed to carry on activities designed to implement the above stated goal in order to achieve progress in race relations. While there are many state and local organizations, both public and private, an agency at the Federal Government level is needed to cooperate with these state and local groups. Such an agency could render valuable services to state and local groups and would provide insights into the nature of the problems confronting the Nation which would stimulate these groups to coordinate voluntarily their efforts in order to deal more effectively with the problems of race relations. The proposed Community Relations Service can facilitate improved race relations through the services and aid it could render to state and local groups in improving cooperation, conciliation, mediation and communication among the races. It should be noted that one of the more successful agencies of the Federal Government over the years has been the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. It has done much, along with state, local, and private groups to insure labor peace. In a similar fashion, staff skilled in the methods of inter-group relations can do much to insure creative and constructive adjustments among the races.

The Commission on Civil Rights has already rendered distinguished service in investigating and determining the facts about the denial of civil rights by reason or color, race, religion or national origin in such areas as voting,

housing, employment, the use of public facilities, transportation and the administration of justice. The reports of the Commission are exceedingly valuable in informing both government and private agencies of the actual situation confronting the Nation regarding civil rights. Many of its recommendations have been guidelines for creative and meaningful action in the area of race relations. On the basis of its performance and of its potential service in the future, the life of the Commission on Civil Rights should be extended for four years.

In regard to non-discrimination in federally assisted programs we state a principle set forth by the President of the United States in his message to the 88th Congress, "Simple justice requires that public funds to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial discrimination." We believe that this principle should be enacted into law.

The Federal Government has taken leadership in preventing discrimination against employees or applicants for employment because of race, color, religion or national origin by government contractors. Also it has assumed leadership in preventing the same type of discrimination in government employment. Many church bodies recognize the importance of this leadership because one of the rights connected with the dignity of the human person is the right to work. They acknowledge that this leadership is important if the nation is to make full use of all of its manpower resources to create a country in which all people may live best and serve most on a continuing and growing basis. Also many religious leaders are knowledgable about the valuable work of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which was created by a Presidential Executive Order. They believe that this work should continue and be expanded on a permanent basis. Therefore they support the enactment of legislation which would give the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity a statutory basis.

But many church and synagogue bodies go beyond this. They support the enactment of federal legislation covering both employers and labor unions which provides for employment on the basis of ability and qualifications without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. Some religious groups have given careful thought to many aspects of fair employment practices. Some of these groups believe that such legislation should cover upgrading or promotion on the basis of ability and apprenticeship training. They believe also that such legislation should provide counselling services and placement services as well as training and re-training in skills to people of minority racial and other economically deprived groups. This is necessary by virtue of long denial of such opportunity. Moreover the current critical situation indicates that such legislation must have adequate enforcement provisions if it is to be effective.

Gentlemen, we hope that this Committee will report favorably on the proposals for civil rights legislation which were made by the President of the United States. We hope also that Congress will enact them into legislation as a necessary step in the process of securing for all people the opportunity to exercise the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

In conclusion we stress the urgency of legislative action now. It is both a moral and legal principle that once it is demonstrated that basic rights are being violated, the situation should be remedied at once. Equally clear is the demand that fundamental opportunities and privileges should be accorded to all without delay.

In spite of these principles, there have been times in history when even men of good will were compelled to move slowly in securing rights and privileges. No such attenuating circumstances exist today. We are in the midst of a social revolution. Please God it will remain a social revolution and not degenerate into civil chaos. But let us not underestimate the demand for

justice regardless of color, race or national origin. What is right, both in terms of basic morality and in terms of our democratic ideals, must be granted without delay. The time is past for tokenism or demands for endless patience. We must move firmly, rapidly and courageously toward goals which our consciences assure us are right and necessary. We can do no less for God and country.

APPENDIX A

NAMES OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Rev. Ray Gibbons, Director, The Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

The Rev. George Earl Owen, Disciples of Christ, Coordinating Committee on Moral and Civil Rights.

The Rev. Duane Ramsey, Church of the Brethren.

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Associate Secretary in the Department of Christian Social Relations, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Dudley Ward for Board of Social Concerns and the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Acting Chairman, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches; Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Bishop B. Julian Smith, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

ADDITIONAL DENOMINATIONS JOINING IN TESTIMONY:

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

STATEMENTS BY RELIGIOUS BODIES

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL
Council of Bishops
February 15-18, 1956

...In this struggle for universal acceptance of an integrated society, the Negro church plays an increasingly vital role. We have witnessed instance after instance of sacrifice, toil, and even bloodshed by ordained ministers of the Gospel determined to make a reality out of the professions of Democracy...

Our people must know that all men are created equal and that any divergence from this principle is hypocrisy, in fact, immoral. The people must likewise know that the law of the land is second only to the law of God and that to openly flout the dictates of the highest tribunal is flirting with tragedy...

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
May 17, 1963

Recognizing that segregation and discrimination separate men, and aware that being reconciled to God we are brought close to all men in the fellowship of Jesus Christ, we urge local churches to attack all forms of alienation with courage and dispatch.

We reaffirm our stand that not only should all American Baptist churches be open to all followers of Jesus Christ regardless of their race but that we should earnestly and actively seek to win all unchurched persons within our community to Christ and to the fellowship of the church. We reaffirm our belief that all persons should be given the opportunity to develop the knowledge and skills needed for church leadership and that all positions of leadership within the local church and on area and national levels should be open on the basis of qualification without regard to race....

AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETIES
March 23, 1960

In obedience to the imperative of the Gospel of Jesus Christ which recognizes no barriers to fellowship, we oppose racial segregation in all forms, and in all places. We affirm our opposition to the denial of the rights of Negroes or any minority group in matters of voting, housing, library privileges and the facilities of lunch counters. Wherever segregation appears, whether in the north or south, the east or the west, in a church or at a lunch counter, there is a denial of Christian love and justice and of the democratic rights of citizens. To affirm this is to presume to judge others but to acknowledge a moral principle rooted in our Biblical faith by which all are judged...

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL
Annual Conference, 1958

...Commitment to the conviction that the best form of government is a government of the people, by the people and for the people and dedication to the determined effort to secure for every American citizen full political franchise and freedom from fear and want...

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL
(continued)

That every attempt be made to arouse the conscience of America to her responsibility of practicing at home the democracy she preaches abroad, of making possible and guaranteeing to all minority groups at home the freedom she offers the oppressed peoples of other lands, of assuring those victims of prejudices, discrimination and oppression within her own borders the same opportunities she affords the refugees from the lands of the Iron Curtain...

That we use techniques based solely on passive resistance such as work stoppage, economic boycotts, slow downs, sit-down strikes, picket lines, mass demonstrations and political unity wherever there is a threat or attempt to deprive our people of enjoying their full rights as citizens of our nation...

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN
General Brotherhood Board, March 24, 1960

Therefore, we, the General Brotherhood Board, resolve:

1. That we believe discrimination against racial, cultural and religious minorities is morally wrong;

2. That action to remove this discrimination is imperative, both in the light of the Christian ethic and in the spirit of our democratic tradition;

3. That we see our first obligation to seek change through honest discussion and negotiation, but, such methods failing, we regard peaceful nonviolent direct action as an appropriate Christian witness for those whose consciences so lead them;...

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
United Christian Missionary Society
Board of Trustees - June, 1960

FUNDAMENTAL JUSTICE VS. LEGALITY

The question is not one of mere legality, however. One must raise the question of the fundamental justice of the issue which lies beyond the sit-ins. Do not Negroes have the same right to be treated with the dignity and decency as whites? Are we not all, Negro and white, brothers and neighbors under God's creation and does not our master say to us: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself?" Are we not then, as Christians, committed to the principle of equitable treatment of all people regardless of race? Must we not therefore, not only admit, but insist upon and work toward the rapid removal of the patterns of segregation which deny fundamental dignity as human beings to certain persons because of accidents of birth. The plain fact is, however, that Christians on the whole have done almost nothing to alleviate the situations in which Negroes have found themselves. We have, furthermore, by our own acquiescence and silence supported those who by restrictive legislation and intimidation have stood in the way of Negroes achieving equality of opportunity. One night wish, as some have, that this whole issue had never arisen - that Negroes had been content to accept an inferior status in our society - that they had not upset the even tenor of

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
(continued)

our privileged white existence. One might wish that they had never heard of non-violent resistance to evil, but they have. Now Christians must face the issue where it is and decide whether the fundamental justice of their protest overrides possible questions of legality.

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN
General Conference, Oct. 9-17, 1958

As Christians we are ashamed of the treatment accorded minority races in our nation. The New Testament teaches that God is no respector of persons, and men are to be treated with respect and dignity.

We, therefore, unalterably oppose all practices of racial segregation.

Christian love is more than sentiment. It is active good-will, redemptive kindness, patient goodness. We desperately need this Christian love in this present hour of friction and distrust among the races...

THE FIVE YEARS MEETING OF FRIENDS
July 14-21, 1960

We humbly recognize that our Society as a whole has not been true to this basic Christian belief. Too often pioneering in racial equality has been left to the few. But in this day of racial crisis every member of the Society of Friends should be concerned that all races have equal opportunity to participate with one another in worship, education, housing, employment and voting, and to join in our fellowship.

The Christian way to combat injustice is to act in the spirit of love and forgiveness which Christ both lived and taught, admonishing us "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you."(Matt. 5:44) In recent months and years our Negro brothers in Christ have practiced to a remarkable degree these precepts of the Master as they have opposed injustice non-violently and in the spirit of Christian love. We are grateful to them for their leadership in demonstrating the relevance of Christ's teaching in our time and in our own communities.

Race prejudice and hatred are spiritual and moral diseases not confined to any one section of one country or to any one nation. In God's world there is no place for discrimination or prejudice because of racial or national origin, economic circumstance or religious belief. We believe that there is something in every man which can respond to the love of God, and that every man has the God given right to walk over the earth in dignity and self respect. We have the opportunity and the obligation to help secure this right for all.

THE METHODIST CHURCH
General Board of Christian Concerns
Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs
March 16, 1960

We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is his Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God.

THE METHODIST CHURCH
(continued)

To discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unChristian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry and character. To deny him that position of honor because of the accident of his birth is neither honest democracy nor good religion.

THE METHODIST CHURCH
Woman's Division of Christian
Service of the Board of Missions
January, 1962

We Believe

1. We believe that God is the Father of all people and all are his children in one family.

2. We Believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.

3. We Believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.

MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
Southern Province
Provincial Synod, 1959

The Church as a Brotherhood

The Church of Jesus Christ, despite all the distinctions between male and female, Jews and non-Jew, white and colored, poor and rich, is one in its Lord. The Unitas Fratrum recognizes no distinction between those who are in the Lord Jesus Christ. We are called to testify that God in Jesus Christ brings His people into being out of "every race, kindred and tongue", pardons sinners beneath the Cross and brings them into one body. We oppose any discrimination in our midst because of race or standing, and we regard it as a commandment of the Lord to bear public witness to this and to demonstrate by word and deed that we are brothers and sisters in Christ.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC.

Almost any American tourist of Europe and other eastern countries meets with the question of the attitude of America toward the intermingling of the races composing the population of the United States.

Some of these peoples are quite "scathing" in their remarks concerning the American claim of Democracy and Christianity on the one hand and the treatment America permits to be accorded her minority peoples on the other.

For many years Negroes have been puzzled as to the attitude they should adopt regarding the sincerity of the American claim of the policy of "JUSTICE TO ALL AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE TO NONE".

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC.
(continued)

When, however, the Supreme Court issued her memorable decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, the race took heart and reorganized her thinking with regard to America being in truth "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

Negroes love America and entertain no bitterness toward her despite the vicious wrongs some commit against them in certain sections of the country. They have too long agonized in prayer for her security. They have given too freely of their blood to vouchsafe her institutions - not to love her with undying devotion. They believe the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 justified the faith, the hope and the love they exercise toward this country.

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, 1961

The Religious Society of Friends recognizes the Divine spark in every human being and we are deeply concerned with the racial and religious discrimination that exists in our local communities. We are equally concerned with the suffering, the waste of talents and the antagonisms which result from segregation and which block spiritual and cultural growth. Under these conditions, the majority group as well as the minority group suffers.

In our country today, individuals and groups are set apart from the main stream of American life on the basis of their religious background, the color of their skin, or the country of their birth. In large ways and small, such persons are denied full participation in our community life.

We believe that everyone should have real equality of opportunity in securing an education, in finding employment best suited to their abilities or in buying or renting a home. In all of these areas of life, minority groups now repeatedly experience frustration and humiliation. If American society is really motivated by religious and democratic ideals, there is no place for discrimination....

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.
General Assembly, May 4, 1960

III. Rights of Citizens

...recognizes the dignity of every human being and encourages the concept of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples, the Assembly strongly urges laymen and ministers, as Christian citizens, to redouble their efforts to right the wrongs, presently suffered by individuals and groups because of race, creed, or nationality....

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL
CHURCH - February, 1961

V. It is the function and the task of the Church to set spiritual and moral goals for society, and to bear witness to their validity by the witness of her own life. The Church should not only ensure to members of all races full participation in worship everywhere; she should also stand for fair and full

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
(continued)

access to education, housing, social and health services, and for equal employment opportunities, without compromise, self-consciousness, or apology. In these ways the Church will demonstrate her belief that God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA
Credo on Race Relations
General Synod, June 7, 1957

I. We believe that the problem of race is a problem of human relations. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament provide the final authority for all matters of human relations. We believe that all problems of human existence are resolved in the love for God above all, and for our neighbor as ourselves. We further believe that such love has been fully revealed to us in the life and work of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior; and that the grace to participate in that love is readily available through the Holy Spirit by faith. We believe that the primary function of the Church of Jesus Christ is to witness to that love to all people in every walk of life.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
Christian Life Commission
February 29, March 1, 1960

...The Commission wishes to again reaffirm its historic emphasis upon the biblical principle of the value of human personality as taught by our Lord. In the light of recent efforts on the part of Negro citizens in many areas in securing equal rights, especially the right to vote, the Commission urges our Southern Baptist people to make use of every opportunity to help Negro citizens to secure these rights through peaceful and legal means and to thoughtfully oppose any customs which may tend to humilate them in any way.

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
General Synod, July 1961

...We call upon our churches and their members to pray and work for the elimination of segregation and discrimination in every aspect of our common life, beginning with each local church, but also devoting special efforts to desegregate church-related institutions, all public housing, public accommodations and services; and to guarantee to all our people equal access to the polls, to employment opportunities, and to legal justice.

UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
Board of Social Missions and Executive Board, 1952

1. God the Father is the Creator of all mankind. We are made in His likeness. In the light of the common creation of all men, differences in physical characteristics or social background are only of incidental importance.

2. God condemns all injustice, all hatred, all abuse and persecution of men. His judgment is revealed in the moral sickness of all men and in the torn fabric of our common lives.

UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
(continued)

3. God's atoning grace embraces every man. Through His Son, Jesus Christ, God offers redemption to all. Christ died for all mankind. All men have equal worth in God's sight....

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.
Standing Committee on Church and Society
May 22, 1962

...The 174th General Assembly

Calls upon every United Presbyterian to search his heart and with God's help seek to root out every trace of prejudice, bias, and hostility to other men who are different in race or culture from himself, and to bring a new attitude of loving acceptance not only into the pew on Sunday but into the office, shop, school, and neighborhood on Monday;...

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL
JUSTICE
August 27, 1961

CIVIL RIGHTS

God created man a social being. By His will our government exists to protect the common good and the basic rights of man. We find that some of our countrymen in weakness sometimes deny these rights to others.

BE IT RESOLVED that, as the right to vote is a fundamental instrument of citizenship in our democracy, we condemn the denial of that right on the basis of race, creed, or color, whether openly or by governmental subterfuge, as mockery of our Constitution.

* * *

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
TO THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

July 26, 1963

A Night of Watching

Two weeks ago tonight I was in Egypt. Actually I was in Savannah, Georgia at the peak of the tension in that city. In the afternoon I had met with the leading white clergymen of the city along with Andrew Young and James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We had convinced them that the tension generated by the jailing of all the responsible Negro leadership in the protest movement, and the deadlock over further progress in desegregation in that city meant that grave disorder and violence was a real danger. That group, including the Catholic, and Episcopal bishops and later with the concurrence of the Methodist bishop, decided to issue a statement intended to break the deadlock and reopen negotiation. That was a tense enough situation.

But in the evening, at Andrew Young's invitation I went to the protest meeting held in the Flamingo nightclub, on the outskirts of the city. Mr. Young had come to Savannah to take up the leadership vaccum left by the irresponsible arresting of the local Negro leadership. The scene that evening was one I will never forget. As a white person coming to an illegally held meeting in the Negro ghetto, I was questioned closely and inspected thoroughly before I was allowed inside. Here was a group of about a hundred people - women with their dresses and persons burned by tear gas, young men bandaged and battered, and all in a near state of hysteria, as a result of the pressures they had been subjected to through the preceding days. They were singing the songs of freedom without pause, in a growing crescendo of desperation - "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave, and go home to my Lord and be free." "We shall overcome".

Everyone present knew that when they went back up the hill they would be met at the city limits by the armored National Guard and police. When I left the

place, young men searched all the hills behind the row of houses through which I would have to drive, looking for snipers. In those days, irresponsible men, Negro and white, were shooting first and asking later.

One often uses a phrase, "an atmosphere filled with tension". This is the first time in my life that I experienced this to be a physical fact and not just a figure of speech. One knew that the lighting of a match in the room would have produced an explosion.

The leaders of these people were all in jail, their friends and relatives were in jail. They faced it on the homeward journey, or perhaps something worse. And in such a time of hopelessness, Andy Young spoke to the people of hope and victory and the need for responsible behavior. He asked me to speak to them about the concern that other Christians felt for them. It was a difficult thing to do. Words seem to come very cheap when you are only a visitor in Hell. But I could speak of this Commission and what it represents about the determination of American Christianity to end the evil of racial discrimination.

I had the strongest feeling that I was in Egypt on the night of Passover, just before the time of deliverance. "It was a night of watching by the Lord, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, so this same night is a night of watching kept to the Lord by all the people of Israel through their generations", the twelfth chapter of Exodus records.

Or it could have been in the catacombs of Rome in the first century, or in the Warsaw ghetto twenty five years ago, or in Sharpsville, South Africa, not so very long ago.

But it was really happening in my own, own land, not more than two miles from the home of white friends where I have spent many pleasant and serene times. It seemed a million miles away.

The reality of the chasm of color that separated white Savannah from Negro Savannah could not be evaded. And here was a grim portent of what actually could happen all over this land - not only the separation of white and Negro communities, but a separation marked by

the necessity of a police wall between them. The nameless fears of this present crisis now had shape and substance - the possibility of a militant Negro community fighting for its rights, underground if necessary, and a white community so dominated by fear of losing its position and wealth that it could only react defensively.

There have been times in the past few weeks, when I have been so caught up in this struggle that I have questioned my own evaluation of its widespread seriousness. Perhaps, those of us who are so deeply committed in the struggle, might be guilty of over dramatization. Savannah taught me that the serious consequences of the events of the present and the next few months cannot be exaggerated.

But let me quickly go on to call to attention, the more positive aspects of mid summer.

The worst fears of many new outbreaks of violence have not yet materialized. This is largely due to the unbelieveably skilled leadership of the Negro protest movements, which has refrained from opening any new major points of protest despite much provocation, and the pressure from the masses of people to do so. Arrests still go on in every part of the nation.

Thousands have been arrested for participation in civil rights demonstrations since the beginning of the year. But the major attention of everyone is upon the passage of the legislation, upon Washington, the center of our national responsibility. This concentration upon redress of grievances through adequate legislation is very good, but it also puts a very heavy burden on the symbolism of what passage of that legislation can mean. If it does not get passed, substantially the way it has been proposed, then widespread disillusionment and reaction is inevitable.

Also it must be noted that large and powerful segments of the white population are now moving to the support of the civil rights movement in an unprecendented fashion. The Business Council under the chairmanship of Mr. Keppel, president of A.T. and T, and supported by the leading industrialists of the country is now moving to mobilize industry toward all out efforts to enlist Negroes in places of employment where they have never been welcome before, and

also to make serious efforts for training programs. The lawyers are similarly organized, and these two groups are in constant touch with our Commission to see in what way we can work together in specific crisis situations and in longer range programs for the rebalancing of opportunity for Negro citizens.

It is difficult for me to assess the real weight of the effect of active religious participation in this struggle. Judging however by the comments of people in government, these professional groups and the civil rights groups themselves, it would seem that our activity, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, is making some significant difference. In the light of it, one is chagrined by the rememberance of our hesitancy and expendiency in the years just past.

In general summary of where the nation stands in mid summer, and where we stand in relation to the battle, one must say, that we still watch in a night of uncertain end, but with a sense of gratitude to God that so many forces are now struggling to shake off their lethargy and move to battle against the accused sin of discrimination, not in general, but in particular forms - legislation, jobs, public accommodations and the rest.

Report of Progress

It is now my responsibility to report to you, what the staff of the commission has been about in these intervening weeks since the first meeting of the Commission.

Although I was elected at that first meeting, I did not officially take up my duties as executive director until July 15th. We all owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Dr. Jon Regier for his competent and aggressive leadership of the work of the commission in those days of formation. Although I did not come to sit at the desk until two weeks ago, I kept in constant touch with events while I was in attendance at the United Church of Christ General Synod in Denver, and then on a field trip home through the south, the trip that took me to Savannah.

Let me briefly record what we have been working at in the three major areas laid out at the last meeting of the Commission for prime concentration.

The desegregation of the churches

Dr. Colin Williams and Dr. Dai Kitagawa have been working on plans for several consultations across the country which will be actual workshops for churches who wish to have counsel in integrating their constituencies. Some of the brethren from overseas now attending the Montreal Faith and Order Conference may also participate in some preparatory meeting for those conferences.

Two pilot projects have been set up in local communities, one in Chatham, New Jersey, and another in Philadelphia and are already at work. These are groups of church people, drawn from many different churches and cooperating on an interfaith basis as well, whose major purpose is to try to achieve the goal of "an unsegregated church in an unsegragated community", so long marked as a pious goal.

Mr. Bryant George has begun collecting information on the methods and procedures which denominations can use in the desegregation of church institutions. The actions taken at General Synod by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries in denying monies and aid to new church projects for building purposes, and also to schools and health and welfare institutions which discriminate, provides something of a pattern.

The staff of this work group, along with Mr. Moring of the general staff has called into being here in the building a task force of over 60 National Council employees who are enabled to meet for two hours a week on Council time to educate and train themselves for witness in the field of race relations, and to make themselves ready for direct demonstration if that be necessary. Both clerical and professional staff is involved.

Civil Rights Legislation

For the first time in the history of this country, as far as we know, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish forces joined together to prepare and present joint testimony before Congressional Committee on proposed legislation. Dr. Oscar Lee, carried our responsibility in this drafting.

On Wednesday, Dr. Blake, accompanied by Rabbi Irwin Blank, of the Synagogue Council of America, and Father John Cronin of the National Catholic welfare Conference, appeared before the House Committee on the Judiciary, and on Thursday, before the Senate Committee on Commerce, and the Sub-Committee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Under the leadership of James Hamilton, Harold Letts and Eleanor French we have been moving toward an extensive strategy of intepretation and solicitation for the support of this crucial legislation on Civil Rights.

We have joined with a large number of other national groups in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to set up a coordinated approach to the problem in Washington.

The denominational staff conference has met (these are the responsible social action staff people in the denominations) and have organized a widespread network of communication, centering on 14 key midwestern and western states, to get heavy mail and local support for the legislation with the key legislators.

One of the particular recommendations of this Commission at its last meeting was the possibility of organizing a broad, inclusive committee of distinguished citizens who might urge the passage of legislation at this time. Largely under Victor Reuther's guiding genius, such a committee is now being approached, on an interfaith, informal basis, and not under the sponsorship of any one body. This staff however is heavily involved in making preparations for it.

Community Action

And now one moves to the third area of our responsibility - the initiation of and participation in concrete instances of achieving justice for all citizens.

This is the area in which we have the least experience, where the risks are greatest, and where the possibility of misjudgment haunts us continually. We only know, that despite these incalcuables, unless we do play it straight here, all our other activity is jeopardized. We have been consulted and involved tangentially in many different situations across the country, but in certain places, most significantly.

The first of course was Baltimore, and the demonstrations at the Gwynn Oaks Amusement Park. We went into this with much trepidation. Was this a worthy target in the light of all the places where problems exist? Would this seem to be grandstanding? These were some of the questions that everyone had. The local community was in the main opposed to our participation, except of course for the action groups whose brave efforts we were joining. I will not dwell on this event, because it has been widely reported around the country. Our acting chairman may wish to speak of it in more detail. He was some what involved there. In summary however, the overwhelming evidence seems to be that it was a worthy target, and worthy results were achieved. The city of Baltimore moved to set up a bi-racial committee, and our last reports are that the Amusement Park, long a bastion of arrogant discrimination in the Baltimore area is now moving to end their practice of barring Negro patrons.

Far beyond the immediate effect however, was the significance that this deed had in dramatizing to the nation that the religious establishment meant business. The presence of these distinguished clergymen, and pre-eminently of course Dr. Blake and Bishop Daniel Corrigan, in a protest on the Fourth of July at an amusement park, said to the nation in a way that no pronouncement of this commission ever could, that every last vestige of public discrimination in this country had to fall before the weight of the Christian conscience.

The next week, a group of churchmen, some from this commission, went to Clarksdale, Miss, upon the urgent request of Mr. Aaron Henry, the local leader of the NAACP. Clarksdale, in the delta of Mississippi is one of the hard core cities, where Negroes have no privileges or opportunities to be first class citizens. The one modest goal of the Negro community is to have a bi-racial commission set up, to begin to deal with the situation, which is very desperate, as far as the Negro citizens are concerned. Almost as soon as they arrived in town, our delegation was served an injunction which forbade them to engage in any kind of activity which might seem to be a demonstration, including "kneeling in" in church - a rather strange prohibition to expect to be obeyed by a group of church leaders. Little head way was made with local white leadership, either church leaders or community leaders. The group withdrew from Clarksdale, committed to go back at a later time. That time seems to be approaching, and major discussion will go on today about appropriate action and procedure.

I have already mentioned my participation in Savannah. Here the approach was different. Knowing that the situation was about to explode, and having some contacts with both Negro and white ministers in the city, I invited local church leaders, through their national leaders in each denomination, to meet me at a certain time in that city to see what we could do.

The resulting statement on the part of these religious leaders when it was published in the papers caused some of these men to have real pressure put on them; but is credited by some as the event which really broke the log jam and encouraged a new negotiating committee to be established. There are many complicated problems in Savannah still, but the long range prognosis seems to be good.

Last week in Brooklyn, several of the leading ministers joined the demonstrations against the construction companies employed by the state to build a new medical center. They were arrested and others have repeatedly joined in the same kind of protest. Dr. Lee has been our liaison with this protest, and has participated in the demonstrations, thus joining the long line of jail birds associated with this commission.

We have also been involving in helping a contingent of Savannah protest people get accommodations and material in New York City while they brought their witness to the Chase Manhattan Bank in this city. This bank holds the latest bond issue of the city of Savannah. Similar spot service was rendered to a group of people from Danville, Virginia, who came to confront the Dan River Company home office. We have been asked by the group which negotiated the peace in Cambridge, Md. to help them establish it in fact by working with the white clergy in that city, encouraging them to support the implementation of the plan that has been worked out.

One of the major events that looms ahead of us is the March to Washington set for August 28th. We have a deep commitment to this event, because the general board mandate which set up this commission also called for such an assembly in Washington to dramatize the national nature of this great cause. A coordinating organization has been set up to handle this for the sponsoring organizations. We have joined with the Civil Rights organizations as joint sponsors of the March, although we will have a distinctive role as well. We will be hearing about this in greater detail later in the meeting.

Other Major Concerns

One of the heartening trends of the last few weeks has been the way in which the various communions have one after another begun to mobilize their resources in the field of achieving racial justice now. The Presbyterians (USA), Episcopalians, United Church, Disciples, Church of the Brethren, Baptists, have all set up special committees, and the other major denominations are gearing their regular channels, to cooperate with our Commission and to work within their own ranks toward specific action. This past Tuesday, we held the first of a series of meetings with denominational staff assigned to these special emphases. We intend to work with these people as a kind of cabinet, particularly during the next two months, when coordination of effort of support for the legislation and such events as the Washington March is so important.

Our cooperation with Jewish and Catholic groups continues to be one of the most deeply satisfying aspects of the battle. We all find it perfectly natural to call one another and ask for immediate help in any emergency or on any long range policy. Tomorrow I will address the National Council Inter-racial conference on the work of this Commission. We are indeed of one mind.

We have been endeavoring to keep in communication with the continuing committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race, and indeed, to participate in the decisions that will help it to be an effective instrument for interreligious action on this front in many local communities.

Mention must also be made of the unusual kind of cooperation we are receiving from the Federal Government. Responsible officials of the Justice Department are at our disposal day and night to make available any resources they may have which will help us in our struggle to effect changes for integration. There is in no way pressure or interference on the part of government in our plans and programs. But they are willing to be at our disposal in the same way they are acting for business and professional groups working to accomplish desegregation. The government is serious about this.

One of the most difficult tasks confronting me has been to try to create an organization and gather a staff at the same time we were obliged to carry a full program, often times composed of high pressure and emergency situations. We have had valiant temporary clerical help, but we must still beg your indulgence for sloppy minutes, erratic performance and just plain administrative oversights. I believe we are moving toward some order and procedure.

We are very fortunate to have the high quality staff now gathered. May I introduce them to you and indicate what areas of work they will work in.

Dr. Oscar Lee, was already presented to you at the first meeting of the commission. Dr. Lee will carry general responsibility as Associate Executive Director and undertake special areas of work that loom up with major need for concentration. He will make a brief report to you at the conclusion of my remarks.

The Rev. James Moore, has been loaned to the Commission by the Office of Information to act as Associate Director for oversight of the community action program. Mr. Moore has been deeply involved in the activities from the beginning. He has a rich background of experience here in the Council, and before that with the Voice of America and the United States Army.

Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, one of the distinguished political leaders of the country has joined our staff as Coordinator of Special Events. It is her first immediate responsibility to mobolize our support of the Washington March. Dr. Hedgeman has had a long and distinguished career in federal and city government, and is one of the best known leaders of church women in the country.

Mr. James Hamilton will continue to act as Associate Director for Legislation. He will work with Dr. Harold Letts of the Division of Life and Work and Miss Eleanor French of the United Church Women.

Dr. Colin Williams, Dr. Dai Kitagawa, and Dr. Jon Regier will share responsibility for staffing the Commission's work in the desegregation of the life of the church.

Many other Council people will be adding their strength to various phases of the program, but these will carry the major responsibility.

We are still looking for other full time staff people. We are in particular need of a person to act as Associate Director for Intepretation. One of the greatest problems we face is that our involvement

and our action has far outrun our lines of communication. We need a person and someone who will assist him or her to do a regular bulletin on the work of the commission, but beyond that to dig out the content material on what is happening on every front of the battle, for the widest possible desemination. We have excellent press relations personnel in the counsel. That is not what we are looking for, but rather someone who has a nose for content to feed to the press, and to work at the broad but desperately important job of interpretation of issue and fact. There is so much distorted and superficial knowledge abroad even now.

In addition we need two or three field staff people who can be Mr. Moore's eyes and ears in various parts of the country. It is just not physically possible for all the information that comes to us to flow across his desk and mine, and for us to have to check back all the sources for accuracy.

Another possible staff function that I am beginning to believe we need is someone who is specially adept at meeting and dealing with key Christian business leaders as they face their responsibilities, both in the employment question and at the point of their responsibility for the public policies of some of the towns where their plants are located. Increasingly knowledgeable Negro leaders in the south believe that the real key to action in many southern cities is through northern business leaders who have deep economic involvement in the south.

Issues To Be Faced

Let me now conclude, by raising to view some of the basic policy questions that seem to me should be discussed by the commission. This session is scheduled to be a work session, and the breakdown into groups is designed to facilitate more intense penetration of some of these issues.

There are some general questions however, that underlie decisions in all areas:

In the light of the overwhelming number of opportunities now coming before us which could demand our attention, what are our prime targets, and what is the best use of our limited resources?

How do we walk responsibly the narrow edge between identification and influence?

This question needs some interpretation. What is meant however, is that we are committed to identifying ourselves with Negroes in their struggle to get justice in specific situations. In the deep south, however, the moment we do this, in active demonstration, we cut off all effective channels of influence in the white community which we might initially possess.

We are beginning, I believe, to develop a process, a series of steps which have to be followed. These are in line with the Commission's insistence at our last meeting, that in so far as possible we work always through local church leaders. This must be our inflexible rule, that we always try to get them to act, first, and that second we try to get lay people to act for redressing grievance, either in the local community or through those who have some influence on that community. But always we must make perfectly clear that we are committed to the securing of justice and that if they do not act, we feel called and indeed are under mandate to participate in direct demonstration with the aggrieved for the securing of justice.

So the question, how to balance identification with influence?

And perhaps the most important issue facing us, our own peculiar responsibility, is how do we awaken our constituencies in the Mid West and Far West to the crucial role they play in getting civil rights legislation, and thus giving the whole nation a door through which to move toward health?

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Commission, we are still in the night of waiting, but I am grateful to God that we have the assurance of victory in Jesus Christ. Never has that knowledge meant more to me. It is not ministerial rhetoric. It is a living fact. When men begin to follow Christ, belatedly, stumblingly, but with some of the courage it always takes, the ultimate victory is never in doubt. And what is more unbelievable strength and wisdom is given in the midst of the risk taking that is never available in any other position.

Robert W. Spike

Religion

SOUTH AFRICA

Dutch Reformed Church
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

D. R. C. NEWSLETTER

NO. 67 | 117, De Korte Street, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa. | June/July 1963

UNITED BANTU CHURCH

The union of the Dutch Reformed Bantu (Mission) Churches in the four provinces of the Republic of South Africa took place in May, when the first General Synod was constituted at Kroonstad.

The formal union was entered into on 7th May when the delegates solemnly passed the following resolution: "With profound gratitude to the King of the church, Who has prayed for the unity of His church, this gathering now constitutes itself as the General Synod of the churches concerned, by which the union of these churches becomes an accomplished fact." The name of the church is "Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika" (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa). The name is therefore the same as that of the mother church except for the addition of the words "in Africa".

In an article in Die Voorligter, the Rev. A. A. Odendaal points out that the word "mission" no longer forms part of the name of the church and that the synod firmly rejected the idea of dropping or changing the words "Dutch Reformed". He quotes from a letter written by one of the non-white clergymen: "The name Dutch Reformed must never disappear, because the child inherits its father's name. Our church was born through and out of the mother church and should retain its identity with the mother church until the end of the world."

Mr. Odendaal continues: "The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika stands on the threshold of great and important developments. From the mother church it has inherited its name and many outstanding characteristics, but in the new Africa of tomorrow it will have to find its own way and methods in many respects. May its ties with its mother (the Dutch Reformed Church among the whites) and its sister (the Dutch Reformed Church among the Coloureds) remain firm and may it always be surrounded by understanding love and many prayers."

The following clergymen were elected to form the first moderamen (executive committee): the Rev. C. J. J. van Rensburg (moderator), the Rev. Dr. M. L. Maile (assessor), the Rev. J. J. du Plessis (actuary) and the Rev. A. M. Scheffler (scribe). The church comprises 294 non-white congregations with 357,749 baptised members and 117,448 communicant members (see also Newsletter no. 63).

CENTRAL AFRICAN SYNOD

The Central African Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk met at Bothashof, near Salisbury, from 26th April to 3rd May.

The meeting was attended by 23 clergymen and 23 elders from the 28 congregations in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya.

The following delegates were elected to the moderamen (executive committee): the Rev. P. de Vos Grobbelaar (moderator), the Rev. A. F. Louw (assessor), the Rev. P. J. de Vos (actuary) and the Rev. L. F. van Niekerk (scribe).

One of the main problems faced by the synod was the uncertain future of the territories concerned. Especially in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia church membership has dropped in recent months because many members are moving to South Africa. Two congregations have already been dissolved, and some pastors are serving more than one congregation.

Nevertheless, the synod faced the future with courage and determination. A proposal to disband the Central African Synod and to place the area under the jurisdiction of the Northern Transvaal Synod was firmly rejected. The synod also decided to appoint a full-time official charged with the promotion and co-ordination of all synodical activities and interests.

The synod was informed that the Van Riebeeck School at Thomson's Falls, in Kenya, will probably be sold to the Kenya Christian Council. The school was closed at the end of last year as a result of dwindling enrolment (see Newsletter no. 64). The Bothashof church school and orphanage, now situated near Salisbury, will be moved to Marandellas, where new buildings will be erected. The church also has a school at Bulawayo, a home for the aged at Gwelo, and a girls hostel in Salisbury (the latter run by the women's organisation of the church). Another hostel is being planned for Lusaka.

The synod decided to continue its membership of the Christian Councils of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Efforts will be made to conduct services on television. The responsible authorities will be requested to provide facilities for the broadcasting of services in Afrikaans and to recognise the Afrikaans language as a subject in primary schools.

Among the visitors who addressed the synod were the Rev. E. N. Ngara, moderator of the synod of the African Reformed Church of Southern Rhodesia, and the Rev. A. Hunt, on behalf of the Ministers' Fraternal of Salisbury.

MISSIONARY RETIRES

The Rev. T. C. Esterhuysen has retired as mission secretary of the Southern Transvaal Synod after serving as a missionary on the Witwatersrand for 42 years. He has also served as moderator of the Transvaal synod of the mission church and is chairman of the Johannesburg Hospital Board. The following extracts are quoted from an article in The Star:

"Recalling some of the events of his life, Mr. Esterhuysen said that what gave him the greatest satisfaction was that he had been able to serve all races here. Apart from serving on Coloured and Indian educational institutions, he has had many Indians and Coloureds come to his home during those 42 years to ask him advice. When he came to the Rand in 1921, straight from the Mission Institute at Wellington, his parish stretched from Randfontein to

Springs and for eigth-and-a-half years he criss-crossed the Rand by bicycle. He has an outstanding memory and is considered to be a walking encyclopaedia about most of the older Dutch Reformed parsons in South Africa. He is also greatly beloved among the clergy, including parsons from English churches."

NEW BROCHURE

Instead of the ordinary June issue of this Newsletter, our latest English brochure was sent to all subscribers last month. That brochure is titled "What the Dutch Reformed Church stands for" and is based on an article by the well-known Professor G. B. A. Gerdener.

It is aimed at giving readers a general idea of the origin, creed, activities and characteristics of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Additional copies are obtainable from the Church Information Offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

New subscribers are informed that two other brochures in English are also in supply, namely "Go Ye Therefore" (published in 1962) and "Statements on Race Relations" (published in 1960).

SYNOD RESOLUTIONS

The mission committee of the Southern Transvaal Synod reported that notwithstanding tension and disruptive circumstances, church members had not failed to support and sustain the missionary effort. The synod instructed the committee to strengthen its funds in order to carry out the work with even greater vigour, especially among the thousands of non-whites living in the urban areas. The synod decided not to assume responsibility for the mission station in the Lichtenburg Reserve, but voted a substantial subsidy for the work. Extension of the work among the Coloured people in the Transvaal is also under consideration.

A substantial increase in the mission budget was voted by the Northern Transvaal Synod. The synod expressed its appreciation for the interest shown by women and children in the missionary cause. Courses in the vernacular will be arranged and missionaries will be required to pass examinations in the vernacular. An organising mission secretary will be appointed in the Northern Transvaal.

The committee for the service of compassion recommended the establishment of an institution for alcoholics in Johannesburg. The committee expressed grave concern about alcoholism and advocated a determined and sustained effort to help the families affected. It recommended that not only religion be used in the campaign but also scientific, medical, phsychological and sociological knowledge. The appointment of a second pastoral pscychologist for that purpose was approved by the synods.

The Southern Transvaal Synod instructed a committee to study and define the task of the welfare services of the government and the church in their respective fields. It was stressed that service of mercy through personal, family, child, social and institutional work was an essential part of the ministry.

The Southern Transvaal Synod asked parish councils to appoint special committees to make contact with immigrants. The evangeli-

sation committee was requested to appoint an authoritative committee which will suggest methods to win back former church members who have turned to various sects. Another committee was instructed to study the propagation of Roman Catholicism in the country and the duty of the state with regard to the preservation of the Protestant character of the nation.

The Southern Transvaal Synod stated that Sunday observance could best be promoted by preaching, by discipline, by protective laws, and by setting an example to others. A committee of the General Synod was asked to give an authoritative interpretation of last year's decisions regarding divorce and remarriage, for the guidance of ministers and parish councils.

Both synods accepted a report stating that spinning a racquet or tossing a coin at the beginning of a game was not sinful. The dangers of misuse of the lot should be guarded against, not by prohibiting it completely in the case of games, but rather by using it with respect and responsibility. The synods also wanted the General Synod to ask the government to change the preamble to the South African constitution in order to include a reference to the Bible.

The cross symbol and stained glass windows could be of great significance in a church, stated the Northern Transvaal Synod. Congregations were warned, however, against exaggerated use of symbols which could distract attention from the preaching of the Word.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The report for 1962 of the Bible Society of South Africa makes impressive reading about people in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban working as a team to translate, produce and distribute the Bible throughout the country. Afrikaners, English-speaking South Africans, Coloureds, Indians, Zulus, Xhosas, Basutos, Bapedi and Batswana are among the workers.

During 1962 the local society became the Bible Society of South Africa, an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the annual report contains the announcement that President Swart has bestowed his patronage on it. There are three main areas of work in the country — northern, south-eastern and south-western, each with an organising secretary and a Bible House.

During the three years 1960, 1961 and 1962 the total distribution of the Bible in South Africa was nearly 2,500,000 copies. In 1962 alone the total was nearly 627,000. The aim is to make the Scriptures available to everybody in the mother tongue at a price all can afford to pay. The translation and revision programme of the British and Foreign Bible Society contains 325 projects, of which more than half are in Africa. The society is supported by donors and congregations big and small. In the whole country a total of R26,916 was bequeathed in legacies during 1962.

— (From a report in The Star.)

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Religion

POPE JOHN XXIII: "ONE OF THE RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH"

BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

SINCE biblical times, there has been a vital Jewish tradition which holds that the highest tribute the Jewish people can bestow on a non-Jew is to regard him as *echod m'chasidei umot ha'olam,* "one of the righteous among the peoples of the earth." Such "righteous" ones, according to *The Ethics of the Fathers,* are regarded as blessed and are "vouchsafed a portion in the world to come." Their lives of piety and righteousness are seen as crucial in helping "to sustain the world." For such noble spirits, the Talmud enjoined Jews to praise God and to thank Him: "He who sees the sages of the nations of the world says, 'Blessed be He who has given of wisdom to flesh and blood.' "

The religious practice is well known among Jews, dating back to the Pharasaic and Rabbinic period, who when they talked of a devout Christian, add, God be with him, God help him, may God prolong his life. When recalling deceased pious Christians, they add the words: Blessed be his memory, may his soul be received in the host of the blessed.

During the anxious weeks of illness preceding his death, the name of Pope John XXIII became synonymous with "hasid," the "righteous one," the "pious one" and on the lips of hosts of Jews were these traditional words of prayer and benediction. On May 28, when the newspapers grimly proclaimed, "Pope Worse," the New York Board of Rabbis — representing Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbis serving the largest Jewish community in the world — made a public appeal to its members to offer prayers to God for the Pope's recovery. Similar appeals were made by major Jewish religious bodies, national Rabbinic and Synagogual, as well as civic and social action groups such as my own, the American Jewish Committee.

These were unprecedented expressions of concern and tribute from Jews in all walks of life, and from throughout the inhabited world, for a Pontiff of the Catholic Church. Jews have held a number of Popes in especial esteem, beginning with the great Pope Gregory I of the sixth century who inaugurated the far-reaching Papal Bull, *Sicut Judeis,* which guaranteed the Jewish people their right to unhindered worship and protection from forced conversion. But no Pope that I know of throughout the history of the Church has communicated such a clear and consistent attitude of friendship and profound understanding toward the Jewish people and Judaism as had John XXIII. To paraphrase a Presbyterian's comment, "He is the best Pope the Jews ever had!"

While they shared with many non-Catholics the general regard for Pope John's warm human qualities, Jews had additional reasons for their friendly attitudes.

ACTIONS and pronouncements of the Pope had impressed Jews with his serious desire to improve relations between Catholics and Jews. Many were deeply moved by reports that toward the end of World War II, the Pope, then serving as the apostolic delegate in the Middle East, made available baptismal certificates that enabled the rescue of thousands of Jewish men, women, and children from Nazi death camps. He had reacted to the appeal for aid spontaneously, and he had made no conditions.

Shortly after ascending the papal throne, the Pontiff ordered the removal from Catholic liturgy of several references regarded as offensive to the Jews. During this year's Good Friday worship services, when the celebrant of the Mass repeated the phrase "perfidious Jews" either out of habit or as a result of using a missal that had not been brought up to date, the Pope, according to newspaper reports, halted the *Triduum* rite and caused the passage to be repeated with the offensive phrase left out.

His reaffirmations of Christianity's rootedness in Judaism had also strengthened Jewry's positive feelings. The Pontiff's confirmations of this historic bond were repeated on a number of occasions, and perhaps nowhere more clearly than in his seventh encyclical, *Paenitentiam Agere* (To Do Penance) in which he appealed to Catholics throughout the world to fast and offer penance for the Second Vatican Council. He pointed out that the practices of fasting and penance are based on Jewish traditions, the teachings of the Old Testament, of Moses and the Prophets.

LITTLE wonder then that shortly after his election to the papacy in October 1958, the Chief Rabbi of Venice, Dr. Leone Leoni, flew to Rome to deliver a special greeting on behalf of the Jewish community in the city where the new Pontiff had spent five years as Patriarch. Or that in 1960, 102 Jewish leaders returning from a refugee mission in North Africa and Israel, made a special stopover in Rome for an audience with Pope John who received them with the now celebrated embrace, "I am Joseph, your brother!"

These sympathetic attitudes of Jews toward the Pope had been extended toward the Ecumenical Council which he had summoned. Jews generally recognized that the Council was a Christian meeting convoked to consider doctrinal and organizational problems confronting

Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee. He is the Jewish consultant to the Pius XII Religious Education Resources Center. Regarded as an authority on Christian-Jewish relations, he helped arrange the agapé for Cardinal Bea on April 1 in New York. Rabbi Tanenbaum, who has worked closely with Cardinal Bea's secretariat to advance Catholic-Jewish understanding, has written for Catholic publications and has lectured before numerous Catholic universities. He helped organize and served as program chairman for the National Conference on Religion and Race.

"Of such basic and radical importance are the declarations of "Pacem in Terris" that I would presume to say that the Catholic Church will never be the same again. Nor will non-Catholics who have allowed themselves to be open to the extraordinary spiritual presence of this holy man."

Pope John condemned anti-Semitism.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

the Church and also to explore questions of unity with the "separated brethren" of Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy. To the extent that the Council dealt with questions of theology and doctrine, of significance to the Catholic faithful and to other Christians, it was evident that Jews were not involved. This feeling for propriety explains why responsible Jewish groups, religious and lay, did not seek invitations to send observer delegates to the Council.

At the same time, Jews felt involved in the Council in fundamental ways. First, in exploring ecumenical relations with Protestants, it was theologically inevitable that consideration be given to the heritage of the Hebrew Bible which all branches of Christianity share in common. And significantly, Pope John's Council during its first session led to increased consultation and dialogue between Catholic and Jewish scholars on the continent and in America, recalling the fruitful exchanges between St. Jerome and Jewish Bible authorities in Palestine where the Church Father spent 40 years translating the Vulgate based on *midrashic* traditions.

Second, Jews had hoped that the Council's examinations of the relations between Catholics and other groups in a growing pluralist world would lead to a forthright clarification of the Church's position on religious liberty, the separation of church and state, and religious pluralism. Authoritative declarations on these issues would help Jews, as well as Protestants and Orthodox, to overcome lingering mistrust and suspicion.

Third, foremost among the steps which Jews had wished the Council to take to advance the specific end of Catholic-Jewish relationships was that of a re-examination of the sources of anti-Semitism which grew out of the polemical period of early Church and Synagogue history, "the themes of contempt and the system of degradation." Many Jews believed that the Council could literally start a new cycle in Christian-Jewish relationships by condemning vigorously all manifestations of anti-Semitism, as did the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in November 1961.

DESPITE the catechism of the Council of Trent which affirms the doctrine that Jesus died for all humanity and that all humanity shares the responsibility for his death, the concept of collective Jewish responsibility persists and finds expression and reinforcement in certain prayers, passages of the liturgy and in a great many Catholic textbooks. As already indicated, Pope John had demonstrated his personal aversion to the perpetuation of these distorted teachings about the Jews, and many had thought the Council might confront seriously the problem of anti-Semitism in this spirit and set into motion an effective program to combat this complex evil.

Catholic friends tell me that there is now some question as to whether the second session of the Ecumenical Council will be convened. While high hopes of as many non-Catholics as of Catholics have been pinned on the September 8th session, should it not come off, there is real comfort to be found in the tremendous and historic legacy that Pope John bequeathed to his Church and to "all men of good will," namely *Pacem in Terris*.

The chorus of enthusiastic praise from Jewish leaders, which formed but part of a vast symphonic endorsement of the encyclical on the part of Protestant, Orthodox, Oriental leaders, even Communists, were climactic testimonies as much to the universal esteem and trust that were lodged in the person of Pope John as in the fundamental propositions that he had set forth to promote "the universal common good."

For many Jews, as undoubtedly for other non-Catholics, a number of those basic questions which they had looked for resolution by the

second session of the Vatican Council were answered by Pope John in *Pacem in Terris*. In moving accents of Christian humanism, Pope John established the commitment of the Church to uphold and to foster "the natural rights" of every human being, and what is of decisive importance, in those areas of human freedom and conscience in which the Church had heretofore appeared to non-Catholics to be ambiguous, if not a threat to a pluralistic, democratic society.

"By the Natural Law," Pope John declared with penetrating clarity and moral earnestness, "every human being has the right to respect for his person, to his good reputation; the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions . . . he has the right to be informed truthfully about public events. . . . Every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience, and therefore the right to worship God privately and publicly. . . . From the fact that human beings are by nature social, there arises the right of assembly and association. . . . Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country; and when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there . . . racial discrimination can in no way be justified . . . injustice is even more serious if . . . sinful projects are aimed at the very extinction of these (minority) groups. . . . The doctrinal principles outlined in this Document . . . provide Catholics with a vast field in which they can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians . . . and also with human beings . . . who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty. . . ."

OF such basic and radical importance are these declarations—which are the fruit of the five years of Pope John's papacy although prefigured by his predecessors—that I would presume to say that the Church will never be the same again. Nor will non-Catholics who have allowed themselves to be open to the extraordinary spiritual presence of this holy man. Perhaps his greatest gift to all of us has been his compelling us to confront the new realities of the world in which we live—a world in which we white Jews and Christians are already a minority; in which by the year 2,000 Catholics will be nine to 10% of the global population as contrasted with 18% today; in which the rising nations of Africa and Asia and the resurgent Oriental religions will force us to abandon our Western monopolies and hegemonies and accommodate ourselves to a genuine global pluralism, which is another way of speaking of the interdependent human family. *Pacem in Terris* is Pope John's gift that is both a curriculum and a Baedeker preparing us paternally for that world that is already upon us.

But the greatest service that Pope John has performed for all of us has been to thrust before the consciousness of the world the realization that it teeters on the brink of thermonuclear destruction, and that the only alternative to this apocalyptic horror — in which East and West can today "overkill" each other at least 125 times! — is the biblical alternative of Deuteronomy, to choose life, to love peace and to pursue it.

Among the earliest responses to *Pacem in Terris* were those of three Orthodox Chief Rabbis: Dr. Izhak Nissim, the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel; Dr. Jacob Kaplan, Chief Rabbi of France; and Dr. Elio Toaff, Chief Rabbi of Rome, as well as those of Jewish religious and lay leaders in America and in other parts of the world. Dr. Nissim expressed the sense of all the Jewish responses in his statement, "Every man of faith and conscience who believes in divine justice and in freedom must endeavor to bring about the realization of the Pope's sublime words."

The fact that the Chief Rabbis publicly associated themselves with the appeal of Pope John is in itself an act of unprecedented and historic significance; I know of nothing similar to this occurrence in 1,900 years of relationships between Christians and Jews. Thus, I take this to be both a tribute to the spiritual greatness of the late Pontiff as well as a response to the frightful challenges of the nuclear-missile age which he sought so vigorously to bring before the human family.

In the middle of the 11th century, the Catholic Church sought to enforce a "Truce of God" which greatly restricted the time when it was permissible to carry on warfare. Through his brilliant and compassionate encyclicals and the Ecumenical Council, Pope John labored to help achieve a 20th-century "Truce of God" before the world destroys itself in a thermonuclear holocaust — and, almost tragicomically, either through mechanical error or human miscalculation.

PERHAPS the most significant memorial that we could erect to Pope John, and the most relevant instruction that we could take from his ministry on this earth, would be to undertake at once those steps which would help advance the goals of his latest encyclical which all of us share. To this end, I would propose that appropriate leaders of the three faith communities who share a consensus on world community and world peace take the initiative as early as possible to convene on the American scene a "National Conference on Religion and World Peace."

The recent conference on "Religion and Race" with which I was privileged to be associated as program chairman, is testimony to the great impact that such a combined religious witness can make. Based on the success of such an enterprise, one could then visualize the possibility of a world-wide meeting of a similar character. When leaders of the world's major faith communities will come together at one table to pursue justice, charity, liberty, and peace in freedom, we may well be witness to the beginning of the translation into reality of the prophetic vision of messianic peace for all mankind, *Pacem in Terris*. ●

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July 1963

Religion

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Feast of the Transfiguration NEWSLETTER August 6, 1963

MARCH TO WASHINGTON

Churchmen from all parts of the country will participate in this historic action intended to dramatize the need for still further steps in freeing America from the bonds of segregation. They will join with others from their respective states upon arrival in Washington as a united effort. In answer to many inquiries from ESCRU members: Participation by Episcopalians is being encouraged by our National Council, in cooperation with the National Council of Churches. It is anticipated that six bus loads of Churchmen will go from the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York and from other points around the country groups of Churchmen will make the trip together. In most instances, however, it is suggested that Churchmen join with and support the plans of their local council of churches, the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, or the Urban League. Where local plans are not underway ESCRU Chapters might initiate something after consultation with Mrs. Anna Hedgeman of the National Council of Churches office in New York which is coordinating participation of church groups. Otherwise, support your local planning group and pray that the Spirit of Christ will move in and through the March. Joining other Churchmen and ESCRU members will be the Society's President and Executive Director. If you are going let the ESCRU office know your plans so that you can be advised if there is to be any special gathering of Churchmen in addition to the March

BISHOPS TO MEET

A special meeting of the House of Bishops will be held in Toronto just prior to the opening of the Anglican Congress. It is expected that they will consider issuance of a Pastoral Letter concerned with the issues covered by the Presiding Bishop's Whitsuntide Message which is carried in full elsewhere in this newsletter. Pray for them and for the Unity of Christ's Church.....Because of the press of duties ESCRU's Executive Director has cancelled plans to attend the Congress and, instead, sent a display of literature.

SINCE FIRE HOSES AND DOGS

"Birmingham" takes its place with Supreme Court decisions, the Montgomery bus boycott, Little Rock, the sit-in movement and other watershed experiences in the Civil Rights struggle as perhaps one of the most significant turning points. "Since Birmingham" is the dominant word about things now. Dr. King's letter from the Birmingham jail already is a classic. In this year when patience - and possibly time also - has about run out, a new look has arrived at the upper echelons in the churches with top priority being given to racial matters now. James Baldwin helps us to see the crisis that is deep down in the North as well. Russia's charges that China is caught up in reverse racism puts us in fear of an even more volatile line-up of power for some future global race war. We look back at the Jacksons and Chicagos where fuses are burning and wonder if there is time even with the new look. We are encouraged by the new spirit in ecumenical relations which is given some impetus at home in a common sharing of concern for racial matters, and which is reinforced abroad in the face of mutual crisis. And we look at a Lovett School situation (which is a Little Rock experience for the Episcopal Church) and pray that at least the Household of Faith might face the fire next time with some renewed integrity. And we are grateful for the increasing instances where this is so: for the Presiding Bishop's leadership in his Whitsuntide Message, for the increased involvement of Churchmen in the front lines of change..... All in all it is an exciting, but fearsome, time to be alive. "I know not where the road will lead, I follow day by day; Or where it ends: I only know, I walk the King's highway." But, thanks be to God Who giveth us the vistory through Our Lord Jesus Christ! - J.B.M.

ESCRU ANNUAL MEETING

Make your plans now to attend the Third Annual Meeting: Washington, D. C., Nov. 14-16, International Inn. Program details will be announced later. The Rev. Erville Maynard, Flint, Mich., Program Chairman.

USE THE ESCRU Statement of Purpose AS AN INTRODUCTION OF YOUR CONCERN TO SOME FRIEND

CHURCH AND RACE - A NEW ARRIVAL. The ESCRU NEWSLETTER is an occasional publication, appearing about five or six times a year and interspersed with other materials sent Society members from time to time. Its appearance bears some relationship to the travel or desk-work load of the Executive Director or, sometimes, is in spite of it. This present issue is about two months overdue because of accelerated activity since "Birmingham". It can never presume to fully inform Churchmen on what is happening in the area of Church and Race. The weekly Church Press must be read for a thorough coverage. We will continue to be a source of some information, and more particularly on the work of national ESCRU and its chapters, as well as an outlet for editorial opinion and perspective in the ESCRU tradition. But more is needed in these fast moving times, so that it is with distinct pleasure that we welcome the appearance of CHURCH AND RACE, a periodic news bulletin of the Church's Department of Christian Social Relations' Christian Citizenship Division. Two issues have appeared to date and another is appearing this week. With Carroll Greene, Jr., as Editor, and Douglas Bushy as Consultant, it promises to fill a definite need and we are happy to commend it to concerned Churchmen. The first edition was sent to all of the Church's clergy. Others may obtain a copy of that issue from the ESCRU office upon receipt of a stamped and self-addressed envelope.

WORSHIP AND RACIAL UNITY

ESCRU has prepared a packet of materials for Chapters and other groups including AN OFFICE FOR THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH prepared by the New York Chapter, A LITANY FOR RACIAL UNITY by Malcolm Boyd, and A SERVICE OF WITNESS prepared by the Michigan Chapter. Packets have been furnished Chapter Chairmen and may be obtained by others for 25¢. An order form is provided for securing additional copies of the OFFICE and LITANY in quantity, and there are suggestions of appropriate hymns and prayers. They are of a supplemental nature to be used in accordance with custom.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE BOOK

"CHALLENGE TO RELIGION - Original Essays and an Appeal to the Conscience from the National Conference on Religion and Race" may be obtained in paperback form from the national ESCRU office for $1.25 and in hardback form for $3.50.

MEMORIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO ESCRU

From time to time persons make contributions to the Society in memory of someone whose life had been marked by a concern for the principles for which ESCRU stands. We now have an acknowledgement form sent to both donors and designated survivors.

"...THAT THEY MAY GO FORWARD WITH COURAGE, AND PERSEVERE UNTO THE END"

Not since the Prayer Pilgrimage have so many Episcopal clergy been arrested because of involvement in the Civil Rights struggle nor is the end in sight. Foremost among the prisoners for Christ's sake was The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan of National Council who with others was arrested on July 4th when endeavoring to use recreational facilities which were segregated. Episcopal clergy have demonstrated in Brooklyn in concern for employment practices at a construction project. Included amongst the growing list of prisoner-priests are: Michael Allen, Roderick French, Daisuke Kitagawa, William Dwyer, Richard Gary, Thomas Pike. In Jersey City the Rev. Frs. John Luce and Robert Castle joined with other pickets from CORE in protest against hiring practices at a bank. In Raleigh these clergy stood outside a segregated cafeteria for two hours when refused admission because four were Negroes: Joseph Green, Kenneth Hughes, Arthur Walmsley, Tollie Caution, John Morris, and Irving Mayson. In Clarksdale, Mississippi, the Rev. Arthur Walmsley has several times joined with other clergy representing the National Council of Churches in a display of support for the local protest movement and as of this writing has returned for some further action. In Baltimore Episcopal clergy who picketed the segregated amusement park included: Jacob Berlin, Philip Robb, Van Bird, and Holland Clark. Undoubtedly others have been involved in demonstrations elsewhere but are unknown to us or overlooked inadvertently. Let us know..... Three Observations: 1. Thanks be!; 2. Almost all thus involved have been ESCRU members, but it doesn't matter for they walk, sit-in, and picket as priests of the Church which is more important than any internal label; and 3. It is in line with the Presiding Bishop's Statement that National Council personnel are involved, so that with word and deed from the top we are all very much strengthened!

JACKSON SUIT GOING TO 5TH CIRCUIT

The suit of four of the Prayer Pilgrimage clergy against police officials of Jackson, Mississippi, was heard in United States District Court in Jackson, May 13-16, before an all-white jury of Mississipians. It took them less than 15 minutes to find for the defendants. The case is now on appeal to the Circuit Court in New Orleans. It seeks to establish some legal precedent that will deter Southern police from using breach-of-the-peace ordinances to preserve segregation and could have far reaching implications if won on appeal.

Jackson newspaper headlines provide some idea of how the suit was viewed locally: PREACHERS LOSE MISTRIAL REQUEST, SEGREGATION KEEPS PEACE--THOMPSON, PASTOR TELLS U.S. COURT OF DAYS IN JACKSON JAIL, DAILY WORKER CLIPPING FIGURES IN DAMAGE SUIT, MINISTER CLAIMS ACTION WAS TO COMBAT DEVIL, PREACHER LAWSUIT NEARING U.S. JURY, POLICE SAY PRIESTS INVITED TROUBLE, PREACHERS LOSE DAMAGE SUIT.

The clergy who have brought the suit are: James Breeden, James Jones, Robert Pierson, and John Morris. The Rev. Layton Zimmer, who was also on the Pilgrimage, testified as a witness to the arrest. Attorneys for the plaintiffs are Carl Rachlin of New York and Leonard Rosenthal of Jackson. Included among the defendants is Judge James Spencer who is an Episcopalian. Amongst Courtroom visitors sympathetic to the four priest-plaintiffs were local Episcopal Laymen, Negro clergy of various Protestant churches, and several Roman Catholic clergy. Friends of the defendants included several White Citizens Council officials who had been stricken by the plaintiffs from the jury venire. Judge Sidney Mize of Gulfport, Miss., presided over the four day proceedings with a friendly and patient manner interrupted by his many rulings of "I'll o'errule that objection."

The Daily Worker clipping was an effort by the defense to associate the aims of the Prayer Pilgrimage with Communism. The headline reference to combatting the devil was due to one of the clergy reading portions of the Baptismal office into the record in responding to the defense counsel's harangue about the Prayer Pilgrimage sounding like a military operation with troops in combat.

The struggle "under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil" was very visible at Jackson's Federal Bldg in May 1963.

JACKSON REVISITED A MONTH LATER

While in Jackson in May two of the priest plaintiffs called at Medgar Evers' home and met Mrs. Evers and their children. He was at his office but was reached by telephone. He said that things were about to begin in the way of local protests and that he might be calling on ESCRU for help.

The call came on June 12th from Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern NAACP Secretary who is based in Atlanta. She called from Jackson where Medgar Evers had been shot early that morning. Could we come...just to be there?

On Friday evening, June 14th, a group of Episcopal priests assembled at the Atlanta airport prior to going on to Jackson the next morning where they became ten strong and sat up front as Honorary Pallbearers at Medgar Evers' funeral. Designated as from the "National Episcopalian Church" on an Order of Service they were amongst other groups of Honorary Pallbearers from a veterans organization, a Jackson lodge, Jackson Negro ministerial associations, and National NAACP Board & Staff. A few seats away was Dr. Martin Luther King and others of his staff. It was terribly hot. Mrs. Evers and her children were fanned by attendants a few feet away. If they wept they were joined by others as the multitude thundered out Mr. Evers favorite song: "We Shall Overcome." No one wept for lack of confidence that these thousands of mourners would in fact overcome.

Then for as far as you could see a silent procession of mourners followed the body through the streets of Jackson. It was even hotter, but what was unbearable was something else. Soon the humming of "We Shall Overcome" spread through the line - softly and solemnly under the wary eyes of Jackson police who seemed to especially notice the small band of white clergy, or so they felt. There were not many whites.

The Episcopal clergy present were: John Snow, Rowland Cox, Warner White, David Gracie, Brian Kelley, Loren Mead, John Morris, Cornelius Tarplee, John W.B. Thompson, Wofford Smith, A. B. Keeling, and Malcolm Boyd. The first six named remained in Jackson for the balance of that day and the next, talking with Negro leaders and with local Episcopal clergy and laity. The suspect in the Evers murder had not yet been apprehended. He is an Episcopalian from Greenwood, Miss.

VOLUNTEERS FOR CRISIS NEEDS Clergy members of ESCRU were advised on April 10th of the opening of a register of Episcopal priests who, on short notice, could be available to go into crisis situations either in terms of lending support to some protest action already underway under the responsibility of other groups, or by way of initiating some action directed to a need within the Church. A second memorandum of May 3rd further presented the opportunity for participation. Volunteers were asked, where possible, to secure a vestryman or key layman who could go with them. To date about 40 clergy have responded, many of them with laity willing to consider direct involvement also. The clergy who attended the Evers funeral in Jackson in behalf of ESCRU were drawn from this list. With the new look at our National Council and the National Council of Churches it is likely that we will be asked to help supply volunteers for actions they will sponsor. Clergy members who have not signed up but plan to do so should act now. Those recently joining ESCRU who did not receive the above memoranda may request copies and consider the matter. Lay members who would like to be listed must secure a priest-companion willing to be listed. We especially need more Negro priests, for the register presently includes only two. Volunteers do not obligate themselves to any one action, but only indicate an interest in considering taking part as needs develop.

BOUQUETS & BRICKBATS ESCRU's Executive Director was invited to the White House on June 17th for a meeting of "religious leaders" with the President to discuss the Civil Rights problem. The Episcopal contingent included two other priests, a layman, and about nine bishops..... He has also been asked to serve on an 18-member Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations which will "seek to advise...the Presiding Bishop....and National Council officers on direct action involvement in combatting racial discrimination". The reconstituted committee held its first meeting at Seabury House on June 28th. ..... In Atlanta a segregationist handbill protesting restaurant integration said ESCRU's Executive Director, "....a long-time member of the NAACP, who has seen the inside of numerous jails....", claimed that "commingling between the races had a tendency to cause familiarity." Of course, all the other more important groups in the local picture were mentioned and in about the same way.....And an article in a weekly Atlanta newspaper was headlined: "MYSTERY GROUP FIGHTING ORDERLY LOVETT SCHOOL IS LED BY MICHIGAN NEGRO". The final sentence said of ESCRU's Executive Director: "His priestly garb is faultlessly tailored to his trim young figure and he drives an impressive station wagon."

INTERMARRIAGE AGAIN! The rumor the Atlanta racists heard about ESCRU and intermarriage, presumably originating from our statement on the subject at Williamsburg, Virginia, at the First Annual Meeting, January, 1961, had gotten even further away from fact when it prompted the "Committee of Christian Laymen" of Savannah, Ga., to say in a letter: "In Virginia a year or two ago about a dozen Episcopal Bishops passed a resolution stating they saw no barrier to intermarriage between blacks and whites. Do you for one minute suppose any children of theirs intermarried?"

GROWING PAINS The Episcopal Radio-TV Foundation, a national unofficial agency of the Church headquartered in Atlanta, recently lodged its Board and consultants at a segregated hotel in Atlanta only a block from another hostelry which has been desegregated for over a year and patronized accordingly by Atlantans concerned to encourage its kind of policy. ESCRU has advised the Foundation that it will consider direct action protest if facilities not customarily open to all people are used in the future.....Consideration is being given to some form of protest at the meeting of the Episcopal School Association in Washington in November directed at member schools which are still segregated.....Since "the Lovett school situation" activity with regard to Church-related schools has picked up: Churchmen in North Carolina are asking questions of St. Mary's Junior College; Chatham Hall in Virginia is concerning some folks up there; an ESCRU Director is looking into the situation at St. Mary's Hall in San Antonio and elsewhere in Texas (where recently St. Andrew's, Austin, was recently desegregated....as was the Casady School in Oklahoma); The Diocese of Louisiana has acquired control of St. Martin's School so as to avoid any question of admissions policy; and Bishop Stuart of the Diocese of Georgia has declared that all Church-related schools must be open, whereupon one closed up shop.

THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION If you haven't before, by now you're wondering just what has happened concerning Lovett School and the Church. It's a long story and has entailed many memoranda, letters, etc., copies of which have been sent ESCRU Chapter Chairmen and Directors, as well as all bishops. It's also a story with considerable dirty linen in high places, in my estimation, and many charges about the role of ESCRU. Because I had three children at Lovett and because this is home, it has been one of the more difficult confrontations we've had. I'll try to digest what has happened thus far and will be glad to provide more detail on request.

On a plane from Albany, Ga., last August Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., and I talked about our children, their schools, and the effects of segregation. She asked about Lovett, whether it was segregated, etc. I knew of no policy, but promised to advise her about it later. In January the Bishop of Atlanta, in ruling out of order a resolution that would have clarified Lovett's situation, went on to say that segregation was not debatable and that no institutions in the diocese were segregated. Having delayed in responding to Mrs. King's interest in Lovett in hopes that Negro Churchmen might be the first to apply, I advised her that it appeared that Lovett apparently did not have a discriminatory policy. Some time previous I had expressed my hope to Lovett that they would accept applicants without regard to race. They never said they wouldn't. It looked like the Episcopal Church could be honored by having the children of Atlanta's most distinguished citizen in one of its schools. At the same time that I wrote Mrs. King, I let the Bishop and the Headmaster know that she might apply for one of her children.

The Bishop took no steps until well after Martin Luther King, III, was rejected by Lovett as "the first formal Negro application in the history of the Lovett School." His office was advised on the same day I learned of what had happened. When the story finally broke in the Church press (Obviously the Kings had a responsibility to tell of what had happened. I suggested that since it was chiefly the Church's concern it would be appropriate for one of the Church's publications to first report it.) the Bishop had this to say for publication: "The diocese of Atlanta has no official connection with Lovett School. I have no official connection with Lovett School. I am sure the racial policy at Lovett School must be satisfactory, since the children of the Rev. John Morris have been enrolled there for some time. If the family of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., do not find the admissions policy of Lovett School acceptable, and if they want their children to have an Episcopal educational background, they should apply to one of our parochial schools, where the Church is responsible - such as Holy Innocents' parish in Atlanta, where the Rev. John Morris and his family are affiliated." Elsewhere he said to the press: "I am interested to know that a Baptist minister has a desire for an education for his son where Episcopal services take place."

We kept quiet. Perhaps wondering what we would do, the Bishop's Canon to the Ordinary called me on March 20th to ask me to come see the Bishop. Among other statements of a threatening nature he said: "You are under license in the diocese...there is something in the Church known as discipline." I saw the Bishop and the Canon and was blessed out. Why didn't I let the Bishop know I wanted to get a Negro into Lovett? When I said I had advised him the Kings might apply, the reply was that it was only a carbon copy of a letter to the Headmaster. He indicated he hadn't known anything about the rejection until the story broke. This was not so. What were we going to do? I indicated that I was preparing a document detailing the many connections between the school and the Church. It was prepared, but only circulated in limited fashion within the Church on a non-public basis after ESCRU's President came to Atlanta and, after seeing the Bishop and others, took responsibility with me for whatever we did.

Ensuing weeks saw a further unhappy exchange of views between the Bishop's office and mine. In the meantime unbeknown to me or the Bishop several Negro Episcopal families applied to Lovett and were inadvertently assigned testing dates. They were asked by several representatives of the Bishop and Lovett not to go for the testing appointments for their children when it was learned they were Negroes. Finally, out of respect for the Bishop's office they agreed to wait upon his efforts in seeking a changed policy at the school.

LOVETT, cont.

We had still said nothing publicly, hoping that the Bishop and others could effect a change in Lovett's policy. Concerned parents were registering their willingness for Lovett to integrate. Atlantans, incredulous at the Bishop's only public comment because they knew the many long-standing connections between the Church and Lovett, watched and waited. Delay followed delay. Feedback began to come from the Church elsewhere as to what diocesan authorities here were saying about ESCRU's role. A clergy conference here heard a one-sided account of the situation. We tried to ignore these diversionary efforts. The issue was whether the school would desegregate. When it seemed that this was not being accomplished we indicated in late May that ESCRU's President would come to Atlanta again on June 7th and make some statement about the situation that pertained at that time.

On June 4th the Bishop made his second public statement on Lovett, saying, what should have been stated in the beginning, that "the implied moral support of the Episcopal Church" would be withdrawn from Lovett if they did not desegregate. He said that the Lovett Trustees were men of "integrity" and reported that they understood what the teaching of the Church was regarding race. (A Lovett letter to parents indicated only that the Trustees acknowledged what the Church teaches, but "reserved the right and responsibility to the trustees to use their own judgment in the admission of students." Rumors have had it that at most there were possibly seven trustees out of twenty-one who would consider desegregation.) ESCRU's President, then, on June 7th commended the Bishop for his stand on the desegregation of Lovett and went on to talk about other similiar situations and ESCRU's plan to do a survey of schools.

On June 14th the Lovett Trustees wrote parents, "to put (their) minds at rest", and said they had "unanimously adopted resolutions denying applications of Negro students." On July 1st the Bishop announced that the Church's "implied or official support" of the school had been withdrawn, but expressed the hope that it would be restored at such time as the school conformed to the teaching of the Church.

It was reported at a Lovett faculty meeting that the Bishop had said they could continue having services, including the Holy Communion each Wednesday. The Standing Committee has acted to make this permissable it is reported. The Charter of the school still provides that 2/3 of the Trustees are to be Episcopalians, with 1/3 approved by the Cathedral Chapter. "The Episcopal Faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer" is to be taught. The Dean of the Cathedral remains as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and has said he fully agrees with their decisions. Graduation exercises were at the Cathedral, with an Episcopal priest as preacher.

On July 3rd ESCRU announced it would encourage direct action protest aimed at the school and at Trustees who are Episcopalians. On July 14th the Bishop issued a pastoral letter chiefly for the purpose of disassociating ESCRU from the Diocese, which it successfully did, although we had not in any public communications questioned his role. On July 19th the President of the Standing Committee advised me, in effect, that the continuation of my license to officiate in this diocese hinged on my cooperation with the Atlanta way for progress; and, at the same time, said that the "unhappy state of affairs" at Lovett was "directly attributable to (me) and the methods of ESCRU used throughout the entire controversy." On July 23rd I appeared before the Bishop and the Standing Committee and turned in my license if its continuation required some compromise in my responsibilities with ESCRU and the Lovett situation. It has not been restored. It was the same meeting of the Standing Committee which will make possible the Celebration of a Segregated Eucharist each Wednesday at Lovett.

One reason the Bishop is concerned to protect Lovett and its trustees from protest is that they are pretty important people in the community and in the Church, some holding diocesan responsibilities. It is also apparent that the Senior Warden of one of Atlanta's largest parishes, a man with tremendous economic power in the community, has been a chief force in Lovett's expansion and is himself known as a firm segregationist. While not on the Board, he appears to be the power behind it and has been responsible for several hundreds of thousands of dollars given to the school, some recently.

- John B. Morris

AVAILABLE MATERIALS

In addition to all of our own publications, ESCRU can supply you with single copies of Dr. King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail" for 10¢; "A Catalogue of Resources" from the National Conference on Religion and Race at 25¢; BROTHERS pins in either lapel or clasp types for a contribution of 50¢ or more made out to "Brothers". We recommend a new periodical: INTEGRATED EDUCATION, published by Teachers for Integrated Schools, 1424 North Orleans St., Chicago 10, Ill., at $3.00 a year. Among recent books worth reading are: THE SOUTH AND THE SOUTHERNER by Ralph McGill; THE STRENGTH TO LOVE by Martin Luther King, Jr.

MORE ON THE MARCH!

All participants will meet at the Washington Monument after gathering at state assembly points not later than 10 A.M. The National Office for the March on Washington is at 170 West 130th St., New York 27, N. Y., FI 8-1900. In Washington, Episcopalians should call the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee at Diocesan House, KE 7-0920, where he is setting up some kind of hospitality committee and will be advised as to the latest details in plans. The telephone for the National Council of Churches office mentioned on page 1 is RI 9-2200, Ext. 2435, New York. Be sure to check on your local plans too.

SOME SCHOOLS NEED APPLICANTS

Two leading Episcopal Schools have indicated they need more Negro applicants. We'll be glad to advise interested parents on this....Remember that Sewanee is now desegregated and that ESCRU has a fund to assist qualified Negro students who apply to the college or academy. There are many persons at Sewanee who will help make the first Negroes welcomed there. Applicants are needed.

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

You may not be able to sit-in or carry a picket sign, and it may be difficult where you live to say a lot about your convictions; but someone you know - perhaps many - is undecided and depending on you to encourage them to take their stand. Telling them about ESCRU is one way of witnessing to your concerns. The ESCRU Statement of Purpose will help you and it contains an application form should they decide to join. Additional copies may be obtained from any ESCRU Chapter or from Atlanta, in sufficient quantities for a parish mailing if desired. The membership is over 3000 now. You can help!

CLERGY PLACEMENT SUGGESTIONS

We have been asked a number of times to suggest clergy for parishes wanting to break with tradition, as regards the color of their rector or assistant, and consider calling a Negro or white priest, as the case may be. Inquiries will be treated confidentially. We also are glad to have some word from clergy who feel called to some role in this kind of transition in the Church's life.

OTHER CHURCHMEN AT WORK

The Rev. W. G. Hensen Jacobs in negotiations on employment practices in Brooklyn. ....The Rev. C. Edward Crowther, President of F.A.I.R. in Los Angeles which is concerned chiefly with housing discrimination. ....Rick Tuttle of U.C.L.A. working with SNCC during the summer and now in jail in Savannah.....The Rev. Anthony Morley, President of Greater St. Louis Freedom of Residence Committee....Robin Myers, Chairman of Committee on Minority Employment Rights of the Workers Defense League in New York. ....Mrs. H. G. Pedersen running an information service for the Committee on Human Relations, Waukesha County, Wisconsin..... Mr. Robert Pace, The Rev. Loren Mead in Chapel Hill demonstrations....Dr. Walter Mead serving on a Mayor's Committee in Florence, S. C.....The Rev. Reinhart B. Gutmann, Mr. Herbert Fielding, and The Rev. Henry Grant sitting-in in Charleston, S.C.

SEWANEE MOVES AHEAD

The Inn is now completely desegregated, it is reported; although Mrs. Shoemate now operates a private club just off the domain which will be segregated. This summer saw swimming classes desegregated, as well as the Vacation Church School again as a project of the parish which is integrated. Recently eight residents of Sewanee, including three college faculty members, filed suit for desegregation of the public schools of Franklin County with the NAACP Legal Aid Fund involved

ST. JOHN'S INTEGRATED

With complete integration now of St. John's Hospital, Brooklyn, the Long Island ESCRU Chapter again meets at the Cathedral and has sought to promote contributions to the Episcopal Charities Appeal effort which helps to support St. John's.

"FAITH USE URGED IN RIGHTS CAUSE" Excerpts from an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES, August 5, 1963: "Christian clergymen who are active in the civil rights movement were criticized here yesterday for "soft-pedaling" the theology behind their involvement. The critic, the Rev. Dr. Lawrence L. Durgin, suggested that many churchmen who join picket lines fear "antagonizing some person of Jewish or secular background by raising the scandal of the particularity of Christ." He urged that these ministers find some way to make their theology clear "as they gladly march in common cause with others of differing faiths and practices." Dr. Durgin spoke in a sermon at the Broadway Congregational Church...of which he is minister. He has taken part in the recent picketing of the Rochdale Village housing development in Queens and plans to join the march on Washington...."I am convinced that the church has an assigned and critical role in the current civil rights movement," Dr. Durgin declared. But he said that "for the time being it seems as though the race issue is more crucial than the Christ issue." ....he deplored "the tendency on the part of the clergy, both white and Negro, to be so pleased with their successful identification with the masses of the people - many of whom are no longer coming to church - that they are disinclined to say or do anything which might make them seen to stand out or to proclaim the unique reasons for their participation." In his sermon, the minister said he was "not asking that non-Christians be forced into a Christian posture or into using a Christian vocabulary."...."

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ESCRU-POST BIRMINGHAM Now that a militant approach is the current position of the official agencies of the Church, more or less, ESCRU's task may be its continuing effort to sharpen the issues in Christian terms, as suggested by Dr. Durgin above; as well as to not let the Church forget needs within its own life as it goes forth to fight the battle in the community. It will always be harder to look at the Lovetts within than to confront the Little Rocks and Levittowns without. The integrity of the Church is on trial in what it does or doesn't do about segregation out in the world; but this is even more true as regards what it does in its own life. We could seek to save the world but remain lost ourselves. We seek: "That condition of harmony among peoples which is the benefit of a mutual recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him." We shall work with our brothers of all persuassions and backgrounds in common cause, humbled in seeing that often He appears to be using servants who do not call Him by Name more than ourselves, and knowing that once the goal is reached we will press on to ask: What think ye of Christ? - J. B. M.

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NO STREET LIE-INS. Until we conclude that there is no hope in America for change, as is the case in South Africa short of revolution, non-directed obstructionist protest such as lying down in the middle of a city street seems uncalled for and destructive of support for the civil rights movement. If it is to protest the deep flaws in our history, perhaps prostration on the soil of the street has poetic meaning. It will not be seen by some who could be moved by non-violent sit-ins, pickets, mass marches, and the like. Where there is police protection for orderly protest, street lie-downs are ill-timed. Perhaps in Mississippi it will be necessary. Also, obstructionist protest such as locked arms before a doorway is similiarly non-directed in nature and will gain little. Blocking trucks on a contruction site, however, is directed protest for it involves the policies embodied in the truck drivers; but such protest should be done with great dignity and with full acceptance of the legal consequences. One of the beauties of the lunch counter sit-ins was that respect for due process was retained, for no one sought to elude the consequences of their action. Christian principles suggest that we respect the freedom of another to cross our picket line, so we don't lock arms, however much we reject his reasons. Christian protest is not coercive. It witnesses to the situation as it is, the remedies needed, and Christ through it all, but lets another continue in sin as long as the laws of the state are not violated. As we move into more dangerous days, Christians should abound on the picket lines, in the marches, and, if necessary, in the jails; but let them do it all in a manner whereby they can gladly profess to do it in His Name. - J. B. M.

NEWS FROM THE ESCRU CHAPTERS Someday, hopefully, we'll do more by way of reporting what local ESCRU groups are doing. That they form and mostly thrive totally apart from help from the national office is testimony to the fact that ESCRU is at its best a movement more than an organization.....CHICAGO: Participating in Chicago's Coordinating Council of Community Organizations/Supper Forum Series on Housing, Hospitals, Employment, Problems in the Church,etc./Worked to support a Fair Housing Bill/Vice President Warren Bacon elected to Board of Education/President-Mrs.Donald S. Frey.....CLEVELAND: Luncheon during Diocesan Convention sold out/Letters of commendation and support to Churchmen elsewhere around country/An Evening With the Bishop/Assisted in rally for Dr. King at St. Paul's Church/Sent volunteers to state capital to support Fair Housing Bill/Plans for Visitation program/Will supply an "ESCRU Cigarette lighter" with Hallmark cut on a silver-finish quality unit at $4.50 to Mrs. Hooker Glendinning, 2505 Edgehill Road, Cleveland Heights 6, Ohio/Chairman-Mr. Robert L. Groves....MICHIGAN: July 4th Celebration with Service of Witness at Christ Church, Cranbrook, picnic/Participated in Detroit freedom march/Sponsored series of "Evenings with Malcolm Boyd"/Delegation to see Governor about equal opportunity in employment/Paid up pledge of $1,000. to national ESCRU!/Messages of support and protest/Affiliated with the Detroit Coordinating Council on Human Relations/Members assisted in various picketing efforts/Chairman-Mrs. George Edwards..... New group in HOUSTON: Looking into segregated parochial school, YMCA, other local problems/Encouraging formation of a bi-racial committee/Members participated in demonstration against local school board/Message of Support to Rector of St. Andrews, Jackson, where kneel-ins accepted/Talks with Bishop and others/Several at the helm-Mrs. Virginia Bayles, the Rev. John Bosman, The Rev. A. J. Ettling..... Another new group at INDIANAPOLIS: Bishop Sterling as speaker/Also, Roman Catholic Fr. John Nathan LaBouve on "Ground Rules for Interracial Dialogue"/President-Mrs. G. Barron Mallory.....RHODE ISLAND: Supported Bishop's call for action and participated in a Freedom March/Eloquent testimony by Mrs. Dorothy Stockett and the Rev. James P. McAlpine on their reasons for belonging to ESCRU/Catholic Interracial Council members as guests at meeting/President-Mr. Cleon E. Harvey.....NEW YORK: Service of Penitence at Trinity Church during Birmingham crisis/Beginning neighborhood or parish chapter approach/Speakers bureau/Messages to front-line fighters/Concerned with admissions policies at St. Mary's, Peekskill/Visitation program to parishes/Involvement in various community deliberations/Chairman-The Rev. Lorentho Wooden.....RICHMOND: Members involved in restaurant integration, Council on Human Relations/Sought support from bishop for P.B.'s Whitsuntide Statement/Program on Farmville schools situation/Chairman-The Rev. Walter F. Hendricks, Jr.....MISSOURI: Parish visitations/Concerned with St. Louis school desegregation issue, support for a Public Accomodations law/President-The Rev. C. Richard Cadigan.....BOSTON: Former Chairman Fr.James Breeden now assigned to diocesan staff as special consultant in racial matters after taking initiative with other ESCRU members in sponsoring "Freedom Schools" and protest concerning de-facto school segregation and Boston Commons rally during crisis in Birmingham/Strong emphasis on getting ESCRU members more involved in various civil righrs groups in area/Fund raising affair arranged by National ESCRU Treasurer Malcolm Peabody, Jr./Chairman-Mr. Edward Chase..... LONG ISLAND: Distributed flyer on diocesan statements on race/Continued interest in St. John's hospital situation which appears settled & support for fund efforts of diocese/Messages during crisis situations to key persons/Chairman-Mr. Lloyd A. Johnson.....MINNESOTA: A special service concerned for the people of Birmingham/Support for legislation affecting Minnesota Indians/Actions to increase knowledge in diocese of P.B.'s statement and diocesan policy statements/President-Dr. Van Lawrence.....MARYLAND: Encouraging Negro applications to church institutions & looking for scholarship aid if needed/Service of witness with Bishop Zulu/Members joined picket lines of CORE/President-Mr. John D. Adams.....LOS ANGELES: Programs on housing situation & legislation/Luncheon at diocesan convention and display at summer conference/Chairman-The Rev. Morris Samuel. .....PENNSYLVANIA-DELAWARE. Addressed by Bishop Moseley/Supported resolution at diocesan convention/President-Mr. Robert L. Kirk.....Consideration being given to separate chapter in DELAWARE. Formation of groups being discussed in: SYRACUSE, ATALNTA, SOUTHERN OHIO, and individuals in other communities have begun thinking about it.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH Religion

May 26, 1963

Recent events in a number of American communities---Birmingham, Chicago, Nashville, New York, and Raleigh, to mention only the most prominent--underscore the fact that countless citizens have lost patience with the slow pace of response to their legitimate cry for human rights. Pleas of moderation or caution about timing on the part of white leaders are seen increasingly as an unwillingness to face the truth about the appalling injustice which more than a tenth of our citizens suffer daily. While we are thankful for the progress that has been made, this is not enough.

Our Church's position on racial inclusiveness within its own body and its responsibility for racial justice in society has been made clear on many occasions by the General Convention. But there is urgent need to demonstrate by specific actions what God has laid on us. Such actions must move beyond expressions of corporate penitence for our failures to an unmistakable identification of the Church, at all levels of its life, with those who are victims of oppression.

I think of the words we sing as we hail the ascended Christ, "Lord and the ruler of all men", and of our prayers at Whitsuntide as we ask God to work His will in us through his Holy Spirit. And then in contrast to our praises and our prayers our failure to put ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Spirit becomes painfully clear. Only as we take every step possible to join with each other across lines of racial separation in a common struggle for justice will our unity in the Spirit become a present reality.

It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen their protest in every way possible, rather than give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second class citizenship any longer.

The right to vote, to eat a hamburger where you want, to have a decent job, to live in a house fit for habitation: these are not rights to be litigated or negotiated. It is our shame that demonstrations must be carried out to win them. These constitutional rights <u>belong</u> to the Negro as to the white, because we are all men and we are all citizens. The white man needs to recognize this if he is to preserve his own humanity. It is a mark of the inversion of values in our society that those who today struggle to make the American experiment a reality through their protest are accused of disturbing the peace--and that more often than not the Church remains silent on this, our greatest domestic moral crisis.

I commend these specific measures to your attention: 1) I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accomodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters.

2) I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help.

3) I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race. I call attention to the firm action of the recent Convention of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral or financial support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time. I believe we must make known where we stand unmistakably.

So I write with a deep sense of the urgency of the racial crisis in our country and the necessity for the Church to act. Present events reveal the possible imminence of catastrophe. The entire Christian community must pray and act.

- Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop

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The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

MEMORANDUM

August 22, 1963

TO: Key ESCRU Personnel & Other Concerned Churchmen

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, ESCRU

RE: Episcopal Services at the Lovett School.

This is to supplement references to the continuation of Episcopal services at the Lovett School contained in our newsletter of August 6th. Since issuance of the newsletter the cooperation of the Diocese of Atlanta in the perpetuation of the weekly Segregated Eucharist at Lovett has been substantiated from two sources.

On July 23rd the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Atlanta prepared this Statement: "In answer to the resolution presented to the Standing Committee by a Committee appointed at the meeting of the Clergy of the Metropolitan area of Atlanta, which was held at St. Luke's Church on July 21, 1963, it is the opinion of the Standing Committee that the participation of the Clergy in official worship and exercises at Lovett School would not be detrimental to the interest of the Church. However, the Standing Committee feels that the question should be left to the conscience of the individual clergyman as to whether he should accept or decline an invitation to participate."

In a letter dated August 8th and sent to Lovett parents, Mr. J. A. Rabbe, Director of Administration for Lovett (and also a Trustee of the Cathedral of St.Philip), said: "Since the Bishop has stated that "The Lovett School is not to be considered an Episcopal School" and that he "has withdrawn approval for any priest of the Episcopal Church to act as headmaster", the rumor is rife that there will be no more daily chapel, no Wednesday morning communion services, no teaching of religion and an abandonment of all religious emphasis. Nothing could be farther from the truth and all of these will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop."

The assertion by the Bishop of Atlanta that there may be no "implied or official support for the Lovett School by the Episcopal Church" is threadbare when the background maneuvers designed to placate prominent Churchmen are brought to the surface. In addition, then, to the question of a segregated Church-related school (which Lovett has always been and remains), the issue of complicity in permitting and encouraging the holding of Episcopal services in such a setting rests clearly with diocesan authorities. Protest directed to the Diocese of Atlanta seems in order, especially during the time of each weekly Segregated Eucharist at the school.

Apart from the main issues it should be noted here that I asked of the Bishop and Standing Committee on July 23rd (at the same meeting mentioned above) an opportunity to fairly present our understanding of what has transpired with regard to the Lovett situation, to be compared with their account of the same proceedings. There has been no response to this nor reconsideration of the terms they had offered for the continuation of my license to officiate in this diocese. Others in the Church concerned for this situation should be advised that, while our primary interest is not in defending our role in the Lovett issue, we are quite prepared to spend as much time before any group in the Church to which Atlanta diocesan authorities have addressed themselves.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE

August 23, 1963

REPORT ON THE RELEASE OF 57 PRISONERS IN MISSISSIPPI

By John M. Pratt

SUMMARY:

On August 16, 1963, the National Council of Churches, using Appeal Bonds written by the X Insurance Company*, obtained the release of fifty-seven persons from the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman and the LeFlore County Prison Farm at Greenwood, Mississippi. Most of these individuals had been arrested at Itta Bena, Mississippi, during a voter registration meeting on June 18, 1963, and had been sentenced the following day to serve six months in prison and fined $500. All the individuals had been put on work details at the LeFlore County Farm, but 13 of the young men and 4 young women had been transferred to the State Penitentiary after they refused to work or eat because of conditions at the Farm.

This report covers the events which culminated in the release of the prisoners on bail. It also includes (a) a description of the scenes at the State Penitentiary and at the County Farm during the actual release of the prisoners, (b) a description of some of the conditions at the State Penitentiary as reported to me, and (c) a report of a conversation I held with LeFlore County officials which vividly illustrates their attitudes toward the Federal government.

I. BACKGROUND

During the month of June, 1963, 78 persons were arrested, tried and convicted in Leflore County, Mississippi, for their participation in voter education and voter registration projects. Most of the persons were convicted of the charge of "disturbing the public peace or the peace of others," while some of them were convicted simply of "disorderly conduct." The majority of trials and convictions took place on June 19, 1963. Some persons, however, who demonstrated outside the court house in protest against these trials were arrested and tried and convicted on June 25th. Each of the men who were tried were fined $500 and sentenced to six months in jail; the women received fines of $200 and sentences of 4 months in jail.

Throughout the month of July, James Foreman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, tried to raise money to bail these people out. Bail had been set at $750 for each male and $500 for each female. Among the organizations Foreman contacted was the National Council of Churches's new Commission on Religion and Race. While the Commission tried to raise some of the $38,000 necessary

*
At the request of the Insurance Company which wrote the bonds that their name not be used, it shall be referred to as the X Insurance Company.

to bail out the sixty individuals then remaining in prison, through the member denominations, at the same time it began to explore ways by which a national bonding company could be persuaded to aid in the effort. On July 29, 1963, I met for the first time with J. Robert Lunney of Sherman and Sterling and with Judge Bruce Bromley of Cravath, Swaine & Moore at the latter's office. This began the association between the National Council of Churches and the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, an association which is fast becomming one of the most dynamic and creative elements in the entire civil rights struggle. At this conference we discussed the possibilities of getting a bonding company to go into Mississippi, and the problems which would have to be overcome. Judge Bromley promised to look into the problem further and Bob Lunney said he would bring the matter to the attention of his senior partner Robert Knight.

On August 2, the National Council of Churches sent $1500 to Greenwood so that three girls then held at the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman, Mississippi, could be released on bail. On August 9, the Reverend D. Bruce Hanson of Washington, D. C., Mr. Lunney and I drove to Greenwood, Mississippi, from Clarksdale, Mississippi, with the intention of releasing an additional number of individuals. The National Council of Churches had received $10,000 from one of its constituent members, the Board of Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ, to be used for bail purposes. In Greenwood, we were told to call Mr. Wiley Branton, of the Voter Education Project in Atlanta. Upon doing so, we learned that Mr. Branton had made arrangements, presumably with Mr. Knight, to have bail bonds written. Mr. Branton asked us to call upon the Sheriff of Leflore County in order to learn what particular papers , if any, would be required in order to make the bonds valid. Sheriff J. E. Cothron met with us, was most cordial, and, in response to our specific question, called the County Attorney who told him that a Certificate of Authority signed by the Mississippi Commissioner of Insurance would be required. We reported this information back to Mr. Branton, who then suggested we pick up some Leflore County Appeal Bond forms to take back to New York. Even though it was past five o'clock when we returned to the Court House, and the Sheriff's Office was closed, the Sheriff opened the office for me and gave me a pad of Appeal Bond forms. I had been informed, incidentally, by Carsie Hall of Jackson, the Negro Attorney of Record in the case, that his requests for bond forms had been refused by the Sheriff, and that I would not be able to get any.

After obtaining as much information as we could about the cases and the facts which would be used on the face of the bonds from the Voter Education Project office in Greenwood, and from Mr. Hall, we returned to New York, bringing the bond forms, the information and the $10,000 with us.

II. The Writing of the Bonds

Fifty-eight bonds were prepared under Mr. Lunney's supervision at the office of Sherman and Sterling on Monday, August 12. Unfortunately, in almost every respect, the information we had been given about the case proved to be inaccurate and the face of the bonds had to be changed in Greenwood later in the week.

On Tuesday, August 13, Mr. Carroll R. Young, Vice-President of the X Insurance Company, Mr. P. L. Douglass, an attorney for X, Mr. Knight and Mr. Lunney of Sherman and Sterling, and I met in the conference room at Shearman and Sterling where the bonds were signed by Mr. Young. In addition, a notarial acknowledgement, a general power of attorney, and a justification were attached to each bond. Late in the afternoon of August 13, I flew to Atlanta, Georgia, where I was joined by H. D. McLean, the Southern Regional Director of the X Insurance Company. Together we flew to Jackson where we were met by J. Jefferson Davis, the resident agent of X in Jackson.

On Wednesday, August 14, Mr. McClean and Mr. Davis spent most of the day finding a resident Mississippi agent who would countersign the bonds. I am under the impression that two or three individuals were approached before one finally consented. The bonds were signed by a John F. Anderson, Jr., of the Fox, Everett Agency in Jackson. Mr. McLean gave me copies of Mr. Anderson's certificate of authority and of a certification by the Mississippi Commissioner of Insurance that the X Insurance Company of New York was authorized to write surety bonds in the state of Mississippi.

III. Events in Greenwood

On Thursday, August 15, I proceeded to Greenwood, Mississippi, arriving there at approximately 10:30 in the morning. I went directly to the Sheriff's office, where I was told that the sheriff was visiting in Kentucky and would not return until Friday and that the Chief Deputy was not available. I then attempted to see a Mr. John Fraiser, the County Prosecuting Attorney, but was told that he was in Jackson for the day and not return until approximately five o'clock. I next attempted to meet with Mr. Aubrey Bell, the County Attorney, and was told that he too, was out of town for the day. I then proceeded to the office of Seth Wheatley, a member of the Mississippi Bar and a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School. Mr. Wheatley told me that the Sheriff was actually out of town, but would return in the morning. He examined the Mississippi Code to determine when the appeal rights of the individuals concerned had lapsed, finding that there was a forty-five day limitation, and suggested that I be sure that appeals in forma pauperis had been filed. I asked him if he would consider taking a retainer from the National Council of Churches in the event I had further difficulty in presenting the bonds. He declined, stating that he had taken a civil rights case three or four years ago and as a result had lost a considerable amount of business and that he did not feel that in all honesty he could afford to lose more by taking an additional case. He seemed most desirous of helping but could not involve himself publicly. Since nothing more could be done until tomorrow, I went to the Voter Education Project Office in Greenwood, where I joined the young volunteer SNCC workers for dinner. Afterwards I attended a party being given for the group in one of the homes in Greenwood's Negro sections. The group, numbering about 16, had not been there more than 30 minutes when Greenwood police parked outside the home, took the license number of the cars parked outside, and prowled around with flashlights, thus making clear to the participants that the party was under surveillance.

The following morning, Friday, August 16, I again went to the Sheriff's office and was told by the Deputy that the Sheriff was out of town for the day and probably would not be back until Sunday. I knew this to be untrue because the Sheriff's car was parked outside the Court House. I made no protest, however, but went instead to Mr. Fraiser's office. He met me there, took me back to the court house, introduced me to Mr. Aubrey Bell, and then invited me to the courtroom where the Circuit Judge was presiding over an

adoption proceeding. After the proceedings, Mr. Fraiser and I returned to his office and examined the Judgements on the Itta Bena prisoners. Mr. Fraiser pointed out the inaccuracies on the face of the bonds, which had been prepared in New York including the crime charged, the name of the Justice of the Peace, the date of the conviction and the fines and sentences. He gave me the correct information, and corrected the spelling of several of the defendants' names. Mr. Fraiser had no records on 10 of the individuals for whom I carried bonds.

I asked Mr. Fraiser if the bonds would be acceptable if I made the necessary changes. He answered indirectly, first stating that either Mr. Young or Mr. Anderson, both of whose signatures were on the bonds, should initial any corrections, and then saying that there was a statute in Mississippi against forgery and that in his opinion the X Company would have a cause of action against any unauthorized person who changed the bond faces.

Not wanting to waste the time which it would take to return to Jackson to have Mr. Anderson initial the changes, I proceeded to change the bonds myself after calling Mr. Young in New York. He sent me a telegram authorizing me to change anything on the face of the bond except the amount of the bond itself. I returned to the Court House and was again told that the Sheriff was out. Almost immediately, however, the Sheriff appeared, greeted me, and examined briefly the bonds which I presented. He called in Mr. Bell, the County Attorney, who also examined them and asked to see the Certificate of Authority for Mr. Anderson and the Statement of X Company's Qualification to write surety bonds in Mississippi. After I presented these documents to him, he approved the bonds and the Sheriff began signing them. I asked Mr. Bell where I could gain further information about the 10 persons for whom I had bonds but who were unknown to Mr. Fraiser, and Mr. Bell directed me to the clerk of one of the other J.P.'s of the County. There I obtained information on an additional five bonds. I changed the faces of these bonds in ink, and the Sheriff signed them. I still had five bonds outstanding, and Mr. Bell suggested that I check the records of the Police Court at City Hall. When the Sheriff had signed all the bonds (except the five which I had not corrected), he told me that I should go to Parchman first because its office closed at five o'clock. He said the prisoners at the County Farm wouldn't be back from their work gangs until after 6 P.M. I must point out that in all my dealings with Sheriff Cothron, Mr. Fraiser and Mr. Bell, I was always treated civilly. They answered every question which I asked them, and more than once volunteered information -- such as the best time to pick up the prisoners or where to find information on them -- which was accurate and helpful.

Before starting for Parchman, I went to the City Hall where I met the Chief of Police. In the temporary absence of the Police Court Clerk, he tried to find the information I needed with regard to the other five bonds. The clerk arrived while I was there and gave me information on one additional defendant. I thanked them both and returned to the Voter Education Project office to correct the one bond and to find additional cars for the trip to Parchman.

IV. AT THE MISSISSIPPI STATE PENITENTIARY AT PARCHMAN

Four cars made the hour's drive to Parchman, some 50 miles northwest of Greenwood. The Superintendent of the State Penitentiary, Mr. Breazelle, accepted the bonds and ordered the release of the 13 prisoners after calling Sheriff Cothron to verify his signature, which had not been notarized.

We drove about two miles into the middle of the prison, following a Mr. Rule in a prison stationwagon. The boys were being kept in the maximum security building -- also called the death house since it houses Mississippi's electric chair -- which was a single story cell block surrounded by electrified barbed wire and four guard towers. As I left my car, I overheard the following conversation between the guard in the tower nearest the gate and Mr. Rule:

The Guard: "I ain't going to put up again with the kind of thing I put up with last Wednesday. They're just not going to get away with it."

Mr. Rule: "Well, you have your shotgun, don't you?

Guard: "Yes."

Mr. Rule: "Okay, then, you use it if they give you any trouble."

I started to walk towards Mr. Rule's car, to ask what the procedure for releasing the prisoners would be, when the guard pointed the shotgun at me and shouted, "I ain't going to take any more trouble from you. Now you go back over there with your friends and you all behave yourselves." I started to protest, but he cut me off immediately with, "Now you get back, I told you--I don't want any of your smart lip." I asked the other three drivers if they knew of anything that had happened "last Wednesday" which might have given the guard cause for his concern, but they knew nothing.

During the next thirty minutes the 13 boys in the cell-block were brought out in groups of two or three and lined up in front of the cell house some 100 yards from the gate. When all had assembled, they began to march in single file towards the gate, watched over by four guards carrying shotguns.

Because of the tower guard's excitability and in order to avoid any possible demonstration of joy or even recognition as the thirteen came through the gate, I told the three drivers to get in their cars. As they started to move towards their cars, the guard in the tower picked up his shotgun, pointed it out the window and said, "I told you I didn't want any trouble; now you've asked for it." I took a step forward and said, "They're only going to their cars." He replied, "They're starting something." I stood where I was while the other three got in their cars. The guard started to raise the gun to his shoulder, hesitated, and then held it at waist level. The gate opened and as the thirteen filed out, I ordered the first four to go slowly to the first car and say absolutely nothing until we had left the prison grounds. I repeated these instructions to each of the prisoners. I stood where I was until everyone else was in the cars and then I turned and walked back to my car. I recall vividly feeling myself breathe easier as soon as we reached the main highway, and then marveled at the courage of these youngsters. Because the first word that any of them said was, "Man--now we can sing again." And they did. They sang "Oh, Freedom," "We Shall Overcome", and other freedom songs most of the way home.

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRISONERS

The only sustained conversation that I had with the 13 prisoners from Parchman was held during the drive back to Greenwood. The boys, who were in my car informed me that none of them had had any sleep during the last 48 hours because all thirteen of them had been forced into a single 6x8 cell. They said there were no mattresses on any of the cells that they used, but that they had to sleep on cold steel. Sometimes the guards turned on the blowers or air-conditioners at night so that the steel became so cold they were unable to sleep on it. They had been given a pair of short pants and a t-shirt when they came to the penitentary but in the last few days as the evenings got colder their t-shirts had been taken away from them. They informed me that they had been given sheep shears to clip themselves, and had been told that if any hairs were found either on their head, under their arms or in their pubic area, these hairs would be pulled out with tweezers. They informed me that some of them had been thrown into a "hot box" which apparently was an excessively heated cell so small that one could barely stretch out in it. I was unclear as to how many were in the hot box at one time, or for what reasons they were put in hot boxes, but I do recall one saying that he finally got out of the hot box after the others had convinced the guards that he was very sick. He was given a thermometer and reported having a temperature in excess of 104%. He was given two aspirins and put into a cold room. I was informed that they were not beaten at anytime while they were in the state penitentary. They also told me that they received a smaller quantity of food from that given the white prisoners in the maximum security cells. Often they were not given meat when the white prisoners got it. When they had meat, they were given about half the portion given to the other prisoners. They told me they were not allowed to sing at all or to talk above a whisper, while they were in the state penitentary and that if one violated this rule he was handcuffed to the cell bars and left there.

AT THE LEFLORE COUNTY PRISON FARM

We returned to Greenwood where the thirteen young men from Parchman were warmly greeted and fed at the Voter Education Project office. I had one corrected bond and I called Sheriff Cothran and asked him if he would sign the bond at his home so that I could release everyone at the county farm at the same time. He agreed and I drove to his home and obtained his signature on that bond. I then returned to the Voter Education Project office and waited until sufficient cars had been obtained so that transportation would be available for the 40 people at the farm.

We left for the farm, which was located about three miles outside Greenwood, in a cavalcade of about 30 cars and trucks shortly after nightfall. For some reason unknown to me we approached the Superintendant's office by two different roads, thus creating the impression of a "March" on the Farm coming from all directions. I suspect that is also the impression the Superintendant had, for he and three of his deputies stationed themselves outside the cellhouse armed with shotguns and wearing pistols and holding back barking dogs. Within two or three minutes after our arrival three Greenwood City Police cars roared up to the cellhouse, apparently alerted by the Superintendant.

While the other drivers waited at their cars I walked up the path to the cell-house, and met Superintendant Arterbery. I introduced myself and informed him that I had come for the release of 40 prisoners then under his supervision and that I carried bonds for their release signed by the sheriff of the county.

He went inside, examined the bonds, and then ordered the release of the prisoners.

Seventeen women and twenty-two men were released from the County Farm that Friday evening. Most of them were in their teens or early twenties, although two women were in their late seventies. The youngest was a girl of 15.

Superintendent Arterbery informed me that there were four boys in the cell block for whom no bonds had been produced. These were the four whose bonds the Sheriff had not signed because Mr. Fraser had no records on them. After the 40 prisoners had been taken back to Greenwood, I corrected the remaining four bonds and called the Sheriff at his home again and asked him if he would sign those. He consented and I drove out and he signed those four bonds. I should say that in all my dealings with the sheriff both on this visit and on my previous visit to Clarksdale a week earlier, he was most courteous and in no way attempted to hinder my efforts. I thanked the Sheriff for his cooperation and returned to Greenwood, where I went to the Elks Hall. Here a mass meeting was in progress at which a number of those who had just been released spoke. I spoke to the group, stressing the fact that I was in Greenwood as a living symbol of the fact that the civil rights struggle was not just the Negroes' struggle, not just a Southern struggle, but a national struggle involving all Americans. I said that these 57 prisoners had gained their freedom once again because many white persons in both the North and the South had not forgotten them and had worked with Negro leaders to bring about their release. I remember that there were many murmurs of approval when I said that I believed many Southern whites believed that Negroes had a right to equality of citizenship but that they were afraid to speak out publicly.

After the meeting I obtained the signatures of about 35 of the released individuals on an "Application for a Court Bond" form and gave the bonds for the unreleased prisoners to Mr. Block telling him that the Superintendent of the county farm had told me that they would be available for release at 9:00 o'clock the following day. Since it was after 11 p.m., I then prepared to leave Greenwood to return to Jackson. Before I left, I asked Mr. Dale Minor a broadcaster for radio station WBAI in New York to interview as many of the individuals both at Parchman and at the Greenwood county farm as he could, so that we could have some tape recordings of their stories. He told me he would do so. I was also informed that NBC-TV would be in Greenwood the following day and that some of the prisoners would talk with NBC newsmen.

I believe that more detailed statements of the conditions by the prisoners themselves both at the State Penitentary and the county farm can be obtained from Mr. Minor and from the NBC crew.

In all, 57 persons were released as a result of bonds written by the X Insurance Company. This included 13 at the state penitentary, 43 at the county farm and one who had been removed from the county farm to the county jail in the courthouse.

One of my conversations with Sheriff Cothran, might be of particular interest. During this conversation the Sheriff told me that on the day of the arrest of the individuals in Itta Bena tear gas or a bomb or some kind was allegedly thrown into a church were demonstrators had gathered in Itta Bena. The Sheriff told me that the local FBI agent went to Itta Bena along with an

expert on noxious gases who had been trained by the Army Ordinance Department during the war, and that they arrived on the scene less than hour after the bomb had been thrown and that they both reported finding no sign of tear gas or any other noxious gases. He informed me that 6 automobiles driven by his deputies had been damaged by bricks and bottles in Itta Bena; that this had been witnessed by an attorney for the Justice Department, I believe a Mr. Rosenberg, but that Mr. Rosenberg had "lied" in saying that there was no violence. The sheriff informed me that he had asked Mr. Dorr to go to Itta Bena to see conditions for himself, but that Mr. Dorr had refused. The sheriff also told me that many Negroes had come to his office asking his permission to take care of the "agitators" (by which he meant the Negroes working inthe Voter Education Project), but that he had refused to allow them to take the law into their own hands.

Dictated by

John M. Pratt 8/20/63
Transcribed 8/20/63 - dch

4-30-63 Religion

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. (10011)
Room 632
Telephone: (212) AL 5-7575-6

????? A F T E R T H E W A S H I N G T O N M A R C H ?????

1963

Pledge taken by 200,000 people on August 29th in Washington:

> "I will work to make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land."

Will yours "ring clear and determined from your part of our land"?

This is the critical moment so far as a strong civil rights law is concerned. WHY?

Because

1. Citizens must push for amendments to strengthen the President's excellent but still inadequate bill. President Kennedy feels that he cannot make additional proposals although he favors adding FEPC and a broadened Part III. It's really up to YOU and ME.

2. The Senate Majority Leader, Mr. Mansfield, says he will support the bill in whatever form it comes from the House.

3. House Speaker McCormack assured civil rights leaders that FEPC and an "across the board Part III" will pass the House "if" the House Judiciary Committees add these two provisions to the bill.

4. Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee says he will accept these two additions but leaves the matter in the hands of the Sub-Committee (No. 5) of which he is also the chairman.

5. The Sub-Committee is taking a recess until Sept. 9. Soon after that it will report a bill to the full committee. That bill will not contain these critically important provisions UNLESS YOU AND THOUSANDS OF OTHERS WRITE, TELEGRAPH, OR OTHERWISE COMMUNICATE YOUR DESIRE THAT IT DO SO.

ACT NOW!!!! WON'T YOU?

A few pointers -

1. Write your own personal letter on your own stationery and base your appeal on reasoned religious, moral and patriotic grounds.
2. Be brief, courteous, concentrate on the issue of a strong 1963 civil rights act that includes FEPC and a broadened Part III.
3. Ask your Congressman's opinion and whether he is prepared to fight for a strong bill, all the way.
4. Commend him for some recent action he has taken if you can.

YOUR OPINION DOES COUNT!

(More over)

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUB-COMMITTEE NO. 5

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National Conference on Religion and Race
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CITIZENS' MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

On August 28 one of the greatest events in American history took place in the capital city when a crowd estimated to number between 210,000 and 250,000 participated in a dignified and orderly demonstration in behalf of a meaningful civil rights act in 1963.

There never was any danger that the marchers themselves would cause violence. Police surveillance assured that the peaceful demonstration should not be marred by fascist or other fanatical opponents of the Negro's struggle for first class citizenship.

Observers were impressed. These included some 30 or more members of the U.S. Senate and House who came to the exercises, scores of foreign and American news reporters and commentators, TV cameramen and hundreds of others who have since remarked on the decorum, the earnestness, manifest seriousness of the marchers and of their leaders who spoke from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. At least twenty per cent of the marchers were non-Negroes, principally white people.

If you were privileged to be there, you know what a satisfying experience it was.

What next?

Read the two enclosures. They throw some light on this question.

Use Reston's article as widely as possible, especially among religious groups.

The New York Times FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1963.

Washington

The First Significant Test of the Freedom March

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29—The first significant test of the Negro march on Washington will come in the churches and synagogues of the country this weekend.

It is no good waiting for a political reaction in Congress, for if there is no effective moral reaction out in the country, there will be no effective political reaction here.

This whole movement for equality in American life will have to return to first principles before it will "overcome" anything. And as moral principles preceded and inspired political principles in this country, as the church preceded the Congress, so there will have to be a moral revulsion to the humiliation of the Negro before there can be significant political relief.

The TV Mentality

The preachers at the Lincoln Memorial here this week understood this better than anybody else, but they were not able to speak for the whole religious community of the nation.

"If," said the executive head of the United Presbyterian Church, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, "all the members and all the ministers of the constituency I represent here today were ready to stand and march with you for jobs and freedom for the Negro people, together with all the Roman Catholic Church and all of the synagogues in America, the battle for full civil rights and dignity would be won."

The president of the American Jewish Congress, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, put the point another way. "When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing I learned . . . under those tragic circumstances is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.

"A great people, which had created a great civilization, had become a nation of silent onlookers. . . . America must not remain silent. It must speak up and act . . . and not for the sake of the Negro, but for the sake of the image, the idea and the aspiration of America itself. . . ."

Few people would question the validity of these points, but two misfortunes have debased the power of the church and of church opinion. Too many preachers, like too many Congressmen, are not leading but following their flock, perpetuating rather than destroying illusion and prejudice. They are "passing by on the other side." And their parishioners, even when they want to be participants instead of spectators, have lost faith in their power to influence great events.

Nothing, however, is more fallacious in American political life than the popular idea that Congressmen pay no attention to letters from their constituents. Some of them are impervious to reason and others either won't or can't read, but all of them want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church, even if they never go there except for votes.

If the preachers said what they really thought about this racial crisis and even half of those who heard and believed them wrote their honest convictions for or against racial equality to Capitol Hill, the political balance on racial equality might easily be transformed.

If, however, the churches do not react and the march on Washington is regarded by the religious community as just another TV show, the political battle for civil rights could easily be worse off than before.

For while the politicians here are not saying much about the march, they are listening. And if such a mammoth demonstration, dramatizing the basic religious concept of equality, does not get an impressive response even from the churches, Congress could easily conclude that the nation was indifferent or worse.

'We Need Allies'

The Negro leaders were less exuberant here today than during the big demonstration yesterday. After the spree comes the hangover, and President Kennedy warned them before they left that only with strong bipartisan support could his civil rights bill be passed.

Asa Philip Randolph, who organized the march, admitted the obvious fact. "We need allies," he said. "People who are victims must take the leadership. No one but a Jew could lead the fight against anti-Semitism. No one but a man from the ranks of labor could lead the labor movement.

"But the Negro cannot win the fight alone, no more than the Jew or labor leader could win his fight alone. We need allies."

And if he cannot find them first in the churches, he's not likely to find them among the politicians.

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Reprint of James Reston's column - N. Y. Times August 30, 1963, entitled "Washington: The First Significant Test of the Freedom March". (If the churches will act now, the political balance can be transformed.) Up to 1,000 copies 1¢ each; over 1,000 copies at $9. per thousand.	____	____	____
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1963

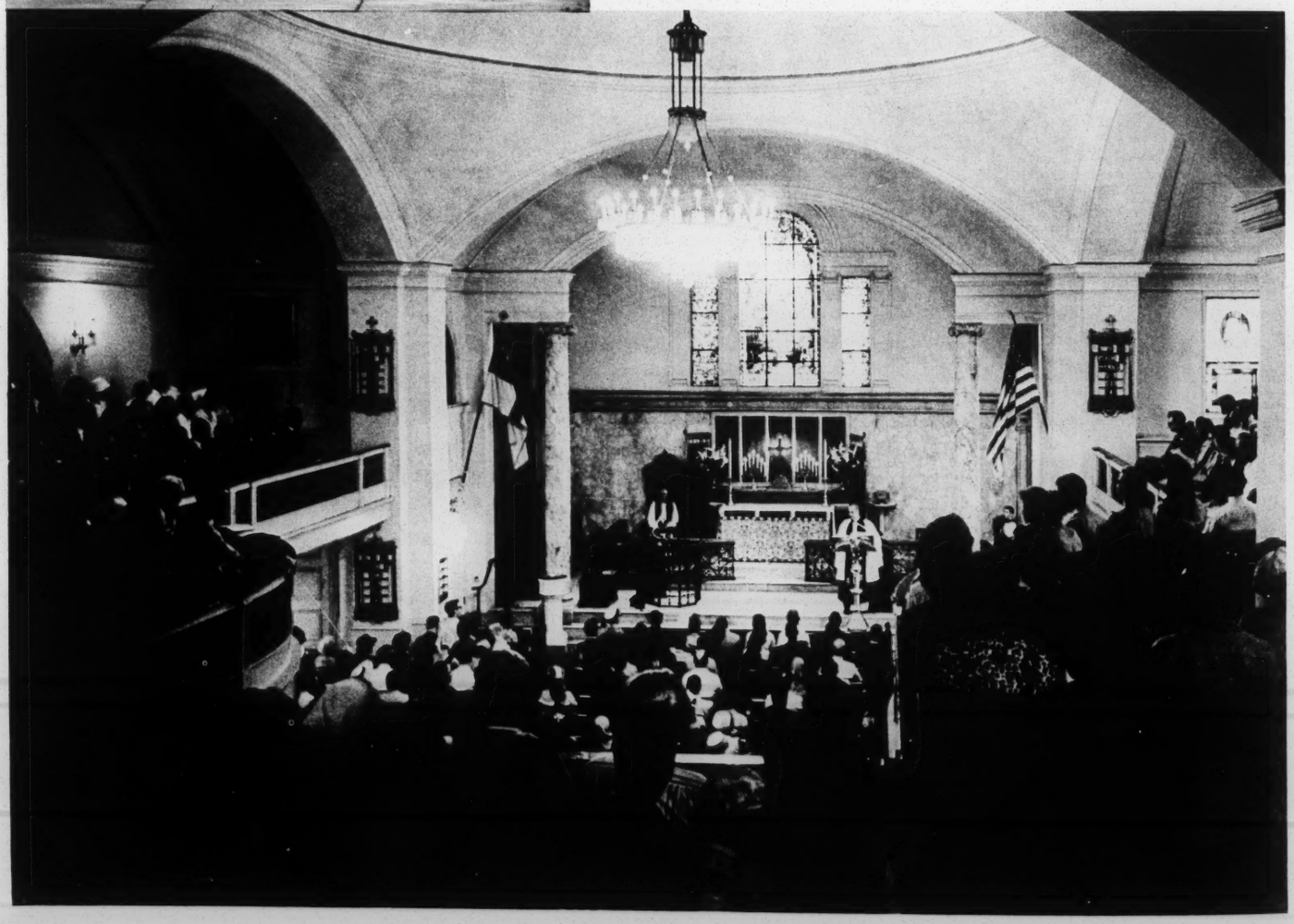
A periodic news bulletin issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations, Division of Christian Citizenship, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.
The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary
Carroll Greene, Jr., Editor • Douglas Bushy, Consultant

CHURCH AND RACE

Vol. 1, No. 4 August 31, 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON SPECIAL ISSUE

ABOVE LEFT/The Diocese of Washington joins the March led by the crucifer from St. Stephen and the Incarnation. ABOVE RIGHT/Before the service at St. John's, Lafayette Square, Deans Francis B. Sayre, Jr., of Wash. (second from left) and John V. Butler of N.Y. (far right) chat with Fr. Pelham, rector of Trinity Church, Farmington, Mich., and pres. of ESCRU (left) and the Rt. Rev. Dillard H. Brown, Jr., Bishop Coadjutor of Liberia. BELOW/The service at St. John's showing the Rev. John Harper, rector at the lectern, and the Bishop of Washington at left.



OUT OF THE MOUNTAIN OF
DESPAIR A STONE OF HOPE

Well, you have to admit it was unique.

The sudden deposit of 200,000 bodies into a hot legislative campaign is an objective historical fact the merits of which will be debated by wise gray heads on Capitol Hill, graduate students of political science, and citizens of both political parties long after the last bus pulled out of Washington.

On top of which, the precipitous projection of the Churches into a role of self-conscious identification this summer with Negro militancy was given an air of finality in the squads of bishops, clergy, and laity assembled. It was an involvement by no means agreed on by consensus in the churches.

For this has been a summer without time, time for discussion, or interpretation, or calculation about just which strategy is the more propitious or theologically "acceptable."

Time only to make choices in a timetable we did not draw up.

The March was an act of trust. Trust in the Negro action leaders and in the vitality of the democratic process.

It was an act of faith. Faith that through God and an active non-violent revolution, we will be able to "hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."

What did it mean?

A jumble of impressions. Hot sun, bright sky, stunning white of federal marble, lines thirty abreast under a sea of placards, the throb of freedom chants, melting pot of color, black and white together, a whole nation on sore feet, the camaradarie of new found resolve, swirls of faces, fatigue, exhiliration, revolution remembered, revolution reborn, revolution invoked, God invoked, history invoked, God invoking history.

What does it mean?

This issue of CHURCH and RACE is an effort to capture some impressions of the March. A special staff of reporters covered the March from the inside out. They were in the streets themselves, and shared in its dynamics, its power, its pain, and its joy.

-oOo-

Special staff reporting in this issue: Guy Bell, Carroll Greene, Jr., the Rev. Robert A. MacGill, and the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS HEARD
AT MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The First Admendment to the Constitution was explicitly designed to protect the right of the American people to peacefully petition their government for a redress of their grievances. And this is what happened in Washington on August 28, 1963, when in excess of 200,000 Americans, Negroes and Caucasians petitioned their government to enact the President's current civil rights legislation, create more jobs and eliminate discrimination in employment. Despite widespread apprehension and fears of violence, the March came off eminently successful, orderly, and peaceful. Washington authorities have praised the March, not only as the largest demonstration in the city's history, but also the most disciplined and peaceful. By 10:00 A.M., the scheduled arrival time for participants, only a few marchers had arrived at the Monument grounds, but between 10:30 and 10:45, throngs by the thousands streamed in until by noon they formed a virtual sea of humanity in the area between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. For a short time it appeared that there were more white marchers than Negro. Soon the Negroes became the predominant group at an approximate ratio of 3 to 1.

This massive demonstration was the largest in America's history. The marchers carrying banners and placards bearing such slogans as: 'WE DEMAND AN END TO JOB BIAS NOW' - 'WE MARCH TOGETHER - CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, JEW' and 'FREEDOM NOW' typified the slogans. The marchers were good-humored and mannerly despite a marked air of seriousness of purpose which permeated the proceedings. The nearly 100 U.S. Congressmen and Senators who appeared at the Lincoln Memorial received a rousing demonstration from the marchers. The legislators appeared beside an impressive array of civil rights, labor and religious leaders, including at least ten Episcopal bishops, as well as entertainers and others representing many phases of American life. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the NCC's Commission on Religion and Race and Stated-Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., in a forthright and moving message told the mammoth assembly:

"For many years now, the NCC and most of its constituent communions have said all the right things about civil rights. Our official pronouncements for years have clearly called for 'a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society.' But as of August 28, 1963, we have achieved neither a non-segregated church nor a non-segregated society. And it is partly because the churches of America have failed to put their house in order, that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, 175 years after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the United States of America still faces a racial crisis.

Subsequently pointing out the reasons for the churches' participation, he said:

"Yes, we come to march behind and with those amazingly able leaders of the Negro Americans who, to the shame of almost every white American, have alone and without us mirrored the suffering of the cross of Jesus Christ; they have offered their bodies to arrest and to violence, to the hurt and indignity of fire hoses and dogs, of derision and of poverty, and some to death for this just cause. We come --- late we come --- but we come to present ourselves,

our souls and bodies, to be 'a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service,' in a kind of tangible and visible sacrament which alone in times like these can manifest to a troubled world the grace available at communion table or high altar.

"We come in prayer that we, in our time, may be more worthy to bear the name our tongues so fluently profess. We come in faith that the God who made us and gave his son for us and for our salvation will overrule the fears and hatreds that so far have prevented the establishment of full racial justice in our beloved country. We come in hope that those who have marched today are but a token of a new and massive high determination of all men of religion and patriotism to win in this 'nation under God ... liberty and justice for all.' We come in that love revealed in Jesus Christ, which reconciles into true community all men of every color, race and nation who respond in faith and obedience to Him."

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, who lived in Nazi Germany told the assembly: "When I lived under the Hitler regime I learned many things. The important was that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful problem is silence. A great people had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hatred, brutality and murder." Continuing, Rabbi Prinz said, "America must not become a nation of onlookers. It must not be silent. Not merely Black America but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, but for the sake of America."

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, told the assembly "that now is the time we respond to the demand of our conscience, now is the time we grasp the ideal our faiths and our constitution hold before us. There is no turning back. In a decade or less we will have done our utmost to have secured a community of justice and fraternity and love among us, or we will have laid the seeds of our own destruction."

All of the messages bore a strong sense of urgency and hope.

The stirring message delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., became one of the highlights of the March. (See pages 10 and 11.)

Special services were held in churches throughout the city.

At 8:00 A.M., on the morning of the March, leaders from the religious community met for a NCC-sponsored breakfast at the Statler Hotel. Most of the leaders of the March appeared there prior to their meeting with legislators on Capitol Hill.

At 9:00 A.M., the Holy Eucharist was celebrated at the Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation followed by a breakfast. The congregation led by their rector, the Rev. William Wendt, and a curate, the Rev. Tilden H. Edwards, Jr., then lined up two-by-two and quietly filed down 16th Street

behind a vested crucifer, joining the several hundred churchmen from St. Luke's Church. The two lines totaling about 500 persons continued to Lafayette Square, where they joined the worshippers at St. John's Church and were led in a special prayer service by the Rt. Rev. William F. Creighton, Episcopal bishop of Washington. Following this service the bishops and worshippers at St. John's formed a procession of 1100 churchmen led by the St. Stephen and the Incarnation crucifer and proceeded to join the other marchers on Constitution Avenue.

The Lincoln Memorial program concluded about 4:20 P.M., a which time the leaders of the March committee met with the President at the White House. President Kennedy told the group that passage of his Civil Rights legislation depended on bipartisan Congressional support and 'that the Executive Branch of the Federal Government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices, two of the prime goals of the March.' Concluding his remarks, the President said:

> "The cause of 20 million Negroes has been advanced by the program conducted so appropriately before the Nation's shrine to the Great Emancipator, but even more significant is the contribution to all mankind."

-oOo-

SOME OF THE MORE THAN 2,000 'MARCH' BUSES

WHERE DO WE
GO FROM HERE

It will be months, perhaps years, before anyone can evaluate objectively the results of the March on Washington. Pragmatic judgments are already being made, especially in terms of the civil rights legislation now before Congress. Will the corporate witness of 200,000 black and white people, acting in absolute concert, sway the balance of legislative power? Will the unblemished behavior and obvious good-will of the nation's most massive protest demonstration cut any ice with public opinion?

Answers here, in the area of exterior effect, remain to be seen. But looking inward, into the consciences and conscious thoughts of those who took part in the August 28th March, much can be said. Perhaps this is the most important effect of the March: for those who were there, it proved a great deal.

Over-riding the entire event and pulsing strongly among speakers, marchers and observers alike were several unmistakable themes which spoke the spirit of the March and the trend of our times:

A waking sense of the dignity of man -- expressed in countless, simple ways which (louder than theological phrases) vividly declared the invincible image of God among His creatures. An elderly Negro woman from the South said it plainly: "I am so proud of my people today."

The will to overcome -- asserted not in bloody, vituperative ways but in the throbbing power of essential right, welling up and spilling over out of the assembly into press reports and -- hopefully -- the consciences of apprehensive legislators.

Sharpening of responsibility -- No one came alone. No one came to stay. Each one of the 200,000 went home to a family to tell, friends to teach, a community to influence. Everyone there was talking about that. Take the dignified New England white woman, in the garden-party dress and sensible shoes. She was a convert that day, and was going home to spread the gospel out of a newly desegregated heart. Across the tea table, the back fence, the places CORE and SNCC never go, the word from Washington will be spread in unlikely accents and ever-widening ways.

These were the over-arching effects, and they were played out in myriad ways.

1. Everyone who marched seemed to know why he was there. There was joy and fervor, but it was deadly serious, too. The chants of "FREEDOM, NOW" never seemed frivolous -- no matter how jazzy the syncopation.

2. An uncommon atmosphere of camaraderie and consideration overtook all 200,000 from beginning to end. People from every conceivable background were jammed together, shoulder to shoulder, along the muggy pavements. People moved and drifted a great deal.

But there was no complaining, no self-centering. If you stepped on somebody or jostled him, you instinctively said, "I'm sorry." People who had never seen each other before suddenly fell into step, into conversation -- into each other's life.

3. There was no "label-hanging." Many groups carried identifying banners, or wore caps, armbands and the like. But name brand with a church group, labor union, or civic organization or the like seemed curiously unimportant. All that mattered was that human beings, were acting in unision for a great cause.

4. It was a deeply religious event. There were scads of clergy in their collars and Jews in skullcaps. Even skeptics were impressed at the sheer volume of organized Church participation. Prayers were said and hymns sung. But these were only external signs of the grace, power and faith running deep and sub-consciously throughout. A good many non-clergy types said it quite plainly: "the Holy Spirit is at work here today."

5. It was, in human terms, "nobody's show." About 75% of the people there were Negroes -- perhaps less. Theirs was the leadership: the key planners, the main speakers, etc. But if it was "their day" -- made sweet by 100 years of anticipation -- Negroes shared it unreservedly.

6. Dynamic and successful as the March itself became, there was deep-seated consciousness -- articulated by the man on the street as well as the ones on the rostrum -- that this was only the beginning. About this, a great deal needs to be said:

Most people we talked with admitted they had come to Washington with some reservations -- or at least a fuzziness of motive. But what they received was a strengthening of faith, purpose and resolve. A white college girl, veteran of a few academic excursions and one sit-in experience, put it this way: "I got a new feeling today. I've always known a lot of people must feel the same as I do. But this is the first time I could really be sure I wasn't just one of a few rattling around in a vacuum."

Was the tactic of the mass demonstration justified? Overwhelmingly, the answer was "yes." A transplanted Southern white man considered the question as we marched along Constitution Avenue: "This proves it can be done. We are strengthening the hand of every rights group in the South with every step we take. And even if not one Congressman changes his mind because of the March here, there are 200,000 people going back into their home-towns stronger and bolder than they came."

A Negro from Oklahoma echoed the same idea another way: "Only a few of us could come all the way from Tulsa. What we are doing, we are doing for them as well as for ourselves. They're waiting for us to come home and teach them what we learned."

What about the Church's part in all this? How is it received by those who are fighting for freedom on purely secular grounds? Generally, non-Church people seemed pleased and somewhat surprised to see so many Churchmen aligned with them. But there is still resentment and some scepticism. A Negro unionist from New Jersey, listening to Eugene Carson Blake, said: "The Church talks right. But 11:00 o'clock Sunday is still segregation hour too many places." His friends, all Church members, nodded. They seemed embarrassed.

For Churchmen who were in Washington and for those who were not, this is perhaps the most crucial issue. What the Church does as the local church will determine whether or not we can hope to have a part in the obtaining of human rights for all people. Momentum has been accelerated by the March. Every diocese, parish and baptised person must re-think their commitment and timetable in terms of issues sharpened by the big day in Washington. The challenges are many and urgent:

a) Full desegregation of parish life.
b) Avoidance of contracts with or employment of segregating firms, unions, etc.
c) Active effort to end discrimination in the secular community.
d) Support (money, manpower and prayers) for local, regional and national civil rights organizations.
e) Study programs to acquaint parishioners with civil rights issues, legislations and other remedies.

DR. M. L. KING'S ADDRESS PROVIDED WHAT
MANY CONSIDER THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE 'MARCH'

FOR FREEDOM NOW!

Perhaps the most adequate way of summing up the March is through the words of the speakers at the rally. Martin Luther King caught the mood of the marchers well, and received a wild ovation. His address, printed almost in full,follows:

"Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon of light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous day-break to end the long night of captivity.

"But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacle of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

"In a sense we have come to our nation's Capitol to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be granted the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. We we have come to cash this check - a check that will give up upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

"We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promise of Democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

"It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end,

but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

"But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their distiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a bi-racial army. We cannot walk alone.

"And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream

"I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. Let us work and march and love and stand tall together until that day has come when we can join hands and sing, 'Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last.'"

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WASHINGTON,
D.C.

QUO VADIS

"The first significant test of the Negro march on Washington will come in the churches and synagogues of the country this weekend.

"It is no good waiting for a political reaction in Congress, for if there is no effective moral reaction out in the country, there will be no effective political reaction here.

"This whole movement for equality in American life will have to return to first principles before it will "overcome" anything. And as moral principles preceded and inspired political principles in this country, as the church preceded the Congress, as there will have to be a moral revulsion to the humiliation of the Negro before there can be significant political relief.

"The preachers at the Lincoln Memorial here this week understood this better than anybody else, but they were not able to speak for the whole religious community of the nation.

"'If,' said the executive head of the United Presbyterian Church, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, 'all the members and all the ministers of the constituency I represent here today were ready to stand and march with you for jobs and freedom for the Negro people, together with all the Roman Catholic Church and all of the synagogues in America, the battle for civil rights and dignity would already be won."

"The president of the American Jewish Congress, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, put the point another way. 'When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing I learned... under those tragic circumstances is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.

"'A great people, which had created a great civilization, had become a nation of silent onlookers... America must not remain silent. It must speak up and act ... and not for the sake of the Negro, but for the sake of the image, the idea and the aspiration of American itself....'

"Few people would question the validity of these points, but two misfortunes have debased the power of the church and of church opinion. Too many preachers, like too many Congressmen, are not leading but following their flock, perpetuating rather than destroying illusion and prejudice. They are 'passing by on the other side.' And their parishioners, even when they want to be participants instead of spectators, have lost faith in their power to influence great events.

"Nothing, however, is more fallacious in American political life than the popular idea that Congressmen pay no attention to letters from their constituents. Some of them are impervious to reason and others either won't

or can't read, but all of them want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church, even if they never go there except for votes.

"If the preachers said what they really thought about this racial crisis and even half of those who heard and believed them wrote their honest convictions for or against racial equality to Capitol Hill, the political balance on racial equality might easily be transformed.

"If, however, the churches do not react and the march on Washington is regarded by the religious community as just another TV show, the political battle for civil rights could easily be worse off than before.

"For while the politicians here are not saying much about the march, they are listening. And if such a mammoth demonstration, dramatizing the basic religious concept of equality, does not get an impressive response even from the churches, Congress could easily conclude that the nation was indifferent or worse.

"The Negro leaders were less exuberant here today than during the big demonstration yesterday. After the spree comes the hangover, and President Kennedy warned them before they left that only with strong bipartisan support could his civil rights bill be passed.

"Asa Philip Randolph, who organized the march, admitted the obvious fact. 'We need allies,' he said. 'People who are victims must take the leadership. No one but a Jew could lead the fight against anti-Semitism. No one but a man from the ranks of labor could lead the labor movement.

"'But the Negro cannot win the fight alone, no more than the Jew or labor leader could win his fight alone. We need allies.'

And if he cannot find them first in the churches, he's not likely to find them among the politicians."

By James Reston

FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, AUGUST 30, 1963

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

The charge has been made that some of those persons who wore clerical collars during the March on Washington were not ordained ministers or priests. We cannot attest to the validity or invalidity of this charge and we cannot speak for any church except our own. We know that at least ten Episcopal bishops were in the March and at a conservative estimate there were at least 300 Episcopal priests. Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice estimated that not fewer than 10,000 Roman Catholics took part. Included were seven members of the hierarchy, among them two archbishops and hundreds of priests. Other denominations are still trying to assess the extent of their lay and clergy participation.

BISHOP WARNECKE PRESENTS
REPORT TO HOUSE OF BISHOPS

The Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke, Chairman of a special Committee of the House of Bishops on Race and Religion, presented to the House of Bishops meeting in Toronto a report from which the following sections were excerpted. Single copies of the complete statement are available upon request from the Division of Christian Citizenship, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

What is the present situation? We are in the midst of a social revolution. This revolution is to preserve the American Constitution, not to overthrow it. The Negro citizens of our country are asking that they be treated as the American citizens which they are and not as second class inhabitants of the land. They are asking for rights not for social privileges. They are asking for an end to the injustice of discrimination based upon the color of a man's skin. These are moral and ethical values as well as constitutional ones.

The initiative in this movement is with the Negro community. The Negro needs the help of the white community but the determination of this struggle and its strategy is in Negro hands. Moreover, the vast majority of the Negroes are fully and sympathetically involved. This is not a matter of "outside agitators."

A basic factor is the impatience of the Negro at this moment in history. There is immediacy and urgency in his cry to receive the rights of an American citizen now. The time is now and there is no longer the possibility of gradualism.

A constructive part of the situation is the new leadership among the Negroes. This leadership is young, able, educated, articulate and avowedly militant. There is no psychology of inferiority or of subservience in this group. Many of them are church-oriented; and we may rejoice in the base that this movement has in the Negro Church. At the same time we must acknowledge that the Negro is divided in his opinion of the white Churches. Many Negroes feel that the white Churches have been passive at best and hostile in many cases. The issue is touch and go as to whether we will be trusted as Christian brothers and permitted to work with them or whether we will be seen as allied with the forces of discrimination.

This has been a movement in the life of our entire country and so there are obvious differences in tempo, in methods, in characteristics, in local leadership as well as in response and reaction in various parts of the nation. But we are all involved. This is a national question. Yet it seems fair to say that in the South generally the sharp points at issue relate to voting rights and to the desegregation of public facilities; whereas in the North the primary questions are jobs and housing. All over the nation, we are at different points in history not only in intergroup relations, but in community structures, in economic health, in responsible political leadership, in cultural patterns, in local mores and in religious understanding and commitment.

THREE SPECIFIC IMMEDIATE SITUATIONS

1) We feel that the Whitsuntide statement of the Presiding Bishop was appropriate and helpful. It was a rightful expression of concerned Christian leadership . It is suggested therefore that we associate ourselves with the Presiding Bishop in that statement.

2) On August 28, 1963, there will be a "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom". To quote the sponsors of this March, "the purpose of the March is, by a massive, peaceful and democratic demonstration in the nation's capital, to provide evidence of the need for the Federal Government to take effective and immediate action to deal with the national crisis of civil rights and jobs that all of us, Negro and white, are facing." "Politically the March is non-partisan; that is, neither funds nor organized participation of totalitarian or subversive groups of all persuasions. Organizational participation is invited from only the established civil rights organizations, from major religious and fraternal groups, and from labor unions."

Specifically, the March is "To demand that Congress pass a civil rights bill that will restore the constitutional rights now denied the Negro people... To offer a great witness to the basic moral principle of human equality and brotherhood." "In their historic non-violent revolt for freedom the Negro people are demanding the right to decent jobs - recognizing that their struggle is inextricably linked with the struggle for decent jobs for all Americans. They know that in the long run there is no way for Negroes to win and hold jobs unless the problems of automation, a stagnant economy and discrimination are solved; therefore the Federal government must establish a massive works program to train and employ all Americans at decent wages and at meaningful and dignified labor."

The plans for the March are being carefully prepared in full cooperation with the Washington police and the Federal government. It will be a one-day gathering and those coming are emphatically asked not to come before that day nor to remain after it. At 10 a.m. people from each state will gather to meet with their congressional representatives. At noon there will be a gathering at the Washington Monument to be followed by a parade to the Lincoln Memorial where there will be commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The March is planned to stay away from Capitol Hill. There will be no sit-ins in the halls of Congress. The leadership of the March asks for prayers in all Churches for the purposes and goals of the March on the preceding Sunday, August 25th; and for the cooperation and participation of the white community in the March that it may be seen not as a Negro demonstration but as the expression of the feelings of the total American community.

We suggest that there be prayers in every Church on Sunday, August 25, for freedom and for employment for all American citizens without respect to race. We also would hope that the Bishop of Washington might find it possible to arrange for a service in Washington on August 28 open to all men.

We think that each Bishop must personally decide whether and how he and his diocese will act directly in this matter. We hope there will be a large participation by white people and by the churches.

3) Civil Rights Legislation.

Every man must be interested in the status of civil rights for when the constitutional rights of one are abridged the rights of all are endangered. The present legislation before Congress is intended to implement the constitutional rights of all American citizens. It relates to voting privileges, fair employment practices, housing and access to places of public accommodation.

We are not competent to evaluate the precise proposals being offered. We do think that they should be carefully studied by all citizens. Within the church, Christian values should be pointed out in any analysis of the legislation. Church people should be encouraged to express their opinions to their representatives. When political leadership is responsible, progress is made in these affairs. When political leadership is irresponsible, disaster and violence are encouraged.

It is said that the legislation relation to free access to places of public accommodation curtails property rights. But dozens of laws curtail property rights. Every building code does so; every zoning law. It is a Christian principle that the people are more valuable than property.

We would point out that apart from discrimination and racial problems, this legislation, particularly in respect to jobs, open a whole range of problems in our economy. For part of the situation is that we have too few jobs. There is little sense in promising Negroes jobs that do not exist for either whites or Negroes. But there is not only unemployment, there are those who are unemployable. There is a need for 20,000 more jobs each week simply to care for the growing labor force. There is the corollary need for measures to care for the undue number of school drop-outs who are thus untrained for our increasingly sophisticated industry. There is the area of retraining men who have lost their jobs because of technological changes. There is the spectre of automation not only lessening the number of jobs, but eliminating the menial jobs hitherto filled by the one talent man. There is the question of the shorter work week and the use of greatly increased leisure time; and the need to think through our conventional Christian philosophy about man's inherent need to work.

Further, what does this legislation say directly to the church in its own employment practices, in the construction of buildings for church purposes and in its investments? Can we endorse legislation against job discrimination and then award a contract to build a church to a contractor who employs only whites; or who is tied to a lily-white labor union?

SOME THOUGHTS ON CHURCH STRATEGY RELATING TO THE BISHOP'S RESPONSIBILITY

1) Communication.

The Bishops should keep open channels of communication, first of all, within the church itself. The National Council should continue its policy of full information of its policies, plans, and pronouncements to the bishops and the dioceses. But the channels should flow on to the priests,the parishes and to the laity. This need for interpretation is constant.

One would speak here also of the need for communication between the bishops so that we may understand each other better, whether we agree or not in particular events or tactics.

Outside of the church as bishops we frequently can maintain liaison with the power structure of our states and communities. Sometimes a national situation may be constructively affected by a local contact when laity carry national weight economically, politically or socially. Frequently, when these men are Episcopalians the church has access to them.

Again, the bishop should maintain close communication with the Negro activist groups that are leading this movement. Nationally this possibly can best be done by the Presiding Bishop and the National Council, but in our states and communities we think this is a peculiar opportunity for a bishop. Dialogue is a necessity in the present.

There should certainly be liaison with other communions. The bishop is the one to further such inter-faith conversations that possibly may lead to concerted action.

When such channels of communication are open and available in advance, it is frequently possible to work out problems by negotiation without public demonstrations or violence. If these do occur, then there is a tool ready at hand to use in that situation without waste of time.

2) Local Witness.

In our estimation there have been enough resolutions and pronouncements, through we feel that the church needs to interpret again and again where it stands in its theology and faith in relation to these matters. There has been a deathly silence by the church in many dioceses and parishes.

Negotiation is an important part of local witness if it is used to block but to achieve solutions to the problems. In many cases unfortunately the climate is such locally that negotiation does not move constructively until there is the pressure of public demonstrations. This forces people to come to grips with the issue. We believe that such public demonstrations are a rightful American method of protest. It is well if the leadership of such demonstrations can be local people who will continue to live in the community and deal with the consequences. There should be responsible Negro and white participation. There are occasions when rightfully national organizations should enter the local scene. These can often be catalysts. They can provide professional experience and advice. They can help and guide a local group.

We are concerned to discuss one facet of demonstrations which peculiarly involves the church. What of the situation when a priest or a bishop or a National Council staff member enters a bishop's jurisdiction other than his own to participate in a demonstration.

The dilemma, we think, is obvious. We cannot limit the freedom of access or action of an American citizen as such. But we also cannot ignore the fact that a priest, a bishop, or a National Council officer, despite any disclaimers that he is simply acting in a personal sense is inevitably publicly symbolic of and representative of the church. He cannot divorce himself from his office.

He is not wholly a private person. Moreover, by his ordination vows he has placed himself under the discipline of the church.

Article 2, Section 3 of the Constitution states, "A Bishop shall confine the exercise of his office to his own Diocese or Missionary District, unless he shall have been requested to perform episcopal acts in another Diocese or Missionary District." Canon 45, Section 4 a, reads, "No Minister of this Church shall officiate, either by preaching, reading prayers in public worship, or performing any other priestly or ministerial function, in the Parish or within the Cure, of another Minister, without the consent of the Minister of that Parish or Cure;..." Canon 59 is forbodingly entitled, "Of a Minister in any Diocese or Missionary District Chargeable with Offense in Another". Section 1 reads, "If a Minister belonging to any Diocese or Missionary District shall have conducted himself in any other Diocese or Missionary District in such a way as to be liable to presentment under the provisions of Canon 53, the Ecclesiastical Authority thereof shall give notice of the same to the Ecclesiastical Authority where he is canonically resident,..."

Canon 53 relates to the offenses for which ministers may be tried. The only charge possibly related to our discussion is (8) "Conduct unbecoming a Clergyman."

Now these citations plainly relate to the ecclesiastical functioning of a bishop or priest. Is participation in public demonstrations relating to racial injustice a "ministerial function", or, "the exercise of his office" by a bishop? In some senses they can be so construed, and individual priests and bishops so participating have at times given their presence such an interpretation. At the oppostite pole, there have been those who have called such actions "Conduct unbecoming a Clergyman".

There is an interesting inter-diocesan possibility in Canon 8, relating to the provinces. Section 8 of this Canon gives the Provincial Synod, on which all the bishops sit, power "(4) to deal with all matters within the Province; Provided, however, that no Provincial Snyod shall have power to regulate or control the internal policy or affairs of any constituent Diocese or Missionary District;..."

To sum up, there is clearly canonical provision for jurisdiction by a bishop and a degree of local jurisdiction by a priest within his cure. These relate to ecclesiastical functioning.

There are also obligations of discipline accepted at ordination by the ministers of this Church.

Yet, matters of Christian conscience are not to be wholly resolved by canon law. Nor does ordination take from a bishop or priest the privileges and rights of an American citizen, though in some measure they are shaped by his allegiance to the Church and his ordination vows.

In true Anglican fashion, therefore, we would hope that there would be both freedom and discipline in these matters.

We would think that in all these situations Christian courtesy might be invoked. A priest might well speak with the rector of the parish church about his intentions, especially in smaller communities. A bishop would certainly want to consult his brother bishop. We are not prepared to say that a priest

or a bishop may not participate in demonstrations if the rector or bishop with jurisdiction disapproves. We think the freedom of a Christian man and conscience is here involved.

The position of a National Council staff member is rather different because of his relationship to the whole Church. We believe he - or she - should always consult the bishop with jurisdiction and hopefully receive his consent. If the bishop strongly dissents, National Council officers would be well advised not to enter that jurisdiction for public demonstrations. For better or for worse, we are still an episcopal church. We add this comment to our episcopal brethren. When a bishop refuses leadership in these situations and simply attempts to block any positive action, then we ask whether the greater Church does not have a stake and an imperative to act in that situation.

3) Opportunities of Leadership.

The dilemma just discussed encourages us to emphasize and encourage the leadership of a bishop in this total situation. His active and wise participation is important to the Church and to the community. He is by office a leader. He generally has access to the power structure of the area; indeed, he is part of it. He best can encourage inter-faith and bi-racial groups. He can be open to those in the diocese who utterly disagree with him, for he is still recognized as the bishop of the whole flock of Christ. Altogether, let a bishop be a bishop.

In this role it is important that he let his clergy know his stance. A bishop should come to an understanding with his clergy about their attitudes in these matters and how he will or will not support them if they get into difficulties. If he believes that certain things should be done by the clergy and others not done, let him so inform them. This will not only be useful to the clergy but will enable them to support the bishop.

There is need for special pastoral support by the bishop for certain of the clergy and of the laity who are on the firing line in these matters. Many of our clergy feel alone in the position which because of conscience they have taken at this time. They need to know that they can come to their bishop and that he will listen to them. Indeed, the bishop needs to go to them.

Negro clergy and their families need special help, as do white activist clergy some of whom have been deeply and emotionally shaken by their experiences. Some of these may need relocation. Others may well need a period of extended rest.

The bishop also should minister to the laity of our Church and others who have taken activist positions that have been locally unpopular. The bishop should personally encourage men of good will in public office and those who with special responsibilities are working to find a solution to the problems. These people need to know the acceptance of the Christian Church even when there is difference in positions and practices.

There may well be need for national financial help in certain of the personal situations, especially among the clergy. We would suggest that this be channeled quietly through the Presiding Bishop's Discretionary Fund, and that consideration should be given to augmenting this Fund. Dioceses and the national Church may also shortly have to face greatly reduced giving to the program of the Church because of the position which the Church has taken.

The bishop bears special responsibility for diocesan institutions, many of which are only related organizationally to the Church through his person and office. Charters, trusts, endowments and other legal concerns enter into this, but the wise and firm guidance of a bishop may well lead to consistent witness in these affairs. In certain instances it may be for the good of the Church to withdraw from the life of an institution rather than to accept continued and obdurate discrimination. The administrative and employment policies of the diocese itself should be carefully examined that they are just and fair to all men.

Again we would emphasize the need to plan for the new future that is before us. This leadership can best be given by a bishop in a diocese. Out of such discussions might come a better strategy for the Church of tomorrow in all of its life.

Finally, we speak of a bishop's own personal need for fellowship, for someone to talk to on his own level of responsibility. We would not want to structure this, but we would hope that the ties of this House would make possible more deeply significant personal contacts among us.

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Church groups wishing to order this special issue in bulk quantity may request a maximum number of 200 copies free of charge.

ANGLICAN CONGRESS ISSUES STATEMENT ON RACE BIAS

Delegates at the final session of the Anglican Congress meeting in Toronto at the plea of a Nigerian churchman added the following statement to the original message:

"God has called us to affirm the unity of the human race. Segregation and other forms of discrimination are a sin. We voice our deep concern and compassion for all who suffer on account of race, color, or creed. We are ashamed that barriers of race should still persist in the life of the Church."

The plea for the Congress to express itself on the racial issue was made by Chancellor Adejemi Olusola Lawson of the Diocese of Lagos, Nigeria, who said the lack of such a statement would force him to tell people in his diocese that it was not made because of "sheer cowardice."

Archbishop Howard H. Clark of Rupert's Land, Canadian primate, assured the chancellor that mention of the racial issue was contained in a separate Congress document.

On the insistence of the African churchman, who asked whether the race statement should be "tucked away in the corner of a paper," the question of including it in the final Congress message was put to a vote.

Sustained applause greeted Archbishop Clark's call for those in favor of redrafting the final message. Only a few delegates were against including the race statement in the final document.

YOUR COMMENTS ARE BOTH SOLICITED AND WELCOMED BY THE EDITOR:

If you have not sent your request for this bulletin, please return the form below to:

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AROUND *THE NATION*

TORONTO, CANADA

HOUSE OF BISHOPS MEETS

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States on August 12th placed themselves squarely behind the August 28th March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, unequivocally supported Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger's strong stand against racial segregation, and urged the United States Congress to speedily enact civil rights legislation.

Meeting in executive session at the Royal York Hotel, the one hundred and sixteen American Bishops encouraged the Episcopal Church's 3,500,000 members to join in the Washington March by stating that participation in "a peaceful assemblage for the redress of grievances" is "a proper expression of Christian witness and obedience."

Here they added the prayer that citizens of all races would peacefully "bring before the government for appropriate and competent action the critical and agonizing problems" of America's racial crisis.

In a second resolution, the House of Bishops urged the United States Congress to "pass such civil rights legislation as shall fairly and effectively implement both the established rights and the needs of all minority groups in education, voting rights, housing, employment opportunities, and access to places of public accommodation."

They also voiced their support of Bishop Lichtenberger's Whitsuntide message in which he urged all Episcopalians to actively involve themselves in the Negro's struggle for full human equality.

Bishop Lichtenberger, on June 2, had stated in part:

"It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women, and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen them in every way possible, rather than give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed people everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second-class citizenship any longer."

He also asked the church's 3,500,000 members to give money to support Negro action groups and to act to end any kind of discrimination in local parishes and diocesan institutions because "discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal."

Last night's special meeting was called three weeks ago by Bishop Lichtenberger at the request of the Church's Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations.

RESOLUTIONS
ADOPTED BY THE
HOUSE OF BISHOPS

I

RESOLVED: That the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church urges the Congress of the United States to pass such civil rights legislation as shall fairly and effectively implement both the established rights and the needs of all minority groups in education, voting rights, housing, employment opportunities and access to places of public accommodation.

II

RESOLVED: That the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, mindful of the Church Assembly to be held in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, in cooperation with the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,

(a) recognizes not only the right of free citizens to peaceful assemblage for the redress of grievances, but also that participation in such an assemblage is a proper expression of Christian witness and obedience,

(b) welcomes the responsible discipleship which impels many of our bishops, clergy, and laity to take part in such an assemblage and supports them fully,

(c) prays that through such peaceful assemblage citizens of all races may bring before the government for appropriate and competent action the critical and agonizing problems posed to our nation by racial discrimination in employment, in access to places of public accommodation, in political rights, in education and housing.

III

RESOLVED: That the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church commends to all people the Presiding Bishop's letter dated Whitsunday 1963, as appropriate and helpful in the present racial crisis; and that we support the Presiding Bishop in this wise and timely expression of Christian leadership.

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ERIE,
PENNA.

CLERGYMEN MOVE TO
END RACE BARRIERS

In June 101 clergy from the Erie area pledged themselves to actively work for equal rights, full opportunity and fellowship. The Christian and Jewish Clergy Committee composed of the Rt. Rev. William Crittenden, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Erie, the Rev. Robert E. Grimm, Rabbi Aaron M. Landes, the Rev. Paul P. Martin, the Rev. Jesse McFarland, the Rev. Jay M. Reichenbach, and the Rev. E. James Caldwell.

The clergymen proposed and pledged:

"1 - To urge our City Council to pass the 'Fair Housing' Ordinance now before it and to staff our Community Relations Commission with enough personnel and budget to do an effective job;

"2 - To urge our City and County Governments to pledge openly to implement affirmatively Fair Employment practices within all their Departments, and through all companies holding contracts with city government;

"3 - To urge our business and industrial communities, through personal interviews with the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association, to take definite and positive steps to hire qualified Negroes. The urgency of the employment situation and the demands of justice require, in our considered judgement, that qualified Negroes be given priority consideration in hiring to eliminate the present lag in employment of Negroes and to bring their percentage of representation in Erie's work force at least to a point reflecting their percentage of the total population;

"4 - To urge all Real Estate Dealers and Financial Institutions, through personal interviews to open rental sale housing listings to all people regardless of race, and to offer our positive support to specific steps preparing the climate for the moving of Negro families into residential neighborhoods where they have not previously lived.

"5 - To urge the members and families of our religious institutions to take positive action toward friendships across racial lines, including personal acquaintance, shared fellowship meetings across church lines, and expression of positive welcome for any Negro people who may share in our daily work or our social and community endeavors, and live in our neighborhoods."

Since the original resolution was passed fourteen more clergy have joined the original 101. A freedom rally was addressed by a number of clergy including Archdeacon Schaffer of the Diocese of Erie and nearly forty clergy

appeared at a public hearing before the City Council on a new Fair Housing Ordinance. Jewish and Christian clergy of both races spoke at this hearing. The Fair Housing Ordinance passed the City Council in the form asked by the Erie Human Relations Commission as endorsed by the clergy. The clergymen's next move is to follow up with area committees of clergy who will call on all people in the neighborhood when a Negro family moves in. This will be done to help the community to make an orderly and friendly transition. Early in the fall another meeting of the clergy is planned where efforts will be made to encourage business men to give publicity to their fair employment practices, where they exist. Subsequently, more help will be extended to the Negro population in arranging for job training and better employment placement.

-oOo-

ATLANTA,
GEORGIA

A SOUTHERNER
WRITES TO AN EDITOR

"I have recently had a heart attack and I doubt if I will get to see you and talk to you in person. I am therefore writing to you on the subject of segregation.

"I do not wish to waste your valuable time by writing to you to 'brag' of my ancestors. Buy my people on both sides of my family, both father's and mother's side, have been Southerners for nearly 300 years. My father fought in the Confederate Army at the Battle of Gettysburg when he was a boy of 15½. My grandfather was wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg. My grandfather Early's brother was Confederate Gen. Jubal A. Early who attacked through the town of Gettysburg with his Confederate division the first day of the battle. I had five Cabell cousins killed in the one little Civil War battle of New Market where the V.M.I. cadet batallion won the victory for the South.

"My ancestors and kinsmen, Cabells and Earlys, have been governors of Southern states, including Gov. Peter Early of Georgia. John Cabell Breckinridge of Kentucky was the presidential candidate for the Southern Democrats in 1860. He was a near cousin of my mother's.

"So if I am not a Southerner and a son of the Confederacy, who is?

"Being a Southerner I do not wish to see the South do anything that degrades the South.

"The wrongs and injustices perpetrated by Southern whites on Negroes in the past have injured the white South even more than they injured the helpless Negroes. Mark Twain said that the worst thing that could be said about a being was the he belonged to the human race. The actions of Negro - haters confirm Mark Twain's dictum.

"I am now in my 81st year and have seen segregation longer and further back than you. As a native-born Southerner all my life I have heard the same thing from Southerners: 'We like the Negro but like him in his place.' That meant the white Southerner wished to see Negro slavery continued in a slightly different form. Instead of individual ownership of Negro slaves, which the end of the Civil War stopped, it was to be a community ownership of Negro slaves. Negroes were to serve in the lowest paid group of illiterate personal servants and nothing else.

"My mother was a deeply religious person who before our Civil War ended, taught the family slaves something about the Christian religion. She taught her father's slaves the alphabet so they could read the Bible. Under the Virginia laws of those days my mother could have been put in the penitentiary for five years for teaching Negroes the alphabet.

"I believe that segregation is morally indefensible.

"A Southerner who is proud to be on your team."

CLIFFORD CABELL EARLY

From the August 16, 1963 edition of
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

-oOo-

DIOCESE OF
DELAWARE ACTS

Sparked by the leadership of the Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr., assistant at the Wilmington Cathedral, and consultant to the Diocese of Delaware, Department of Christian Social Relations on Interracial Relations, the Delaware Diocese and individual churchmen have acted on many levels to eliminate racial injustices and promote Christian inclusiveness.

The diocese has opened the lines of communication with all local civil rights groups and in January passed a resolution supporting the public accommodation bill then before the State Legislature.

Through the joint efforts of the Committee for Fair Practices (a local coordinating committee) the Diocese of Delaware sponsored a visit by Al Kramer of the National Council of Churches who helped to coordinate and increase the effectiveness of local groups.

For the past year and a half the Rev. Henry Herndon, rector of Calvary Church, Wilmington, has served with the State Human Relations Commission (a persuasive group newly created and composed of voluntary non-salaried commissioners.) The State Human Relations Commission has been effective in many ways, however, when it was unsuccessful in its negotiations to desegregate the last segregated theatre in Wilmington, an interfaith group called CONCERNED CITIZENS, composed of lay and clergy members, chaired by Father Dreisbach picketed this theatre from November 1962 to May 1963. This theatre now admits patrons irrespective of color.

CONCERNED CITIZENS in cooperation with other local groups is supporting the Delaware public accommodations bill which would make unlawful refusal of service in public accommodations because of race. CONCERNED CITIZENS has sponsored many activities for local citizens including a workshop for junior high students; a workshop for the study of the philosophy of non-violence; sessions in role playing. Also, it has sponsored picnics, folk dancing, and meetings in the homes of Negro and white members. A junior contingent of CONCERNED CITIZENS known as CONCERNED YOUTH has also been formed.

The diocese cooperating with other groups and CONCERNED CITIZENS has been effective in desegregating two local restaurants: "The Toddle House" and "The Surry Restaurant."

The Diocesan Youth have voted to study intergroup relations and will produce Father Malcolm Boyd's play, THEY AREN'T REAL TO ME at Christ Church, Greenville. James Leonard, head of the Playcrafters, will direct this production.

Edmund D. Curtis concerned that ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS be open to all persons on a non-racial basis requested and was granted permission by the Wilmington Cathedral to allow A.A. to meet on Saturdays in the Cathedral rather than in private homes.

The Rev. James Pritchard of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes') Church, Wilmington, located in a racially changing neighborhood, has instituted a program of remedial education.

Determined to avoid the calamitous events in nearby Cambridge, Maryland, local authorities have appointed the following Episcopal priests to form bi-racial committees in their respective towns: The Rev. Richard Bailey of Rehoboth Beach; the Rev. Pinckney Corsa of Middletown; and the Rev. Spencer Quick of Smyrna.

Among the active laity of the diocese are Dr. Muriel Crosby, Dr. Eugene McGowan, Leila 'Lee' Guyer of St. Barnabas, Marshalltown, and John Thomas of St. Andrews, Wilmington.

-oOo-

BOSTON,
MASSACHUSETTS

'FREEDOM SCHOOLS'
CONTINUE

A Citizens for Human Rights Committee led by an Episcopal priest opened three FREEDOM SCHOOLS for some 1,000 Negro secondary school students and young adults.

The committee director is the Rev. James P. Breeden of St. Paul's Cathedral. Father Breeden indicated that the schools will offer extensive courses dealing with contemporary racial problems within the context of the Negro's historical and cultural background within the United States.

Classes are being held three nights weekly at the Eliot Congregational Church, St. Mark's Episcopal Church, and All Saints Lutheran Church.

Instructors for the FREEDOM SCHOOLS were recruited from the Boston public school roster and nearby colleges. Classes are held in government, Negro history, philosophy and practice of non-violence, civil rights, and voter registration. Special emphasis is being placed on lessening the 'drop-out' rate among Negro high school students.

All inquiries concerning FREEDOM SCHOOL materials should be addressed to: The Rev. James P. Breeden, 41 Winthrop Street, Roxbury 19, Massachusetts.

-oOo-

Religion

New Executive Appointments

DEPARTMENT OF THE URBAN CHURCH

highlights

Board of
National Missions

United
Presbyterian
Church
in the U.S.A.

Room 1151
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

AUGUST 1963

Vol. III, No. 9

TODD BECOMES URBAN DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR

The Rev. George Todd became director of the Department of the Urban Church of the Board of National Missions, July 1.

Mr. Todd came to this post after four years in Taiwan under the denomination's Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations. His overseas assignment was to help the Presbyterian Church of Formosa recognize what all churches and nations must: that an industrial urban culture and economy are rapidly replacing a rural and agricultural way of life.

During his four years in Taiwan, Mr. Todd set up summer Church and Society seminars during which university and seminary students become workmen in order to be exposed to the problems of an industrial society. He also lectured in two theological seminaries, held seminars and discussions for ministers, laymen, women, and students, prepared special audio-visual and written materials on church and industry, supervised a number of pilot projects in evangelism, and trained other churchmen to do the same.

Before serving in Taiwan, Mr. Todd was on the staff of the East Harlem Protestant Parish in New York City from 1951-1959. For the last six of those years he was pastor of the Parish's Presbyterian Church of the Ascension, and also chairman of the East Harlem Council for Community Planning.

Along with his experience provided by former ministries, Mr. Todd brings firsthand knowledge of industry to his new post in the Board of National Missions. World War II was underway when he was graduated from high school in his hometown of Gary, Indiana. While he waited to be called for military service he combined work in a steel mill with night school and college. After three years in the Army, Mr. Todd returned to work in the mill and to attend Denison University in Ohio. He was graduated from Denison in 1948, and in 1951 received his B.D. from Yale Divinity School.

Present priorities in the Department of Urban Church are racial and cultural integration, community organization, and evan-

continued on page 2

RAMAGE IS NEW DIVISION HEAD

The Rev. David Ramage, former director of the Department of Urban Church, Chicago Presbytery, assumed his new position on July 1 as chairman of the Division of Church Strategy and Development of the Board of National Missions.

In the strategy and development unit Mr. Ramage heads the Departments of Urban Church, New Church Development, Town and Country and Indian Work, Mobile Ministries, and Work with Spanish-speaking People in the United States and the West Indies. A major emphasis is upon ministries in areas of racial unrest.

Mr. Ramage was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. He holds a B.A. degree from Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana (1951), and a B.D. from McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago (1955), and has also studied at the University of Chicago and the School of Social Work of the University of Illinois.

Prior to serving on the Chicago Presbytery staff he served three years as pastor of the Emerald Avenue Presbyterian Church, which is located in a racially changing Chicago community. During this time he also was consultant to Chicago's West Side Christian Parish. Since 1960 Mr. Ramage has been lecturer in Church and Community at McCormick Theological Seminary; he has also served as youth worker at Howell Neighborhood House, Chicago, associate director of Camp Reinberg, Palatine, Illinois, and group worker and program coordinator at Christopher House, Chicago.

George Todd . . . . . Director
Catherine Cottingham . . . . . Assistant to the Director
Bryant George . . . . . Associate Director
G. Daniel Little . . . . . Associate Director
Charles G. Chakerian . . . . . Administrator, Office of Church and Community
Marshal L. Scott . . . . . Administrator, Office of Industrial Relations
Robert Thom Whitcomb . . . . . Associate Administrator

DIRECTOR'S COLUMN

After spending four years out of the United States in Asia, I find it has been a gratifying experience to work through several piles of speeches, reports, articles, and other "fugitive" urban church materials written by American churchmen while I have been gone.

It appears to me that several concepts, not very widely embraced several years ago, are now occupying a leading place in the thinking of urban church leaders:

1. *The Whole Church in the Whole City.* In contrast to a focus on work in deteriorated inner-city areas which suffer from the most acute problems of urbanization, the urban church job is now seen as a calling of ministry and witness in whole *metropolitan* areas. All the churches of a metropolitan presbytery, whether urban or suburban, self-supporting or aided, are understood to be bound in compelling inter-relationships for faithful response to God's will for the City.

2. *Christian Focus on Society (Not Church).* These writers are not beginning with the Church's interests, needs, nor even its potentialities for service. Instead they are thinking about what is happening in the world around the Church and how the Church might become involved in these events. Christian attention to the trends and crises of the community in which a church is set takes precedence over attention to the church itself.

3. *The Church for the Sake of the World.* An earlier emphasis on upbuilding of congregational life with development of programs and services offered by the church itself (usually on its own premises), gives way to a view of the Church as an instrument to be deployed for participation in and transformation of "secular" structures in the city.

With these trends there appears a theological shift which affirms the city, without glorifying it. The city is symbolically a figure, and historically a culminating action of God's redemptive activity to bring men of all sorts and conditions, all races and nations, into a loving and serving relationship. Beyond the proper attention to God's concern for the troubled and disadvantaged in the city, and recognition of the call to prophetic opposition against urban political and social evil, these new writings are declaring that Christ is Lord of the city, and that God is the ever-present, active creator, governor, and redeemer in all the events and occasions of city life.

I have not been long enough returned to feel confident that these impressions are correct. I hope they are. The biggest change for me is to find myself lifted out of the "Asian Industrial Revolution" among people suffering the impact of rapid shifts from rural agricultural life to urban industrial life, into this American "Revolution in Race Relations." I discover that the best place to meet old friends these days is on the picket lines. Within my acculturation to the changing U.S.A. I have found that reunions with former Presbytery fathers and brethren take place most conveniently nowadays at integration rallies.

I am hoping that all of us are becoming increasingly sensitive to the historical reality that these revolutions are one revolution. The fight for the right to have a job commensurate with ability, the fight for education, the fight for access to decent housing, the fight for the right to participate in the process of decision making in government and society are the same fights East and West.

Urbanization is a world phenomenon, too. Many of us limit ourselves to parochial thinking bounded by one urban community, or to one city, or to one metropolitan area, or to cities in North America. The action in which we are engaged is part of a worldwide action by God's church to discover and embody what God wants of us in His rapidly expanding and deepeningly complicated cities. The experiences we have, the church in the cities of Asia need. We need to know that we have brother workers in Tokyo, Osaka, Taipei, Hong Kong, Manila, Seoul, and dozens of other places where new forms are emerging by God's grace from the rapidly moving urbanizing forces. We need to know what they can tell us.

I hope all of us can increasingly know ourselves as partners with the men and women struggling and creating in these far-away places. I hope some of us will be increasingly willing to see ourselves as vocationally disposable, not only on the American scene as between New York, Chicago, San Francisco, or St. Louis, but also as participants who might be called as well to labor in Cairo, Saõ Paulo, Calcutta, Singapore, or Mombassa in obedience as witnesses to Christ's powerful redeeming presence in the cities of our world.

--George Todd

Todd Becomes Urban Dept. Director. *cont. from page1*

gelism in high-rise housing developments. These are mission targets with which Mr. Todd is well acquainted.

Related to the Department is Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, which sponsors winter seminars for ministers and laymen on the nature of church, industry, labor and the city, and a summer program of "ministers-in-industry", which puts seminary students to work in factories.

OPEN COLUMNS

We invite comments on subjects of interest in the urban church field. Please feel free to react to the enclosed mimeographed material as well as material in the newsletter.

Please write your own response to the editorials and/or any other items of interest to those in urban church fields. We will publish all that we are able to accommodate.

Housing Segregation in the North and West

BACKGROUND

In the urban North and West, the Negro and (to a lesser extent) other colored groups and Jews are excluded from the free housing market. By the connivance of certain real estate men, bankers, mortgage houses, and others, minority groups are artificially frozen out of the free housing market, forced to pile up in certain areas which become ghettoes for them and they then become a "kept economic threat" to the whole community. The knowledge that with a 'Black Ghetto' certain men have the ability to saturate any given community with a flood of a minority group makes housing in communities on the periphery of the ghetto in the urban complex an unsafe economic venture.

Prior to 1948 the courts upheld the legality and enforceability of "Restrictive Covenants." This was a covenant in your deed by which you and your assigns agreed not to sell to Negroes. It was legal, *ergo* it was moral. It was illegal, *ergo* immoral to sell to Negroes in such a community. Since 1948 the courts have held such covenants are unenforceable. It is now legal to sell your house to a Negro and by the same logic, morally acceptable.

Out in the wings a large group of potential buyers, who have both the money and the desire to buy are being held by the unscrupulous as a sort of Damoclean economic threat to every community. The unscrupulous always make use of the uninformed.

The segregated housing pattern of the urban North and West is one of the major problems facing the Church. The pattern at present is one of almost total segregation of Negroes. Holding back the 'Black Ghetto' is like holding back the sea with a wall of uneven strength. A crack develops and first a trickle comes through and then a flood until another area is annexed to the 'Black Ghetto.' The rule of life as it is lived in our communities is "Negroes in, whites out."

OPEN OCCUPANCY COVENANTS

The only action program of the Church, nationally, has been to circulate open occupancy covenants, in addition to making some excellent pronouncements on this subject.

It is unlikely that open occupancy covenants on a voluntary basis, involving primarily those in "active" Church membership, are functional in a large urban complex. The implementing value of such covenants is primarily for smaller villages, towns, and for educational purposes.

VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE STATUS QUO

Let us examine six possible alternatives:

1. *Integrate Church Properties*

Open all buildings, apartments, houses, etc., that local churches, synods, presbyteries, and the General Assembly agencies own, for rent or sale on an unsegregated basis. Properties that have been given to the Church, properties that the Church has bought - all properties whatsoever should be open for rent or sale to persons on an unsegregated basis. (Housing owned by colleges and seminaries and rented for profit, if opened on an unsegregated basis, would make a nice little dent in the real estate market in a number of places.)

2. *Volunteer Fair Housing Committees*

Volunteer committees drawn from white communities can sometimes become effective if they are able to secure staff. Infrequently do volunteers do the leg work necessary to get the willing buyer in touch with the willing seller. Negroes have been systematically excluded from this housing for so long that it takes much intensive work to convince them that whites are ready to be "fair" in housing. The Church can and should be at work in this field and can do so by recruiting and financing the staff time of persons to work with Fair Housing committees in local communities.

3. *Change the Balance of Economic Power*

The Institutional Church; national Boards, national Church holding agencies, local church boards, church trustees, etc., should enter church funds from dead and living sources, in large housing developments (similar to Lake Meadows in Chicago or Morningside Gardens in New York.) The Church should invest funds presently invested in "sure fire stocks and bonds" in housing for people - any people. It should become at least as concerned about people and as willing to risk money on housing for people as the New York Life Insurance Company or the Ladies Garment Workers Union are. It should compete for land being reclaimed from slums for housing people on a non-segregated basis.

The Church here can show the way. This no doubt will not produce the starting dividends that aircraft or munitions stocks will, but it will be consecrated money well invested. As the Church is involved and demonstrates that it is willing to risk its money and its good name in what it has been preaching, some of the "other" money of the community may enter this field.

4. *Planned Dispersion*

Under this plan affirmative action would be taken by local communities to seek out minority group families who desire housing in integrated areas. These families would be assisted in every possible way (showing homes, legal assistance, mortgage financing from willing mortgage firms, or The Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program), and be given a welcome by neighbors when they move in. These minority families would be moved in under good, sound planning procedures designed to prevent blocks or neighborhoods from becoming racial ghettoes. This plan requires the active participation of church members and probably at least part-time staff help.

continued on page 5

HIGHLIGHTS - The official publication of the Department of the Urban Church, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Published 4 times yearly at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y. *Bryant George,* Editor. August 1963 issue. Unsigned material written by Editor.

The Corrupt Society

John Kenneth Galbraith calls this "The Affluent Society." Fred J. Cook calls it "The Corrupt Society."

In the special June 1-8 issue of *The Nation,* Cook presents a well-documented case. Discussing in detail such highly publicized instances of corrupt and unethical practices as the quiz-show riggings, the price-fixing of major electrical companies, the organized burglaries of policemen in Denver, Chicago, and other cities, and the systematic frauds of Billie Sol Estes, reporter Cook takes a hard look at the ethics of today's society and concludes that almost anything goes, so long as there's profit in it. Or, as he says, "The ethic, as James Hagerty said about the U-2 incident, is 'don't get caught,' a noble and inspiring motto, certainly, on which to build the framework of society."

Most of the cases Cook discusses gained wide publicity, but they are not unique. Scarcely a day goes by without "All the News That's Fit to Print" including at least one story that adds more evidence that his thesis is correct.

Examples are rife: A high city official allows a real estate developer dealing with the city to redecorate his apartment; forced to resign when convicted of conflict of interest, the errant public servant is later added to the city payroll again in a minor capacity so that he may be eligible for a pension.

Policemen are accused by coffee house owners of demanding payoffs. Little restaurants, barber shops, and other small businesses conduct betting operations so openly as to be obvious to the casual visitor. Yet apparently alert police can find no evidence of wrong-doing.

Slumlords make vast profits. Welfare recipients frequently pay the same high rents paid by occupants of luxury apartment buildings, but their high-priced accommodations are often such that the building should be condemned.

For an appropriate sum, building inspectors carefully overlook use of shoddy materials and sloppy workmanship in new structures. After all, what does it matter if a school wall collapses?

As Cook points out, the highway construction boom has provided a particularly good source for ill-gotten gains. Poorly built roads, unneeded construction, extraordinarily high costs seem almost to be the norm. The July 14th *New York Times* reports on an investigation into highway building on Long Island and notes that although presently concentrating on highway construction, "the investigation will cover all phases of upward of $100,000,000 of public construction projects in the state." Uncovered by the investigators is evidence of payroll-padding, short weighting of delivered materials, political bribery, tax-evasion, and assorted other practices designed to get as much as possible from that giver of the good life for many - the taxpayer.

Congressional investigations regularly uncover substantial evidence of wrong-doing connected with governmental contracts. Yet talk to almost anyone who works in a plant filling such contracts; odds are that he can tell you of instances such as that reported by workers in a large aircraft plant. Asked to put in overtime work, they found that they had absolutely nothing to do. No secret was made of the fact that the unnecessary overtime was merely for the sake of protecting profits on defense contracts. It is cheaper to pay workers for doing nothing than to admit that the job is being done for far less than the government - and the public - is being charged.

Such evidence of unethical behavior is found everywhere. The housewife buys a large package of cereal and finds it little more than half-full. The smallest size of toothpaste is labeled "large."

Anyone can readily think of dozens of other examples of such practices. Often illegal, always unethical or immoral, they are so widespread that little attention is paid to new revelations.

Not always are such activities for monetary profit. Some are for political gain. A resident of Avenue B, on Manhattan's Lower East Side, noted with wry amusement what she called "the saga of the trash cans." Prior to the last mayoralty election, the heavily populated area was visited by the special complaint vehicle. Apparently residents complained about the paucity of sanitation services. Shortly thereafter, wire trash baskets appeared on every corner of the street; a street sweeper appeared every day to complete the job sketchily done by the big street-cleaning machine. For the first time the street was adequately cleaned and remained so. A few days after the incumbent party was returned to power, a truck collected all of the trash baskets and carried them away. Not one has been returned. The street sweeper ceased his duties. The street was returned to its normal state of litter.

And where is the church in all of this? In discussing the price-fixing case, Cook says, "One of the greatest ironies...may be found in the fact that even so great an exposure of the shallowness of our 'sea of ethics' has accomplished nothing. And one reason for this is that none of the leaders of our society dare to face up to its implications - not even our churchmen. The clergy, supposedly our most perceptive leaders in the field of ethics, were baffled at the spectacle of the bellwethers of their communities and churches suddenly shedding Brooks Brothers suits for prison stripes. What were they to think of these 'good guys' in 'bad guy' roles? Frankly, they didn't know."

He goes on to quote one pastor of a church in a community where many of the convicted lived: "Throughout the whole turmoil, the irrelevance of the churches to the situation was evident... Ministers confessed the sense of confusion they felt - now is the time when a cogent word on the whole problem of corporate moral responsibility needs to be spoken."

Yet, says Cook, "it is quite obvious that no one knows quite what to say." And in his concluding paragraphs, he says:

"There are those who argue that the racket society must remain invincible until man, as an individual, has a change of heart through religion. Yet we are today living in an age of what passes for religious revival; there are more churches, more congregants, more pastors pleading for the moral life than ever before. The result is a Billie Sol Estes, pillar of his

Housing Segregation in the North and West
cont. from p.3

The Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program is a quasi-governmental agency which serves as a clearing house for bringing together the eligible borrower and the willing private lender. Loans may be secured in the local region or anywhere in the country. Eligible applicants are those who: (1) live in cities of less than 25,000 population, where long-term financing is not available, and (2) those who belong to a minority group regardless of the size of the city. To be eligible, minority group applicants must have had applications for mortgages rejected twice, and they must also state that they were rejected because they belong to a minority group.

5. *Work to Change Laws*

The Church must work for state laws coupled with city ordinances that will make illegal the refusal to sell or rent to a minority person capable and willing to buy. This only can be open occupancy. This would mean that a Negro or Puerto Rican with money could buy on exactly the same basis as a white person. He would select his community, school, house, and church as any other child of God in this country. This would mean dispersion of Negroes throughout the total metropolitan community on the basis of choice-plus-financial-ability. The end of the 'Black Ghetto' based on race. The end of the captive buyers who the unscrupulous can flood into your community anytime.

This is a problem that will not go away if we close our eyes. This is not a problem that will be solved for the Church by time; time is neutral. Creation of new unsegregated housing is the Church's task in this time. This is a problem that the Church will have to face squarely by using one of the above or some equally daring method, now!

The scars of segregated living would remain for sometime to come. This would be reflected in your schools, your church, the playmates your children make as they mingle with the children of the freedmen. The cost to all of us will be less now than ten years from now.

The Corrupt Society
cont. from p.4

own church. Perhaps religion demands an austerity of spirit that does not comport with an age of abundance."

Does it? Or has the church simply too long shown tacit agreement with the prevailing notion that religion is strictly for Sundays and has nothing to do with activities that go on from Monday through Saturday?

- *Hope Cromwell*

ENCLOSURES IN THIS MAILING

Enclosed in this mailing are the following: Two papers by David W. Barry, executive director of the New York City Mission Society, and a Presbyterian. His papers, entitled "Guidelines for the Evaluation of the Local Urban Church, Paper I and Paper II" were originally used at conferences sponsored by the Department of the Urban Church of the Board of National Missions. Dr. Barry is one of the world's foremost experts on urban church work.

The paper entitled "Some Reactions of a City Pastor to the Effective City Church Study" is by George Younger, pastor of the Mariners' Temple Baptist Church in New York City, and a well-known author. This paper reflects on material produced by the National Council of Churches' Department of Urban Church between April '55 -November '60, which dealt with a so-called "effective" city church.

The paper entitled "The Other America", by Michael Harrington, is reprinted from the *Journal of Housing*, December 27, 1962, by permission, and from *Current*, March 1963, by permission. Harrington speaks of poverty as a separate culture within America.

"Reorganization in the Casbah" was originally published in *Social Progress*, the publication of the Board of Christian Education, and is reprinted by permission. Author Nicholas Von Hoffman is on the staff of the Industrial Areas Foundation, and once was an organizer in the Woodlawn community, a Negro slum in Chicago.

We recommend all of these papers to you. Additional copies are free of charge. If you would like others, write to this Department.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF 1963

These are some steps we could take:

1. Involve yourself in the events of your home city. Demonstrate with your fellow ministers on this moral issue. Demonstrate with the civil rights organizations on those specific issues that do make sense.
2. Find out what your denomination is doing around the country. The cities are your field of interest and so you need to know some of the who, what, when, and where's.
3. Let the Board of National Missions Special Committee on Religion and Race know of who could be freed of other responsibilities to give full-time leadership to church involvement for three months for this work.
4. Seek out local support of these men and have it widely publicized.
5. Stimulate local thinking on the churches' redemptive role in this revolution.
6. Participate in the struggle for congressional passage of Civil Rights legislation. Write your friends and colleagues, especially from those states west of the Mississippi.
7. Write your own congressmen and senators supporting Civil Rights Bills H.R. 7152 and S. 1731.
8. Help local churches chart the internal steps necessary for the integration of the church, for the study of racial relations, for the fair employment practices in the construction and staffing of churches.
9. Participate in the August 28 demonstration in Washington at the Lincoln Memorial.
10. Involve yourself in study and action.

John Wagner, Jr.
Director, Department of Urban Church
N.C.C.

Rel - Sou - 1963

Interracial News Service

A DIGEST OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

BI-MONTHLY $2.50 FOR TWO YEARS

VOLUME 34 JULY-AUGUST, 1963 NUMBER 3

THE CREATIVE ROLE OF CONTROVERSY

*by Dan W. Dodson**

Many Christians are baffled by the contradictions within their faith. Most of them consider it to be of supreme importance to go out and bear witness to the faith within them, thus changing the world. Our hymnals are filled with stirring songs which through the centuries have helped to buoy up Christian morale and reenergize the individual faith in final victory. This is the militant side of religion.

Conversely, but still characteristically Christian, is the great yearning for surcease from the conflict and travail which a world presents. The great vision of Micah, when the "swords would be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks, and man would lay down his arms and study war no more," has persisted across the centuries. There is a notion that ultimately love will "cover the earth as the waters the seas," and all the differences and controversy will cease.

The history of each denomination among us is one of some great charmismic leader who established his sect. He started out, usually under persecution, to find a more creative outreach to God than was then current. His group was at war with "sin, the flesh, and the devil" and the dynamic of this ideological position attracted multitudes who institutionalized his movement into a church. Somehow, as the cause succeeded in attracting persons, it left off its controversial, militant aspect. The more popular the church became, the less its ideology counted, until many are, today, all things to all people.

Space does not permit an analysis of the origins of this yearning for "peace" and "brotherhood" which is devoid of controversy. Some believe it is a memory, imbedded deep in the unconscious, dating back to the period spent in the womb, when we had no conflict with our environment. Images of heaven almost unanimously include such concepts as a place where "the battle will be won," and where there will be no more conflict, either internal or external. No more growth-producing confrontations shall be necessary, for man will have achieved perfection.

Another contradiction in our faith is between authoritarian and democratic ideologies. Most religions are authoritarian, at least in their origins. Most believe theirs to be the finest creative expression of the relationship between God and Man. Some believe theirs to be the *only* such expression. The solution to controversy, under this kind of religious order, lies in the creation of prescribed standards to which the church membership must be rigidly faithful. The fight is for a uniformity which will resolve the differences which produce conflict. We may learn to respect the differences which others possess, but if we are devout in our faith, we really yearn for everyone else to be like us; then we can demonstrate Christian communion with one another, and differences will disappear. Most religious sects are nurtured by a dynamic which is a religious ideal of perfection. Such ideals are really authoritarian. Anything which brooks on challenge to these, dogmas, etc. becomes heresy, deviationism, or controversy.

In contrast to the above is the democratic ideology with its emphasis upon individual freedom and growth. It questions perfection and holds that man is capable of almost limitless growth. It emphasizes processes through which persons with differences are brought into confrontation with each other. In such human association, participants can not only achieve higher levels of consensus, but also discover more meaningful ways than were possible previously. The democratic ideology proposes that we all "see through a glass darkly," and that clearer vision is offered if we come together to test and validate our convictions against those of other persons with whom we are in "love and fellowship". These meaningful confrontations, however, are almost always conflict producing.

Between these two orientations we are understandably ambivalent. From our religious heritage we believe that there is "the truth." From our secular heritage we seek ever higher levels of understanding of man and his relationship to God. One set of convictions seeks, through controversy, witness, and evangelism, to advance "the kingdom" according to his image of it. The other is equally sincere as to the necessity for bringing people to significant encounters with those of differing opinions, in order that the beliefs and values of all be constantly in process of change, moving from limited to more universal levels.

Although the church has become popular, and the social, in contrast to the ideological attraction of the fellowship is more nearly the basis of membership, we still cling to the idea that those who are in "love and charity with their neighbors" must not be in controversy with each other. At the same time we cherish the idea of individual freedom and the right to differ. We feel hurt when people who are "so Christian" disagree so violently. The worst of our "falling outs" are those in which both protagonists contend that "The Lord" is on his side. There is no more dogmatic position than that of a man who can marshal his Lord to support him. Most wars don't become earnest ones until each contender is convinced that God is on his side, and it evolves into holy war. Truly a rethinking of the role of controversy is needed in modern churchmanship.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS

With this background in mind, this writer would pose the following as fundamental propositions:

(1) One cannot have freedom without differences. One cannot have differences without ensuing conflicts and controversies. In fact, a case would be made that some controversy is the hall mark of a free society.

(2) The church without controversy is a conforming church. Either people feel it is not good manners to disagree, fear the social isolation which comes from being different, or else the homogeneity of the group is such that the congregation is not being led to significant encounters with the realities of a world of which they are a part.

(3) The "cutting edges" of a democratic society are at the points of tension and difference. They are not in the areas of life where consensus has been achieved. It is these differences, about which people care, that should be brought into the open and examined in the light of Christian commitment. When this is done, commitments become more than mere lip service. They have a deeper significance, because they have been tested against opposing beliefs. The fear of submitting one's differences of belief to this kind of test indicates concern, concern that the crucible of controversy may prove that there has been more slag than gold in previous beliefs. Growth is dependent upon significant confrontations where differences of viewpoint are ventilated.

* Dr. Dodson is Director for the Center of Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University. This article appeared first in the February 1963 issue of *Social Action* published by the United Church of Christ. It is reprinted here with permission of the author, and the editor of *Social Action*.

(4) Fear or failure to express doubt about what one's group believes, leads to conformity. Conformity leads to alienation. Honest doubt is a prerequisite to growth. The expression of doubt which may lead to controversy is essential, if there is to be growth. One cannot continue to psychologically identify with a group and doubt its myths, rituals and dogmas. Too many congregations are held together by social ties rather than spiritual ones. Too many go through the motions of subscribing to beliefs as well as values in which they do not believe, but dare not communicate their perplexities to others. Hence, they live alienated lives, in a social fellowship of conformity which is conflict free, but not truly Christian, in the best sense of the word.

(5) Few, if any, vested interests which this author can imagine will surrender their favored position without resistance and conflict. The church cannot remain dynamic without bringing the world to confrontation on significant social issues. The moral and ethical issues involved in modern problems of race relations, war and peace, the trend toward materialism in values, and the relation between the market place and human values, all attest to the need for the church to be a dynamic institution. In the swirling vortex of change, the church should stand ready to inject into the change process those attributes which are uniquely hers to give, so that the religious aspect of man's nature will be further enhanced. This cannot be done without controversy.

(6) It is illogical to expect that a congregation in the average modern church will endorse significant change through consensus. Interests are too varied. The most powerful people of the community, people who are most often identified with the *status quo,* are usually the most influential people in the leadership of the church. A group moves both through conflict and consensus. If the deviants are not of the leadership of the church, and generally speaking they are not, they must needs resort to controversy and conflict. The most that social action groups can hope for, in the average local congregation, is freedom enough within the fellowship to bring the whole congregation to significant confrontation. The mature congregation must reconcile itself to the fact that this autonomy, for those who differ, is something precious. It is a built-in guarantee that the congregation as a whole will not stop growing.

(7) Every group has a status ordering, with some leadership in positions of more power than others. This power structure in an average group tends to work through integrative processes and to avoid controversy. Those who are outside the power structure are obliged to work by means of controversy and conflict, if they are to successfully challenge what they consider to be undesirable. A power structure which was never challenged would soon lead a group out of the main stream and into the eddies of life, for its position is made secure because it represents the order that is. Henry D. Lloyd once said:

> "Seldom does the new conscience, when it seeks a teacher to declare to men what is wrong, find him in the dignitaries of the church, the state, the culture that is. The higher the rank, the closer the tie that binds those to what is, but ought not to be."

It has been this writer's experience that the pressure group in an average situation comes nearer to representing the voice of conscience than does the established institutions of a community. The climate within the fellowship through which these deviant and controversial groups can bring the congregation to confrontation, is an assurance that the group is mature.

THE ART OF MONITORING CONTROVERSY

Skill and discernment in monitoring controversies so that they neither become stultifying nor destructive are prerequisites for able institutional leadership. The general field of group dynamics has provided much insight into this field within the last few years.

A few suggestions will indicate the range of skills involved:

(1) Creating a climate conducive to freedom of expression. All fear of recrimination must be removed. There should be emphasis on respect for the dignity and worth of personality of those who most vigorously and adamantly espouse a position. There must be encouragement of expression. (Many employers have thought they had consensus with their employees and were disappointed, simply because they assumed that because there was no dissent there was agreement.) It does not help to maneuver a proponent of a position into a role which he is obliged to defend. It makes for more productive airing of differences if the group climate can be that of "thinking through" a problem rather than that of two adversaries, with polarized position, jousting in a test of strength. There should be the spirit of Christian love and forebearance, but this should not be used as a pressure to secure conformity, thereby coercing adversaries into positions in which they are not really comfortable.

(2) Strengthen group cohesiveness even amid controversy. In any group each person plays many roles. It is a rare thing when controversies involve individuals in more than a few of these roles. It helps tremendously if those who are opposed on one issue can be persuaded to work together on some common issue in which they are in agreement. For instance, if there is disunity over some issue, such as the church's responsibility in the economic order, it helps if the adversaries are at the same time working on other committees or actions, such as the church budget, or its educational program. The genius of American life is in no small measure that few if any issues completely divide us. There are usually more things we share in common than there are things which set us apart. A good case could be made for the proposition that we feel free to differ only about in proportion as we feel secure in the things we share in common.

(3) Keep the communication process going. If there is anything more disastrous than rudeness and bad manners, it is to withdraw from controversy and not participate. This has been a great shortcoming of the middle class Protestant leadership. It has been easier to try to escape from the inner cities to the suburbs, in effect withdrawing from the great confrontations which are taking place in the former, than it has been to stay and make one's influence felt in the decision making processes. Too many homogeneous suburban communities, and homogeneous social class churches have become respectable places to hide from difference and controversy. Rather than dedicated institutions where committed people meet to deepen commitment and move out to meet life, they have become retreats where people seek sanctuary from life.

Anthropologists know that the most sensitive areas in a culture are often the least discussed. The real art of dealing with controversy is knowing how to keep the discussion alive.

One technique which is proving of use in interfaith relations today is called the dialogue. Here persons who disagree come together to discuss the areas of their differences. Such a technique is predicated on the belief that people of integrity differ, that they admit they differ, and that the differences count. They then discuss the metes and bounds of their agreements and disagreements, and learn how to disagree as agreeably as possible.

(4) Encourage collection of facts and other information in order to provide more light and less heat.

This search for and evaluation of data on issues of controversy is a built-in, growth-producing process. It means an increasingly enlightened fellowship. It means a vital and vigorous involvement of all concerned.

(5) Try to understand the "threat fields" of those in controversy, and deal with them sensitively.

Almost every person has areas of life in which he feels vulnerable. Most of us build strong emotional barricades to these vulnerable spots. Recognition of these help to explain what might otherwise be termed irrational behavior. In Western Texas, where this writer grew up, the men who fought the saloons hardest were frequently those who practically had to run past them to keep from the temptation of going inside! St. Paul's persecution of the Christians becomes meaningful only when seen in context of his later conversion. Only a man who was threatened in an area of vulnerability could have behaved so inhumanly. It is probable that those who are most rabidly resisting opportunities for minority groups today are at the same time most vulnerable to the appeal. The most rabid anti-Communist among the industrial group, one could hypothesize, is he who feels least secure in his belief in the

private enterprise system. If he were as sure as he contends, "Why doth he protest so much?" Does not this also explain the fierce identity with social class? Does this not also explain much of the intense sectarian bigotry? If one feels secure in his faith, why does he have to marshal as much emotion to defend it as some do?

Are not these, or comparable ones, fields of threat to the personality of us all? It would help, if sometimes when there is controversy, we could comprehend some of this dynamic, using this comprehension to remove these threat fields, thus reversing resistance to possible acceptance. This requires thoughtful assessment of the alternate routes to change, so that "emotional corns" are not stepped on too hard.

THE DYNAMIC CHURCH

Today, our institutions of religion are under attack. The Black Muslims are saying, for instance, that the Christian religion has provided the ideology which makes servility for Negroes bearable for them and profitable for us. Love, patience, forbearance, "turn the other cheek", "Blessed are Ye, when man shall despise Ye, and hatefully use you", are Christian virtues they contend, which make it poossible for Negroes to continue to be exploited.

We are accused of becoming a middle class country club with a steeple on it. We are accused of trying to hide from life in these modern church buildings in homogeneous suburbs. Sunday morning is said to be the most racially segregated hour in America.

There is enough truth in these statements to make us uncomfortable and defensive. The very genius of Protestantism was that each man should become a priest unto himself; that there are no men among us who know better what is good for us than we know for ourselves. If we are to be our own priests, we should feel compelled to validate our position in as many contexts as possible. What assurance have we that our most basic commitments can stand the test of differences in the crosswinds of community life unless we are prepared to "lay them on the line"? Unless there is a constant "feedback" to assure us, how can we be sure that there is growth in Christian churchmanship commensurate with the era of which we are a part?

Growth is promoted by involvement in significant encounters, in which each makes his contribution to the directions of change. Of equal importance, each is changed himself, because of such participation. A non-controversial congregation is a dead one. A graveyard is the only known place where there is no controversy. There is no growth there. If, in this era, the church is to be worthy of the responsibilities laid upon her by Our Lord, there can be no place for conformity, provincialism, or other shielding devices. If that to which we are committed won't stand up in this modern world, we had better know now what is wrong with it. If it will stand up, this is no time to hide our witness to it. A wholesome amount of controversy is our surest way of answering that question for ourselves and for our congregations.

A RESOLUTION*
THE USE OF ECONOMIC PRESSURES IN RACIAL TENSIONS

approved by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, June 8, 1963

The Church affirms that the demands of the Gospel transcend barriers of race, class and nation. In regard to specific ways of combatting discrimination the Church's voice and position are often much less clear. This is particularly true in regard to the use of economic pressures, such as the "sit-in," the "freedom ride," the "stand-in," the "kneel-in," and selective buying or selective patronage.

The National Council of Churches has taken a clear position on a) the Christian responsibility to work against those special forms of economic injustice that are expressed through racial discrimination; b) the right of all persons to equal opportunity for employment and the full use of occupational skills; c) the validity of "orderly non-violent demonstrations as expressions of just and righteous indignation against laws, customs and traditions which violate human personality (and as) efforts to bring these laws, customs and traditions into conformity with the law of God," expressed in the case of sit-in demonstrations and reiterated at the time of, though not with specific reference to, the freedom rides; d) efforts to eliminate racial segregation in education; and e) discrimination in housing.

In view of the increasing significance of, and frequently mounting bitterness and tension in, the use of economic pressures in racial situation, the National Council of Churches recognizes that economic pressure is not simply good or evil in itself but must be judged in terms of the ethical ends it serves and the restraint and discipline with which it is used.

THEREFORE, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES HERE FURTHER RESOLVES:

A. That, we believe it is the resposibility of Christians:

First, to understand the extent, manner and significance in human terms of the ways in which economic pressures have been and are still being used to deprive persons of the right to train for and pursue their choice of livelihood and to prevent them from the exercise of their human and civil rights;

Second, to refrain from any action that uses economic pressure or sanction to deprive persons of these rights because of race, creed, or national origin;

Third, to give voice, both personally and through church and other groups, in opposition to such practices where they appear in one's occupation, economic group, local community or our own church-related institutions;

Fourth, to seek ways, individually or through group action, to relieve or resolve tension situations involving economic discrimination based on race, to support voluntary mutual agreements, to initiate and support legislation aimed at preventing such discrimination in private as well as public segments of the economy, and also to support candidates for public office at local, county, state and Federal levels in advocacy of such legislation;

Fifth, when other efforts to secure these rights do not avail, to support and participate in economic pressures where used in a responsible and disciplined manner to eliminate economic injustice and to end discrimination against any of God's people based on race, creed or national origin.

B. That, we urge all churches and their members to undertake repentantly, prayerfully and concretely to fulfill these basic responsibilities toward all people.

BACKGROUND PAPER OF INFORMATION**
THE USE OF ECONOMIC PRESSURES IN RACIAL TENSIONS

For many years economic pressures have been employed in this country either to maintain or to seek to eliminate discrimination based on race, creed or national origin. Today members of racial minorities are increasingly making more effective use of such measures. Christian concern for justice leads us to welcome measures that promise to right the wrongs from which many people of minority groups have long suffered. At the same time many church people are perplexed as to the possible consequences of such measures upon the fabric of community life. It is to this question that this resolution is addressed.

Historical Perspective

For full understanding of the scope and intensity of the pressures and counterpressures being built up at many points

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***condensed from original*

today it is necessary to view the developments from the perspective of a long and tortured economic history, during which the white population of the nation has for many years engaged in a gigantic "shut-out" operation against the non-white population. This has been directed primarily against the Negro, although in many communities Puerto Ricans, Spanish-Americans, Indian-Americans, and others have also been victims of severe economic discrimination.

Though all people are, in varying degrees, involved in some forms of discriminatory action in day-to-day and face-to-face economic pursuits, it is quite possible to remain unaware of their full scope and significance. Buyers and sellers of houses, employers, members of labor unions, members of civic organizations or boards of lending institutions, residents of segregated communities and worshippers in segregated churches, knowingly or unknowingly, directly or indirectly, contribute to and suffer from the evil of discrimination.

We believe it is of primary importance that Christian people everywhere recognize that what may be called bread-and-butter injustice can be equally as devastating to human life and well-being as civil injustice, if not more so, largely because bread-and-butter pursuits are so necessary to the maintenance of life. Because these forms of injustice are so closely related to habit, local mores, and man-to-man relationships, they can only partially be opposed or regulated by law or civil authority.

Economic Pressures that Perpetuate Inequality

One of the major handicaps imposed on the basis of race is inferior employment opportunity. From this handicap, resulting in permanently depressed income status, comes a large share of the social and psychological handicaps. Both a cause as well as a result of low employment potential, and hence of economic pressure, is also inferior educational opportunity. Segregation in housing, produced by both economic and social factors, is a fundamental cause of segregation in education, and the factor which makes it most difficult at present to create integrated educational facilities in many communities.

In effect, the history of the use of economic pressures in racial tensions shows that the white population has not only sought to compel non-white persons to remain on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder through restricted opportunity for gainful employment, but has also subjected them to further forms of economic retaliation when they have attempted to exercise other rights normally available to citizens of the community.

Economic Pressures and the Law

a) In Regard to Public Facilities

By the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 relating to desegregation of the public schools, prior decisions of the same Court had begun to secure for non-white Americans, under law, a number of substantial rights. The primary economic ones were the voiding of racial segregation in interstate transportation and the negating of enforcement by the courts of racially restrictive covenants in housing.

b) In Private Sectors of the Economy

In terms of the private sectors of the economy it may be said that, until the era of the first fair employment legislation began in 1945, there was little obstruction on any statute books to prevent most of the traditional uses or abuses of economic power for discrimination due to race, creed or national origin. Obviously one reason economic pressure has been so widely used as an instrument of discrimination over the years is the fact that it could be applied largely "within the law."

Use of Economic Pressures to End Discrimination

Whereas in the past economic suppression of practically every known form has been practiced in seeking to maintain the secondary status of Negroes and other non-whites, today the tables are being turned and a new spirit of economic aggressiveness is emerging on the part of those previously suppressed.

Some Complicating Factors

One complicating factor in evaluating the ethical significance of economic pressures lies in the fact that most of them are of the two-edged variety in that they can be used by either side in the tension situation against the other. They raise the question, therefore, of the purpose for which they are being used. From an ethical standpoint the existence of power, even of apparently "legal" power, is not the warrant for its exercise. The proper warrant for the exercise of any power is the necessary accomplishment of an ethically valid purpose, such as, in this case, the Christian concept of justice for all.

Some of the pressures raise questions of law and thus involve the problems of resistance to unjust laws and pressure for their interpretation at higher jurisdictional levels . . .

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

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It has been the policy of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations not to publish a July-August issue of the INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE. This year a May-June issue was not published and you are receiving the July-August issue in its place.

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Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches

Report of the Executive Director

Lincoln, Nebraska
September 5, 1963

The long hot summer is over, the fall of uncertainty begins.

At the end of three months, the Commission on Religion and Race finds itself deeply involved in the struggle for racial justice in this country. We can claim no spectacular victories, but we are providentially placed in positions of strength where the battle is heaviest.

I wish to make a report in three parts, first a review of the major activities of the Commission in the month since the last meeting; second, the ongoing involvements and investigations in which we are presently engaged; and finally a look at the issues confronting us for the months directly ahead.

I.

Those of us on the staff and those from cooperating denominations feel as if we had lived through a year of history in the past month.

On the day following the last Commission meeting several members of the staff left for Memphis, to begin a follow-up to our earlier visit to Clarksdale, Mississippi. The first task force visiting there in early July at the invitation of the Negro community had been served an injunction and had departed. We were committed to follow up our earlier visit and to try to establish some communication between the Negro and white communities if at all possible. There followed an agonizing week of attempts to meet with and talk with white clergy and lay leaders in Clarksdale. Most of this was done from Memphis on the belief that it would be easier if people came out of the Clarksdale situation to confer. All lines of communication seemed broken, even though we were

able to tell the white community that a major demonstration was going to take place. We had extensive discussion with the president of the National Council and the acting chairman of the Commission about the appropriate position of the Commission in the demonstration. We finally decided that all future effectiveness with the white community would be broken if we did break the anti-parading ordinance. We did not join the NAACP-led demonstration, but instead decided to sponsor an event of our own which might carry its own unique power. So on August 8th we accepted the invitation of a Negro Baptist Church to hold an interracial ecumenical service of worship at noon. Over thirty clergymen from many denominations, including Dr. Fiers and Dr. Ward of this Commission, processed through the streets of Clarksdale to the church. Following a moving service of worship, members of the group went out two by two, Negro and white, to call on white clergymen in the city to try to move them to action and reconciliation. There was constant police surveillance, all the members of the group were served with the same injunction the first group had received, and a young white student was seized by the police in retaliation against us. The emotion and tension of the occasion are hard to describe. We did bail the student out. We did succeed in making a powerful witness in hard core northern Mississippi that shook many people. We are not through in Clarksdale. It has become a test case of Mississippi intransigence versus the power of the Christian gospel and the church which seeks to serve that gospel.

Clarksdale is significant also because it was the first place that the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law participated with us. Mr. J. Robert Lunney of Sherman and Sterling was appointed by them (this is the continuation of the White House Lawyers' Committee) to be our counsel in this event and in succeeding ones.

While in Mississippi, Mr. Lunney and Mr. John Pratt of our staff

made some field investigations of the desperate legal situation which many Negro demonstrators faced when arrested in that state. Up to that time, no national bonding company had been willing to furnish bail for civil rights cases in Mississippi because local outlets immediately lost their licenses. There were many grim situations in Mississippi this summer, but one of the worst centered around some arrests in Itta Bena, a small hamlet just outside Greenwood. Here dozens of people, ranging from seventy year old ladies to young teenagers had been arrested unexpectedly following a mass meeting and had been incarcerated for over two months under inhuman conditions. After extensive negotiation, and with the good offices of the Lawyers' Committee, we succeeded in getting a national bonding company to make an attempt to furnish bail in that hardship situation. With a $10,000 bail grant from the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, and using bail bonds underwritten by this company, Mr. Pratt secured the release of 57 prisoners from Parchman State Penitentiary and the County Jail on August 16th. It was a very dramatic and moving occasion which has been written up in a separate report by Mr. Pratt. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee provided invaluable field assistance in this project.

We were still focusing on Mississippi when we were obliged to give attention to Wilmington, North Carolina. Here, David Jones, a McCormick Seminary student, a summer volunteer with the Student Interracial Ministry, had figured as a central person in the freedom movement there. He had served 30 days in jail for contempt of court. Since the Student Interracial Ministry was a project of the National Council of Churches (related to the Department of Race and Cultural Relations) although not specifically of this Commission, we felt obligated to be involved there. Mr. Jones' witness had sparked the protest movement. We were invited to participate as a Commission in a demonstration during

the week following his release. Mr. Moore and a representative group of clergymen did share in the leadership of a rally and prayer meeting on the steps of the courthouse in Wilmington. Dr. Roger L. Shinn of Union Seminary and the Rev. John Collins, chairman of the Student Interracial Ministry, were arrested during a test sit-in at local restaurants.

No

These particular situations caused us to engage in considerable self-searching about the economy of our efforts. We obviously could not afford to tie up our resources in one community after another, simply by responding to cries for help. We received dozens of such appeals over the summer and continue to receive them. Nonetheless, these concrete activities provided us with invaluable experience in the very heat of the battle. We had to face all the ambiguities of choice and decision that never invade a purely speculative or secondary line of involvement in the civil rights struggle.

At the same time we were thus engaged, we were also deep in the preparations for the Washington March. We helped to shape its character and to recruit thousands of people for it. We accepted the responsibility of providing emergency feeding for the March. Operation Sandwich was brilliantly planned and expedited by Church World Service. Over 400 volunteers prepared 80,000 lunches at the Riverside Church on the day before the March and the food was then delivered to Washington by refrigerated trucks. Fortunately, the March was of such a nature that emergency feeding was little needed. Only about one-tenth of the lunches were needed and the rest of the food had to be given away.

In addition to the infinite detailed planning for the March, largely under Mrs. Hedgeman's dedicated and brilliant direction, we had the job of trying to prepare the church constituency for the kind of event the March was to be, and also to try to interpret to the nation

at large its deep moral significance. The Commission and the Council were bitterly attacked for our co-sponsorship. One communion officially repudiated its relationship to the March. We held a press conference at the World Council of Churches pre-meetings in Rochester to try to make the proper interpretation. We also co-sponsored with Freedom House a full page New York Times ad, which all of you have seen, to try to interpret as clearly as possible the issues as we saw them in the third week in August and to put the March in perspective.

What shall we say of the March itself? I could fill several reports about that day in Washington, both in its public and "behind-the-scenes" dimensions. However, few Americans have escaped its impact whether they were there or not. It was an event of titanic proportions -- an event of solidarity and mass conviction, as we had all longed for it to be, but also it was a day deeply personal in its own way as well. When the National Council of Churches delegation, over 100 strong, moved into the stream of marchers, the banner high and proud and we began to sing the song of victory, one of the deepest longings of my ministry was for a moment fulfilled -- the longing that the Church of Jesus Christ be in the midst of the human struggle, not on the sidelines. And we were there -- in an act so full of symbolism that no one could escape it, and with the satisfaction that we were no longer token representatives. The power of Protestantism was marching with us, and we had a right to be there at long last, because we were bearing some of the far reaching burdens of the struggle.

weren't they?

One of the bishops of the Episcopal Church who marched with us, said it accurately, when at the end of our long barricaded time in the Lincoln Memorial, he remarked, "The Holy Ghost was at work today."

A French reporter embraced me in the shadow of Lincoln, at the end of the day, and said with tears in his eyes, "To have seen the Church

here, what a dream come true." I will not go on, for each of you who was there has his own memories. John Updike, one of our leading novelists said last year, "We have a desperate need for ceremonies." By that he did not mean empty game playing, but rather ways of expressing the real, deeply passionate commitments of our common life. We did on August 28th, God be praised.

On August 29th we had arranged in conjunction with the National Conference on Religion and Race a consultation on the crisis in Danville, Virginia. Many organizations sent representatives to a meeting at the National Catholic Welfare Conference building in Washington to begin to exert a coordinated strategy in helping the bitter impasse in Danville to come to some resolution. This approach is the one we wish to use in the future. A continuing committee is at work to attempt to move through the right channels to affect the intransigient business and social forces blocking interpretation in Danville.

Last week also the Justice Department asked us to help in averting tragedy in the eight or nine major cities in the south where school segregation is taking place for the first time this week. We immediately dispatched a staff member south to try to rally local forces in those communities like Birmingham, Huntsville, Mobile, Tuskegee and Baton Rouge to give support to those children and their families who will be moving into white school situations. We undoubtedly will have to do more in this case.

This is the briefest and most sparse summary of the projects brought to some kind of completion.

II.

Now let me mention, also briefly, ongoing enterprises and interests.

Perhaps the most pressing is the continuing effort to get bail for the scores of students who were arrested during the summer because of

their leadership in demonstrations in the South. In a real sense the freedom movement has rested on the students even though their elders sometimes despair of their impetuous and ill considered action. In the same way that our students involved us in the Gwyn Oaks desegregation effort, so thousands of students have led the movements in the south. Upwards of 100 of their leaders are still in jail and school is beginning.

Mr. Pratt is now engaged in the intricate business of trying to free them on bail, particularly in Savannah and Americus.

I have mentioned the Danville consultation. It is our hope that this pattern can be followed with several other hard core cities.

The legislative support program of the Commission is perhaps our most heavy immediate responsibility. This Lincoln conference has been designed to awaken interest throughout key midwestern states of their important role in getting this legislation passed. Beyond this event, we plan to continue regional conferences to do this job in greater detail.

Another program that may also help in arousing support through the midwest had its origins last week in Washington. Many diverse groups came to Washington to commit themselves to all-out participation in the current struggle, among them an impressive delegation from the theatre. They have asked if they might join with us in helping to interpret the importance of passing the current legislation. Working with Paul Newman, we are planning to develop teams of actors, churchmen and freedom fighters from the south who will be available to local councils of churches for civil rights rallies in the midwest.

The staff working with the issues of the desegregation of the life of the church continue to develop their plans in the field of pilot local situations, the integrating of church institutions and colleges, and in the investment policies of church boards. They will

tentially unhealthy position of having to fight always for his rights alone.

I will not even voice any pious hopes about better internal organization. Such would be very desirable. Careful staff organization with thorough planning and administration of detail, is something I long for, but this summer has taught me that this is illusory in such an operation. We cannot be deeply engaged, sensitive to the moment, and at the same time maintain trim administrative order. We will do our best to prevent chaos and wasteful expenditure of energy, but I promise you we will never have a smooth running bureaucratic machine. Fortunately, we do have a superb staff, with high morale, committed wholeheartedly to the task. We could not have operated through this hectic summer without this indispensable ingredient. We live daily by the grace of God, with the sense that we have been given a unique opportunity in His service. I do covet some time to think about what we are doing and to have more time for staff reflection about our common problems. On the night of the Washington March in the Statler Hotel, we spent about four hours doing just this, and we must do it again. I do wish to pay tribute to the whole staff of the National Council of Churches for their gallant support and patient backstopping of the Commission during this summer. From the General Secretary to the bookkeeper, they have been with us, stretching and sometimes breaking the necessary red tape that keeps the Council running smoothly on its normal routine. During Operation Sandwich and all the preparation for the March, the business administration operations of the Council were completely at our disposal. Our thanks to LeRoy Brininger are particularly due.

In conclusion, let me raise three major issues beyond the ongoing concerns that I see as paramount, soliciting your comment and discussion.

The first is how we seize the enormous opportunity opened to us by the Washington March. I do not mean in this instance, opportunities within our own constituency but in the whole public domain. The March provided a great release this summer for the concerned to express their commitment. Millions of others sat up and watched, many predicting and more fearing violence and disorder. Among these were some of the great industrial leaders of this country. These men, by and large, are convinced that massive efforts must now be made to assist Negro Americans to achieve their rightful place in this society. They watched the March uneasily but now that it is over, and turned out so successfully, they are open to approaches. We must not fail this rare opening. I have been consulting with Whitney Young of the Urban League, our staff, government people and the President of the National Council of Churches to the end that we might propose the establishment of a really ambitious fund under a name like the Human Resources Development Corporation, into which really large sums of money could be given, in the tens of millions of dollars, and then turned to priority needs in education, job and professional training, community redevelopment and the like. Various agancies would participate in formulating the program to be supported. The Corporation would support existing enterprises, but also seek to encourage coalitions between the many fragmented agencies at work in the field. It is my hope that the National Council of Churches Division of Home Missions might, for example, develop a comprehensive program of rehabilitation in the Delta area of Mississippi, working closely with Voter Registration groups and other action agencies in the field. It is very important that the financial resources of this country be challenged at this time to undergird the work of training and healing that lies just ahead of us. These forces are now awake to the absolute need. We must not furnish them too small, or too divided

a channel.

The development of this idea would seem to be a role this Commission and its staff can now play. We stand in open relationship to all parties, but no longer neutral. We are informed and committed. Business, action groups and government will listen if we come up with something sound.

The second major problem is the development of a creative and helpful relationship between the Commission and the member communions of the Council.

Frankly, under the mandate of the General Board we have moved swiftly to action, and the denominations have been left behind. I do not mean that they have not been moving. Most of the major groups have established special commissions and employed staff designated for this particular assignment. They have responded to our calls for help. They have done an excellent job of alerting people this summer to the urgency of the hour. But there is still a wide gap between our active intervention in particular situations and their largely educative, supportive role.

We have not done a good job of keeping them informed, or more important, of bringing them into decision-making consultation. Somehow we need to do this -- not just for our own public relations, but because the long term, nation-wide job will only be accomplished, if the communions can mobilize for action.

It has been my feeling that we could stimulate the communions to a more drastic kind of action by our pursuing it rather than developing a theoretical scheme of action for Protestantism and then seeking its adoption. I still believe this, but now we do need to work out more effective channels of communication and better cooperative ways of working with the denominations. What are your ideas on this?

The third major concern I wish to bring is about the future of the 11. Commission. None of us believes that we ought to try to maintain indefinitely the present form of the Commission. On the other hand, the present crisis shows no sign of early abatement. We have begun the process of building a 1964 budget on an expanded basis. The Council, however, is in the process of restructuring its program divisions. We ought to be thinking, therefore, about long range program responsibilities in the field and where they will be lodged. We need to ask what is the distinctive task of the Commission and what its future should be. We can only make a beginning at this task, but we must be aware that January 1, 1964 calls for some re-evaluation of our direction and emphases.

These concerns will be added to the ones brought by the work groups and other members of the staff.

My last comment must be one of deep appreciation for the support and sense of common task which we share in the staff and membership of the Commission. The overwhelming feeling of inadequacy, of dipping the ocean with a bucket that surrounds so much of what we do, is transformed into a ministry of faithfulness and obedience, by the steady comradeship of fellow workers, and by the promises of God.

Robert W. Spike

9-6-63

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

Religion

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Immediate Release

JEWISH LEADER HAILS 'COMMON TASK' ACCEPTED

BY ORGANIZED RELIGION IN CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

Dr. Prinz of American Jewish Congress Says Action of 3 Great Faiths

in Supporting Negro Freedom Bid Has 'Vindicated'

Role of Religion in America Today

- - -

BUT HE WARNS CLERGY FACES A 'CRUCIAL' TEST IN

WINNING CONGREGATIONS' SUPPORT ON RACIAL ISSUE

- - -

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8 -- The Negro struggle for civil rights has given America's three great religious faiths -- "for the first time in our nation's history -- a common task and a common goal," the president of the American Jewish Congress declared here today.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz of Newark, N.J., told a meeting of the American Jewish Congress National Governing Council at the International Inn:

"By joining in the battle of the American Negro for dignity and freedom, organized religion has both found itself and vindicated its existence in our century."

But he warned that a "profound gap" must be closed "between the religious leader who preaches civil rights and the congregation that does not follow.

"It is the man in the pew -- not the man in the pulpit -- who must be made to recognize that his religion carries with it a moral responsibility and a moral commitment to the great struggle for full equality," Rabbi Prinz declared.

"In this great task lies the supreme challenge to the ministers of the three major religious faiths in America."

Spoke at March on Washington

Rabbi Prinz, one of three religious leaders who spoke at the March on Washington and later met with President Kennedy, said that "at a time when theological differences matter but little and an

MORE

ecumenical spirit embraces clergymen of all faiths, the goals of racial equality and social justice for all citizens have become the new religious battle cry."

The leaders of American Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism have recognized, Rabbi Prinz continued, that "if the churches and synagogues were to play a significant role in our time, they had no choice but to join the great moral struggle for racial equality.

"If they had not," he added, "they would have forfeited religion's greatest opportunity to become a potent force in American life.

"Having done so, however, they must now impress upon the ordinary churchgoer and synagogue member that the moral mainspring of the civil rights struggle lies in the ethical and prophetic concepts which form the basis of Christian and Jewish belief."

Turning to the role of the Jewish community in the civil rights struggle, Rabbi Prinz declared:

"The Jew brings to the civil rights struggle a three-fold experience. We, too, have a memory of slavery. We, too, lived -- for a thousand years and more during the Middle Ages and again under the Hitler regime —in the ghettoes of segregation. We, too, have been given a proclamation of emancipation, and -- in the death of six million Jews -- we, too, know the failure of such proclamations to guarantee real freedom.

"The American Jew, like his Christian neighbor, must act -- where he lives, where he works, where he sends his children to school -- to demand an end to segregation and the beginning of a decent chance in life for his Negro fellow-American."

Struggle for Equality Held Crucial Test for Organized Religion

Rabbi Prinz concluded:

"To win freedom, the Negro must free himself. But in that struggle we who claim to speak the word of God to man -- we ministers, priests and rabbis -- must win our own congregations.

"However united, however eloquent, however dedicated the clergy of America may be on this issue, the real task consists in winning the minds and hearts of their parishiners to the cause of racial equality.

"In the success or failure of this effort, the success or failure of the Negro's struggle for equal rights and equal opportunity will be largely determined.

"Here, then, lies the crucial test of organized religion's significance for this day and this age."

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The Christian Century 9/11/63

N.C.C. Visits Clarksdale

Religion

✦ THE COMPLEX QUESTION of official Protestantism's role in the current racial struggle was raised with particular urgency when a delegation of 36 church leaders visited Clarksdale, Miss., on Aug. 8 to hold a service of worship in a Negro Baptist church and to pay calls on the white clergymen of that troubled delta city, a majority of whose 20,000 residents are Negro. They came in response to a call issued by the National Council of Churches' recently established Commission on Religion and Race.

Among the visitors were representatives of eight denominations: American Baptist, Christian Methodist Episcopal, Church of the Brethren, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, United Church of Christ, United Presbyterian.

The purpose of the delegation's visit, according to Robert Spike, executive director of the N.C.C. commission, was "to symbolize concern for the breaking down of the wall which separates us as Christians in Clarksdale." Dr. Spike, who was present with the delegation during the service of worship and the subsequent visitation program, characterized the National Council's involvement in Clarksdale as a "test case," a means of exploring the council's role not only in that community but in other areas of the nation where racial problems exist. In a memorandum issued Aug. 5 to member churches of the National Council Dr. Spike had set forth the background of the Clarksdale visit:

> Why Clarksdale? . . . Like many southern cities, it is a community cut in two by racial conflict. Negro citizens are denied the simplest amenities in public accommodation. . . . Their leaders in the struggle for justice have been bombed, harassed, thrown in jail. . . . At the Medgar Evers funeral, one of the leaders of the Negro community [Dr. Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale druggist and chairman of the Mississippi chapter of the N.A.A.C.P.] talked to representatives of the newly formed Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race. This commission was designed to be an action agency for Protestantism's concern for the growing crisis in race relations. This Clarksdale citizen invited the commission to send representatives to Clarksdale to see if anything could be done there. On July 8, a group including Dr. Dale Fiers, the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, Dr. Dudley Ward and others went to Clarksdale hoping to talk with both white and Negro leaders to avert trouble and begin a process of reconciliation. The local N.A.A.C.P. was planning a demonstration and hoped that the N.C.C. people might participate. The delegation met with almost total rebuff. The mayor would not see them and what is more they were all served with an injunction forbidding them from demonstrating. . . . The delegation left with a great sense of frustration. The Negro community did not demonstrate. During the week of July 21 word was received that the situation seemed almost intolerable in Clarksdale. A new delegation, with some of the same members but also some new personnel including Dr. Robert Dodds, Dr. Harold Row and Dr. Barton Hunter went to Memphis, Tenn., the nearest large city, to try again to build some channels of communication between Negro and white people in Clarksdale, particularly Negro and white clergymen. National heads of denominations were asked to go through their appropriate channels and request local ministers and heads of judicatories to meet with the group in Memphis. . . . No local Clarksdale churchmen would respond.

Dr. Spike went on to report that the N.C.C. representatives went to Clarksdale and were present when the impatient Negro community finally held a demonstration which resulted in 32 arrests. While they were able to establish contact with Negro leaders, they remained "always without success in communicating with white churchmen."

I

The decision that the observances on Aug. 8 should take the form of a worship service followed by visits to local white clergymen actually represented a middle road between two alternatives. The N.C.C. commission, which is authorized to participate in direct action campaigns, could have cast its lot with the Negro community, placing delegation members at the disposal of local civil rights leaders. Or it could have declared a policy of "persuasion" aimed exclusively at the white community and based on the theory that the council's primary approach should be to "influence the power structures"—in particular the white churches.

The "middle road" consisted in tacit identification with the Negro community, achieved by the mere presence

of a predominantly white delegation at a service of worship in a Negro church but lacking commitment to direct action, i.e., participation in Clarksdale's nonviolent movement, which is led by Dr. Henry and a small group of field workers for the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Most of the members of the delegation assembled in Memphis on Aug. 7 for a briefing session and a nonviolent workshop led by the Rev. James Lawson, a veteran of numerous direct action campaigns. The ambiguity of the council's proposed action was recognized by several members of the delegation. This was particularly so during the nonviolent workshop, a session which implicitly suggested the possibility that the proposed service of worship and visitation might, in the eyes of Clarksdale officials, constitute a breach of the peace. While some maintained that a definite commitment to direct action should be made, others explained that they had agreed to participate with the understanding that the group's action would be solely "religious" in nature and not designed to provoke Clarksdale's civil authorities.

There was general consensus on one point, however: the delegation should make its concern for justice known to the Negro community of Clarksdale. One means of expressing such concern was to accept the hospitality of Negro Christians in Clarksdale and spend the night of Aug. 7 as their house guests. Most of the delegation did so, and many of them regarded this experience as the most meaningful of their whole trip.

II

The Aug. 8 worship service, scheduled for noon, was preceded by a briefing session at the Haven Methodist Church in Clarksdale. There it was discovered that the local Negro clergymen, who had been asked to join in team visitations to white clergy following the service, were reluctant to participate, largely through fear of reprisals.

The delegation formed a procession which left the Haven Methodist Church and walked to the First Baptist Church, slightly more than a block away on the same street. Local police were on hand to witness the procession. I spoke with one officer who observed that the procession did not amount to a "demonstration" since it was held in the "nigger" section of Clarksdale.

The worship service was attended by some 250 Clarksdale Negroes. The city's white clergymen had been invited to attend by special delivery letter but none of them showed up. The small band of CORE and "Snick" workers, who had expressed hope that the visitors might "go to jail" in the cause of freedom, were sprinkled throughout the congregation. Perhaps the greatest response from the Negro worshipers came during the intercessory prayer when guidance and blessing was sought for Dr. Aaron Henry, who has been a victim of assassination threats and whose home has been bombed, and for Martin Luther King, Jr., who had spoken recently to a mass meeting in Clarksdale. There were murmurs of "Yes, yes," from the congregation. But the overwhelming impression which the service engendered was one of pathos; one sensed a lack of clarity in regard to the N.C.C.'s purpose in Clarksdale, coupled with awareness by both white and Negro worshipers that Clarksdale is a city prepared to resist all but the most dramatic and potentially violent expressions of opposition to segregation. (Negroes have boycotted downtown stores since 1960, but the whites, it is reported, would rather go bankrupt than negotiate.)

Immediately following the worship service a county official strode into the church armed with an injunction which enjoined members of the delegation from any acts that could be interpreted as disturbing the peace of Clarksdale. Robert Lunney, an attorney who accompanied the delegation at the N.C.C.'s request and a member of an informal lawyers' group set up at the suggestion of Pres. Kennedy, advised the delegation that the postservice visitations did not, in his opinion, violate the terms of the injunction. Apparently local officials agreed, since the visitations to the white clergymen took place as scheduled and without incident.

In a follow-up evaluation of the visitations, most of which were made by teams of white clergymen because of lack of local Negro participation, the general feeling was that those local white pastors who could be reached were either directly opposed to the N.C.C.'s presence in Clarksdale or genuinely convinced that racial accord in the community is impossible. Even if the clergy were to act on the race question—which would surely cost them their jobs—the city administration and local business leaders seem completely dedicated to the policies of segregation. A Clarksdale Presbyterian, U.S., pastor was dismissed as chaplain to the city council after he was observed shaking hands with Negro leader Aaron Henry. (The same clergyman condemned the presence of the N.C.C. in Clarksdale.)

Most of the delegation left Clarksdale after the visitations, although a few members remained to spend the night with their Negro hosts and to explore further the depressing racial climate of the community. It seemed obvious that the burden of fighting for the Negro cause in Clarksdale had been left squarely on the shoulders of the local Negro leadership and the small complement of CORE and Snick workers. In what may have been a reprisal aimed at the N.C.C. delegation, the city police arrested one CORE worker immediately following the prayer service, and three more student workers on the following day.

III

What did the visit to Clarksdale mean? The general feeling among the Negroes with whom I talked was that it could mean nothing unless the visitors were prepared to make long-term commitments to direct action. And it seemed clear to me that the racial dilemma of Clarksdale will not reach its crisis point until Negro "provocations" reach the point where they inspire enough violent white resistance to mobilize fully the Negro community. Such is the complex strategy of freedom movements in the south.

I asked members of the delegation to write a brief answer to the question: "Why are you here?" Following is a cross-section of the 20 responses received:

> "I'm here because I'm a fellow American and Christian interested in freedom and civil rights being available to all Americans."
>
> "For years I have preached about Christian brotherhood from the pulpit. Somehow I feel that it is time for preachers to dispel the impression of their hollowness and glibness by stepping down into the vital fields of concern where the great issues of our time are being decided."
>
> "I am disappointed . . . in the approach used this time, and earnestly hope we can break the stereotype in the near future, participating with the local leaders in *their* efforts rather than simply worshiping and appearing on the scene. This activity, unless followed soon by more serious efforts, will only reaffirm the image of the church as irrelevant."
>
> "I don't want to be here. I pray for the time when such demonstrations will not be necessary. But as matters now stand I feel compelled to witness to the fact that God is not segregated . . ."
>
> "I must identify with the cause of freedom and justice. I respect the call of the National Council."
>
> "I am concerned as a southerner over the attempt to portray the struggle for human rights as a battle along racial lines. The issues go to the heart of Christianity. If we are not renewed and made one body in Christ, our faith is in vain."
>
> ". . . because the church must take its place in the life and crucifixions of *this* world."
>
> "I accepted an invitation by the National Council to visit Clarksdale because I am baptized. My commitment to Jesus Christ commits me to any person and group which is seeking to become free from controls and bonds which inhibit their already saved lives. A Christian does not take part in such a witness to justify his long-stagnant church. He does so only because there is a need—and his vocation is to meet needs, because his own need has been met by God himself."

Only one response made direct reference to the plight of white persons in Clarksdale—a plight particularly acute in the case of those white clergymen who may be in need of a supportive

ministry as they seek to come to terms with the meaning of the gospel in the racial struggle. A number of responses cited the call of the National Council as a primary reason for coming.

IV

The National Council staff members returned to New York to consider the possibilities of future involvement in Clarksdale. A week after the visitation no decision had been reached as to future strategy. But it seems plain that a definite decision must be made. The National Council will have to subscribe to a program of direct action—either through support of already established direct action groups or through the dispatch of delegations prepared for civil disobedience and arrest—or it will have to abandon the notion that it can be effective, in purely social terms, in Clarksdale. An alternative strategy would be for the council to attempt to work for the "conversion" of white Christians from adherence to a traditional gospel which accepts segregation to acceptance of a gospel that has no room for the segregationist stance. Perhaps such a strategy could be effective only if carried out by indigenous southern leadership—clergymen and laymen who believe that traditional, "white" religion in the south constitutes a misinterpretation of God's act of reconciliation in Christ. One southern clergyman, sympathetic to the cause of integration, asked when told of the N.C.C.'s intention to visit Clarksdale, "What are they trying to do, show them [the local white Christians] up?"

If the visit to Clarksdale raised the complex question of organized Protestantism's role in the racial crisis, it did not answer it. If reconciliation with white as well as Negro clergymen and laymen was intended, it did not occur. The tragic fact seems to be that no clear theology of involvement in the current struggle has been propounded or adopted. The reasons for involvement are varied indeed, as the above quotations reveal.

Perhaps we have come to a tragic impasse for the Christian who would be obedient to God's command that his church be one and that man love his neighbor, a tragedy in the sense that Hegel used the term: the irreconcilable conflict and sinful involvement in obviously complete abandonment to the aims of the oppressed, recognizing that conflict and sinful involvement in finite judgments are inevitable. This is essentially the decision that Bonhoeffer made in Hitler's Germany. And it would appear that there is indeed such entrenched evil in the civil order of the state of Mississippi that involvement on this basis is called for. Another, and opposite, good is adoption of a form of action based on the theological premise that the white man and the Negro are equal, not because they are good in a humanistic sense but because they are evil in a biblical sense. Acceptance of this position, supplemented by the additional conviction that the proclamation of the gospel is itself an antidote to racism, implies an entirely different and largely unexplored strategy for the church.

Such a strategy is being developed by Will D. Campbell, who recently resigned as head of the southern office of the National Council's Commission on Racial and Cultural Relations. A native Mississippian and a Southern Baptist minister, Campbell believes that the basic involvement of Christians in the current crisis should take the form of confronting the traditional "folk religion" of the south with a radical understanding of the Christian gospel. With this in mind he has helped organize a group of southern clergymen who will work to create dialogue with southern Christians on a primarily theological level. Such a program does not preclude courageous involvement in crisis situations, but it does reject purely humanistic approaches to racial problems.

There is much to be said for both approaches. The lesson of the inconclusive events in Clarksdale is perhaps that Christians are being forced to decide which of these two approaches is legitimate, or whether both can be combined in a general Protestant strategy. It seems certain that there is no middle way in 1963. One needs only to walk the streets of Clarksdale to discover that this is so. STEPHEN C. ROSE.

Letters to the Editor

Turn in Turnipseed Story

SIR: Re your editorial wrist slap ("Churchmen Defend Sit-in Student," June 26) at Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala., over the alleged dismissal of Miss Martha Turnipseed: According to Dr. Howard Phillips, president of Birmingham-Southern, the Century's report of the incident is totally inaccurate. Apparently Miss Turnipseed withdrew of her own volition from the college, is now under no disciplinary action whatever, and can be readmitted at any time. What prompts my particular concern is the following statement by Dr. Phillips, made in a personal letter to an alumnus of Birmingham-Southern, the dean of Stetson University here in DeLand:

> Neither The Christian Century nor the Genesee Methodist conference in Rochester attempted to obtain correct information from any official at Birmingham-Southern College. Since the source of their information was not identified, I can only assume that the statements represent the usual distorted versions that occur when spread by word of mouth through several hundred people.

Dr. Phillips asserts that at no time did the Birmingham-Southern administration even consider the arbitrary dismissal of Miss Turnipseed reported in the Century. . . . Misrepresentations of this sort in the press do not help those of us in the south who are conscientiously and even fervently working to accomplish the very ends desired in this matter by the Century's editors. . . .

JOHN E. HOWELL.
First Baptist Church,
DeLand, Fla.

SIR: . . . Your editorial "Churchmen Defend Sit-in Student" (June 26) has deeply disturbed me. . . . We in the south would like for you to examine your own spiritual position in this area of Christian social action. What sacrifices, what crosses, are churchmen in the north bearing when they pronounce judgment on the "small gains" which we are making in our beloved southland? The Genesee Methodist annual conference [in censuring Birmingham-Southern College] probably soothed guilt feelings for its indifference toward the injustices within its own boundaries. We have read no editorial commending the Alabama-West Florida Methodist conference for the report on Christian social concerns which it adopted in its annual session in May. . . . This report is more in keeping with Christian brotherhood than the resolution unanimously passed in Rochester. Nevertheless you and the Genesee conference harshly criticize one of the liberal institutions of Alabama by calling on "the educational authorities of the Methodist Church to discipline the college."

Your editorial is unfair and unjust because its author did not know the facts of the case. I am greatly surprised that an annual conference of the Methodist Church would attempt to harm the reputation of one of our outstanding Methodist colleges without first studying the situation. We admire the courage and conviction of Miss Martha Turnipseed, but she voluntarily left Birmingham-Southern, and can enroll again whenever she chooses.

As one liberal to another: come live among us, learn the facts, and then sound a liberal voice through your editorials. H. STANLEY MULLINS.
Summerville Methodist Church,
Phenix City, Ala.

Religion

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR RELEASE 2:30 PM
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1963

****
The following are remarks of Senator Jacob K. Javits prepared for delivery at ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of the dedication of the Touro Synagogue, the oldest synagogue in the nation, in Newport, Rhode Island, Sunday afternoon, September 15, 1963, 2:30 PM
****

THE FIGHT TO FREE OURSELVES

When this small synagogue was dedicated in Newport 200 years ago, liberty was the theme of our age. This temple was born and nurtured in a setting that was as inspirational as it was historic.

This site in the colony of Rhode Island -- which Roger Williams founded as a citadel of religious liberty, opening its arms to the oppressed from across the seas -- is as symbolic of the heritage of our nation as any piece of earth could be.

The letter to this congregation from George Washington, with the immortal words that the United States "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance" -- words that were written before even the Bill of Rights in the Constitution was adopted -- is as symbolic of the soul of our nation as any document could be.

Thus, on this bicentennial celebration, we can look at this splendid temple with passion and with pride; and with the knowledge that in places such as this, the human spirit was first ennobled in the United States; and the American Dream was first articulated.

We also cannot help but be reminded of a tableau three weeks ago at another shrine, in Washington, D.C., when liberty was again the theme. There, the spiritual leader of the current civil rights "revolution" cried to us that the American Dream was too long forgotten by too many and too long denied to those so ardently reaching for its realization.

And so, the fight for liberty continues; the crusade for human dignity goes on; the struggle to bring meaning to the American promise is still far from won.

This is a struggle which we must face in the communities no less than in the Congress, in our synagogues and churches no less than in our business establishments and recreational facilities. And as Jews we have a special responsibility to set forth by example and in highly positive deeds the great religious and prophetic tradition to which we are the heirs.

The extent to which this crusade is the major unfinished business of our society was never more dramatized than by published polls this past week which declared that 50% of our nation believes that integration is moving "too fast."

Just think of it -- if these polls really reflect deep convictions, it means that half of our nation may not yet have freed itself of this sorrowful irrationality.

The synagogues and churches of our land will not be persuaded by such polls; and I hope politicians will not either. For I believe that while the 50% of those questioned may have said "too fast," the consciences, when properly appealed to, of those same Americans will give a different answer.

This is the most powerful force in this current struggle -- <u>that the deeply-held conscience of the white American is on the side of the Negro</u>, whatever may appear to be his off-the-cuff emotions.

This is why every level of our society must be enlisted to bring about a moral awakening among the American people -- or to put it more bluntly, to stir the uneasy consciences of every white American so he may free himself of bias.

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This fight to free ourselves is the great, unwritten struggle being waged today in the depths of each individual soul. It is a battle for survival of the American dream, and of the human spirit.

Our minds hear the message: When freedom is denied to one man, it is denied to all; for freedom is noble and indivisible. If we want to enjoy it, it must be extended to everyone; if we want to maintain it, we must fight for it.

These simple truths are enshrined in this synagogue, as they are enshrined in the hearts of every Jew. The accumulated experience of centuries of persecution have equipped the Jewish community -- perhaps more than most -- with the ability to understand that the security of one minority is no greater than the security of any other minority, just as the denial of liberty to one American threatens the liberty of every American.

It is this identity of interest between the Negro minority and other minorities in the United States which gives this 1963 civil rights "revolution" strength and effectiveness. It is this identity of interest which should make possible joint and inter-dependent action to eliminate these injustices from American society.

We cannot allow ourselves to be barred from this struggle, as some misguided Negroes suggest, for an American struggle for the soul of our nation is neither for whites only nor for Negroes only.

The rabbis and priests and ministers who joined the freedom marchers in Birmingham; in Gwynne Oaks, Maryland; in Albany, Georgia; in Jackson, Mississippi; and in the other towns and cities -- they gave substance to this truth. The 200,000 men and women of all faiths and color who participated in the August 28 march on Washington -- a demonstration which enriched our democracy as few events ever have -- they recognized this, too.

But not everyone has to march or to picket or to demonstrate in order to make an effective contribution to this fight. But neither can anyone remain aloof -- every American must speak his conscience and act its dictates on this racial crisis. Silence has been the greatest weapon for the demagogues. It has caused mankind's darkest hours -- as no Jew of modern times can ever forget.

The problem is not confined to the South, as we all know. In the North and among all groups, there are problems of "silence", too -- of an unwillingness to implement convictions, a reluctance to be the first to tread on unwalked paths.

A Negro leader once confessed to me, "In the South, we know our enemy; in the North, we don't always know -- and that is sometimes more difficult."

This struggle is more than just the number of votes that are needed in the Congress to pass civil rights legislation; and that it is more than the dramatic confrontations between state and Federal power which we have seen in Mississippi and Alabama.

It is, above all, an enormous battle of conscience -- which will not be resolved until each individual is willing to take inventory, to realize that the resolution cannot be put off for another day or for another generation; and that now is the time to commit our hearts as well as our minds.

I feel the stirrings of this battle of conscience.

I see it in the letter a woman wrote to the New York Times, telling of her search for a way to implement her convictions. She wrote that she went "rather impulsively, to the evening service at a local Negro church....I was welcomed...and I recommend such activities to friendly white Americans. Do not be afraid to go it alone at first.

Others will follow. And if enough of us show our spirit in some such way, no longer can our Negro leaders feel that there has been no moral awakening or conversion among the American people."

I feel this stirring, too, in the mail coming into my office. Few people realize that even a Senator from New York -- for six years until this year -- had received more mail opposed to civil rights than mail favoring it. But this summer, that trend has sharply reversed. The "good people" are beginning to write, to speak out on what bothers their consciences and what they know is right.

I feel these stirrings, too, on the floor of the Senate. There have been days in my 15 years in Congress when to plead for civil rights was a lonely battle, irritating to the establishment; and the coldness of the reception would hang icily in the air. Today, there is warmth and great understanding that this battle has to be waged now for it relates to the very destiny of our nation.

It is the stirring of conscience, too, on equal opportunity which is forcing businessmen to review their hiring and promotion practices; which is forcing labor unions to review their admission and apprenticeship policy; which is forcing others to examine their reasons for patronizing particular stores, hotels or restaurants, or for deciding in what community they will live; and what schools they want their children to attend. It is this stirring of conscience which is awakening Americans to their personal opportunities to afford equal opportunity to our fellow Negro Americans in myriad ways not affected by laws.

The battle will be won when this conscience can be translated into action. If we can succeed in doing this now, our nation will be nourished and enriched; our society will be fuller and stronger.

- more -

And we will free ourselves at last.

The founders of the Touro Synagogue 200 years ago helped launch our nation upon the noble principle of religious liberty and brotherly understanding. Today, as we honor their memories, let us take a solemn pledge to emulate their courage and their convictions by pushing toward a goal of equal opportunity for all Americans with our personal as well as public commitments - clear and unequivocal.

To recapture their vision of America, we must speak out and act as plainly as did our forefathers here.

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The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

S B
Religion

September 17, 1963

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
ON THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

On June 14, 1963, the Board of Trustees of the Lovett School, Atlanta, Georgia, "unanimously adopted resolutions denying applications of Negro students for admission." This fact was the major concern of a meeting of the Executive Committee and Chapter representatives of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, held in Atlanta, Georgia September 15-17, 1963. The Society consists of persons who have committed themselves to establish total participation in the Church of all persons without regard to race, class or national origin, and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

As a result of the decision of the Board of Trustees, the Bishop of Atlanta announced during the past summer that he had severed all official or implied ties with the Lovett School. The Society commends the Bishop of Atlanta for his efforts and actions in this matter. However, in light of the following facts, it is an inescapable conclusion that the Episcopal Church is still an integral part of the school's life. The charter of the school requires: 1) That seven members of the Lovett School's Board of Trustees be communicants of and approved by the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip; 2) That seven other members of the Board of Trustees be Episcopal residents of the state of Georgia; 3) That the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip shall always be a member of the Board of Trustees; and 4) That the Lovett School is committed to furthering the "Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer."

At present, with the full knowledge of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, worship services of the Church continue at the Lovett School, including a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion. The Society is shocked that the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip continues to serve as Chairman of the Board of Trustees. This fact and his present involvement at the Lovett School worship services clearly identifies the Episcopal Church with the school's segregationist policy.

Lovett's Director of Administration, J. A. Rabbe, obviously does not consider the school as presently outside the orbit of the Episcopal Church. This is evidenced by Mr. Rabbe's letter to parents on August 8, 1963. At that time he reassured them that daily chapel, Wednesday morning communion services, the teaching of religion, and all other religious emphases "will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop."

Following a thorough and prayerful consideration of the facts of the Lovett School situation, the Society feels constrained to protest in the following manner: 1) sustained inter-racial participation in the school's services of worship; 2) sustained picketing of the school by concerned Churchmen; 3) expressing our common guilt in the sin of segregation through the recitation of the Penitential Office at the Cathedral of St. Philip; and 4) regularly offering prayers throughout the whole Church in order to help heal the deep wounds, both personal and social, which the Lovett School has created.

(OVER)

The Lovett School situation is all the more grievous because it is symptomatic of the widespread compromise of the Church's teaching. The Society commends those people at Lovett School and in this community who recognize the injustice of segregation and who continue to suffer and labor in obedience to Jesus Christ.

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Atlanta members of ESCRU and other Churchmen were consulted at the meeting of the Executive Committee. The following are those persons from elsewhere who attended:

*The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Farmington, Mich. - ESCRU President
*The Rev. John W. B. Thompson, Jr., Mobile, Ala. - ESCRU Secretary
*The Very Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Indianapolis, Ind. - ESCRU Director (C)
*The Rt. Rev. Chandler W. Sterling, Helena, Montana - ESCRU Director
The Rev. James P. Breeden, Boston, Mass. - ESCRU Director (C)
Mrs. George Edwards, Detroit, Mich. - ESCRU Director (C)
Mrs. John Fountain, Riverside, Conn. - ESCRU Director
Dr. Van S. Lawrence, Minneapolis, Minn. - ESCRU Director (C)
The Rev. Richard Cadigan, St. Louis, Mo. (C)
The Rev. Albert Ettling, Houston, Texas (C)
Mrs. Donald Frey, Chicago, Ill. (c)
Mr. Wendell Erwin, Cleveland, Ohio (C)
Mr. Lloyd A. Johnson, Brooklyn, N.Y. (C)

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SOME GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE
OF THE
COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

September 23, 1963

The struggle for racial justice becomes increasingly a vast network of problems and issues that invades every area of American life. It is political. It is economic. It is psychological. It is theological. It is an axis on which balances the validity of our professions as a nation, and surely as Christians. What once seemed to most people to be "an" issue in a whole catalog of perplexing social problems now blends endlessly into a configuration of radical social change, like a gigantic storm system coming up from the horizon and filling the sky. We do not have any neat labels to identify and thus dismiss this new mood, this new sense of urgency and desperation, having its strongest anchorage in the Negro community and yet taking shape in the rest of America as well. It is a fight to finish - a showdown with some of the most deeply established hypocrises of our common life. And since human beings are involved, there will be resistance and hatred, weakness and treachery, on both sides. There is a right side in the struggle for civil rights, let there be no mistake about that. But this is not a fight between angels and devils. There will be contending and struggle. There must also be thought and careful planning. The moment must be addressed, without waiting to take soundings in the boondocks. And the long, painful process of changing institutions and their habits (sometimes garbed as traditions) must be worked at with great skill and political ingenuity.

In the midst of such a vast turning of events (1963 will surely be remembered as a calendar axis), the establishment of the Commission by the General Board is important most of all as a sign of the turning.

It has flown headlong into the eye of the storm, sometimes foolishly, but I am proud to feel, gallantly.

But in the face of the magnitude of the problem, a person standing off a bit from its operation must surely feel that it seems a bit Don Quixote.

The time has come to narrow the attack of the Commission and also to look at alliances that can strengthen the whole line of battle.

That is why I proposed at the Lincoln meeting of the Commission that the central focus of the Commission be upon community action, and that as quickly as possible, the urgent concerns of the desegregation of the life of the church and legislative action be returned to the appropriate program agencies. Commission discussion dissented from this proposal to the effect that these concerns could not be turned back without some reshaping of those agencies so that they were at least as action-oriented as the Commission has been. What is more, it was pointed out that the community action activities of the Commission inform and energize the other aspects of the work of the Commission. These arguments are well taken. We must not allow the Commission to lose the sense of urgency and commitment in matters of the internal life of the church and the more customary forms of social action.

On the other hand, the Commission cannot begin to plan or direct the broad scope of action in these fields without the widest kind of coordination with the instrumentalities set up to do the job in the National Council and in the denominations. How can this be achieved, without a cumbersome process of consultation, interlocking and overlapping responsibility?

The candid answer to the last question is probably that it cannot. It must be kept to a minimun, and the end purpose be continually reflected in specific targets and programs.

What then, are some of the possible divisions of labor, between the Commission, the divisions of the National Council and the denominations?

The Commission

The most important thing for all of us in the church to remember is that we are not scheduling the pace of the revolution. Events call the tune for us. The timing of the struggle is not geared to the timing of our institutions or our schedules. The Commission must be free to meet the timing of the needs of the struggle. It must be a fast moving, light on its feet, organization with a mobile staff ready to undertake assignments and carry through specific short term acts of witness. These projects may be in the field of direct community action as Gwyn Oaks, Clarksdale, Wilmington, in a consultative action impinging on a single community as Danville, Malverne, Bel Air, and in a special way, Greenwood, Savannah and Americus; the field of legislative action as at Lincoln, Washington in the week of September 15; or in a special event like the Washington March or being the presence of the church as at the funerals in Jackson and Birmingham. While we have tried to have staff assigned to specific areas, whenever a special campaign emerged, it has taken the combined strength and ingenuity of all our staff. Job descriptions have meant little and perhaps need re-evaluating in the light of experience.

Concerns in community action and legislation have dominated the major time of the full-time staff of the Commission. Jon Regier, Colin Williams and Dai Kitagawa have given thoughtful leadership in the whole area of the desegregation of the church, but the area has not been moved into a central position on the Commission's agenda. This does not mean that nothing has been going on. The department of Evangelism and the Division of Home Missions have geared large parts of their program to this concern -- with the pilot projects in Chatham and Germantown, and the consultations arranged on desegregation of local churches and also on financial policies of church boards.

I sense some hesitancy about how far these concerns should continue without vigorous direction from the Commission itself. It is probably not possible and perhaps not desirable for this to be done. The concerns, however, are of central importance and the ongoing units of the Council must be deeply involved, as well as the denominations in order to work at it effectively. It is also essential to keep a close liaison with the Commission.

How can this be accomplished? To begin, working committees made up

of staff of other units and denominational staff people must be set up — called into being by Commission action and reporting to the Commission, but largely self-generating and self-propelled. The standing committees of the Commission would then receive the reports of these ad hoc working committees. It is important that the membership of these committees cross divisional lines.

It is proposed that the Associate Executive Director, Dr. Lee, take responsibility for conducting this program within the council and with denominational staffs.

Mr. Moore, the other Associate Director, would be responsible for the direct operational aspects of the Council.

A. Program Priorities

While it is necessary for us to keep close to direct action and specific community projects like Danville and the bailing operation, our major emphasis in operational program in the months ahead should be geared to support of the legislation. Mr Hamilton and Mr. Ketcham should be responsible for content and scheduling but with the overall direction of Mr. Moore in deploying other staff.

This means interpretative work in the midwest and also in Washington. In addition to direct lobbying there, the Consultation and Hearings on Police Brutality will receive priority attention.

B. Committees Needed

1. An advisory Committee on Interpretation and Public Relations to work with the Associate Director for Community Action.

2. A Finance Committee made up of Commission members.

Other units of the Council

Three working committees need to be set up.

1. A Committee on the Desegregation of the Church. This should include representatives from all the major units -- Home Missions, Life and Work, Evangelism, Foreign Missions, Christian Education, United Church Men and United Church Women. These should be both National Council staff and denominational people on the boards of the units.
   An early consultation should be held to review what is now in process and what major programs should be instituted. Hopefully, certain units would take responsibility for specific areas of work.

2. A Committee on the Mississippi Delta. Growing out of concerns in the Commission and certain of the Negro action groups, this project should be reserched and explored immediately. This committee should be composed mainly of Home Missions, Life and Work, Christian Education, and Church World Service interests.

3. A liaison committee with members of the General Secretary's Staff Council.

Denominational Race Committees and Staff

It is imperative that we maintain close and effective working relationships with these new or renewed areas of work in the various commissions.

It is difficult to know how to structure this. To be really integrated, denominational staff people in race relations should all be represented on the aforementioned committees. Their work cuts across the gamut of the Commission's work. In addition, there are peculiar tasks that each communion must do for itself that must be carried on separately.

The larger community action projects, however, can only be carried on effectively interdenominationally and therefore need the direction of the Commission. It is not desirable that everything should be so coordinated that a single program of action in race relations be achieved. At some points, individual denominations must take the lead and at others, combined action is necessary.

The channels of communication and consultation are the most important thing.

To this end, a mineographed information sheet, published bi-weekly should be established, to which denominations and Commission should report and which could be circulated.

Specially called informational meetings of race relations people do not seem particularly effective. However, meetings on specific issues, where genuine consultation is needed, should be called.

Denominational staff should be invited to Commission meetings as observers and should have a meeting of their own with Commission staff at each meeting of the Commission.

Denominational religion and race units should take it as a responsibility to recommend action to the Commission. The Commission should be free to request specific acts of cooperation from the denominations.

(See page 5 for staff responsibilities.)

Staff Responsibilities for the next few weeks

Dr. Lee - Denominational relationships
Establishing working inter-unit committees as mentioned in this paper, with Dr. Spike
Participation in legislative support program insofar as schedule allows
Editing a bi-weekly bulletin of current action in the field of race relations

Mr. Moore - Expediting any specific campaigns which arise from aforementioned emphases
Investigating new appeals for direct support or action
Mounting a program of interpretation, working with committee on interpretation

Mr. Hamilton - Maintaining sensitivity to the Washington scene
Directing the support program in the midwest as presently underway
Issuing the Legislative Action Bulletin, with the help of a coopted staff

Dr. Hedgeman - Concentrating on the midwestern interpretation and lobbying
Liaison with action groups

Mr. Pratt - The Washington Consultation on Police Brutality, etc.
Content preparation for interpretative film and printed pieces to be used in midwest action
Relationships with Lawyers' Committee

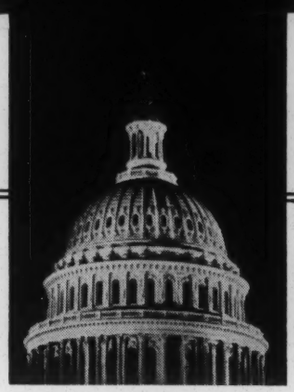
Mr. Thomas - Danville follow-up
Relationships in the south
Investigation aimed at future community action program

Mr. Moring - Care and feeding of the Commission members -- see they are informed and get material
Task Force
Scheduling of committee meetings and arrangements for them
Short term assignments

Dr. Spike - Finances
Work with NCC liaison committee
Relationships with Justice Department and action groups
Overall coodination
Interpretation of the work of the Commission and the needs it seeks to meet

9/23/63 U.S. News & World Report

(This page presents the opinion of the Editor. The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views. No part of this or any other page may be reproduced without written permission.)



Religion

CHURCH CONTROL OF THE STATE?

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

THE PURPOSE of the recent "March on Washington" was to influence public opinion and especially to persuade the Congress of the United States to pass certain legislation covered in the so-called "civil rights" program recommended by the President.

Never before in the history of the United States have the national organizations of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches, respectively, joined together to secure the passage of a particular set of laws. A spokesman for one of these organizations said the other day that, "for the first time in our nation's history, America's three great religious faiths have a common task and a common goal."

Yet only three years ago, even before the national political conventions, fears were being expressed concerning possible church influence in government. This writer said on this page on May 9, 1960:

"We are confronted today with the so-called 'religious issue' in American politics.

"Presumably this means that some citizens believe the Church could unduly influence the policies or decisions of any Roman Catholic if he were elected President of the United States.

"But what shall we say of the attempt by various churchmen of all faiths to use their positions and, indeed, their national church organizations as a means of engaging in the controversies of American politics?

"Before we are ready to decide just how much influence the Catholic Church may exert on a man elected President, we must examine some of the pronouncements from Protestant churchmen who vigorously defend the right to issue through their national organizations statements on every conceivable question of governmental policy. These range from public comments on 'integration' or 'segregation,' to denunciations of the Government of South Africa and proposals for diplomatic recognition of the Red China regime despite its record of inhumanity and aggression. Many churchmen justify their course by arguing that these are 'moral' questions—a definition broad enough to include everything political."

It was hardly foreseen three years ago that all three national church organizations would unite to participate in an organized drive, including street "demonstrations," to secure the passage of a program of legislation. The same editorial of May 1960 made this observation:

"There can be no quarrel with the right of any preacher as an individual to speak out on any question—political, legislative, moral, social or economic. But may he presume to speak for the members of his congregation? Or, in the case of a national church organization, does he speak even for all the clergymen in such an organization? And if there is to be an advisory council of laymen who are to serve as 'competent advisers' in the matter of farm legislation or any other governmental problem, are we to assume that they, too, speak 'in the name of God'?"

Not long before the above was printed, it was disclosed that the National Council of Churches, in order to be guided on national legislation, sought "competent advice and advisers—whether on a farm problem, or on international affairs, or housing, or public education, or race relations, or religious liberty."

This process, when carried on by other organizations, is called "lobbying." But, while the practice has its abuses, it is within the bounds of the Constitution. All citizens have the right to petition Congress, but, under a Constitution which provides for the separation of church and state, is it the function of the church to use its organizations to obtain the passage or defeat of laws that have no direct bearing on the operations of the churches?

The American people have a right to know the inside story of the "March on Washington," and especially what occurred in any consultations between Government officials and the leaders of national church organizations or their representatives—white or Negro—in making the arrangements for the "demonstration." Even assuming the very best of motives, the facts about any collaboration between church and state are of vital interest to the public.

Churchmen who engage in political debate take a big risk. If they consider it a "moral" obligation to participate in a "March on Washington" or to urge the passage of certain laws, they logically may find themselves endorsing publicly, not only as individuals but through their organizations, a particular candidate for the Presidency because he espouses their "moral" point of view. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—with which the three national church organizations collaborated in the "March" of August 28—has already announced that it will participate actively in political campaigns and work for the defeat of those members of Congress who do not vote for "a strong civil-rights bill."

The subject of "segregation" or "integration" has

(Continued on preceding page)

CHURCH CONTROL OF THE STATE?

(Continued from the back of this page)

become a political issue. All the President's proposals in his "civil rights" program are being pressed for passage in response to what is believed by its sponsors to be "public opinion." But back of it all, to no small extent, is the Administration's drive for the Negro vote —especially in the big Northern States where Republican and Democratic Party candidates vie with one another in trying to capture that bloc of votes.

Churchmen as individuals have every right to speak for or against any legislation and to endorse and campaign for any political candidate for office. But a national organization of churches in any denomination should not become involved in politics. It should not lend its prestige and influence, or participate in an organized lobby, to secure the passage of particular laws.

Many preachers, moreover, have been inclined every now and then to give priority in their sermons to discussion of specific pieces of legislation currently before Congress, though in recent years many laymen have begun to feel that the pastors are unwisely spending their time giving lectures on national issues instead of helping their parishioners to understand the difference between right and wrong in their daily lives.

One of the national church organizations—the National Council of Churches—claims to represent denominations which have 40,000,000 church members. Have these individuals been consulted about the recent activities of this national body, or is it assumed that the pastor of a church is the chosen representative of the congregation and can speak authoritatively on behalf of all his parishioners? The national spokesman of one of the three denominational groups openly declared the other day that "public opinion" on questions of governmental policy must be formed "in the pews."

Recently, clergymen not only have taken part in street "demonstrations," but some have been arrested for engaging in disorder. This participation has not been frowned upon by the national church organizations.

Discord is already appearing in some of the churches. News dispatches last week reported that the governing board of a Methodist Church in Danville, Va., censured its minister and ordered him to refrain from making remarks on racial matters from the pulpit.

Not all clergymen agree that the power to conduct a lobby has been delegated to these national church organizations by the member churches. The Reverend C. Lewis Irwin, pastor of the Covenant Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis, sent a letter to this magazine in May 1960 in which he said:

"By no stretch of the imagination can I see Christ or the apostles placing the emphasis of the Gospel on social and political agitation. It is but a step from social and political agitation to legal action, and legal action must be backed by force and police action to be legal. Here is the trouble with present 'integration agitation'—it looks to agitation rather than a change of heart. Are we seeking to run the business of the Church without the inspiration and power of the Holy Spirit? The central truth of the Gospel is its power to transform human hearts by what Jesus did through His Cross, Resurrection, and outpouring of His Spirit at Pentecost. . . .

"Communism is essentially 'man's mind in control' —and relying on force because it has not the secret of changing human nature. Social and political agitation tend to veer in this same direction because it no longer trusts in God's power to change the heart—and so it plays into the hands of Communism."

On the same point, Billy Graham, a Protestant evangelist, in an Easter message in April 1960 said:

"The Bible also recognizes that each individual has the right to choose his own friendships and social relationships. I am convinced that forced integration will never work. You cannot make two races love each other and accept each other at the point of bayonets. It must come from the heart if it is to be successful. Otherwise, we can build walls of hatred and prejudice that will take generations to overcome.

"Christ said that our problems came from within: 'Out of the heart are the issues of life.' The Supreme Court can make all the decisions it feels are necessary; but, unless they are implemented by good will, love and understanding, great harm will be done."

This writer concluded the editorial of May 9, 1960, on church and state relationships as follows:

"May a layman write an addendum? Churchmen who engage in politics lose the confidence of laymen and tend to become partisans rather than objective instrumentalities of spiritual help. Unquestionably, God's guidance to the individual is the inspiration we must depend upon for a solution to human problems. Guidance comes as we seek it, and the stimulus to individual communion with God is available to all of us through our respective faiths.

"Church and state are separated by mandate of our Constitution. The co-operation, however, of churchmen and other citizens in a community to improve the social welfare of the people is, of course, desirable and proper. But let us remember from the Book of Mark the advice that Jesus gave to the Pharisees:

" 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's,
and to God the things that are God's.' "

2-63 Religion

SOCIAL MINISTRY

The Lutheran Church in America is a new church body which came into existence in July, 1962. There has not been opportunity, therefore, for this church to issue convention approved statements on race relations. Predecessor church bodies have spoken forthrightly on this matter. Moreover, in the midst of the present crisis in race relations, the Executive Council, the president and many of the synods of the Lutheran Church in America have set forth their testimony. In addition, through its representatives to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Lutheran Church in America has participated in the actions of that common agency of the churches. The staff of the Board of Social Ministry has compiled the following statements as a representative sampling of the church's convictions. It should be emphasized that the church must act as well as speak if what has been said is to be an encouragement in the struggle for justice. Additional copies of this study report are available from the Board of Social Ministry. Please address requests to the Rev. L. William Youngdahl, Secretary for Community and Cultural Affairs.

STATEMENTS ON RACE RELATIONS

Statement Adopted by the Executive Council, Lutheran Church in America, June 28, 1963

WHEREAS the Church of Jesus Christ must heed God's call to practice love and justice in human relations; and

WHEREAS predecessor church bodies of the Lutheran Church in America have expressed themselves against the evils of segregation and discrimination on the basis of race (Augustana Lutheran Church — 1948, 1956; The United Lutheran Church in America — 1952, 1956, 1958); and

WHEREAS action compatible with the Christian responsibility for love and justice is necessary; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, acting in behalf of the Lutheran Church in America:

1. affirm the 1952 statement of The United Lutheran Church in America and the 1956 statement of the Augustana Lutheran Church, regarding race relations, pending a pronouncement by a convention of the church on this matter;
2. declare its conviction that any segregation or discrimination on the basis of race in the congregations, agencies and institutions of the church is in violation of God's will;
3. commit itself to work for eradication of such segregation and discrimination wherever they may exist;
4. call on the congregations, synods, institutions, boards, commissions and auxiliaries of the church to develop within their assigned areas of responsibility programs of self-examination and action leading to justice in race relations;
5. urge members of the congregations to initiate and support efforts at reconciliation between the races in their communities and to support proper legislation designed to assure equal opportunity for all citizens in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to all facilities serving the public; and
6. authorize and request the president of the church to send to all the ministers of the LCA and their congregations, a pastoral letter expressing the conviction and concern of the church on the fundamental moral issues of love and justice in race relations.

A STUDY REPORT ISSUED BY THE STAFF OF THE
BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
231 MADISON AVENUE,
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

STUDY REPORT, NUMBER 2, SEPTEMBER, 1963

Letter from the President of the Lutheran Church in America

July 8, 1963

Dear fellow-pastor:

I am grateful to the Executive Council for permitting, and indeed encouraging me to write a straightforward pastoral letter to you on the Christian attitude toward our neighbors of other races. The implications of the Gospel in this regard are so plain that, theologically, a letter like this is superfluous. I can hardly imagine that a single man in the ministry of our church is unclear on that score. If he is, I confess that I have grave doubts either about his perceptiveness as to what the Word of God teaches or about the state of his Christian obedience. The good that my words are intended to accomplish is to help us to strengthen and if necessary awaken, one another and, beyond that, to arouse each of us to action.

My colleagues on the Executive Council and I regret that its action and this letter will seem to have been prompted by the current racial crisis in the United States. That is true only on the surface. The position we are expressing now has not been wrung from us reluctantly by recent or impending events. We say what we say because it is intrinsically right. It represents the firm, and in my case intense, conviction of our minds and hearts.

No secular motivation powerful as it is, accounts either for the fact of my writing or the substance of what I write. Not the devastating effect of racial inequality within the United States on its image abroad — which has made me cringe a thousand times as I have seen it in all parts of the world and which vitiates its aspiration to a role of moral leadership. Not the inconsistency of America's almost self-righteous support of national independence and full civil rights for colored peoples overseas at the same time that it flagrantly fails to see the beam in its own eye at home. Not even the "natural rights" on which the whole theory of democracy rests.

The position that Christians take on race has spiritual roots. It arises directly out of our view of God and of man; and belongs to the essence of our faith. It is accusingly simple and brooks no disagreement. Men, created by God and redeemed by Christ, are equals and are meant to be brothers. No man is a hair's breadth above or below another in God's affection nor can he be in a Christian's regard. Any disabilities on the basis of race within the Christian family are evil. They are an affront to the Lord and a sign of deviation from Him.

We all agree on this. The time has come to act.

What it means for the congregation of which you are a pastor or the institution in which you carry on your ministry is plain. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is otherwise eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need, should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on an equal basis with the people of the majority race. Not only that, the church must be more than passively ready to receive those who come. It is bound in conscience, it is under the command of its Lord, to seek souls. Every congregation ought to do so without any discrimination because of the color of a man's skin. I believe this vigorously and practice it myself. I call on you to do so too.

Our obligation goes much further in civic affairs, as the Executive Council's statement points out emphatically in its fifth resolution. I commend it to you earnestly without attempting to elaborate it. The deficiency of which you and I have most frequently been guilty is not in the mind; we know what we ought to do. Nor in the heart; our sympathies are on the side of those who have too long been deprived of equality of treatment. Our fault, which we ought not tolerate in ourselves any longer, has been in the will. Under God, the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example.

All of this is not very spectacular, measured in present-day terms. It will taste too much for some like staid Lutheran conservatism. But do not let anyone dismiss this charge to his soul as weak or having an uncertain sound.

I trust the power of Law and Gospel. The Lord trusts you.

Fraternally yours,

/s/ Franklin Clark Fry

Excerpts of a Statement by the Augustana Lutheran Church, 1958, p. 387

"a. We reaffirm the position of our Church, that all people have equal rights before God, and are entitled to equal opportunities.

"b. We counsel our members to exercise love and understanding in all their dealings with persons of minority groups.

"c. We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decisions of segregation.

"d. We commend those who have sought to oppose wrong by non-violent means.

"e. We recognize that the evils of racial discrimination are not restricted to any one section of the nation, and we encourage our people to oppose all forms of racial discrimination whether they be found in the North or in the South.

"f. We point out to our members, especially those in the northern states, that discrimination in housing, real estate transactions, and employment is just as much a violation of Christian principles as discrimination in places of public assembly, public transportation or schools.

"g. We again encourage our congregations to include all unchurched persons in their communities in their programs of evangelism without distinction as to race, color, or national origin.

"h. We particularly commend those congregations who have refused to abandon communities where major population shifts have brought large numbers of non-white persons into the vicinity of their churches."

Excerpts of a Statement by The United Lutheran Church in America, 1952, pp. 790-92

"Consistent Christian living requires that men shall seek to accord to each other the observance of the following rights and their matching responsibilities:

"1. To possess and to respect the life and dignity of the human person as a child of God for whom Christ died.

"2. To worship God without human distinctions in the Church, the Body of Christ.

"3. To develop his God-given talents through education and cultural pursuits in order to use these talents in answer to God's call.

"4. To establish a home in living space and housing conducive to a wholesome family life.

"5. To occupy the place in economic life for which he is individually fitted, being free to advance therein on the basis of character and ability.

"6. To share the privileges and obligations of community life, having equal access to all public services, including those related to health, education, recreation, social welfare, and transportation, and receiving equal consideration from persons and institutions serving the public.

"7. To exercise one's citizenship in elections and all the other processes of government, having freedom for inquiry, discussion and peaceful assembly, and receiving police protection and equal consideration and justice in the courts."

(The complete statements of the United Lutheran Church and the Augustana Lutheran Church are available from the Board of Social Ministry)

Excerpts of Actions by Synods of the Lutheran Church in America

Central Pennsylvania Synod, June 5, 1963

Meeting on this historic and hallowed ground on the eve of the observance of the centennial of a battle in which brother fought against brother involving the issue of human rights; and

WHEREAS, in the light of the Christian Faith, the Church ought to help its people by offering a common witness to guide the individual conscience; we, the representatives of the Central Pennsylvania Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, assembled in our Second Annual Convention, do hereby solemnly affirm and commend the following principles for a policy of social action to the pastors and members of all congregations within the territory of the synod.

Be it resolved that we:

1. Confess before God those multiple prejudices and sinful attitudes that block the way to the Christian establishment of harmony among the people of our communities and assume our personal and corporate responsibility for our actions toward those persons who differ from us;
2. Welcome persons, without regard to heredity or environment, to the services of worship, to participate in activities of the congregation, and to membership in the Church;
3. Promote residential opportunities which will demonstrate our ethical responsibility to insure that men actually enjoy the right freely to establish their homes;
4. Encourage the employment, by our several constituencies: namely, our boards, agencies, congregations and our members in their daily lives, of qualified persons regardless of their race or national origin;
5. Encourage all institutions within our society to remove those membership restrictions that derive from sinful motives;
6. Encourage the integration of all recreational facilities within our communities;

7. Exercise our privilege of citizenship in a free society to insure justice for all men, and to move personally beyond the realm of justice to permit the love of God to recreate our relationships with Him and all persons;
8. Give support and encouragement to those in positions, and to those with opportunities, to act responsibly in the implementation of civil rights in all areas of our common life.

And, be it further resolved, that the Board of Social Ministry, cooperating with other boards and agencies of the synod, assist and counsel the pastors, the church councils, and members of congregations in their efforts to improve human relationships in their local situations.

Illinois Synod, May 22, 1963

RESOLVED, that the Illinois Synod in convention assembled adopt the social action statement* of the Executive Board dated April 17, 1963, on open occupancy as reflecting the conviction of this Synod, and be it further resolved, that the Secretary of the Synod be instructed to communicate to our legislators that portion of the statement which reads "encourage our members to take specific steps to help end segregation in housing as well as other areas by doing the following: to work for such constructive changes and for public support of democratically enacted laws which conform to Christian standards," and further, be it resolved that the actual count of those for and those against this action of Synod be recorded. The motion was carried by a vote of 361 to 0.

*The Executive Board statement reads as follows:

Lutherans view the issue of human relations in the light of Christian faith which declares that Christ came to give His life for the sin of the world and to help all men live new lives in conformity with the will of God.

Lutherans further believe that God created one human family and that all men, regardless of their race, color, culture, class or regional background, are thus inseparably related and bound together.

In light of these truths, Christian faith requires that men shall seek to accord to each other the observance of the following mutual rights and their corresponding responsibilities:

To alert all members to the political and spiritual dangers involved in racial prejudice, especially in the areas of housing, employment, education, recreation and access to social welfare services:

To remind our people that open occupancy describes a community climate of opinion which permits people to buy and rent housing freely in any areas where their means will permit without regard to race, religion, or national origin:

To encourage our members to take specific steps to help end segregation in housing as well as other areas by doing the following:

1. Organize discussion and study groups to examine facts, review policies, and take action.
2. Declare themselves as individuals and as parishes to take a stand against segregation.
3. Declare their position to public school administrators, political leaders, newspapers, real estate operators, etc.
4. To work for such constructive changes and for public support of democratically enacted laws which conform to Christian standards.

Maryland Synod, May 27, 1963

WHEREAS the voice of the Church should be heard and the moral force of the Church should be directed to effective action in the present state of critical development in the establishment of civil rights, and;

WHEREAS constitutional guarantees of civil rights must be supported by moral conviction and personal acceptance in order that such guarantees may be effective in providing a favorable climate for the development of a true community of justice and love, and

WHEREAS the ultimate basis of right human relations is inherent in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as revealed in the love of God in Christ, therefore

Be it resolved:

That this Convention urge the pastors and members of congregations of the Synod to provide a Christian witness;

1. By proclaiming within our congregations and in our communities the moral imperatives of the Christian faith in matters of civil rights, and
2. By giving all possible encouragement and support to those in positions of importance and opportunity for the implementation of civil rights, such as employers, members of policy-making boards and committees in business and in community affairs; personnel in critical positions in determining practice concerning

housing accommodations, educational facilities, and employment and service in restaurants, hotels, and motels, and

3. By clear public declaration of the basis of membership in congregations of the Maryland Synod as nondiscriminatory with respect to race, and
4. By calling upon Christian people especially within our congregations to pray for God's help and guidance in fulfilling the purpose set forth in this resolution.
5. By including this statement of Christian witness in the minutes of this Convention, in published reports and news releases of the Convention, and in the materials provided to delegates for reports on this Convention to congregations.

Michigan Synod, May 5, 1963

"We deplore the conditions existing in these United States which deny some of God's children equality and a sense of personal dignity and again urge the church to again witness to its concern."

Minnesota Synod, June 5, 1963

Resolved, That the President of Synod convey to the President of the United States the well wishes of this assembly for efforts made to raise the status of American Negroes and other minority groups to that of first class citizens;

Be it further resolved that the President of Synod convey to the President of the United States the hopes of this assembly that he will use the powers and influences of his high office to assure every American citizen that his rights under the Constitution will be guaranteed.

New England Synod, May 26, 1963

"Recognizing the deep involvement of the United States in the current controversy over segregation which is at its root a moral crisis, we call upon all congregations and Christian people to exercise the fullness of our Christian concern to expedite its resolution. Therefore, at this time we wish to restate and reaffirm the resolutions accepted by predecessor synods in 1948, 1951, and 1956."

New Jersey Synod, May 27, 1963

God's creative deed, Christ's redeeming life and cross, Scripture's declarative witness and our basic theological affirmations testify that all men bear the image of God. This implies a sacred pricelessness to individual worth and an equality of status before God which must be expressed in all human relationships.

To deny to any man because of his color, culture, or class the endowments which are his by divine activity—worth and equality—is to offend God. Yet white American Christians have been guilty of that offense because of their open support, or apathy toward, racial prejudice.

Therefore, the New Jersey Synod in convention assembled calls upon its member congregations:

1. To confess their sin and guilt before God and to accept his forgiveness;
2. To work in their corporate lives to establish inclusive fellowship in their memberships, and so in their worship, study, and social activities;
3. To work in their communities to accomplish:
   a. Equal job opportunities;
   b. Inclusive schools;
   c. Open occupancy in all communities.

Ohio Synod, May 22, 1963

Resolution on Housing: The following resolution on housing was adopted and forwarded to Governor James A. Rhodes: "The Ohio Synod of the Lutheran Church in America in annual convention, May 22, at Springfield, voted to urge the legislature of the State of Ohio to enact into law legislation which shall make discrimination in housing illegal."

Pacific Southwest Synod, May 8, 1963

The most critical issue in our nation today is the struggle for justice and equal opportunities for all persons. Manifestations of segregation exist in the communities of our Synod. For these we are deeply penitent and must seek justice in our communities, showing forth the fruits of repentance.

A particular form of this struggle is now taking place in Birmingham under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED

1. That the Pacific Southwest Synod in this Convention observe a period of prayers for those who seek justice and those who still withhold it.

2. That a telegram be sent to Dr. King expressing our Christian concern and asking if Synod can be of specific assistance to the movement he represents.
3. That the President of Synod, in consultation with the Synodical Board of Social Ministry, be empowered to take appropriate action following receipt of Dr. King's reply.

Southeastern Synod, April 30, 1963

That inasmuch as:

The church is the Body of Christ;

The church is a universal fellowship;

Its mission is not to reflect the cultural values of society but to make manifest the mind of Christ;

It is the Holy Spirit who creates the church and determines who shall be a part of it; and

Our church buildings are not our possession but houses of God;

We can rightly make no restrictions on the basis of race in the membership, the worship, and the outreach of service of our congregations. We ought to be repentantly aware that inconsistencies existing between our faith and our practice deny the very nature of the church and give moral sanction to a pattern of racial discrimination in society. We must strive to remove these inconsistencies for our own sakes and for the honor of Christ's name.

We recommend to our congregations that they do now what is possible for them to eliminate discrimination in their own life by developing an inclusive ministry and striving for racial justice in the communities where they witness.

Western Pennsylvania/West Virginia Synod, June 12, 1963

"Be it hereby resolved that the pastors and councils of the member churches of the Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia Synod make their congregations centers of positive action in the local community:

"1. To confess our failure and ask God's forgiveness.

"2. To recognize in the local church that the essential dignity and equality of all men are the same — determined by God's creative act — and not by the color of a man's skin or his social position.

"3. To bring this Christian witness to bear in all areas of the local community."

Excerpts of an Action Taken by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. on June 7, 1963 Leading to the Establishment of the Commission on Religion and Race

The mounting tide of vigorous action to secure full civil rights for all American citizens has at long last moved into the center of this nation's attention and has precipitated an unmistakable crisis.

The crisis must be seen as having three aspects which are distinguishable but intertwined:

— a crisis involving the entire nation and the fundamental concepts of freedom and justice that are integral to American democracy;

— a crisis involving the entire religious community of the nation and the deepest convictions concerning our common humanity and the inescapable obligation to act always out of respect and compassion for our fellowmen;

— a crisis involving the obedience of the Church to its Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore involving the integrity of the Church as the agent of God's reconciling purpose in his world.

The Church of Jesus Christ can make no compromise with discrimination against or segregation of peoples on the basis of race, and still be faithful to her Master. God came to make his dwelling among men in the person of a man. He went to his death and rose again for every man.

It must also be said that while many Christians have worked hard in this cause, the Church has not been free from sin in this serious issue. Many churches are closed to Negroes and other ethnic minorities; church institutions discriminate, and we have not taken vigorous enough action in the public domain.

Up to now there always has seemed to be time for gradual change, and modest tokens of progress in racial justice were accepted as the best we could do.

But now, in the providence of God, the issue is being sharply focused in every corner of the nation. Negro citizens, in action groups, and spontaneously, aided by some white fellow citizens, are moving quickly and with great commitment to action that often means suffering, harassment and sometimes death.

The basic issue has not changed, but it is becoming more obvious to the nation as a whole. It is one issue

which the conscience of America must face as a moral challenge.

As the demands for equal treatment take shape in the struggles in Oxford and Birmingham and Huntsville, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and New York and in almost every city in the country, the entire nation is faced with the threat of violence and a developing mood of frustration.

Negro citizens begin to suspect that they will have to bear the brunt of pain alone. Many white citizens feel that there is no way in which they can be effective in changing their own communities quickly enough to meet the rightful demands of Negroes for full citizenship.

There is a growing consensus that this summer may be a decisive period in American history for beginning to deal with this haunting sin. The world watches to see how we will act — whether with courage or with fumbling expediency.

In such a time the Church of Jesus Christ is called upon to put aside every lesser engagement, to confess her sins of omission and delay, and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other.

Now is the time for action — even costly action that may jeopardize the organizational goals, and institutional structures of the Church, and may disrupt any fellowship that is less than fully obedient to the Lord of the Church. Increasing numbers of Christians who are moved to witness to their convictions in this crisis may suffer personal indignities, alienation and physical suffering. But this may be the price required for the tardy obedience of Christ's people.

Words and declarations are no longer useful in this struggle unless accompanied by sacrifice and commitment.

Therefore we recommend that the General Board authorize four specific actions as implementation of this intention on the part of Protestant and Orthodox Christians in this hour of decision:

1. To invite Roman Catholic and Jewish ecumenical leadership to share with us in action to aid in desegregation of American life, where possible in association with the Continuing Committee on Religion and Race.

2. To urge every member communion to impress upon its people the serious nature of the present hour, and to press vigorously for their involvement in every phase of the struggle for justice including negotiation and demonstration. In order to do this in good faith, we call every communion and all units of the National Council of Churches to examine their structures and practices in order to eliminate discrimination and injustice within the church.

3. As the first actions of a continuing strategy of corporate witness:

   A. To *commit* ourselves, as members of the General Board, to engage personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other direct action in particular situations of racial tension.

   B. To *invite* Roman Catholic and Jewish leadership to join us in making a united presentation before congressional committees on the subject of civil rights legislation.

   C. To *issue* a call to Protestant and Orthodox church leaders and an invitation to religious leaders of all faiths to assemble in Washington as soon as is strategic. The purposes of this assembly shall be:

      (1) To demonstrate our solidarity in support of racial justice implemented through civil rights legislation;

      (2) To witness to the fact that this is a national moral issue and not a regional problem.

Each communion would devise the matter of communicating this invitation and making arrangements in Washington for its own constituency.

4. In order to insure appropriate attention to the immediate and long-term aspects of the crisis, the General Board requests the President of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, immediately to appoint a Commission on Religion and Race. This Commission shall have the following purposes:

   To focus the concern, the conviction, the resources and the action of the member communions in issues of religion and race;

   To provide a national interdenominational liaison with interfaith and other concerted efforts;

   To focus and mobilize the resources of the units of the National Council of Churches;

   To assist the nation to see this crisis in its moral dimension.

In order to begin to fulfill these purposes, the Commission shall call on the councils of churches and councils of church women and of church men in every state and major

city in the United States to arrange as soon as possible a consultation and demonstration in that state or city designed to develop the next steps in establishing racial justice and to witness to our determination that the church shall be fully involved in a continuing effort to change the segregated pattern of American life. When possible, the council of churches should arrange with the Roman Catholic and Jewish leadership to be full participants in the consultation and demonstrations. All communions are urged to facilitate full cooperation of their judicatories in the city or state. In cities where there is no council willing or able to give leadership to this effort, the Commission shall work with such religious leaders of these communities as will accept this responsibility.

The General Board authorizes this Commission to make commitments, call for actions, take risks in behalf of the National Council of Churches which are required by the situation and are consistent both with the substance and the implications of the actions and decisions of the National Council of Churches in the area of religion and race. The authorization to the Commission includes:

1. The encouragement of negotiations, demonstrations and direct action in places of particular crisis.
2. The mobilization of resources to encourage legislative and executive acts in order to bring dignity, equality, and justice to all Americans.
3. The mobilization of the resources of the churches in order to put their own house in order by desegregating all of the institutions of the church.
4. The development and implementation of long-term plans and strategies so that a continuing design of action will move us steadily towards the moral goal of full human rights for all.
5. The formation of a call to state and local councils of churches to take such immediate action to aid in the expediting of the spirit of this paper as seems best at this time.

Atlanta Exploratory Ministry

Interracial Christian Fellowship

Rel-Sou

Foreword and Minutes

First Meeting - Atlanta, Georgia - October 2, 1963

Convener - Rev. Richard S. McCarroll

Foreword

The advance planning for the project is indicated on the headquarters contacts and communications of Rev. G. Daniel Little, Associate Director of the Department of Urban Church, for UPUSA Board of National Missions. He referred in his letter of July 25, 1963 to Rev. Charles W. Talley, Executive of the UPUSA Synod of Atlantic, to a tentative project description written earlier in Charlotte, while both were together there. Copies of the typed draft were enclosed, but Mr. Little emphasized that the project should be "the result of thinking in the local judicatory.... The Presbytery [Knox-Hodge] committee should develop its own proposal making use of this as a basis, if it is useful." (A copy is attached.)

At the National Staff meeting of the UPUSA Board of National Missions in Chicago on September 16-18, 1963, it was agreed by the staff of the Department of Urban Church (George Todd, Director, and G. Daniel Little, Associate Director) and the Department of New Church Development (Harold F. Fredsell, Director and Richard S. McCarroll, Associate Director) that Richard S. McCarroll should convene the first meeting of the proposed inter-racial fellowship in Atlanta on October 2, 1963, at 4:00 P.M. in the Covenant (UPUSA) Church. In the capacity he was authorized to substitute on this occasion for G. Daniel Little and this was endorsed by David Ramage as the Chairman of the Division of Church Strategy and Development. Upon Mr. McCarroll's suggestion, representatives of the Synod of Mid-South and of the Presbytery of Chattanooga were asked to participate in the meeting and project. Subsequently, in Atlanta, Richard S. McCarroll invited both headquarters and Presbytery of Atlanta staff personnel of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

A field tour and study of new church possibilities in white, Negro, and bi-racial areas of Atlanta were also scheduled for Mr. McCarroll. October 1-2 were reserved for working with Synod of Mid-South and Presbytery of Chattanooga representatives, and October 3-4 for Synod of Atlantic and Presbytery of Knox-Hodge representatives. All persons to be involved in these two surveys were requested to share in the inter-racial meeting. The arrangements for the meeting and tours were outlined in Mr. McCarroll's letter of September 26, 1963 (attached).

Minutes

The meeting was convened at the Covenant Church in Atlanta, on October 2, 1963, somewhat after 4:00 P.M. The representatives of the Presbyterian US-UPUSA denominations considering comity relationships in the Atlanta area adjourned and reconvened with the Synod of Atlantic group for consideration of an inter-racial Christian fellowship.

Those present comprised the following:

Synod of Atlantic, UPUSA

Rev. Charles W. Talley, Synod Executive
Rev. George E. Henderson, Synod N.M. Chairman

Presbytery of Knox-Hodge

Rev. John M. Ellis, Presbytery N.M. Chairman
Rev. William S. Mercer, Radcliffe Memorial, Atlanta

Synod of Mid-South, UPUSA

Rev. Marion E. Mansell, Synod Executive
Rev. James E. Krahenbill, Synod N.M. Chairman

Presbytery of Chattanooga

Rev. Charles C. Lindsay, Covenant, Atlanta
Rev. John Gregg, Ass't., Covenant, Atlanta
Rev. Carroll D. Payne, Survey worker, Atlanta
(Excused - Rev. Daniel D. Brand, Northminster, Atlanta)

Board of National Missions, UPUSA

Rev. Richard S. McCarroll, Assoc. Dir., Dept. New Ch. Dev.

Synod of Georgia, Pr. U.S.

Presbytery of Atlanta

Rev. Bonneau H. Dickson, Executive Secretary
Rev. George H. Smith, Assoc. Sec. for Ch. Extension

Presbytery of Cherokee

Area Northwest of Atlanta proper - no representation requested

Board of Church Extension, Pr. U.S.

Rev. John R. Smith, Director of Urban Church
Rev. Lawrence W. Bottoms, Director for Negro Work
(Excused - Mr. Hal Hyde, Director for Survey and New Church)

The background for the calling of this meeting was presented by Mr. McCarroll. Quotations were given from G. Daniel Little's project description and letters. The discussion covered, as was intended, a wide range of subject matter regarding purposes, procedures, representation, staff, budget, and future dates. The following plans were agreed upon unanimously:

1. The basic and initial representation for planning should include at least the National Board, Synod, and Presbytery representatives of the UPUSA and Presbyterian U.S. denominations, and the UPUSA pastors of Atlanta.

2. The next meeting, with the above representation, should be scheduled for October 18, October 26, November 1, or November 7, at the Covenant Church in Atlanta, at 1:00 P.M. (Thursday, November 7, was the date approved by G. Daniel Little).

3. A broader meeting to invite all Presbyterian pastors of Atlanta to come if interested, in addition to the official group listed above, would presumably be the next step.

4. A larger meeting to include 1-2 laymen and pastors from all interested U.S. and UPUSA churches in addition to the official group listed above, would probably be the succeeding step.

Project Description for Atlanta Exploratory Ministry

G. Daniel Little

Background: Atlanta is the fastest growing city in the South, the center of transportation, culture and commerce. It has achieved some progress in race relations. It is a center for many civil rights groups. The United Presbyterian Church has three churches in Atlanta: one large white church (Covenant); one thriving Negro church in a fast-growing middle to upper income housing area; and one very small and weak church in a low income area.

These three churches do not constitute in amount of ministry or in kind the full responsibility or opportunity for United Presbyterian mission in Atlanta, in this time of rapid growth and social crisis.

The 1960 census reports that 487,455 people live in Atlanta.

Project Purpose: To explore the possible directions of an inclusive Christian community in the Atlanta area. As with a traditional congregation, the community would provide nurture for its members and would engage in mission to individuals, groups and corporate structures.

The community would not necessarily develop into a traditional new church development project, though that would be one of the possible directions to be explored.

Project Committee: As a first step a committee would be appointed by the Knox-Hodge Presbytery to undertake the early stages of the ministry, and to guide it through its exploratory period.

This committee would work with and supervise the full-time staff of the project. Until displaced by a permanent integrated Christian community, it would conduct the project in its policy and development.

This committee would be composed of a representative or representatives of the Presbytery National Missions Committee, laymen and/or ministers of the Covenant and Radcliffe Churches, the Atlantic Synod Field Representative, and a staff member of the Board of National Missions, ex officio.

This committee would recommend to the Presbytery through its Ministerial Relations Committee a candidate to become the full-time ministerial staff of the project.

Staff: An ordained minister would be called as Director of the Exploratory ministry. He must be aware of the social crisis of our time, be able to articulate the Christian Gospel, and be able to communicate with a wide variety of persons and groups. He must have a zeal for renewal in the Church, in all parts of its life. He must have the ability to be secure in an initially unstructured and experimental project.

Terms of Call: The minister would be responsible to the Project Committee, which will be responsible to the Presbytery National Missions Committee.

Salary.....($5,200)

Housing Allowance...($1,200)

Travel Allowance....($ 250)

Project program
expenses.....($ 750)

Terminal date and Review: The project will have an exploratory period of at least two years. It will begin October 1, 1963 and end September 30, 1965. There will be a formal evaluation and review after the first four months, and each six months thereafter. This review will be conducted with the project committee, by the Presbytery National Missions Committee or its representatives and by persons from BNM-DUC and/or personnel from the Special Committee on Religion and Race.

Schedule:

1. Explore possible committee members--appointment by Presbytery.

2. Committee meets--specifies general approaches--first steps.

3. Project description--agreed upon by Presbytery, Synod, Board of National Missions.

4. Establishment of financial arrangements.

5. Hire staff.

6. Full scale operation.

GDL:ds
7/23/63

Sept. 26, 1963

To: MID-SOUTH SYNOD
Mansell, Krahenbill, Watt
Brand, Lindsay
Fredsell, Little, Ramage

To: ATLANTIC SYNOD
Talley, Mercer, Ellis, Henderson
Fredsell, Little, Ramage

This letter is being dictated over the telephone in my absence from the office, because of a cold, but I wanted arrangements to be clarified for all concerned in ample time. Meanwhile, Harold Fredsell has telephoned Atlanta so that Messrs. Brand and Lindsay will know about arrangements; and he learned that Marion Mansell had thoughtfully made contact already.

The purpose and schedule for the trip are basically as follows:

Oct. 1-2, Tues.-Wed. Tour of possible New Church fields for Chattanooga Presbytery, Mid-South Synod.

Oct. 2, Wed., 4 PM Meeting at Northminster UPUSA for representatives of both Mid-South and Atlantic Synods to discuss informally the promotion of an Inter-racial Christian Fellowship, as outlined previously by Daniel Little of the Department of Urban Church. Those to attend should include all involved in the two respective New Church Development field tours.

Oct. 3-4, Thurs,-Fri. Tour of possible New Church fields for Knox-Hodge Presbytery, Atlantic Synod.

(Travel details omitted from mimeographed copies.) If there are laymen or other committee members who are involved at some time, then we leave this to those of you in Atlanta to make arrangements. Also, there should be some plan for conferring with the U.S. Presbytery executive (Dr. Bonneau H. Dickson).

To Atlantic Synod: Kindly note the arrangements for meeting Wed., Oct. 2, at 4 PM, at Northminster Church re the inter-racial program. We should start our field tour on Thursday morning at whatever time you set. We will rely largely on Mr. Mercer for guidance on the tour, but we do want the National Missions Chairman and all the Presbytery and Synod men present if at all possible.

Sincerely,

Richard S. McCarroll
Associate Director, New Church Development

RSM:ch

5. Two financial measures were listed. First, the budget and staff allowances outlined previously should be viewed as open to further consideration. Second, an appropriation should be assured to provide for travel and incidental expenses for meetings and committees and other costs, to be available to both field staff and others as supplementary allowances beyond their own expense budgeting.

Richard S. McCarroll
Convener - Secretary

New Church Development

Synod of Atlantic

Atlanta Metropolitan Area

October 2-3, 1963

Following the first meeting for projecting an interracial Christian fellowship, held in Atlanta on October 2, 1963, a conference was held on October 3 in the interests of new church development. This was in accordance with the plans outlined in a September 26, 1963 letter of Rev. Richard S. McCarroll, Associate Director of the Department of New Church Development of the UPUSA Board of National Missions. The communication was addressed jointly to the Synod of Atlantic and the Synod of Mid-South.

The October 3 conference included the following: Rev. Charles W. Talley, Executive Synod of Atlantic, Rev. William Henderson, Synod N.M. chairman, (Excused - Rev. John M. Ellis, Knox-Hodge Presbytery N.M. Chairman), Rev. William S. Mercer, Radcliffe Memorial, Atlanta, and Rev. Richard S. McCarroll, Associate Director, Department New Church Development.

The field tour of the west side of Atlanta on October 3 was made by only Mr. Mercer and Mr. McCarroll, after the others left Atlanta.

The basic material for use in surveying new church opportunities was the four page paper, by Rev. J. Oscar McCloud of Raleigh, North Carolina, entitled "The Atlanta Area as a Place for a United Presbyterian Work" (attached). This was supplemented by the July 25, 1963 memo of Rev. G. Daniel Little, Associate Director of the Department of Urban Church, addressed to Rev. Harold F. Fredsell, Director of the Department of New Church Development and Building Aid on "New Church Opportunities in Atlanta" (attached). (Correspondence about the availability of the Woodlawn Presbyterian Church (U.S.) was reviewed, but Mr. McCarroll ascertained that it had been sold in September 1963 to a Baptist group.)

The staff of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., were contacted and kept informed of our thinking. They indicated that their work on Negro areas was limited to three churches, one on the west side and two on the east side. They also affirmed their involvement with their three churches serving the Negro people and therefore that they were not now prepared to undertake new church work in similar areas. As the UPUSA representative for staff, Mr. McCarroll responded that we were not ready to begin a new field in the immediate future but would want to start such as soon as a suitable opportunity could be found and financial underwriting assured within the denomination. It was agreed among the representatives of the two Presbyterian denominations that the unusual challenges and problems of this type of field would necessitate a very mutual exchange of data on survey and specific planning. Inasmuch as the Presbytery of Atlanta staff covers all Presbyterian U.S. work within its borders, the UPUSA synods and presbyteries serving the area were urged to maintain direct contacts with that judicatory.

The more promising areas are those Southwest and Northwest of the Radcliffe Memorial Church. A good future area and one with the best demarcation from Radcliffe Church would be that to the Southwest, where north-south and east-west limited access and other major roads could provide a non-competitive parish of new homes.

The specific steps putlined by Mr. McCarroll to Mr. Mercer (and also to survey personnel of the Presbytery of Chattanooga) are as follows:

(1) Spot maps of the membership of the Radcliffe Memorial and the nearest Presbyterian, U.S., congregation should be secured and studied by the two denominational representatives. Later this could be done for the two east side Presbyterian, U.S., Churches. See item "3" below for guidance on preparing maps.

(2) Zone or parish circle groups should be established or strengthened for greater outreach and visitation intensified in the outlying areas. At least in the case of Radcliffe Memorial, the intimation could be made that new families from outlying areas might join there with the understanding that they would be encouraged to transfer their membership if and when a new Presbyterian church is started.

(3) A house-to-house census should be made from time to time of growing or changing areas. Volunteers could be enlisted for spare time service or a massive effort on a selected day. If 30 teams or individuals make 20 or more calls on a Sunday afternoon they will reach 600 homes. Students might be available from sociological or survey or other classes in Morehouse College, or Clark College, or Columbia Seminary, or the Interdenominational Theological Center. Or a delegation of ministers, laymen, or older young people from other Presbyterian Churches in Atlanta (US-UPUSA) or in Knox-Hodge Presbytery could do much in a day or on varied dates. Personnel should not have to be paid but this might prove to be the only alternative provided the scope and follow-up were clearly defined. Consult "A Guide for the Development of a New Church," chapter IV and the "Field Survey" supplement for guidance. The proper cards and instruction are necessary to secure data that will be valid and helpful.

(4) General survey study, assembling of population and housing data, and map work will be necessary to reach a decision locally about the need for a new church. This is vital to make a sound presentation for approval by the Presbytery, Synod and Board of National Missions. Comity consideration must be effected with the Presbyterian Church, U.S. Mr. McCarroll's suggestion is that any Synod or National staff personnel that can be enlisted should be used whenever able to get to Atlanta for follow-up. Also, Rev. Carroll D. Payne, who is now studying the north and northwestern edges of Atlanta for the Synod of Mid-South, can be utilized to give some guidance and a limited amount of time. Rev. Robert Muir of the Synod of Mid-South might be asked to offer some guidance on survey methods.

(5) Financial requirements to underwrite such a new project would involve site, manse, and building loans or special financing, plus probably long-term personnel and program aid.

Richard S. McCarroll
Convener-Secretary

TO: Dr. Charles W. Talley, Field Representative, Synod of Atlantic
Reverend John M. Ellis, Chairman, National Missions, Knox-Hodge Presbytery

FROM: J. Oscar McCloud, Raleigh, North Carolina

SUBJECT: The Atlanta Area As a Place For a United Presbyterian Work

On July 3, 1963, the writer went to Atlanta, Georgia to observe the factors in that community which would influence any new work which the United Presbyterian Church might initiate in that area. This writer's visit to Atlanta followed a meeting with the following persons: Dr. C. W. Talley, and the Rev. J. M. Ellis, on the afternoon of July 2. At this meeting the concerns of the National Missions Committee of Knox-Hodge Presbytery and the Field Representative with regard to the Atlanta area was made known and discussed.

In Atlanta, the writer and the Chairman of National Missions, Knox-Hodge Presbytery, were graciously received by representatives of the Radcliffe United Presbyterian Church. The two persons who proved most helpful during this visit to Atlanta were the Reverend and Mrs. W. S. Mercer. Both shared with the writer most willingly their knowledge of Atlanta and concern for the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church in that community.

The areas covered by this brief visit were: sections of the NORTHWEST, SOUTHWEST, SOUTHEAST and NORTHEAST. The main concern of this writer was then turned upon areas of the Northwest and Southwest reasons which I trust will become obvious. Briefly, what do the areas covered look like:

THE NORTHWEST: It is the southern portion of the area in which Radcliffe Church is located. This is an extremely large, and good residential neighborhood in the sense that this area is made-up largely of owner-occupied dwelling units. This area also has some of the newer housing for Negroes, it is represented by racial change in the "southeast corner" (see location of the Woodlawn Presbyterian Church (U.S.), a white congregation.)

The Northwest is being extended now some 10 miles from the Radcliffe Church by a new sub-division for Negroes. In between this sub-division and Radcliffe Church is a small settlement of whites, who show signs of uneasiness ("for sale" signs are prevalent.)

THE SOUTHWEST: This area is directly South of the Radcliffe Church, yet in many ways it is quite different. Less than three miles from Radcliffe, reached by Peyton Road, is an area of the City which is populated by some upper middle class whites (judging from the houses which are estimated to cost from $25,000-$40,000.) This is also the area of the recent and short-lived "Atlanta's Berlin Wall." This area is separated from Negro residents (Middle class) by approximately two blocks of vacant wooded land. There are few churches in the area of the SW covered by this observer. However, in the NW churches are more prevalent.

THE SOUTHEAST: To be identified by Pryor Avenue and Main Street is an area which might be characterized as a low socio-economic area. It is presently undergoing change from white to Negro. Churchwise, the area is dominated by Baptists and Pentecostal groups. In this same area are several low income

housing projects for Negroes. Not too far from the Negro housing project is a white low income housing project. Judging from rental signs, this observer concluded that most of the housing in this immediate area is rental property.

THE NORTHEAST: This area can be described as a rental property area awaiting urban renewal. Although, it is in somewhat better condition than much of the housing in the Southeast.

The success of a United Presbyterian Church ministry in either of the two areas mentioned just above would depend largely upon the image the National Church has exemplified regarding such areas of our cities. However, if funds are available for the type ministry which is needed in the SOUTHEAST and NORTHEAST, the United Presbyterian Church could and should offer a real and relevant challenge to the Baptists and Pentecostal groups which have a monopoly on these areas now, especially that of the Southeast. But will the United Presbyterian Church offer such a challenge to such an area? Not if such an area is expected to support its own ministry in three, five or even 10 years.

This observer believes that the NORTHWEST and SOUTHWEST offer some of the best possibilities and potential for developing a new Presbyterian Ministry in the City of Atlanta.

The area of the NW which is identified by the Woodlawn Church can be characterized as a changing neighborhood. It is the home-owner type, presently and more recently occupied by lower middle income whites. The homes are mostly frame, consisting of five and six rooms. However, they show signs of having been well-kept and would sell for approximately $10,000-$15,000. Few churches are observed in this area. One white Presbyterian Church U.S. is located in the midst of a mixed neighborhood, which is changing, of course. Nevertheless, the information available to this writer indicated that this particular church is not seeking to minister to the Negroes in this area. The presence of a huge tent and a revival meeting sign on the church lawn indicated to this observer that this congregation may well lean toward a conservative theological "pole", which might also contribute to a "social order" conservativeness as well.

CONCLUSION: This area might be a likely one for a new United Presbyterian ministry. REASON: New people (Negroes) are coming into a good, but modest residential section, while many of the whites are still there. A Church with a good program, a multi-racial staff, and an aggressive approach might very well become the stabilizer needed here in order that this community might not go the way of all such communities -- all Negro.

The Southwest might very well be the best area to attempt to develop an inclusive ministry and congregation mainly because it is not an area undergoing any drastic change from white to Negro, or the like. Also because the people in this area are more apt to have similar educational and economic backgrounds, etc., than the people in the southeastern part of the Northwest. One thing which would need to be given serious thought regarding this area of the Southwest is that it was here that only a short time ago the "Atlanta Wall" was built. The extent to which racial tensions or fear still exist in this section needs to be considered. If such tension is still prevalent, a new United Presbyterian Project which seeks to be an inclusive fellowship might have some difficulty overcoming it, as compared to an area where tension at least has not been expressed in so obvious a way. However, this may be all the more reason why the church needs to be the church in just such places as this.

Another factor to be considered in favor of locating a new work in this area, however, is that Radcliffe might very well be cut off geographically from this area by Interstate 20 which is already under construction. (See map of lower Northwest Atlanta.)

TWO INDIVIDUALS REACT:

Mrs. W. S. Mercer believes additional United Presbyterian work in Atlanta could proper under good leadership.

She also indicated that she thought an interracial project would stand a good chance in Atlanta, and that such work might well find a "core" of interested white persons among the many organizations in the City working toward integration and civil rights: Southern Regional Council, Southern Leadership (Christian) Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, National Student Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (SCLC, SNCC, NSA, NAACP). This observer concurs with this observation and believes that any "special project" attempted in Atlanta should begin with the above mentioned organizations and their connected persons as prospects to be called on first.

The Reverend W. S. Mercer believes that additional United Presbyterian work in Atlanta is needed, that such could eventually be supported by the community, and that such would help the United Presbyterian image. Bill further believes that additional United Presbyterian work would eventually enhance the present United Presbyterian ministry in Atlanta.

The Reverend Mercer is willing to lend to the Presbytery National Missions Committee members of his staff who might assist the Committee by means of a "spot survey" in some of the areas of potential concern.

This writer is of the opinion that such a poll by members of the Reverend Mercer's staff could prove to be of invaluable help in this whole matter in the coming months. However, the final decision should in no case rest upon what such a poll or limited survey says.

ATLANTA is bursting at the seams in growth. Everywhere one sees concrete and bricks, and people on the move, from the City's State Capital Area to the farthest region of the City's suburbs. Signs of continued growth are everywhere present in Atlanta.

Even many of the churches in Atlanta are showing unusual concern for the above mentioned changes by seeking to provide a relevant ministry to people in a changing society. The United Presbyterian Church should not be caught sleeping in this matter.

I am of the candid opinion that Atlanta offers very good potential for a new United Presbyterian work at this time. I am further of the opinion that the United Presbyterian Church would be negligent if it does not meet this challenging opportunity with an appropriate response. This observer believes that either a special project which would attempt to make an inclusive ministry and witness or one which is directed specifically toward a particular racial group (Negro) would stand a good chance of becoming a most significant witness on the part of the United Presbyterian Church in that community.

Whatever the United Presbyterian Church attempts to do in Atlanta, one prior decision will have to be made, namely, What group or groups of people in the Atlanta area would be most amenable to the type of ministry the United Presbyterian Church wishes to provide at this time? With the proper authorities discussing and answering this question, this observer would then suggest that the following be given serious thought immediately:

A. That a more thorough survey be made immediately of two area:

1) The area disected by North Avenue, N.W. and served in part by the Woodlawn Presbyterian Church, U.S. and identified on the City map as "D".
To determine whether the area is adequately churched, and the feasibility of locating a new United Presbyterian work in the area.

2) The area West of Radcliffe reached by Gordon Road, identified on the City Map by "B". In this area a new church might well be a real service to these newcomers who are approximately 8-10 miles from the traditional Negro section and churches.
Depending on how far West such a project would be located, there is not too much "to pull on" in this area for developing an inclusive fellowship.

B. That consideration be given to the possibility of a multi-racial staff for any special project or new work which might be an attempt to develop an inclusive fellowship.

C. Because of the factors observed by this writer and discussed briefly above, this observer believes that the ADAMSVILLE AREA and the WOODLAWN AREA offer the best potential for new United Presbyterian work in Atlanta.
1) The Adamsville Area might very well serve the area of the Southwest to which our Church might wish to attempt to minister at this time.

D. That in addition to serious consideration and analysis of Mrs. Mercer's idea as to who might be the most likely immediate prospects for a special project, that COVENANT and RADCLIFFE CHURCHES be invited to lend to this effort two or three families of the respective congregations, who would be interested in venturing in this type "pioneering witness". Note: The observer has not discussed this idea with either of the two pastors who would be involved.

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

Board of National Missions

TO Harold Fredsell July 25, 1963
FROM G. Daniel Little
RE: New Church Development Opportunities in Atlanta

I was in Atlanta, Georgia on the weekend of July 13-14. I got fairly acquainted with the Radcliffe Memorial Presbyterian Church, our only Negro Presbyterian church in that city. Oh yes, there is one other but it is almost ready to pass out of existence. Then, of course, there is the Covenant U.P. Church, a white congregation. The Atlantic Synod and Presbytery have been increasingly concerned about meeting the opportunities for new church development in that fast growing city. There are an amazing number of middle and upper-middle class Negro communities being built today on the west and north-west side of Atlanta. It is these particularly which occupied our interest.

We ought to think through a possible approach so as to move the Presbyterian synod planning along with a view to getting a church started in that area. From my two day visit and tour, I would say that the opportunities are ripe.

G. Daniel Little
Associate Director
Department of the Urban
Church

GDL:ds
cc: Charles W. Talley

New Church Development

Synod of Mid-South

Presbytery of Chattanooga

Atlanta and Outstate Georgia

October 1-4, 1963

A growing interest about additional new church opportunities in the Metropolitan Atlanta area began to find expression near the middle of 1963. Dr. Harold F. Fredsell visited Atlanta briefly and talked with representatives of the Synod and the Atlanta pastors about engaging someone for survey work. At the 1963 National Staff meeting in Chicago, agreement was reached that Rev. Richard S. McCarroll should visit the area because of his earlier contacts with both the area and the survey work of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.

In a September 26, 1963 letter (attached), Rev. McCarroll confirmed arrangements. October 1-2 were scheduled for a tour of possible new church fields in the Atlanta area for the Presbytery of Chattanooga, Synod of Mid-South; October 2, at 4 P.M., for discussion of an inter-racial Christian fellowship; and October 3-4 for a tour of possible new church fields in the Atlanta area for the Presbytery of Knox-Hodge, Synod of Atlantic.

A brief outline of the subsequent contacts follows:

1. On October 1, a field tour was made of the areas above and below the northern arc of the new Circumferential Highway on the north side of Atlanta, but primarily within DeKalb County.

2. Also on October 1, a preliminary discussion of comity considerations was held with the representatives of the national and Atlanta Presbytery staff of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (See 6 below.)

3. On October 2, a tour was made of Cobb County, covering the areas east of Marietta and Smyrna, comprising the northwestern outlying area of Atlanta across the Chattahoochee River.

4. On October 3, Mr. McCarroll flew to Warner Robins, Georgia, to meet with a local committee desirous of developing a UPUSA congregation. (This project was validated on October 24, 1963 attached.)

5. On October 4, UPUSA and Presbyterian, U.S., representatives met at the Presbytery of Atlanta office to discuss comity considerations. (The revised minutes of this meeting are attached.)

6. Also, on October 4, 1963, our UPUSA representatives convened to review proceedings and outline further steps. A job description was prepared for the survey work of Rev. Carroll D. Payne (rev. ed. attached).

The personnel participating in part or all of the above were:

Synod: Marion E. Mansell, Robert M. Muir - staff;
James E. Krahenbill, N.M. Chairman

Presbytery: Charles C. Lindsay, Daniel D. Brand,
John N. Gregg, Carroll D. Payne

Board: Richard S. McCarroll - Dept. NCD & BA

Signed,
R. S. McCarroll

Pan-Presbyterian Comity Meeting

On Friday, October 4, 1963, a consultation was held with the following persons present:

Charles C. Lindsay, 30 Terrace Drive, Atlanta, Georgia - 30305
(Pastor, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Atlanta)

Robert M. Muir, 3012 Crescent Circle, Huntsville, Alabama
(National Missions Assistant, Synod of Mid-South Staff)

Richard S. McCarroll, Room 1151, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.
(Associate Director of New Church Development, Board of National Missions)

Daniel D. Brand, 4270 Chatworth Court, N.E., Atlanta 5, Georgia
(Pastor, Northminster Presbyterian Church, Atlanta)

George H. Smith, 341-F Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia
(Associate Secretary in the Area of Church Extension - Atlanta Presbytery)

Bonneau H. Dickson, 341-F. Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 8, Ga.
(Executive Secretary, Stated Clerk, and Treasurer of Atlanta Presbytery)

The above parties were drawn together with a view to maintaining the fullest measure of harmony between the UPUSA and U.S. Churches in the establishing of new churches and any relocations which might be planned for within the geographical bounds of Atlanta Presbytery.

(1) Re: "Ground Rules":

It was proposed by Rev. Charles C. Lindsay and agreed to by the group that normally Atlanta Presbytery, having the major responsibility for ministering to the area, would proceed with its own program of establishing new churches and relocating its congregations without need for consultation with representatives of the UPUSA Church; but the agents of the UPUSA would accept the responsibility for initiating consultations with responsible officials of Atlanta Presbytery when it proposes to explore the possibility of establishing a new work or the relocating of an existing congregation. These officials, having no power to speak for the Presbytery, will convey information or requests received to the Church Extension Committee of Atlanta Presbytery.

It was further agreed that in these consultations the "ground rules" set forth in a paper drawn up by denominational leaders, February 12, 1959, would be accepted as a basis for mutual guidance and for recommendation to our responsible agencies.

These "ground rules" specify:

(1) Ordinarily no new church will be started within less than two miles of an existing Presbyterian church. In every case, the nearest Presbyterian church will be notified in writing of the proposed new church and will be given an opportunity to appear before the comity committees*, if it so desires. (*Instead of setting up the "comity committees" alluded to here, it was agreed that consultations would take place between representatives of the UPUSA Church and responsible officials of Atlanta Presbytery.)

(2) Ordinarily neither communion will enter a community of less than 10,000 inhabitants where the other church is already established.

It was still further agreed that in areas where the overlapping affects churches of the A.R.P. and Cumberland denominations that the same procedure would be followed.

(2) Re: Relocation of Northminster Church:

It was reported that the Northminster Church presently located on Roswell Road, had purchased property on Forest Lake Drive. This was received as information. In the future it is anticipated that consultations on locations or relocations will be in advance of purchase.

(3) Re: Proposed UPUSA Work in Dunwoody Area:

It was reported that the UPUSA was interested in a site for a future church in the areas of Chamblee-Dunwoody and Mt. Vernon Road. Mr. Smith provided the information that this area had been prospected by Atlanta Presbytery with a view to acquiring property and opening a church at the appropriate time. Thus far, Atlanta Presbytery has not purchased a site in the area.

Mr. McCarroll presented the plans of the UPUSA Church to survey this area and to take an option on a site, but said that the development of work and actual purchase of a site were to be conditioned upon agreement on UPUSA proceeding. Mr. McCarroll explained (in a note suggesting modification to first draft of this summary), "Our site funds require starting of work within twenty-four months to be eligible for our national funds. It was agreed that unwarranted stalling was not in order and a project should be subject to review."

It was further agreed that if and when the UPUSA becomes interested in the purchasing of a particular site in this general area, further consultation with representatives of Atlanta Presbytery will be held before entering into commitment to buy.

(4) Re: Negro Work in Atlanta Area:

The UPUSA Church does not propose to begin any new church in a Negro residential area in the Atlanta area in the immediate, foreseeable future. It was suggested by Mr. McCarroll that consideration might be given in our long-range planning to cooperate in establishing a new Negro church in the general vicinity of where the new "West By-Pass" intersects the Circumferential Highway. This is a matter for further exploration, both as to location and cooperation across denominational lines.

On the part of Atlanta Presbytery, no expression of opinion was given except to say that the Presbytery has no plans for additional Negro churches in the Northwest area until it has succeeded in bringing West Hills to a more healthy condition.

Job Description for Field Survey
for
Rev. Carroll D. Payne

This was drafted on October 4, 1963 at Covenant Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia. The Minutes were prepared by Rev. John N. Gregg as Recorder (and then were revised later at national headquarters by Rev. Richard S. McCarroll). Also in attendance were Rev. Charles C. Lindsay, Rev. John N. Gregg, Rev. Carroll D. Payne.

I. Responsibilities

A. Overall survey - gathering maps, data; pertinent information regarding area, and related areas, etc.

B. House-to-house census - in the primary population areas, later, the secondary areas. Using county reports on new residents, and other lists, contact likely prospects.

C. Initial promotional contacts - possibilities for publicity, exploring with interested groups of people, etc.

D. Properties - consideration of potential sites; temporary meeting place; potential manse, etc., including location, type, cost, financing.

II. Supervision

Guidance and direction are to be exercised by the following, presumably with primary supervision to be exercised at the Presbytery level.

A. Presbytery of Chattanooga - Sub-Committee for NCD in Georgia, N.M. Comm. (later by the "Commission on New Church Development in Georgia.")

B. Synod of Mid-South - Marion E. Mansell, executive (staff oversight), and Robert M. Muir (latter to offer guidance on survey methods).

C. Board of National Missions - Harold F. Fredsell, and Richard S. McCarroll, respectively, regarding budget-validations and survey-evaluation.

III. Finances

Beginning October 1, 1963; for a six-month period, to March 31, 1964. Salary - $5,400 annually, + $600 travel allowance, + $75 monthly housing allowance, + 10% pension payment. If permanent work is established, the salary amount is open to negotiation.

Mrs. D. C. Meadows (Secretary and Financial Secretary of Covenant Church) will open a checking account, receive all salary, etc., checks from the Board of National Missions, pay Rev. Mr. Payne, pay Pensions Board, etc.

Desk and office are available for use in Covenant Church.

IV. Project Areas - Georgia

A. DeKalb County - North of Atlanta, Dunwoody.

B. Cobb County - Northwest of Atlanta, E. of Marietta-Smyrna.

C. Warner Robins - pulpit supply and conferrals.

D. Other areas - as population data may warrant.

E. Cooperation - Atlanta area, with Knox-Hodge Presbytery, Atlantic Synod.

Signed, R. S. McCarroll

A called meeting of the Presbytery of Chattanooga was called to order at 1:00 p.m., November 18th, in the Session Room of Covenant Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, by the acting moderater, the Rev. Chas. C. Lindsay. Mr. Lindsay declared a recess until 2:00 p.m. at which time a quorum was present and Presbytery was constituted with prayer by the Rev. Daniel D. Brand.

Ministers present were: Charles C. Lindsay, Daniel D. Brand, Herman L. Turner, Carroll D. Payne

Elders present: James A. Cain, Covenant; William F. Weaver, Northminster; Mr. Hixon, Leonard St. Carroll D. Payne was appointed clerk pro tem.

The purpose of the called meeting being to form a commission for New Church Development, Mr. Payne presented the following resolution:

That a Commission on New Church Development in Georgia be formed.
That the composition of the commission be three ministers - Daniel D. Brand, John N. Gregg, Charles C. Lindsay and Two Elders - James A. Cain and Wm. F. Weaver.
That a quorum be a majority of the commission.
That organizing Pastors and/or representatives of the Board of National Missions, Synod and Presbytery be advisory members.
That the powers of the Commission be - to organize churches within the bounds of the state of Georgia; to enter into contracts with organizing pastors, with the approval of the Division of New Church Development and Building and, in consultation with the committee on Ministerial Relations; to enter into land and manse purchase contracts, with approval of the Division of New Church Development and Building Aid, in the several fields of new church development; to supervise in the name of the Presbytery, the activities of the organizing pastors; to enter into, and maintain, comity arrangements with the Presbyterian Church in the United States and/or any other denomination or responsible organization where practicable.
That Daniel D. Brand be elected to convene the commission.

A second was made to this resolution and, after discussion, it was adopted.

The meeting was adjourned with prayer and the apostolic benediction by the Moderator.

Carroll D. Payne
Clerk Pro Tem

(5) Re: UPUSA Survey Representative:

Mr. McCarroll asked that the memo include a note to the effect that the Synod of Mid-South has employed Rev. Carroll Payne as a development representative to survey areas of opportunity in the Metropolitan Atlanta area.

The consultation adjourned with the agreement that Bonneau H. Dickson would summarize discussion and forward copies to all present. Any needed corrections will be sent to Mr. Dickson and the paper revised until acceptable to all present.

(This is a second draft and has incorporated certain refinements and amplifications suggested by Richard S. McCarroll - no one else suggested changes in the original draft.)

Bonneau H. Dickson

Religion

A STATEMENT

on

THE CHURCH and the RACIAL CRISIS

adopted by

THE BISHOP AND CHAPTER

of the

Diocese of Southern Ohio

October 12, 1963

and issued by

THE BISHOP

To be read in all Churches

on

Sunday, October 27, 1963

The Summer of 1963 will long be remembered as one of the most decisive moments in the history of our country. Rarely, since the Civil War, have so many sections of the country been so convulsed by civil disorder and conflict. The historic March on Washington constituted the largest civil gathering of private citizens in one place in the nation's history. We are still too close to the events of the summer to offer any meaningful appraisal of their significance for the future, but all Americans are aware that the nation has entered a new and eventful era of social change. Indeed the word "revolution" is not too strong to use in the present context. The great issue which confronts us as a people is whether that revolution will be marked by increasingly tragic violence, or whether the institutions and laws of our heritage will be adequate to lead us to peaceful solutions.

One of the most important factors in the revolution up to this point has been the decisive role which religious bodies have played in the struggle. The Negro Church has been the source of greatest leadership and the source of greatest momentum, not only in the South, but in all sections of the country. All churches, with a few notable exceptions, have become involved in the struggle. To anyone at all acquainted with the facts of Christian history, such widespread and dedicated involvement in this kind of witness will come as no surprise. Indeed, we recall that the first Council of the Church, the Council of Jerusalem, was convened primarily in order to deal with the question of racial discrimination in the Christian community. It is of surpassing importance for all Christians to realize that the first heresy officially recognized by the Church was precisely a heresy having to do — not with matters of abstract theological doctrine — but precisely with the question of racial discrimination. This earliest recorded conflict in the Church's life — the conflict between those who maintained the old Jewish law of racial segregation and those who argued with St. Paul that all men are now one in Christ — reminds us that from the very first the Church has taken a stand on this issue.

In that earliest position taken by the Church, one answer only could be given if Christians were to be true to themselves and to their Lord. In Christ we are no more Jew or Gentile, but a new creation: we are all alike members of the Body of Christ and all together joint-heirs with Christ of the Kingdom. We pray "Almighty God who has created man in thine own image, and hast made of one blood all nations for to dwell on the face of the whole earth . . ." We affirm: "There is but one Body and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling . . . for as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek. There is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

Therefore, there can be no possible doubt about the position of the Church on racial equality. Our faith is such that by our very existence

as Christian people we are propelled into the struggle for the realization of the unity of all men, whatever their color or station.

Our own Church's contemporary statement of policy in the struggle has been clear and unambiguous. Only the willfully ignorant can be unaware of our Church's teaching in this matter.

*"*WHEREAS, we believe in the natural dignity and value of every man, of whatever color or race, as created in the image of God and as one for whom Christ died; that discrimination by reason of color or race between men has as its root human sin; that the Church must confess its own sin in this area; and*

"WHEREAS, We acknowledge that there are no easy answers to the problems created by the effort to apply these convictions to special and local situations, particularly in times of cultural and social change, and that the composite thoughts of Churchmen in conference or convention may or may not be the will of God because we all stand under the judgment of God and not finally under the judgments of fallible men; and also that, despite honest differences of opinion, we are bound together, through our union in Christ and His fellowship of love, to seek God's will; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, The House of Deputies concurring, that we call first upon our fellow Churchmen by God's grace to cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination; and then upon all persons, especially the members of our Church, to work together, in charity and forbearance, towards the establishment, without racial discrimination, of full opportunities in fields such as education, housing, employment and public accommodations."

We have proclaimed again and again that racial discrimination and segregation is sinful. Racial segregation in schools, in housing, in employment, in public services — indeed wherever it occurs, is a sinful action.

The struggle for racial justice and integration has now moved into an era where deeds, not words become decisive, when public action rather than public resolution, when direct action, rather than merely indirect persuasion become appropriate instrumentalities. Many of our Bishops and Priests, as well as our lay people, have entered this phase of the struggle with determination and courage. They have marched in the streets of our cities; they have given direct and public witness to the Church's teaching on the picket lines and in the prisons of some of our communities.

This involvement, and its attendant publicity in the mass media of communication, have done much to redeem the Church's public image in the eyes of many of those who had begun to doubt the relevancy of the Church's life to the complex problems of the social order. One encounters, not infrequently, the suspicion among the ablest and most gifted representatives of modern culture, that the Church has lost its vital power to bring its message to bear upon the social order because of its fatal preoccupation with itself and its own domestic concerns. The responsible

*Episcopal General Convention, 1958.

participation of the Church in the struggle for racial justice has been a sign of encouragement to those whose minds were troubled by this growing conviction.

There are others, however, in this Diocese, and throughout the Church, whose minds, far from being encouraged by this involvement, have become troubled and bewildered. It is to these people and to their legitimate questions that we wish to address a message of pastoral and affectionate concern.

Those within the Church who find our position problematic must be distinguished in two groups. In the first group are those who object in principle to the Church's teaching about the unity of all men in Christ. These persons believe that the Negro (or some other group) is by nature (biologically) inferior in some significant respect to his white brother, and, therefore, is not properly entitled to share the same status in society which the "white man" occupies. Mercifully, those who hold this racist view are few in number at the present time in this country. The memory of the atrocities committed in the name of this philosophy in Germany, however, are fresh enough to remind us that here is a position which must be seriously acknowledged and dealt with. To those who espouse such a philosophy of race, it must simply be said, clearly and openly, that this opinion is fundamentally incompatible with the belief which we affirm as members of Christ's Church. We affirm that all men are made in the image of God and that all men are redeemed and made heirs of the Kingdom of God in the work of Jesus Christ. The advocates of racial philosophies which directly contradict this fundamental belief must be challenged to face the self-evident contradiction involved in their continuing involvement in the Church whose basic creed they deny and oppose.

The second group must be carefully distinguished from the first. In this second group are those who do not disagree with the Church's teaching about racial equality, but who disagree with the *form of involvement* which the Church has taken in the present social struggle. It is to this group of persons and to the nature of their discontent that we wish to speak particularly. Here we wish to consider some of the specific arguments which many of these people advance against the church's participation in the present struggle.

I. THE CHURCH AND "BIG GOVERNMENT"

It is said by some that the Church is aligning itself in the present conflict with those who support "Big Government," with those who favor federal, rather than local solutions to the racial problems of the nation. Those who argue this point suggest that it is improper for the Church to endorse any particular political solution to the problem which confronts us. They would maintain that while the Church may have the responsibility

to urge that prompt redress be given to those who suffer injustice, it ought not to involve itself in supporting one political approach over other possible alternatives. "Men of good will," they say, "may legitimately disagree over the most appropriate means of solution, and the church is ill-advised to lend its moral support to any partisan political instrumentality."

In general, it must be said that this is a point well made. However, it is not accurate to say that the church has favored the Federal approach to the exclusion of all others. Indeed, time and again in official pronouncements and elsewhere, the church has maintained that the final solution to the problem of racial discrimination and prejudice must be a local and a personal solution. The customs and laws of local communities must be altered and redeemed. However, given the nature of complex, industrial, interdependent national life at this particular moment in the country's life, it is unrealistic to suggest that all social problems must be dealt with exclusively by local instrumentalities.

We readily acknowledge that the principle of local management of local social problems is the most desirable solution, whenever this can be done. The painful fact, is, however, that some localities either cannot or will not act to assure the just order of society. In such cases we must be prepared to balance our traditional preference for local government against the demands of moral justice and the requirements of our national civil principles. Wherever local governments rob persons of their human dignity or of their civil rights, then it becomes entirely appropriate for us to seek assistance from the only adequate civil authority and this means Federal law.

Here we have ventured into an area of political theory which some may say should be left to those more technically informed. We have attempted to do this only in order to lay to rest the fears of those who believe that the Church has associated itself exclusively with the advocates of "Big Government" as distinguished from those who favor purely local legislation. Our real interest does not lie with the advocates of either theory. Our real concern is with the prompt correction of a notorious social evil, and wherever local government is either unwilling or unable to address itself to a problem of this magnitude, then we think it altogether reasonable and just to call for other actions which can bring to pass the desired results.

II. THE CHURCH AND "POLITICS"

It is said by some that the Church should not become involved "in politics"; that her ministry to the world may become compromised by unwise involvement in matters of "partisan controversy". "The Church exists in order to perform 'spiritual' rather than 'temporal' or 'secular' functions within society". We must answer this argument with some care. It is true that every social involvement is by nature a risk, for it is quite impossible

to know in advance whether the social decision will result in the end which is desired. Therefore, it is unquestionably true that the church's participation in matters of social concern must always be guided by the most thoughtful and thorough study and prayer. However, the distinction which is drawn in this case between secular and sacred concerns is theologically unacceptable from the Christian point of view. For the Christian man, all things in the life of man are his sacred concern. Jesus did not die in order to save religion, but in order to save the world. The Church abandons her calling whenever she succumbs to the temptation to withdraw from meaningful contact with the society in which she lives. Meaningful contact with society, saving relationship with and within all human society, is the divinely appointed task for which the Church exists. This means that the Christian as an individual is called upon to participate to the fullest extent of his personal ability in political activity and life. As an institution, the Church is likewise called upon from time to time to involve itself in social action and witness. The Church in Hitler's Germany was called upon to do this. The Church in America has been called upon to do this on many occasions.

Always the Church's entrance into the arena of social action must be guided by the wisest decision of its leadership and by the persuasion that failure to become involved in social witness would be tantamount to the betrayal of the Lord or of those whom the Lord loves. Those who mistakenly teach that the Church must as a matter of principle avoid all social action are misled for they fail to appreciate that authentic Christian witness may on occasion call for risks and for involvement in the admittedly ambiguous relationships of the so-called (and falsely designated) "secular" order of man's life.

Here a word of caution would seem to be in order. It seems to us that members of the Church who oppose certain types of political involvement by the Church make an entirely valid objection. In this country at least, the Church is ill-advised to align itself with any particular or partisan legislative program or action. Certainly it is unnecessary for the Church, in its social witness to endorse legislative programs which are specifically "Democratic" or "Republican" in sponsorship. Thus, while the Church makes its social witness in favor of adequate housing for all human beings, this does not mean that the Church should advocate or support officially any particular partisan measure intended to secure this end. The reasons for this avoidance of partisan identification should be obvious to everyone. It seems clear that only in the most extraordinary circumstances should the Church officially involve itself in matters of strictly partisan conflict. Every rule finds its exceptions. Obviously there are occasions when specific legislative endorsement may become appropriate, as, for example in the case of a child labor law, or some equally non-partisan legislation. In most cases, however, the caution given here applies, and the church should avoid unwise political identifications. Least of all should individual clergymen be-

come involved in purely partisan controversies, for the simple reason that clergymen are not, generally, acquainted with the full implications of any given set of political exigencies, nor are they especially equipped to engage in the professional activities properly associated with partisan legislative tactics.

The Church cannot rest until it has made known, clearly and unambiguously, the moral dimension involved in any given social act of the state. However, we do not think, in this country at least, that it is generally desirable for the Church to enter the arena of partisan political pressure, either by means of official resolution or by means of political endorsement from the pulpit. It would be our earnest request that any clergyman who feels bound by conscience to engage in partisan action might consult first with the Bishop about his prospective action.

Nevertheless, even though proper caution be taken to avoid partisan identification, it must be acknowledged that the Church's enunciation of its moral position in regard to certain social issues will still result in controversy. There will be many within our community who will disagree with the position which we take. Even though we attempt to reassure such persons that our position does not arise from partisan sympathies, but entirely from our conscientious understanding of the Word of God, we shall still experience tension and conflict. This eventuality must be acknowledged and accepted, with the prayer and with the confident hope that the reconciling love of God will enable those of us who disagree to resolve our differences, or at least agree to disagree as brothers within the household of God. We are not persuaded that peace at any cost is a high value for the Christian. Certainly we can entertain no cowardly motions to retreat from our considered moral teaching merely because we face the possibility of imminent conflict, or because to persist in the path dictated by conscience will result in some loss to the material wealth of the Church.

We should not be naive in the expectation that our commitment will save us from conflict. Indeed we are explicitly prepared by Christ to live in continual expectation of tribulation and distress. Social witness, therefore, has resulted and will continue to result in profound conflict with the church's life. The alternative to conflict, in this case, is death. Our persistent effort must be to keep open the avenues of communication among all our people, so that when conflict does arise, as arise it must, we shall all be prepared to offer our suffering to Him who only is able to heal our divisions and to overcome our estrangements.

III. THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY IN CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS QUESTIONED

It is said by some that the clergy should not be permitted to participate in public civil rights demonstrations. It is said that the clergy, by virtue

of their ordination and function in the Church, seem to be representing in these demonstrations not just their own personal opinions, but the opinions of their local parishes as well. Thus, goes this argument, sometimes the priest misrepresents the actual opinions of the membership of his church. One person has put it this way: "The clergy have no right to act and speak unilaterally in these matters, for they do not represent me, and appear to do so."

This opinion is based upon a profound misunderstanding of the relationship of the clergy to the laity in matters of theological teaching or moral witness. It is not possible here to give this question the thorough attention which it deserves. Suffice it to say that the priests of the church are not ordained in order to represent the opinions of local congregations: they are ordained in order to represent and to proclaim the Gospel of Christ. This Vocation is not to be qualified by the local opinions of any particular congregation, and the argument advanced here really cannot be accepted as valid for this reason.

Of course if in the judgment of any member of the Church a Priest or Bishop is misrepresenting the Gospel of Christ by false teaching, or by immoral conduct, ample opportunity is given to that person to present his complaint to the proper authority and the well-established procedures for dealing with such matters can then be properly implemented. But it should be clearly understood that the priest is not ordained in order to represent the private opinions of any man — including his own.

Something further should be said, however, concerning this argument, since it will be heard with increasing frequency as more and more clergy participate in public demonstrations for civil rights. In our judgment, such participation is itself not only permissible but highly desirable at the present moment. By means of such public witness, the church's teaching in the present conflict becomes utterly clear and open for all men to see. The compassionate demonstration of concern for those who suffer injustice is not merely to be condoned; it is to be applauded and encouraged. It is our fervent prayer that not only the clergy, but all our people endeavor to participate responsibly in such public demonstrations of concern for justice. It goes without saying, of course, that involvement in public witness must be responsible and informed. As in the case of all great public movements, there are always those who seek private gain and who would, if given the opportunity, corrupt even the most admirable actions to further wicked ends. Therefore, those who participate in public demonstrations have the clear responsibility to act only when fully informed about the nature and purpose, as well as the immediate desirability, of the particular action in question.

Here, however, we wish to add a word of special concern for the spiritual welfare of those who engage themselves in public demonstrations

of the kind we are considering. The nature of this concern is briefly stated by a priest of this Diocese who observed: "It is an exhilarating experience to demonstrate for social justice, and sometimes the greater the peril involved the greater the sense of excitement in being enrolled in the 'cause of the righteous'. While perhaps it is not altogether helpful to be too scrupulous in the examination of this sense of exhilaration, a few remarks about this may be in order. Our clergy, especially, need to reflect upon the fact that, with rare exceptions in this Diocese, their own property, their own livelihood, their own 'social investment' is not threatened by the social change for which they demonstrate. It has already been noted carefully by our critics that many clergy — sometimes those most vociferous in the campaign for desegregated schools — send their own children to schools which are not only racially segregated, but which are, as well, segregated according to the most rigid social and class distinctions. It has been noted carefully that most clergy live comfortably in carefully segregated neighborhoods. It has been noted carefully that until very recently, when at last the cause of racial justice has become a popular activity, our clergy were, with few exceptions entirely silent, or at least inoffensively vocal, on the subject of racial injustice. It has been noted carefully that while many of our clergy seem to advocate racial equality in the public affairs of the society, they find it entirely acceptable to belong, in private, to rigidly segregated country clubs, fraternities, professional and service organizations. It seems to many of our people, our friends as well as our adversaries in this conflict, that the public protestations of righteousness ill accord with the private practices of the members of the clerical order.

Therefore, the clergy do well to examine with some care their sudden involvement in public demonstrations for racial justice. We must be aware that much of our concern in the present situation arises from a very guilty conscience on our own part. We must understand that much of the exhilaration which we experience arises from our own sense of relief from the burden of guilt which we have borne for our prior silence and for our own careless avoidance of decisions in our private lives which might bring to bear the kinds of moral demands which we now cheerfully would impose upon others. Surely any involvement in public protests must be preceded by an honest and thorough examination of consciences."

We acknowledge that it is all too possible to be over-scrupulous in this self-examination. All persons must be clear about themselves as they enter into what will be an increasingly tense conflict. We must make every godly effort to set our own house in order. Chaucer's words about the Poor Parson seem very much to the point: "Christ's lore he taught, and His Apostles twelve, But first he practiced it himself." Certainly, all of us must enter these demonstrations humbly and penitently, avoiding all semblance of Pharisaic innocence. Our enthusiasm for justice will surely be no less if we begin with the sobering acknowledgment of our own responsibility for the injustice which now exists.

IV. THE CHURCH'S MINISTRY AND THE ROLE OF THE LAW

It is said by some that the function of the church is to "change attitudes and not to support legislation." Legislation, so runs this argument, cannot change attitudes and the racial problem is primarily a problem of individual attitude. Therefore, the Church must address itself only to the task of altering undesirable attitudes.

Of course, it must be admitted that the practice of racial discrimination often does proceed from the psychological and moral attitudes of those who engage in it. But then, that observation might be made with regard to all immoral and unhealthy behavior. The mere fact that attitudes influence actions hardly alters the fact that law is necessary in order to curb unjust actions. If this argument were followed to its ultimate conclusion, we might be led to suggest that there should be no laws against theft, for theft proceeds from an anti-social attitude, and therefore we should only address ourselves to the attitude itself. Of course it is true that we should seek to alter the attitudes which give rise to unjust and immoral behavior, but the law must seek to deal with the behavior itself, for the protection of others, as well for the good order of society at large.

Therefore we face no question of either/or. Justice requires that social rights be protected by social structures (laws, enforcement agencies, courts, etc.), and justice requires also that those who share unjust attitudes should be converted and shown a better way of living. Both must be done, and they must be done in the present situation with equal seriousness and dedication.

Behind the argument we are considering here, there is often a further premise which must be questioned, viz., the assumption that minority groups should receive protection from the majority only when the majority itself is prepared to extend that protection. This point of view may be answered at one level merely by reference to the civil constitution of the nation. It is precisely to avoid such caprice on the part of the majority that the Bill of Rights was written into our Constitution. The rights of the minority in the United States, at least, need not wait upon the whim of the majority for their realization. The extension of those rights to the minority is wisely and permanently taken out of the hands of the majority and guaranteed by the Constitution itself. This is a point which seems to be forgotten by too many in the present controversies. Justice for the minority is not a privilege to be meted out by the gradually more beneficent majority. Therefore, justice for the minority does not depend upon the successful alteration of majority attitudes: it is already guaranteed by the highest law of the nation. It is the direct implementation of that guarantee which is at issue in the present strife.

In conclusion it must be said that even if there were no National Constitution embodying such guarantees of justice for all men, the Christian

would be committed to that principle. Our own constitution as the Body of Christ lays upon us the permanent commitment to equal justice for men of all races and classes and nations. Canon Max Warren has stated our universal commitment clearly and helpfully:

"The Church cannot rest until the partnership of all mankind is realized in that city which hath foundations whose maker and builder is God and into which all the nations of the world without exception bring their treasure. This is the eternal end which the Church exists to serve. Inasmuch as it is faithful to that end, it will be able within the local context of time and place to show a particular society of men how to live in the partnership of a true multi-racial society." *(Partnership,* SCM Edition, 1956, page 127)

Here we have made no effort to give an exhaustive statement of the Church's position on the matter of racial justice. Full and ample publication of the Church's official position in this matter, as declared in numerous formal statements, has already been made. Nor have we attempted to answer all of the objections which have been made concerning the involvement of our Church in the present struggle for the realization of racial justice in America. It has been possible to consider only a very limited area of disagreement over the Church's present and prospective action. We have dealt with certain particular questions because we have been confronted by many members of the Diocese with the request that the Church's understanding of these specific issues be clarified and elaborated. Having done that, however, we further suggest that *all* areas of conflict and action in this matter should receive the continuing and careful study and response of the Diocese. Therefore, the Bishop and Chapter of the Diocese has created a permanent Standing Commission on Race Relations. This new Commission will be given several important responsibilities.

The Commission will:

1. Seek by various means to further understanding between Negro and White Christians within the Church. The Commission will encourage the creation throughout all parishes of the Diocese of local study groups involving both White and Negro persons, to deepen understanding of the present social revolution and to provide an opportunity for meaningful contact between people of different races. The Commission will seek to establish teams of competent laity and clergy who will be prepared to interpret the Church's position throughout the Diocese. The Commission will provide lists of useful study material for those who become involved in the study of this matter, making available to each parish valuable publications received from various national and church organizations.

2. Seek to encourage the participation of clergy and laity in bi-racial civil action and study groups in local communities, wherever such groups

exist. The Commission will also encourage the members of the Church to take the initiative in establishing such bodies where none presently exist.

3. Seek to establish guide-lines for the clergy and laity of the Diocese as they seek to witness or demonstrate for civil rights in public activity not directly under the authority of the Diocese.

4. Seek to provide moral and financial support for clergy and laity who encounter problems in their witness.

5. Seek, in cooperation with the Department of Social Relations, to present to the Convention of the Diocese such requests for official action as may seem appropriate and necessary.

O God, who has made man in thine own likeness and who dost love all whom thou hast made, suffer us not because of difference in race or color or condition to separate ourselves from others, and thereby from thee; but teach us the unity of thy family and the universality of thy love. As thy Son, our Saviour, was born of a Hebrew mother and ministered first to his brethren of the House of Israel, but rejoiced in the faith of a Syro-Phoenician woman and the faith of a Roman soldier, and suffered his cross to be carried by a man of Africa, teach us also, while loving and serving our own, to enter into the communion of the whole human family. And forbid that from pride of birth or hardness of heart we should despise any for whom Christ died or injure any in whom Christ lives. Amen.

Recd 10/22/63 VJ PA SB Religion

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
JOHN B. MORRIS

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY October 19, 1963

EPISCOPAL CLERGY JOIN PICKET LINE AT GEORGIA CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOL

Two Episcopal priests from Michigan will join the picket line in front of the Lovett School in Atlanta, Ga., on Tuesday, October 22nd, in protest of its policy of segregation. The Episcopal Church-related facility earlier this year rejected the application of Martin Luther King, III, and has subsequently turned down Negro Episcopal applicants. The protest is being sponsored by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, a national organization within the Episcopal Church with headquarters in Atlanta.

The Rev. Henri Stines, Rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Detroit, will be accompanied by a clergyman sometimes called "the espresso priest" because of his ministry to college students in coffee houses. The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, author and playwright, serves on the staff of Grace Church, a predominantly Negro parish, as well as in the capacity of Chaplain to Episcopal students at Wayne State University in Detroit. Fr. Stines, who is from Haiti originally, is a Negro. Chaplain Boyd, who is white, is the author of several religious books and a series of plays, entitled STUDY IN COLOR, which were selected by Dodd, Mead and Co. for inclusion in BEST PLAYS OF 1962-63. Fr. Hines and Chaplain Boyd will begin picketing at the Lovett School on Tuesday afternoon, October 22nd.

Picketing at the Lovett School, located in fashionable Northwest Atlanta on the banks of the Chattahoochee River, began last Tuesday, October 15th, and was continued for three days by Atlanta Episcopalians. ESCRU has announced that Churchmen from all parts of the country will assist in the protest action to symbolize the concern of the entire Episcopal Church for the Lovett situation which has been called "the Little Rock of the Episcopal Church." The protest will be continued indefinitely and periodically so long as the institution remains a Church-related facility that segregates.

- - MORE - -

The week of October 27th will see still more clergy at the gates to the Lovett School, joining in with Atlanta churchmen in sustaining the protest. The Pennsylvania-Delaware Chapter of ESCRU will send three Negro priests to assist for the greater part of the week. They include the Rev. Jesse Anderson, Rector of Saint Thomas' Church, Philadelphia; the Rev. Robert Chapman, Chaplain to Episcopal students at the University of Pennsylvania and Curate at St. Mary's Church, Hamilton Village; and the Rev. Thomas Logan, Rector of Calvary Church, Philadelphia.

On Tuesday, October 29th, the Rev. C. Kilmer Myers of the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago will walk before Lovett School. Author of LIGHT THE DARK STREETS, Fr. Myers is well-known throughout the Episcopal Church for his work in the Lower East Side Missions of Trinity Parish, New York City. He has only recently gone to his new position in Chicago from the Chapel of the Intercession located in New York City's upper west side area chiefly populated by Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The week of November 3rd will see the Rev. William B. Gray, Rector of St. Luke's Church in Cedar Falls, Iowa, returning to his native state to assist in the Lovett Protest. It is expected that others will be on hand from still additional parts of the country, along with other Atlantans who will be picketing for the first time.

A spokesman for ESCRU has emphasized that the picketing is not intended to discourage Lovett students and faculty to stay out. Rather, as the attached statement suggests, those who walk in protest before the school recognize that many within "suffer and labor in obedience to Jesus Christ" and are as opposed to the decision of the Lovett Board of Trustees to bar Negroes as Churchmen who are able to demonstrate outside the school. The sign carried by the pickets simply shows a Crucifixion scene where Christ's Body is pierced by the words "Segregation" and "Separation" emblazoned on a barbed wire fence that bisects His Body and separates two kneeling figures of different color. The placard was originally placed on the grounds of St. George's Anglican Cathedral in Capetown, South Africa, and carried the single word "Apartheid" on the concentration-camp type fence.

Read 10/22/63

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
ON THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

On June 14, 1963, the Board of Trustees of the Lovett School, Atlanta, Georgia, "unanimously adopted resolutions denying applications of Negro students for admission." This fact was the major concern of a meeting of the Executive Committee and Chapter representatives of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, held in Atlanta, Georgia, September 15-17, 1963. The Society consists of persons who have committed themselves to establish total participation in the Church of all persons without regard to race, class or national origin, and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

As a result of the decision of the Board of Trustees, the Bishop of Atlanta announced during the past summer that he had severed all official or implied ties with the Lovett School. The Society commends the Bishop of Atlanta for his efforts and actions in this matter. However, in light of the following facts, it is an inescapable conclusion that the Episcopal Church is still an integral part of the school's life. The charter of the school requires: 1) That seven members of the Lovett School's Board of Trustees be communicants of and approved by the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip; 2) That seven other members of the Board of Trustees be Episcopal residents of the State of Georgia; 3) That the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip shall always be a member of the Board of Trustees; and 4) That the Lovett School is committed to furthering the "Episcopal faith as contained in the Book of Common Prayer."

At present, with the full knowledge of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, worship services of the Church continue at the Lovett School, including a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion. The Society is shocked that the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Philip continues to serve as Chairman of the Board of Trustees. This fact and his present involvement at the Lovett School worship services clearly identifies the Episcopal Church with the school's segregationist policy.

Lovett's Director of Administration, J. A. Rabbe, obviously does not consider the school as presently outside the orbit of the Episcopal Church. This is evidenced by Mr. Rabbe's letter to parents on August 8, 1963. At that time he reassured them that daily chapel, Wednesday morning Communion services, the teaching of religion, and all other religious emphases "will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop."

Following a thorough and prayerful consideration of the facts of the Lovett School situation, the Society feels constrained to protest in the following manner: 1) sustained inter-racial participation in the school's services of worship; 2) sustained picketing of the school by concerned Churchmen; 3) expressing our common guilt in the sin of segregation through the recitation of the Penitential Office at the Cathedral of St. Philip; and 4) regularly offering prayers throughout the whole Church in order to help heal the deep wounds, both personal and social, which the Lovett School has created.

The Lovett School situation is all the more grievous because it is symptomatic of the widespread compromise of the Church's teaching. The Society commends those people at Lovett School and in this community who recognize the injustice of segregation and who continue to suffer and labor in obedience to Jesus Christ.

Religion - Sou
1963

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 22, 1963

RE: REV. ASHTON JONES, IN FULTON COUNTY JAIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Article I, Section I, Paragraph IX, Constitution of the State of Georgia:

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; nor shall any person be abused in being arrested while under arrest, or in prison."

Amendment VIII to the Constitution of the United States:

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted..."

The following information on the case of Rev. Ashton Jones was compiled from public records and information furnished by Mr. Howard Moore, Attorney for Rev. Jones.

On August 28, 1963, a Fulton Superior Court jury found Rev. Ashton Jones guilty of disturbing divine service and Judge Durwood Pye imposed the maximum misdemeanor sentence of 12 months on public works, 6 months in jail and $1,000.00 fine. As a first step in the appellate process, a motion for new trial was immediately filed, and the Court stayed the sentence and set bail for $20,000.00. Since Rev. Jones has been unable to make bail in this amount, he is still confined to Fulton County jail.

Rev. Jones, a 67 year old white minister, was arrested and charged after he attempted to worship with 2 teenage Negroes and a white teenager at the First Baptist Church in Atlanta on Sunday, June 30, 1963. They were refused admission and the church doors were closed. Rev. Jones was pushed and dragged about the church grounds by members of the church. In much pain, he sat on the church steps. He exclaimed, "Oh, Lord, Help them! Does mankind have to reach this low?" Testimony at the trial showed that the Negro girl had been pushed backwards out of the church and been shoved by the church pastor, Rev. Roy McClain, and that Rev. Jones remarked "A segregated church worships a segregated God."

On July 16, Rev. Jones was indicted by a Fulton County Grand Jury for allegedly having interrupted and disturbed the congregation of the First Baptist Church while lawfully assembled for divine service by loud talking, shouting, and by sitting on the floor of the church and "by otherwise indecently acting."

Rev. Jones' only source of income is Social Security payments and old age assistance from the state of Aclifornia.

Since being confined to jail, Rev. Jones was beaten by an unknown prisoner and later placed ostensibly for his own protection in a solitary cell. In protest, Rev. Jones went on a fast, and has been taken to Grady Hospital for intravaneous feeding from time to time.

After the beating, the Judge ordered the Sheriff to make an investigation and report relative to claim that Rev. Jones had been beaten while in jail; ordered the Solicitor General to report on allegations of Rev. Jones' ordination as a congregational minister; the alleged beating and the person or organization paying his attorney's fees, ordered Rev. Jones to submit an affidavit in his own handwriting detailing circumstances of the alleged beating, and that Rev. Jones could submit any other affidavits he thought advisable.

On August 29 and on September 26, Judge Pye refused motions for reduction of bail. Judge Pye stated that Rev. Jones had been arrested in 12 different cities in the U. S., but failed to mention that Rev. Jones had never wilfully failed to appear in any Court. At the time of sentencing, Judge Pye asked, "He has unlimited money behin him, doesn't he?" and "Doesn't the defendant have an unlimited organization of people supporting him?" A motion for reduction of bail is now pending in the Supreme Court of Georgia.

On October 8 Judge Pye was again requested to reduce the amount of bail, and at that time said that he would consider bail in amount less than $20,000.00, though he did not mention any other figure.

Efforts are being made both (1) to have the amount of the bail reduced and (2) to secure funds necessary (estimated at $1,500) to secure the release of Rev. Jones under the present bail. None of the eight (8) weeks he has been in jail will be counted on his sentence of 18 months, should the motion for a new trial fail and he be required to serve the sentence.

Mr. Howard Moore and Mr. Donald Hollowell, Attorneys for Rev. Jones and his associates, are under order to appear before Judge Pye on November 22 to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt of court, as a result of their motion at the beginning of the trial that Judge Pye disqualify himself because of racial prejudice.

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Persons concerned over Rev. Jones' situation and the civil rights-civil liberties implications of this case, please contact Mr. Howard Moore, 859½ Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, or the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
November 20, 1963

According to the attorney for Rev. Ashton Jones, Mr. Howard Moore, Jr., motion for a new trial for Rev. Jones is scheduled to be heard by Judge Pye on November 22, 10:00 a.m., in Room 804 of the Fulton County Court House, and a petition for a writ of habeas corpus (concerning the detention of the defendant due to excessive bail) was filed with the Georgia Supreme Court on November 4 and will be heard in January, 1964.

Meanwhile, Rev. Jones is still in Fulton County jail, as a result of conviction of disturbing public worship at First Baptist Church, which he attempted to enter in the company of Negro friends, as described in the attached summary of the case. The sentence was stayed when the appeal for new trial was filed immediately after the first trial, so that the time spent in jail (4 months thus far) would not count on his sentence should his conviction ultimately be upheld. There will undoubtedly be more litigation following the Friday hearing either another trial or an appeal from a refusal for another trial.

There is real community concern over the matter of an individual having to stay in jail while his conviction is being appealed to higher courts, and being subjected to the same conditions and treatment given to prisoners who are serving s entences, regardless of the question of the policies of the church or of Rev. Jones' previous activities.

In an effort to coordinate activities in behalf of Rev. Jones' release and to channel the increasing expressions of concern from individuals and groups in the community, a few individuals met last Sunday and decided to invite some 30 other individuals to form an Ashton Jones Defense Committee, for the purposes of receiving contributions towards the cost of bond and court costs and advising about alternative courses of action. The Rev. Ed Lantz, regional representative of the National Council of Churches of Christ, Inc., has agreed to the use of his office for the receipt of funds and Dr. H. C. Steinmetz of Morehouse College, has agreed to act as treasurer of the Ashton Jones Defense Committee.

On October 8, Judge Pye did say that he would consider bond less than $20,000. Two unsuccessful attempts have been made to post bond, one by the National Council of Churches and one by Rev. Jones' sister who resides in Atlanta. It seems that the only way to find out what the Judge would consider is to make specific efforts to post bond, and this is a matter with which the Committee hopefully would deal.

Miss Leah Jones — Mrs. Eliza Paschall
- - - - - - - - The Rev. Ed Lantz - - - - - - - - Dr. H. C. Steinmetz - - - - - -

WILL YOU PLEASE INDICATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO:

YES	NO	
____	____	1. Attend a meeting of the Ashton Jones Defense Committee on Sunday, November 24, 3:00 p.m., at I.T.C., Student Lounge, 671 Beckwith Street, S.W.
____	____	2. Permit your name to be listed as a member of the Committee, if you cannot attend.
____	____	3. Make a contribution to such a Fund.
____	____	4. Circulate this information among your friends and associates.

RETURN TO DR. H.C. STEINMETZ, MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, 223 Chestnut St., S.W.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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Religion

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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Commitment

21 West Superior St., Chicago 10, Ill. • Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans 13, La.

October, 1963

CONVENTION - National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
November 14-17, 1963

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION:
CHALLENGE TO A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

(details, p.3)

Member councils, parish and other Catholic organizations joined with other religious groups and civil rights organizations in the MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM on August 28. Some forty councils were directly involved and provided the stimulus and organization for many other Catholic groups which attended.

Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, delivered one of the major speeches of the day, and served as one of the ten organizers and sponsors of the March.

(from left) Sec. of Labor, Arthur Wirtz; Floyd McKissick; Mathew Ahmann; Whitney Young; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; John Lewis; Rabbi Joachim Prinz; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake; A. Philip Randolph; the President; Vice President, Lyndon Johnson; Walter Reuther; and Roy Wilkins.

The Washington CIC, in particular, did first rate service in helping to set up sleeping and feeding accommodations for several thousands of the marchers.

On the March day, hundreds of Masses were offered in Washington and across the country for the intention of interracial justice and harmony in our country. The Miami Valley CIC sponsored three such Masses on August 27, 28 and 29.

Seven bishops participated, and Archbishop O'Boyle offered the invocation before the March program. Numerous priests and seminarians joined the throngs that day, and though not present, many nuns had indicated that they wanted to join the marchers.

The Chicago CIC contributed highly to the March by donating full-time services of their office manager, Marion Andert, for the preceding weeks.

The March marked a tremendous joining of hands of tens of thousands of Christians and Jews who hunger after justice for all men, and dramatized the needs of Negroes for millions of Americans in an unforgettable way.

July 27 Special Emergency Meeting — At a special emergency meeting of 225 national Catholic interracial leaders in Chicago, resolutions were adopted in favor of civil rights legislation, urging that all Catholics actively work in their parishes and civil organizations for justice. The meeting helped move the Catholic community abreast of the fast-breaking developments in this summer of crisis. The meeting also laid plans for support of direct action projects, under certain conditions, when negotiation and other preliminary means to secure rights have failed. The consensus also encouraged interreligious cooperation by the establishment of interfaith, biracial organizations - local Conferences on Religion and Race. The resolutions of the meeting were adopted by the board of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (resolutions are available upon request - price 15¢.)

legislation

Archbishop Karl Alter of Cincinnati led the way for Catholic support in the legislative drive by stating in his recent Pastoral that "the first remedy .... is the passage by Congress of the Civil Rights Bill which will grant all citizens, irrespective of race and color, equal rights in voting, in admission to schools on all levels, in employment, in housing, public facilities and in recreation... Our Christian duty at present is to support in an articulate fashion the proposed legislation which is now before Congress.... We should urge favorable action on the part of our representatives in enacting this legislative program."

The San Francisco CIC reports a fair housing victory after a long fight by civil rights groups for a state law. The Rumford bill was passed during the last hours of the legislature's 1963 regular session. The Citizens League for Individual Freedom is now circulating a petition, however, to force a referendum on the new Rumford Fair Housing Act - the group is seeking 292,662 signatures to place the referendum measure on the ballot.

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION:
CHALLENGE TO A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice will be held November 14-17, 1963 at the International Inn, Washington, D.C.

The National Conference will meet conjointly with the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; representatives of the Presbyterian Interracial Council and of the Disciples of Christ will also be in attendance.

Convention hosts will be the Catholic Interracial Councils of Washington; Montgomery County, Md.; and Northern Virginia.

Main Speakers: Dwight Macdonald, New Yorker writer, speaking on poverty; Monsignor Raymond J. Gallagher, Sec. of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, speaking on the responsibilities of the Church to the community; Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dennis Clark, Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement, speaking on the institutional response of the Church and poverty; and, Dr. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University speaking on economic solutions to poverty.

Tear off this pre-registration card and send with check or money order by November 1 to:

Miss Mary Hayden, Registration Chairman
1728 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20006

Enclosed is my check (money order) for $_____ to cover the costs of my convention attendance for the items checked on the right side of this card.

Make checks payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

I plan to stay Thursday_____, Friday_____, Saturday_____ nights.

My check payable to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice covers the items marked below:

( ) Convention package, $14.50

( ) Registration Fee, $7.50

( ) Banquet Saturday evening, $7.00

( ) I will pay at the meeting

( ) Please have Room Committee make hotel reservation for me. Rates at the International Inn for the first 200 people placed through the committee: $7 double, $6 triple, per night. Regular rates higher.

Indicate roommate preferences _____

( ) There are several rooms available in private homes. Indicate if you would like to be considered. If you are then assigned you will be notified of the name and address of your host.

Indicate Workshop and Clinic choices on reverse side!

My **workshop choices** for Friday. List 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices. A workshop usually will include presentation of a paper or talk, followed by open discussion.

____1 Catholic Education

____2 Discrimination in Medicine

____3 Equal Employment Opportunity

____4 Family and Race

____5 The Parish and Race

____6 Community Organization

____7 Urban Renewal and Race

____8 Follow-up on National Conference on Religion and Race.

My **clinic choices** for Saturday. Clinics will be smaller than workshop groups and will focus on "how to do it" aspects.

Indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices.

____ 1 Organizing a CIC

____ 2 Fund Raising

____ 3 Program Planning

____ 4 Building Membership

____ 5 Public Relations

____ 6 Building Stronger Boards

____ 7 Running a Benefit

____ 8 Effective Speakers Bureaus

____ 9 Suburban Racial Change

____10 Achieving Civil Rights Legislation

____11 Home Visit Programs

____12 Integrating Southern Catholic Institutions

____13 Employment: Use of Church Funds and Contracts

____14 Picketing

____15 Youth Education

____16 Mediation

.....more on legislation

Officers and members of the Miami Valley CIC recently participated in a state rally and demonstration in support of fair housing law proposal.

Washington CIC's President, Dr. Nuesse, together with other religious leaders met with Senators Dirksen, Humphrey, Kuchel and Mansfield, and Congressmen McCormick and Celler, to urge support, strengthening, and speedy passage of the administration's civil rights bill; the group later met with Attorney General Robert Kennedy to urge full use of existing federal authority.

At the leadership training institute of the National Council of Catholic Women held recently in Highland Park, Matt Ahmann described the very dangerous tendency developing in the country for popular referendums on civil rights issues. Peggy Roach of the NCCW staff in Washington said that NCCW has offered race relations material to the social action committees of Catholic diocesan and parish women's groups for several years and that race relations has been adopted as an official part of the program of women's groups in nearly half of the churches in the U.S.

The murders in Birmingham and other violence against Negroes has underscored the need for strong civil rights legislation... and soon. Now is the time to encourage your congressmen to vote for the rights of all men by their support of the legislation now undergoing hearings. For those attending the national convention of the National Conference, there will be a legislative briefing at the International Inn at 2 PM on Thursday, November 14. Each visitor to Washington should make his own appointment to see his congressman that afternoon. The convention work sessions on Friday and Saturday preclude calls on congressmen on those days. Come early to the convention and visit your congressman.

Housing

The goal of the Detroit CIC this year is open occupancy. The group endorsed the Patric-Ravitz Ordinance and attended public hearings in September. They indicated that many Catholics have already signed opposing petitions circulated by home owners association ... "some out of bigotry, and many out of ignorance." The council indicated that most Catholics don't know that open occupancy has been endorsed by the Metropolitan Conference on Religion and Race, of which the Archdiocese of Detroit is part. The council urged all members to work hard in getting petitions, attending public hearings and sending personal letters and wires to their councilmen. Anne Holden of Ann Arbor CORE attended their recent board meeting and outlined other direct action techniques.

The Brooklyn CIC is co-sponsoring with the NAACP and Urban League a workshop in Urban Renewal and Housing to be presented by the New York City Commission on Human Rights for five Tuesdays in October.

September 1963 saw the excellent first edition of the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations of Detroit newsletter. The new 4-page issue carried up-to-the-minute, comprehensive coverage of the most urgent problems in race relations ... Detroit's open occupancy ordinance ... Kennedy's civil rights proposal ... home visits ... coming programs of Michigan Civil Rights Commission ... as well as current events and a listing of informative books.

Please make sure your Newsletter mailing list includes all the CIC's. You'll want to know all the goings on - and in this way can maintain a "mutual profit" pool of program suggestions, procedures, resources, evaluation of direct action techniques, etc.

The Catholic Human Relations Council of Union County (New Jersey) recently heard Rev. Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J., author of "Studies in Race Relations", and chairman of the Negro voter registration drive.

Rev. Richard Eisler, executive secretary of the Cincinnati Council of Churches was guest speaker for the Cincinnati CIC's September meeting. Eisler pointed up the deep spiritual impact of the March on Washington and expressed the need to join with other groups and churches in actively seeking solutions to the racial problems existing in Cincinnati.

Friendship House Home Visit Program

The Long Island CIC is planning home visits on a regular on-going basis and announced five planned visits per month; Davenport CIC reports visits a part of their continuing program; Miami Valley CIC carried the program through the summer and is currently carrying on visits with high school seniors and foreign students .. their local high school made home visiting a part of the preparation for broad student participation in coming programs. The CIC of Stark County (Canton, O.) is planning a city-wide Home Visit Day, along with others, on October 27; and Cincinnati CIC is working intensively with other organizations on the program. There are now approximately twenty CIC's carrying on Friendship House Home Visit Program.

Every CIC should be a subscriber to the INTERRACIAL REVIEW. Contact the New York CIC office, 233 Broadway, and request back issues to July, 1963.

Interreligious Efforts

The San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race held last month resulted in commitment to sponsor an on-going Conference on Religion and Race program and employ professional staff to coordinate its efforts. The Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell of the Jones Methodist Church was general chairman for the conference.

John T. Kenna of Washington (National Conference board member) has been named special assistant for program and public relations of the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Kenna was formerly public information officer for the President's Committee on Youth Employment.

Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis summoned together all the clergy of the diocese for a Pastoral Institute on race relations last month. Among the main speakers of the 3-day session were Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell; Rev. Rollins Lambert of Chicago; and Matt Ahmann.

Education

The CIC of St. Paul-Minneapolis recently embarked on an ambitious program to place minority group students in Catholic high schools. The council feels that by increasing its membership to 500, there should be little difficulty in accomplishing this program and others.

An Educator's Workshop is being planned by the Stark County CIC. All priests, nuns, brothers, lay teachers, public school teachers and parents will be invited. Father Philip F. Berrigan, S.S.J. will be the guest speaker, and John P. Sisson of the National Conference staff will give the keynote address.

The Chicago CIC publicly announced their opposition to policies of Benjamin Willis, Chicago Superintendent of Schools, who has consistently ignored race relation issues in the public school system.

The South Bend CIC, together with the National Conference of Christians and Jews sponsored a meeting on race, with 180 teachers of Catholic elementary and high schools. The program included a lecture on "The Nature of Prejudice" together with talks on techniques to promote intergroup relations, and small discussion groups.

The National Federation of Sodalities celebrated 400 years of Sodality history at a 4-day leadership training conference culminating in a national convention in Cleveland. One of the three main topics of the October conference was "Christian Responsibility in Effecting Racial Justice."

Membership Drives

The San Francisco CIC membership has topped 200; an encouraging increase for them. The Brooklyn CIC hopes to have at least one member from each of 129 parishes, while at present 52 parishes are represented.

Lawrence W. Pierce, president of the New York CIC, has been appointed by Governor Rockefeller Director of the State Division of Youth. The appointment of Mr. Pierce is one of several appointments of Negroes that the Governor has made to important state positions.

direct action

The Providence CIC voted to picket Alabama Governor Wallace when he speaks at Brown University in November, and at the University of Rhode Island, if he accepts an invitation to speak there.

A group of 400 Catholics, organized by the CIC of Davenport, and representing most of the parishes in town, marched to a civil rights rally in which 3,000 people participated. 30 priests and seminarians, including Monsignor Dingman, Chancellor of the Davenport Diocese marched. Results of the rally were encouraging - several employers called and offered to hire Negroes in good positions. The Action for Civil Rights, sponsor of the rally will become a permanent federation of some twenty organizations which will join efforts to remove racism from Quad Cities.

The swift action of the Chicago CIC in one of the worst racial disturbances in the city helped to avert major violence and restore peace to a "white pocket" community following move-in by two Negro families. CIC priest-members, as part of an interreligious team of ministers and priests which grew out of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, patrolled the troubled area nightly, talked with thousands of angry residents, dispelled rumors, counselled, and preached from both pulpit and street the need for peaceful acceptance of the new neighbors.

Employment

The non-discriminatory clause in church building contracts of the type emphasized in the July 27 emergency meeting of the National Conference has been ordered by Bishop Helmsing, of the Kansas City-St. Joseph, Mo. Diocese. His order covers all building projects of the diocese and Catholic institutions of the diocese.

In his July, 1963 address on discrimination, Cardinal Spellman of New York calls the denial of Negro rights an outrage which Americans cannot tolerate. He emphasized the ideals of equality could be reached if employers would drop the barriers of discrimination, if schools can be honestly integrated, if housing laws are better enforced and if civil rights measures are enacted into law. The Cardinal repeated the message he sent in 1949 to the NAACP on its 40th anniversary .. "The Catholic Church repudiates as abhorrent to her very nature the pernicious doctrine that men are born with the stamp upon them of essential racial superiority or inferiority. She recognizes no master race, but proclaims the God-given equality before God of all souls, for whose salvation our Blessed Redeemer suffered and sacrificed."

The Birmingham Tragedy

The Birmingham bombing touched the consciences of most of the nation. The National Conference solicited funds from its member and non-member councils, and has sent to Birmingham, in the councils' name, about $1,000 to the families and for the repair of the church. The Washington CIC contributed $1,500 through the National Conference on Religion and Race. Masses were offered across the land for the victims' families, and several priests from outside the diocese joined some fifteen priests from the Birmingham area to attend the memorial services.

Medicine

Real progress has been made in hospital desegregation in Detroit, as indicated by the employment of some Negro CIC members in previously segregated hospitals.

Bishop Helmsing's (Kansas City-St. Joseph, Mo.) new program to foster interracial justice calls for a clergy conference on race; a review of employment policies of Catholic institutions; a series of sermons in all parishes setting forth and applying the Church's doctrine; and "Racial Peace" as the special intention in Sunday Masses in all parishes of the diocese through July and August.

A fifteen minute tape will be available in November for $2.50 through the National Conference office. It tells the story of discrimination against a Negro Catholic in the North, and will make an excellent discussion piece for all CIC's for use in parish meetings, at retreat houses, etc.

New Materials Available

The Bishops' Statement on Racial Harmony of August 25, 1963 is now available. (5¢, 10 or more; 4¢, 500 or more; 3¢, 1,000 or more.)

Cardinal Ritter forcefully expresses his views about what we must do about Negroes' civil rights in the October issue of MARRIAGE (St. Meinrad, Ind.) He states the need for interfaith cooperation and the desirability of direct action even on the part of the clergy. He goes on to say that the Church should utilize her buying power, and he reflects on much more.

The events of the summer have heightened Catholic consciousness that more needs to be done. This has tripled the requests for information from the National office, and increased demand for printed material many times above anything ever seen before. For example, one small notice in a high school sodality magazine has elicited more than 40 requests for information. This increased interest is indeed gratifying.

National Catholic Conference
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

RETURN REQUESTED

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Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Religion
1963

A periodic news bulletin issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations, Division of Christian Citizenship, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.

CHURCH AND RACE

Vol. 1, No. 5 October, 1963

CHURCHMEN VISIT CONGRESSMEN

SECOND LEGISLATIVE
CONFERENCE HELD

Fifty churchmen from key Congressional areas met in Washington during the week of October 21-25 to express church concern for the passage of effective civil rights legislation. The clergy and laity were briefed by persons representing various positions on the thorny political questions being debated by Congress before visiting their congressmen. Their action is an implementation of the resolution adopted by the House of Bishops on August 12th:

"RESOLVED: That the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, urges the Congress of the United States to pass such civil rights legislation as shall fairly and effectively implement both the established rights and needs of all minority groups in education, voting rights, housing, employment opportunities and access to places of public accommodation." The first legislative conference was held in Washington during the week of August 12-16.

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Back copies of the following issues of CHURCH AND RACE are available upon request:

July 6th

July 20th

August 6th

PHOTO ON COVER

Senator Philip A. Hart of Michigan is shown speaking with a group of delegates attending the second Legislative Conference in Washington, October 21-25. Left to right: The Rev. Arthur Walmsley, Executive Secretary, CSR Department, Division of Christian Citizenship, Episcopal National Council; the Rev. Canon Richard Williams, CSR Executive, Diocese of Wash.; the Rev. Charles Millar, Mrs. Wallis Dolan, and the Rev. Everett Francis of the Diocese of Michigan; Senator Hart; Mrs. Hawkins of Leonia, New Jersey; and Mrs. Willie J. Linton, a secretary at the Episcopal Church Center

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Executive Secretary	**The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley**
Associate Secretaries	**The Rev. Herschel Halbert** **Carroll Greene, Jr.** **The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee**
Consultants for Publications	**Douglas A. Bushy** **The Rev. Robert A. MacGill**

DISCUSSION, STUDY
AND ACTION

One of the really constructive things happening in America today is that increasingly more Churchmen are sitting down together to discuss, study and take action in promoting racial justice. The subject of race heretofore only dealt with haphazardly is now being brought out into the 'open' and examined in the light of Christian commitment and democratic principles. This is beginning to happen in many places all across America. Hopefully it will continue to occur in even more places, and, hopefully, even larger numbers of Christians will see the necessity to act and act now. Action now by committed churchmen will help to steer this revolution along constructive, peaceful lines avoiding holocaust of racism, bloodshed, and violence.

Fear, silence, and indifference have been the notorious triumvirate in American race relations. This problem was graphically pinpointed by Rabbi Jaochim Prinz, recalling his experiences in Nazi Germany, who said: "When I lived under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing was that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful problem is silence. A great people had become a nation of onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hatred, brutality and murder." Here is where one of the major problems has been and remains - the problem of silence and inaction - the great majority of citizens being neither hate-filled nor bigoted. Silence gives assent to suspicion, prejudice, and demagoguery. Often the individual fails to speak up, for fear that his views do not conform to those of the vast majority around him (as if Christian commitment depended upon local custom). Such lack of communication and sharing of points of view often prevents an honest examination of one's conscience from a Christian standpoint. Sometimes one is amazed to discover that when there is open discussion the silent ones have been merely waiting for leadership.

An Episcopal priest, the Rev. Jack Woodard, rector of All Saints Church, Galena Park, Texas, is one of the many clergy who has had the courage and seen the necessity to speak directly to this problem. Mr. Woodard, after delivering a thoughtfully, moving sermon on the recent Birmingham church bombing and the general American racial crisis, closed his sermon by making the following points for his own personal action in this crisis. Stating that, "I am by birth and pride a Southerner," Mr. Woodard sees the racial crisis as a national problem, not merely a localized one, and yet he clearly sees the need for personal commitment. Said, Mr. Woodard, concluding his sermon:

"I am convinced that the racial problem in our day is not just a matter of complying with court orders and living orderly lives as obedient citizens. It is clearly God's Word that hatred between races and discrimination because of the color of men's skins who bleed the same red blood is morally wrong and is against the core of meaning for which Christ's Church stands.

"I do not condemn anyone or love them one bit less who disagrees with one or any of this or all of it. I have said I am a Southerner and I know first-hand how deeply these things run in us. I also know Jesus loves all of us as much as He loves any of us.

"I intend to do these things:

(1) Pray daily for the realization of the brotherhood of men in

Christ and for the victims and the criminals.

(2) Ask God to wash me clean of hate and prejudice and cowardice and the immaturity that fosters all this.

(3) I shall never again laugh at or tell a "nigger" joke or any other story which laughs at ignorance or misfortune or prejudice.

(4) I have already written Senators Tower and Yarborough and Congressman Thomas in support of civil rights legislation including the section on public accommodations. I tell you this simply as what I as one citizen have done. You must do what your conscience requires of you.

(5) Unless love should require it, I will not again by keeping quiet let someone think I agree with him when I do not.

(6) As I try to exercise the best judgment and wisdom of which I am capable, I shall work openly to make this parish and this diocese more effective forces in removing the practice of prejudice and injustice from this community."

Closing his remarks, Mr. Woodard told his congregation: "I pray your love and understanding as together we try to be faithful in all we we do to the God who loves all men in the world enough to give up His Son on the Cross that together we might have the victory."

Upon completing his sermon Mr. Woodard asked his congregation to register their opinions with him by voluntarily filling out a questionnaire which was provided for their use. Said, Mr. Woodard, to his congregation, "Usually you have no real chance to reply to my sermons. But this time you do. The ushers will now pass out a voluntary questionnaire which will give you a chance to let me know what you think. Please do not sign it unless you want to and, if you should not for any reason want to fill one out, then I suggest you join me in silent prayer for the next five minutes while those who do want to reply work on their paper. Just leave the questionnaires in the pews when you leave church and I will appreciate it very much."

TABULATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS AND COMMENTS

Note: Approximately 65% of the adults present at both services replied.

1. 95% agreed with the 'substance of today's sermon'; 2% disagreed; 3% not sure.

2. 35% indicated they would like 'to have Mr. Woodard come by and discuss it with me.' 65% indicated that they did not need to have further discussion.

3. 3% indicated that they thought 'our parish and diocese' is doing enough work for racial understanding and justice; 74% indicated that they did not think enough was being done; 3% thought that too much was already being done.

4. 72% indicated that they wanted their senators and congressmen to vote for the civil rights bill with the exception of the section on public accommodations; 7% favored the civil rights bill with the section on public accommodations remaining.

5. 56% favored the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill;11% did not favor this section of the bill.

COMMENTS BY PARISHIONERS

"I take the 5th."
"I feel strongly that no individual should be persecuted for his beliefs. Religious tolerance is the basis for true understanding between people."
"I think your sermon deserves an answer beyond this form."
"Human beings are human beings regardless of skin color or race and it is morally wrong to make a difference. In God's eyes we are all the same."
"How appalling that you should have been asked to make explanation of the differences between these crimes!"
"I admire and respect the position you have taken on this matter. I feel like I have not searched my heart and mind enough to answer all the above questions. I have habits and reservations concerning the matter that may be right or wrong, but I have faith in prayer and I will pray for understanding and guidance. I would like to hear more of your viewpoints as I know you based all of them on the desire to carry out God's will."
"I don't understand 3 and 4 well enough to answer them."
"A most moving and thought provoking sermon. A very meaty sermon. I believe we all need soul searching on this subject. Civil rights must be won by love, respect, and not regulated."
"I think the Negro is trying to bypass the white people. I do not believe in firing a white person to give a position to anybody. To me the situation is in reverse."
"I don't hate Negroes half as much as I did this morning. I would like to commend you on the sermon, not the substance, but the sermon. I think it deepened if possible my feeling of respect for you."
"I would like very much to talk to you on this and other topics."
"Wonderful sermon."
"I do not want to be personally involved. I would, however, prefer that this problem be solved without bloodshed and such intense displays as we have had heretofore. My attitude is "Let George do it" -- not me."
"A wonderful sermon -- may we have more."
"What can I do as an individual except teach my children understanding and practice of fairness?"
"The section on public accommodations tends to disrupt the concept of private property rights. This right must be retained. God bless you."
"My prayers join yours."
"I enjoyed your sermon and admire you for having the courage to stand up for what you believe."
"I think this should be discussed on a parish wide round table discussion."
"I am not so sure that the Birmingham incident was necessarily perpetrated by our 'white brethren.' It is, I think, extremely unfortunate that such organizations as CORE and NAACP have to exist. They too can fall into hands and they influence minds which may not be guided by the devine inspiration."

"Isn't it sad that people are so bound by tradition and prejudice that they are unable to grasp, or they purposely reject in toto, even the very basic principles underlying our racial problems. What can I do to help?"

"I am concerned with what seems to be blame upon the segregationist for this bombing. We do not know yet who did it. There are many groups wishing to stir these issues up. More sermons like this would help."

"We fought a war almost a hundred years ago for the rights for the Negroes and slavery. The Negroes got their rights. Now they don't have them. They should be given them without any question."

"I agree fully with Mr. Woodard's sermon in answer to all these questions. I am quite sure there are many in this parish who are not doing enough for this cause, myself included."

"I welcome you and your comments in my home at any time."

"You voiced many thoughts that I had last week, especially the 'nigger' jokes and not speaking up.

"I would strongly suggest your text be copyrighted and published."

The Rev. Mr. Woodard and his congregation have gone on record, so has General Convention, the Presiding Bishop, the House of Bishops and many thousands of other Churchmen, but what about you? What are you doing to bring about justice and equality for all men?

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CUPS OF COFFEE

WHAT DOES IT MEAN

The issues of freedom and equality for all men cannot be reduced to a "package." No master plan for action can fit every situation. Parishes, deaneries and other groups all over the church are wrestling with these problems in different ways. The "sermon census" described in these pages is only one of the many fresh, new approaches to group study and action. CHURCH and RACE would be glad to hear what your parish is doing.

COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
ISSUES FIRST REPORT

Words have not been matched by deeds in the civil rights struggle. There has been more talk about racial justice than actual achievement, the policy-making General Board of the National Council of Churches was told recently.

In its first report to the church body which created it last June, the Council's emergency Commission on Religion and Race warned that unless "we begin to make some changes in the structure of our common social practices, we are inviting disaster."

Declaring that little progress has been recorded in public accommodations, voting rights or housing, the Commission report called for "the wisest Christian counsel and most generous churchly resources for the healing of our social ills."

"We have been long on the pronouncement of moral ideals and very short on experimentation and risk," it said.

The report was presented at this afternoon's session of the two-day special fall session of the General Board at The Riverside Church. The Board is reviewing the activities of the Commission on Religion and Race. Thirty-two distinguished men and women, including editors, union and business leaders, educators, attorneys and churchmen comprise the Commission whose chairman is the Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Warren H. Turner, Jr., second vice president, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, presented the Commission's report to the Board for Bishop Lichtenberger.

Among its accomplishments during its four months of existence, the Commission cited that its leaders have participated in anti-segregation demonstrations and interracial services of worship in the Deep South. It has sent teams of trouble shooters to many specific areas of tension where invited, and it has been instrumental in the release of more than 90 persons on bail from "arduous and severe prison situations," the youngest in his teens and the oldest over 70.

Further, the Commission helped induce a national bonding company for the first time to provide bond for civil rights cases in Mississippi.

It jointly sponsored the Washington March with nine other groups, recruited nearly 40,000 church members and prepared some 80,000 lunches for the march.

It sent 25 distinguished church leaders to Washington to discuss civil rights legislation with Congressional leaders and with Attorney General Robert Kennedy and arranged for other churchmen to consult with their representatives in Congress.

It sent delegations to Medgar Evers' funeral in Jackson, Miss., and to the memorial service for school children murdered by a bomb thrown into their

church in Birmingham, Ala. Delegations of church leaders led the demonstrations to bring about the desegregation of the Gwyn Oaks Park, Baltimore, Md. early last summer.

The Commission shared with Catholic and Jewish bodies in joint testimony supporting immediate civil rights legislation before Senate and House Committees and sponsored a consultation of 125 Midwest church leaders in Lincoln, Neb., to acquaint them with the issues at stake on pending legislation.

Currently, teams of civil rights and religious leaders, in cooperation with local and state councils of churches are touring six midwestern states, carrying out interpretation similar to that of the Lincoln meeting.

The report pointed out that future tasks of the Commission must take into account the gravity of the civil rights crisis.

"In certain parts of the country white supremacists have stepped up their hard-core resistance to Negro civil rights," the report warned and compared "this situation with conditions which prevailed in Germany when the Nazis took over."

"What is more shocking, in some cities (white supremacists) are able to compel churches and ministers to preach an heretical doctrine of man, which condones segregation and distorts the Christian faith," the Commission reported.

The report labelled the situation "frightening" for "both Negroes and whites who do not submit to this view are subject to harassment and threats to their lives."

The Commission report predicted that the intensity and frequency of local conflict will increase. It called on the member communions to see the racial crisis as a priority concern and to support the Commission's work so that it may move swiftly to areas of crisis and tension.

It declared that the Commission must do a more effective job of interpreting the grievances which the Negro bears to the white community and must prepare the churches, with the help of member communions, for "the fullest confrontation with the consequences of the sin of racial hatred."

The Commission will invite a panel of distinguished Americans to meet in Washington, D.C., next month to hear testimony on police brutality in civil rights cases. There has been ample documentation of this brutality this summer and of the use of local ordinances to deny Negroes their constitutional rights, the report stated.

Ministries of gospel interpretation must also be developed for those who hold erroneous views of biblically-blessed segregation, the Commission pointed out. "The church's faithfulness to the Word and its servant ministry in the racial struggle are inextricably bound."

Attention should also be given to other long-range programs. The Commission cited as example a "massive home-mission-based kind of operation" in the Mississippi Delta, the hard-core area of racial discrimination. Details of such a program have yet to be spelled out, the report indicated.

"The future of our evangical mission in the American scene rests on the clarity of our word and deed -- the measure of our faithfulness to Christ," it said.

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A CHRISTIAN VIEW
OF RACE

The Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan delivered this statement at the Anglican Congress in Toronto on August 17, 1963:

"Our thoughts on race as Christians should be determined by theology and not by the innumerable, varying, confusing views of the world. Since Jesus Christ is Lord, King of Kings, The Head of the Church, we are people under authority, not tossed about by every wind of doctrine. We are free to leave the Church, but we are not free to try to change Christ's will.

"Our thought is determined by great facts. Religion is, first of all, concerned with Isness and secondarily with Oughtness. Christ in our faith is the head of the human race. All of us have been baptized in his name and incorporated in his Body. That fact means that we are brothers in Christ. That is a greater fact than any differences. We are one in the Apostolic Succession, my hands, for example, having been laid on the people of many races in confirmation and ordination. We are one. The church is Catholic, and all we have to do here at the Congress is to look and listen to see what the Church is. A fundamental teaching of the faith is that there is one human race and that the purpose of all history is a fellowship of all men around the throne of God.

"As soon as we see this, we know that harsh division, segregation, wherever it appears is sin. It is intolerable that I may not be able to eat with,

or pray with, or have the deepest fellowship with my brother in Christ. Am I to be separated from my brother in Christ who is closer to me than some of the members of my own family? Does not fellowship always mean equality? Does love have limits? Must we not as one man said, as Christians make our decision for the world to which we are going rather than for the world from which we come?

"There is no place where human sin reveals itself more virulently than in the subject of race. Every dominant group justifies its discrimination by claiming moral or intellectual superiority over the other group. Analyze all cruel jokes, and you will see that the dominant group is saying that the group discriminated against is either crafty or stupid. We segregate other men into a ghetto, and then call them clannish. We deny a group the opportunity for an education, and then call them stupid. We are a sinful race of men and we need Christ, the Redeemer.

"Because the histories of our nation are different, because all men are the same (barring circumstances), we must be careful not to judge lest we be judged. Since I know the sin of my own area, the different circumstances of other men, I will not say, I must not say, that we in our area are higher in the eyes of God than other men in their areas. We must, rather, face our own sin, and resolve to be the conscience of the world in our own areas with our own problems. Some of us have inherited far deeper problems than others. Some of us will bear our witness in relatively easy ways and others will be called upon to die for Christ's will. For, as over against all class, racial, or national divisions, we proclaim the oneness of mankind in Christ in the Holy Catholic Church. To fail in our witness in this regard is treason to Christ."

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PRESBYTERIANS LAUNCH $500,000 FUND
TO PROMOTE RACIAL JUSTICE

United Presbyterians will be asked to contribute a special fund to aid the victims of the nation's struggle for racial justice.

A minimum of $500,000 will be sought through a special offering in the denomination's 9,200 churches on Race Relations Sunday, next February 9.

Adoption of the proposal came this week at a meeting of the United Presbyterian General Council, permanent advisory body of the 3.2 million member denomination.

The funds will be used to provide bail for those arrested in civil rights demonstrations and to meet the costs of legal aid for such persons. They will also be used to relieve the financial distress of the families of those arrested.

The offering will also make it possible to supplement the salaries of United Presbyterian ministers so that they may remain in troubled areas when their congregations will no longer adequately support them.

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Since the mailing of this letter by a member of the House of Representatives to all clergymen in his district, only a mere handful of letters in response have been received by his office. At a time when there has been widespread executive and legislative manuevering, it is a scandal that the religious community has responded so poorly. How can we expect legislative bodies to show more concern for this moral issue than the Church itself?

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

September 24, 1963

Dear Pastor:

I have been impressed this year with the emphasis which has been placed upon the moral issues confronting the country and upon which the Congress is being asked to work its will. It appears to me that there are moral implications in most legislation. However these implications become the heart of the question when we are asked to stand and be counted on issues which affect the basic rights and dignity of man.

The church surely has a part to play in these matters. In a democracy such as ours that part is made more meaningful not because of the church's influence upon the state but because of the close relationship to the people, the electorate, those who do govern.

As your congressman it is my responsibility to tell you how I feel about the issues confronting us. I shall be voting for civil rights legislation. As a Christian I cannot deny the brotherhood of man nor the concepts of love and charity, nor the precept of equality in the eyes of God.

As a lawyer trained to respect the Constitution and duly-designated authority, I would find it difficult to deny an individual his guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, his right of free speech, his right to peaceful assembly, his right to vote, and his right of equal opportunity.

As a legislator with grave and far-reaching responsibilities I cannot ignore the need for fair and just laws designed to protect the rights of another.

Yes, I have the responsibility of telling you how I feel. May I venture the suggestion that my responsibility is no less than your responsibility. How do you feel about civil rights? How do your people feel?

This letter is prompted by the fact I have had less than 100 letters from constituents on this great moral issue. I am hoping that we might together stimulate the thinking of our people; that we might touch their conscience; that as your representative I might have the benefit of your counsel and wisdom.

Sincerely yours,

YOUR LETTERS DO COUNT

AND THEY ARE NEEDED NOW.

Says the noted NEW YORK TIMES writer and churchman James Reston, "...parishioners, even when they want to be participants instead of spectators, have lost faith in their power to influence great events."

Continuing, Mr. Reston adds, "Nothing, however, is more fallacious in American political life than the popular idea that Congressmen pay no attention to letters from their consultants. Some of them are impervious to reason and others won't or can't read, but all of them want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church, even if they never go there except for votes." It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we as Christians and citizens register our opinions concerning the passage of adequate civil rights legislation now. The July 20th issue of CHURCH AND RACE was largely devoted to an explanation of the contents of the current legislation and also carried tips on letter writing. Copies of this issue are available upon request.

ST. MARK'S RECTOR, VESTRY AND WARDENS
REGISTER OPINION

"We who are members of St. Mark's In-the-Bouwerie, a parish in the Episcopal Diocese of New York, are writing this letter to our state's Representatives and Senators and to our fellow Episcopalians in the Congress because of the seriousness and the danger of the crisis our nation is now facing. We write with a living memory of the draft riots that happened just a century ago, when our city, corrupted and divided by racial hatred, endured four days of rapine and slaughter, and we pray that such may never happen again. The seeds that produced these days of horror had been sowed long before by the segregation of our Negro brothers in separate areas and by unjustifiable discriminatory practices that kept them out of places of public accommodation and confined their employment to the most servile of occupations.

"The badge of inferiority had been placed upon them in contradiction to all that our nation and church affirmed, and when in the war against human slavery, a conscription act was passed, then some of the whites in our city, turned in their anger, against this segregated and separated group. The issue then as now was between two sorts of freedom: one concerned with the rights of property, the other with the rights of man. Both must be honored equally so long as they do not conflict, but then, as we have been taught by our church and nation, and by history, the rights of property must give way or we will pay a bitter price. The God whom we worship still rules the world and He is a just but jealous ruler who punishes us when we betray. Many in this generation may think this an ancient superstition that can be disregarded but so did our ancestors a century ago, and half a million men died because of their mistake.

"You, our brothers in the Congress, are the ones now in a position to do that which may spare us from the just vengeance of the living God, to prevent a repetition of the tragic events of a hundred years ago. We do not need to remind you of the founding documents of this nation, the repeated judgments of its churches: all we pray in this crisis is that you be empowered to act in their spirit, to prove worthy of the task to which you have been called, and to be true servants of the nation, its whole people, and the God who rules the world."

Dawson P. Adams
Clerk of the Vestry

The above letter, dated August 21, 1963, was sent to their State's Representatives and Senators in Congress and to all Episcopal members of that body. Replies have been received from all of the legislators irrespective of their agreement or disagreement and are displayed on the bulletin board of St. Mark's Parish House.

SPARE THESE CHILDREN?

"There are those who have raised questions about children participating in public demonstrations and picket lines for civil rights. They look with seeming horror upon little boys and girls, neatly brushed and dressed, walking bravely to school while adult women scream unspeakable oaths at them, and men and boys taunt them with vulgarities, and endanger their lives with stones and bricks. These critics say "spare these children from the sight of their elders being rushed by dogs, pummelled by hoodlums and swept aside by firehoses." Yet I say that these critics are as ignorant of the lives of Negro children as they are of life on Mars. They do not know that millions of children of this vast minority group in generation after generation have been born and reared in an environment entirely contrary to all that is just and right. Have these people who cry "horror" ever looked into their child's eyes when he asks, "Why?" Do they know what goes on in the heart of a child, and his parent, when the child says, "Why can't I go into the library and get a book?" "Why do we have to stand in the bus when these other people who have just got on can sit down?" "Why can't I go to a pretty school?" "Why doesn't the school bus stop for me?" "Why can't I go to the amusement park and the playground across the street?" "Why do we have to live in this nasty neighborhood?" "Why don't you vote?" And on and on. And each question tears further into his parent's heart and molds that child's life into something less than a man's. To those of you who are shocked at children in demonstrations, who are afraid of what might happen to their innocent lives, I ask, "Where have your voices been all these years? Where,your concern? Where,,your words?" Black parents in their love and simplicity have tried to give answers. Some have replied that "God made you the wrong color." Is it any wonder that some children have grown up to blaspheme the Holy Name?" Some have said, "Well, it's the law around here." Are we surprised that some children have grown up fighting the society and its laws that have treated them so? Most have said, "I don't know. I don't know why men treat their brothers this way, but don't let it destroy you. You are a child of God and they can't steal your birthright no matter what they do, what you are denied." And the soul of the old Spiritual wells up to affirm its plaint, "Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, so why not every man?" My brethren, children on the picket lines with their parents, children braving the mob to go to school, children laughing their way into jail -- they do this gladly and bravely. This is the first real answer they have received. They have, under God, the right to protest at last. They have the right to participate in bringing about solutions to their questions that have distorted their lives from the beginning. This is the first March of Freedom since Emancipation. This is the year of jubilee. Suffering? Hardship? Yes. But it is glorious, as every battle for freedom, however arduous, is glorious."

Excerpted from a sermon by the Rt. Rev. John M. Burgess, Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts, delivered at Boston Common, September 18, 1963.

EPISCOPAL SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
REITERATES RACIAL STAND

Episcopal Church-related schools that practice racial discrimination will be barred from membership in the national Episcopal School Association.

This ruling was handed down by the organization's executive committee meeting at a September meeting. It reiterates and reflects the Church's unequivocal position on the question of integrated schools.

The governing board threw its weight behind Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger's Whitsuntide message in which he called racial discrimination within the body of the Church itself "an intolerable scandal" and summoned all diocesan and Church-related agencies, schools and other institutions "to bring their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church" on the racial issue.

In another resolution, the executive committee declared that member schools of the Association must re-examine their admission policies and, within six months, "give documentary evidence that they have brought their admission policies into conformity" with the Episcopal Church's anti-segregationist stand.

The committee also requested the Association's executive secretary, the Rev. Clarence Brickman, to obtain descriptions of current admission policies of the Association's 220 member schools across the nation.

The Episcopal School Association is an organization of Episcopal Church-related day and boarding schools below the college level. Its president is Dr. John W. Shank of Orlando, Fla.

The executive committee, in addition to Fr. Brickman and Dr. Shank, consists of Dr. Ruth Jenkins, Annie Wright Seminary, Tacoma, Wash; the Rev. John Verdery, Wooster School, Danbury, Conn; the Rev. E. Allison Grant, Grace Church School, New York City; and Robert H. Porter, headmaster, The Choir School of St. Thomas Church, New York City.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE EPISCOPAL SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

The Executive Committee of the Council of the Episcopal School Association, meeting in New York City, September 20, 1963, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS - The Presiding Bishop, the Right Reverend Arthur Lichtenberger, has called discrimination within the body of the Church itself an intolerable scandal and therefore summoned all diocesan and Church-related agencies, schools and other institutions to bring their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race, and

WHEREAS - Since 1952, the Episcopal School Association and its predecessors have consistently supported this position, be it therefore

RESOLVED - That any school applying for membership in the Episcopal School Association shall not be eligible for membership if its admission policies include discrimination based on race or color, and be it further

RESOLVED - That member schools be required to re-examine their admission policies and, within six month's time, give documentary evidence that they have brought their admission policies into conformity with the position of the Church and, be it finally

RESOLVED - That the Executive Secretary of the Unit of Parish and Preparatory Schools be respectfully requested to send out to all schools of the Church a form to be returned which clearly describes their current admission policies.

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LEADERS OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY
IN CAPITAL FOLLOWING BIRMINGHAM BOMBING
ISSUE A CALL TO AMERICA

On September 18, eighteen religious leaders representing the major faiths met in Washington to call on members of Congress, and the Attorney General. They issued the following statement:

We came to Washington today to express the deep moral outrage which we as religious leaders feel over the hideous massacre which occured in a city of this nation last Sunday. We came to tell the members of Congress and the President, through his Attorney General, that we believe the nation is ready now as it has never been before for legislation which will insure that incidents such as happened last Sunday -- and such as have been happening over and over again in only slightly less monstrous forms throughout this land in recent times -- will not occur again. We came to declare that every citizen of this republic must at last have the full protection of the laws of the United States as they attempt to exercise their rights of citizenship.

We came to Washington to register our convictions as religious leaders. But we feel that the hour has now come when more than the leadership of the churches and synagogues must act. The whole religious community -- and that means each and every one of its members -- must make their presence felt in Washington, too.

It is our firm belief that Americans of every religious persuasion are yearning for a concrete way in which to express their moral outrage over the atrocities which have taken place. We therefore call upon every church and synagogue in America to observe this coming weekend as a special sabbath of prayer and petition. We are asking that during their services this Saturday and Sunday, pastors, priests and rabbis give opportunity for their congregations to respond to the tragic events of the past week in silence, even if this means foregoing their sermons.

Let us as a nation be still and, praying in our pews, seek the still, small voice of God, asking him for his mercy upon all who have suffered -- and upon those who have died. Let us pray for his guidance upon us all that from these present sufferings we might arise at last as one people who dwell together in love, brotherhood and peace. And then, toward the end of that period of silence, let each worshipper have the opportunity to take pen and paper and write to his congressman, urging the immediate passage of relevant and effective legislation.

The death of the six young Americans in Birmingham on Sunday which has led us to come here today is tragic and senseless. But it is not an isolated incident. Until a community puts out of its life all sanctioned forms of discrimination and segregation, demented men will find encouragement to commit racist-murder.

Our faith calls to us that the deaths of these young people must not be in vain. We can, and we must, mourn their dying, but our mourning will be empty unless out of this dark night of violence can come a new dawn of social and racial justice in our land.

And so, in the spirit of prayer and petition on this sabbath of silence, we believe it would be a most fitting tribute to the memory of these six children for worshippers everywhere to write their congressmen and to plead, in the priceless words of Lincoln, "That from these honored dead... this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.

Dr. Norman Baugher
Dr. Balfour Brickner
Bishop Daniel Corrigan
Rabbi Richard Hirch
Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Rabbi Eugene Lippman
Bishop John Wesley Lord
Bishop William H. Marmion
Mr. J. Erwin Miller
Rabbi Harold Murray
Bishop James B. Pike
Dr. Charles Raphael
Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz
Bishop B. Julian Smith
Dr. Robert W. Spike
Mr. Harold Stassen
Dr. Gardner Taylor
Dr. John W. Williams

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A STATEMENT ON THE CHURCH AND THE RACIAL CRISIS as adopted by the Bishop and Chapter of the Diocese of Southern Ohio is available free of charge to church groups in quantities of fifty or less.

If you have not sent your request for this bulletin, please return the form below to:

CHURCH AND RACE
Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

NAME:_____ PARISH_____

ADDRESS:_____ CITY_____ STATE_____

YOUR COMMENTS ARE WELCOME:

Bishop Reeves is shown being greeted by U.N. Undersecretary, Dr. Ralph Bunche during a reception for the Bishop given by the Special U.N. Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, on October 17, at the U.N. General Assembly Building. Mr. Oliver Tambo, Deputy President of the African National Congress of South Africa is seen looking on. Photo: Leo Rosenthal

BISHOP REEVES ADDRESSES
U.N. COMMITTEE

The Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, former Bishop of Johannesburg, Union of South Africa in a speech (of which an excerpt appears below) before the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly on October 18, said of the racial situation in South Africa:

"As I see it, the choice before the world is now a clear one. It is between effective international action and the probability of bloodshed on a vast scale in South Africa. And the choice cannot be evaded by maintaining that all that exists in South Africa is a particular form of government which many people find repugnant. That I suppose is true of most governments in the world. But in South Africa there is a situation which the majority of the inhabitants at this moment are living in a fully-fledged police state, under a tyranny which is a flagrant contradiction of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"Even more serious, there is a possibility that within the next few years South Africa will become the cause of the focal point in a race war which even the United Nations might find it impossible to contain. Some will dismiss this as a widly exaggerated statement. But there are already signs of a new solidarity which is increasingly concerned with the fate of twelve million non-white people in South Africa in their desperate struggle for freedom, status, and dignity."

AROUND *THE NATION*

BIRMINGHAM,
ALABAMA

BISHOP CARPENTER NAMED CHAIRMAN
OF NEW BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE

A twenty-five member committee of white and Negro leaders was recently established to seek easing of racial tensions in Birmingham, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES of October 2. The Rt. Rev. Charles C. J. Carpenter, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Alabama, is chairman. Among the other religious leaders serving on the committee are the Most Rev. Joseph A. Durrick, Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Birmingham-Mobile, and Rabbi Milton Grafman of Temple Emanu-El.

The bi-racial group is a subcommittee of the larger Community Affairs Committee established earlier in the year by Mayor Albert Boutwell. The subcommittee's creation was authorized in the summer following Negro demonstrations and a negotiated settlement. Mayor Boutwell activated this new subcommittee upon the recommendation of President Kennedy's two special representatives, the Honorable Kenneth C. Royall and Col. Earl Blaik, who were dispatched to Birmingham to try to establish better communications between the white and Negro communities.

The committee includes nine members from among the leadership of the city's Negro community.

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BERKELEY,
CALIFORNIA

CHURCH LEADERS SEEK
RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

"Declaring that relations between the races have 'deteriorated' here since the Fair Housing election in April, local Episcopal leaders today presented the Berkeley City Council with a resolution asking for the appointment of a civic committee to consider inter-group relations.

"The resolution which was referred by the Council Welfare Commission, was prepared and unanimously adopted by the Community Relations Committee of the Bishop Berkeley Presbytery, an association of the Episcopal Churches of Berkeley and Albany, and the two Episcopal schools, the Church Divinity School of the Pacific and St. Margaret's House.

"The Rev. Andrew Daughters, assistant rector at St. Mark's Episcopal Church, presented the resolution to the council."

From: BERKELEY DAILY GAZETTE,
October 1, 1963

The Community Relations Committee of the Bishop Berkeley Presbytery includes representatives from all member churches and is chaired by Mrs. Milton Farmer. The Committee has been organized to meet the "need for an investigatory and concilatory civic committee to deal with specific complaints of inequity in all areas of social inequality in our community."

AMERICUS,
GEORGIA

REPORT FROM
AMERICUS, GA.

Long a favorite target of local segregationists, the interracial Christian community established by the Rev. Clarence Jordan at Koinonia Farm, Americus, Ga., is facing even more difficult days. In a recent report, Mr. Jordan writes: "The past year has been one of the deep searching as to whether or not to continue here." Frequent bombings and shooting frays at the farm's buildings and fruit and vegetable stands have caused several members to give up so that "our group is now so small that the burdens carried by the remaining few are very heavy," says Mr. Jordan. Support for the community comes exclusively from the nation-wide sale of shelled pecan nuts and homemade fruit cake. Following a crop failure last year, however, "the largest pecan crop in history" is expected this year, he reports.

Koinonia Farm made its facilities available to members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for some months, says Mr. Jordan, before they were finally arrested. Three whites and one Negro, now in Sumter County jail charged with insurrection, are being held without bond. The report continues: "Over 200 Negro young people have been arrested in this county and some accounts of their treatment are reminiscent of the infamous Civil War prison in Andersonville, also located in this country."

The Sumter County Movement, Americus, is seeking to help them, says Mr. Jordan, and "we have done what little we could to aid in the struggle for freedom for all."

From: THE RELIGIOUS NEWSWEEKLY
October 8, 1963

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DETROIT,
MICHIGAN

EPISCOPAL CLERGY WINS PRAISE
FOR COURAGE IN MISSISSIPPI

Praise for the courage of Episcopal ministers in Mississippi was voiced here by the dean of St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral as he returned from conducting a seminar program in that state.

The Rev. John Weaver, an expert on urban church problems, led study sessions on urbanization and industrialization, but also observed racial problems faced by Mississippi clergymen.

"I've been more impressed with the Episcopal Church's stand on brotherhood in Mississippi than in any other diocese where I have been," Dean Weaver said.

He praised efforts of Episcopal clergymen to integrate congregations and told of a rector being subjected to egg-throwing attacks and community criticism for his anti-segregation stand.

The Detroit clergyman credited the system of authority under a bishop for giving a sense of security to Episcopal clergymen.

"In some Mississippi churches," he said, "if the citizens' committee feels you are 'imbued' with the idea of integration they go to work on you and your congregation and get you out quickly."

Dean Weaver is one of several Protestant Episcopal leaders heading a seminar program across the country to acquaint clergymen with the type of automation and urbanization problems they will face in the future.

In Mississippi, he said, the church needs ways to help rural members find ways to adjust to problems that will develop through automation in the cotton industry.

Another Detroit Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, chaplain at Wayne State University, has been appointed assistant rector of a predominantly Negro church.

The chaplain, widely known for his ministry to "beatniks" in their coffee-house haunts, was assigned to Grace Episcopal Church. In a joint statement with the Rev. Henri Stines, one of two Negro priests of the church, Mr. Boyd said: "The time has come for all Christians to consider the grievous sin of maintaining any kind of racial or ethnic distinctions...

"It is our hope that the witness of our interracial ministry... may by God's providence be a small but useful step in bringing closer the day when unChristian divisions between Christians may be obliterated."

Several Detroit churches -- Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Lutheran among them -- have interracial ministries.

From: The Religious News Service
10-10-63.

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RIVERDALE,
NEW YORK

CHURCHMAN JAILED,
FACES POSSIBLE DEATH PENALTY

Donald Harris, twenty-three year old son of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Harris, was arrested in Americus, Georgia, while participating in a peaceful Freedom Rally there last summer - 'no harm or damage being offered to persons of property at any time by the participants.'

The Rev. Gerald V. Barry, Rector of Christ Church, Riverdale, New York indicates that Donald Harris and his parents were active members of Christ Church for twelve years and moved just recently. Mr. Harris, Sr. served on the Vestry and in the choir with his wife and was also a member of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and Donald was a faithful Server for many years. Donald attended the Fieldston School in Riverdale and was graduated from Rutgers University where he had been captain of the football team.

Donald Harris is reported to have gone to Americus, Georgia to assist in voter registration and according to a letter written by the Director of Christ Church Chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Eugene L. Staples, Donald was arrested, "For making a speech in behalf of the Negroes' right to vote. Mr. Harris was arrested on a fourteen-count indictment of inciting to riot, which, under the laws of Georgia, upon conviction, could result in a sentence of death. It also is the case that under Georgia law such an indictment can be presented in court, one count at a time, and that the accused may be held in prison for as long as ninety days between the presentation in court of any two counts. Thus, Donald Harris could spend more than three years in prison before his case was fully tried in court."

The Christ Church Chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew is presently raising funds to get Mr. Harris out of jail on bail, as bail has been set at a fantastic figure, and even so, under Georgia law he can still be held without bail. A local Riverdale committee for the Defense of Donald Harris has been formed as well as a similar group at Rutgers University. The NAACP LEGAL AND DEFENSE FUND has offered its services in defending young Mr. Harris.

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DAYTON,
OHIO

CLERGY MUSTER FORCES
TO AID NEGRO FAMILY

In the wake of two days of violent demonstrations set off by a Negro family's moving into all-white suburban Townview, ministers in Dayton, Ohio, and surrounding areas worked hard and fast to protect them and prevent more trouble. And as James Fuller, his wife and two daughters prepared to spend their fourth night in their new home on Sept. 28, they reported that the day had been "full of warmth and friendship."

Seven-year-old Judy had been accompanied on the eight-block walk to school by the Rev. Bruce Hilton, editor of Otterbein Press youth publications, the Rev. Robert Schurmann, also a pastor of the Evangical United Brethren Church, and the Rev. Robert Secrist and Irene Scheibel of Westwood Lutheran Church. On their arrival at the school, they were met by four Townview ministers.

When Mr. Hilton returned to pick up Judy for the trip home, he found her already making friends with the white pupils. Mrs. Fuller meanwhile could report that 5-year-old Theresa had had a good time in kindergarten and that several women had greeted her, one of whom bought her a bag of groceries and invited the Fullers to her home.

Quick action and the close cooperation of the ministers were credited by the Journal Herald of Dayton with averting a worse situation. On the night of the biggest riot, Dr. Willis Ford, executive secretary of the Church Federation of Greater Dayton, called together a group of ministers in time for the 11 p.m. TV newscast, on which they appealed for acceptance of the Fuller family in Townview. Mr. Hilton then wrote a Fact Sheet on the housing situation in order to prevent the panic selling which was developing from "scare" calls from real estate agents. The Townview pastors approved and signed it, and copies were distributed by local clergy to each of the 1,200 homes in the suburban areas involved -- all within three days.

The ministers continue to take turns being present at the Fuller home and at the school because of recurring threats, said the report, but the tension is easing. Mr. Hilton is author of the Home Mission study theme book, "My Brother Is A Stranger," published by the National Council of Churches' Friendship Press, of which Mr. Secrist wrote the 12th chapter, "The Church That Dared To Stay."

From: THE RELIGIOUS NEWSWEEKLY
October 8, 1963

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SEWANEE,
TENNESSEE

A CHRISTIAN
OPPORTUNITY
FOR ALL

Since summer a new opportunity has presented itself for us all to understand and practice Christianity at Sewanee.

On June 17-22 there was held at Otey Parish Church a Daily Vacation Bible School, a part of which was a children's mission conducted by Father Baldwin, O.H.C. As this was the only such opportunity offered by the Episcopal Church in Sewanee during the summer, boys and gilrs of the entire community, including the St. Mark's (Negro) portion, were invited. An excellent response resulted and a splendid Bible School and children's mission was experienced. Of the 121 pupils and 32 adults and youth workers, 42 pupils and 12 workers were from St. Mark's Church.

Later in the summer, the Rev. C. I. Vermilye, priest-in-charge of St. Mark's Mission accepted a call to Tifton, Ga., to be effective August 1st.

During July, twenty-one communicants of St. Mark's Church signed and sent a petition to the Rt. Rev. William E. Sanders, Bishop Coadjutor with jurisdiction over missions of the Diocese of Tennessee, asking that St. Mark's be closed and declaring their intention to transfer to Otey Parish Church. Bishop Sanders conferred with the congregation after a service at St. Mark's and consulted with the Rev. Chalres L. Winters, Jr., who was appointed to hold services at St. Mark's after Mr. Vermilye's departure, and the rector of Otey. It was agreed not to close St. Mark's, as some members of long standing were not ready to give up their connection with it, but that those wanting to transfer to Otey would be encouraged to do so.

During August various members of St. Mark's, mostly young people, attended services at Otey.

In mid-September, when new courses were to begin at Otey Church school and family service, an invitation to attend was sent by letter to parents and postcard to children of St. Mark's, as to Otey, families. This invitation to St. Mark's families was confirmed through personal visit by the rector of Otey. On Sundays since, an average of twenty-five to thirty members from St. Mark's, mostly boys and girls from kindegarten through high school, have been worshipping and learning happily at Otey with friends made at the summer Bible School.

This change brings Christian opportunity for all. St. Mark's members can enjoy at Otey many aids to Christian training that are lacking in the small building and congregation at St. Mark's. Among these are a separate room for each class, a class for each grade, a larger number of trained teachers, an adult class, a junior choir, organizations for youth, for women, and for men; above all, the Christian love of their brethren in Christ, from whom they are no longer separated.

There is no less real Christian opportunity for those who were already members of Otey. Besides sharing with our brothers and sisters the privileges given to us, we shall gain much in Christian growth, especailly through the new relationships and experiencing thereby a deeper understanding of each other, ourselves, and of God. We are seeing that our oneness in Christ as God's children is higher and deeper, far more important and satisfying, than the shallow differences that have been allowed to separate us. We are discovering anew the meaning of the Psalmist's saying, "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity," and hope this unity and joy will spread to include any who at present are unable to accept it.

When we sometimes find ourselves different in thus following the cross instead of the crowd, it is strengthening to know that this is the teaching of our Church,-and of other Christian bodies as well. The General Convention, the highest human authority in the Episcopal Church, in 1955 stated: "Resolved, that we make our own the statement of the Anglican Congress that 'in the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations.'" Even more quieting and cleansing to the conscience are the words of Christ, "Thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself," and "Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." St. Paul sums up the opportunity and obligation that have come to Christians as Sewanee: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

From: OTEY NOTES
Otey Memorial Parish Chruch
November, 1962

A recent note from the rector, the Rev. David W. Yates, indicates that the story in Sewanee continues as told here.

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PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS
AND THE LAW

A lot of people are fussing about the public accommodations section in the civil rights bill currently before Congress. To hear them talk, this is a radical new invasion of private property rights. Not only do some 30 states have laws barring discrimination in public places, but these statutes are based on the old British Common Law which our forebear brought to this country from England.

Take this key English case, decided in 1701 and disclosed in the Congressional Record by Rep. John V. Lindsay (R., N.Y.):

"Whenever any subject takes upon himself a public trust for the benefit of the rest of his fellow subjects, he is eo ipso bound to serve the subject in all things that are within the reach and comprehension of such an office, under the pain of action against him. If on the road a shoe fall of my horse and I come to a Smith to have one put on, and the Smith refuse to do it, an action will lie against him because he has made profession of a trade which is for the publick good and has thereby exposed and vested an interest of himself in all of the king's subjects that will employ him in the which of his trade. If an innkeeper refuse to entertain a guest, when his house is not full, an action will lie against him; and so against a carrier if his horses not be loaded, and he refused to take a packet proper to be sent by a carrier."

MONTREAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Under the sponsorship of the Division of Christian Citizenship and the leadership of The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, eight young people from the Peninsula attended the Montreal Leadership Conference in Canada this past August, along with a delegation of twenty-two other young people from South Carolina, Lynchburg, Va.; Louisville, Kentucky; Cambridge, Mass.; and California. The M.L.C. is a joint pilot project between the American Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church in Canada and is composed of thirty young people from the United States and a like number from Canada. The theme of the Conference was "Vocation" with emphasis on the building of a more Christian society through the practice of brotherhood.

Sixty youths representing two nations, several racial groups, and at least three cultures lived together as a Christian community for ten days of worship, study, discussion and recreation.

The American delegation was entertained and housed by Mrs. Salem Lewis in her summer home in Elberton, New Jersey while enroute to Montreal and on return home. The Americans were also guests for three nights in Canadian homes.

The ten day conference at Camp Farthing, sixty miles north of Montreal began each morning with Matins and the Holy Eucharist. There were presentations each morning on the Christian Faith and Practice and its implications in society. Afternoons were spent in swimming, boating, athletics, and relaxation. Several movies were shown in the afternoons including one of the Consecration and Enthronement of the present Bishop of Montreal. Evensong was said each afternoon prior to supper. Each evening there were small discussion groups which dealt with the questions and problems of teenagers and later in the evening there was recreation including dancing and games.

The Conference had the pleasure of a visit by the Bishop of Montreal as well as a visit from the Archdeacon of the Diocese of Kenya. The Archdeacon celebrated the Holy Eucharist one morning in his native tongue and later gave a background talk of the Church's work in Africa. All were impressed that the Anglican Communion is worldwide and composed of so many races and languages and that the Church is for the whole world and not any one nation or race.

Adapted from GRACE NOTES, Grace Episcopal Church
Newport News, Virginia

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'LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM JAIL'

In the first issue of CHURCH AND RACE, copies of Dr. Martin Luther King's 'Letter From Birmingham Jail' were offered to any who wished them. The Bishop of Alabama has noted that the American Friends Service Committee version, which we distributed, incorrectly identified a statement prepared by eight Alabama clergymen, including two Episcopal bishops, as being "directed to Martin Luther King, Jr." The Statement, as the bishop points out, was a public statement given to the press and not directed to Dr. King or any other individual. It was this statement to which Dr. King made reply. At the same time, it may be noted that the preface of the pamphlet properly identified the statement of the eight religious leaders. The AFSC has assured the bishop that it will correct the error in subsequent printings. We are glad to note the correction.

Our supply of the pamphlet has been exhausted. Persons desiring copies may obtain them from the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.

Reprinted from

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Monday, July 15, 1963

Integration Impact

Desegregated Concerns In South Say Patronage Holds Up in Long Run

Some Hotels, Restaurants Do Better; Atlanta, Dallas Cite Larger Convention Market

New Rights Often Not Used

By JAMES C. TANNER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ATLANTA—Things are swinging these days at the Wit's End, a swank North Side night club which opened its doors last November. Though the Treasury's new expense account rules made things tough at first, the Wit's End is now packing in customers regularly.

In Memphis, the 126-room Downtowner Motel is doing so well its occupancy is even running ahead of last year's booming 95% rate. The Downtowner has been filled to capacity much of the time in recent weeks and all signs point to a record year.

The financial fortunes of these Southern establishments are of special interest because both are among those that have begun serving Negroes for the first time. Their experiences, plus those of scores of other businesses from Texas to the Carolinas, point up a significant and perhaps surprising fact: Among those restaurants, hotels, theaters and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting economic consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever.

"Couldn't Have Been Smoother"

"We were scared to death—we could just see all our white customers walking out the minute the first Negroes walked in," says Paul Stickney, manager of the Wit's End. 'But things couldn't have been any smoother. We know of only one white couple who walked out because we admitted Negroes and they came back within two weeks. As far as stirring things up around here, it's been one big zero." The Wit's End is one of only three Atlanta night clubs serving both whites and Negroes.

All this is not to suggest that desegregation would go smoothly for all Dixie establishments. At Ormond Beach, Fla., near Daytona Beach, motel operator George Thomas is still reeling from the financial punch delivered by boycotting whites when he decided it was the "right thing" to desegregate his 32-unit Star of the South Motel seven months ago. "My business at first dropped about 50%," he reports. But he adds that an influx of Negro guests quickly took up much of the slack, and he expresses confidence that many of his white customers eventually will return.

But most businessmen questioned by The Wall Street Journal report no grave economic dislocations from integration and they leave no doubt that desegregation of commercial facilities has been less painful than expected.

No Loss of Business

"Things have been going like clockwork—we're surprised and pleased," says Dallas hotel man Henry Rather of last summer's decision by the city's major hotels and motels to integrate. Mr. Rather says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation. "There were a few letters and a crank call or two at first, but that's all," comments Mr. Rather.

Broader access to privately owned places of "public convenience," such as hotels, restaurants, amusement facilities and stores, has become a prime goal of Negroes lately. The recent riots in Birmingham, and subsequent disturbances in such cities as Savannah, Ga., Jackson, Miss., Danville, Va., and Tallahassee, Fla., primarily revolved around Negro demands that merchants open their facilities to Negroes—in some cases as customers and in others as employes.

The question has taken on added importance in recent weeks with the appeal to Congress by President Kennedy for Federal power to outlaw racial discrimination in all places of public accommodation. This is unquestionably the most controversial provision of the Kennedy civil rights program and seems

likely to become the focal point of the coming Congressional battle over civil rights.

Negroes Making Major Strides

Southern businessmen generally express strong opposition to this section of the proposed civil rights legislation. But even without such a law, Negroes are making major strides in their push to break down segregation barriers. The Justice Department reports that some desegregation of commercial facilities occurred in 143 cities in Southern and border states in the four weeks ended June 18; others are joining the list daily.

Last week, for instance, a bi-racial committee in strongly segregationist Fort Worth announced that all of the city's public facilities, including hotels, restaurants, theaters, department stores and athletic contests, would be desegregated in September when the city's schools are scheduled for integration.

If the pattern emerging in other Southern cities holds true, Fort Worth merchants can expect some protests and loss of business when they first begin accepting Negroes. But experience shows that such adverse effects are rarely lasting.

Fred Harvey, president of Harvey's Department Store in Nashville, says that when his store desegregated its lunch counters in 1960 only 13 charge accounts were closed out of 60,000. "The greatest surprise I ever had was the apparent 'so-what' attitude of white customers," says Mr. Harvey.

Even where business losses occur, they usually are only temporary. At the 120-room Peachtree Manor Hotel in Atlanta, owner Irving H. Goldstein says his business dropped off 15% when the hotel desegregated a year ago. "But now we are only slightly behind a year ago and we can see we are beginning to recapture the business we initially lost," declares Mr. Goldstein.

William F. Davoren, owner of the Brownie Drug Co. in Huntsville, Ala., reports that though his business fell a bit for several weeks after lunch counters were desegregated, he's now picked up all that he lost. Says he: "I could name a dozen people who regarded it as a personal affront when I started serving Negroes, but have come back as if nothing had happened."

Memories Are Short

Even a segregation-minded businessman in Huntsville agrees that white customers frequently have short memories when it comes to the race question. W. T. Hutchens, general manager of three Walgreen stores there, says he held out when most lunch counter operators gave in to sit-in pressures last July. In one shopping center where his competition desegregated, Mr. Hutchens says his business shot up sharply and the store's lunch counter volume registered a 12% gain for the year. However, this year business has dropped back to pre-integration levels "because a lot of people have forgotten" the defiant role his stores played during the sit-ins, he adds.

Some Southern businessmen who have desegregated say they have picked up extra business as a result of the move.

At Raleigh, N.C., where Gino's Restaurant was desegregated this year, owner Jack Griffiths reports only eight whites have walked out after learning the establishment served Negroes, and he says "we're getting plenty of customers to replace the hard-headed ones."

In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

Conventions for Atlanta

Within a day after 14 Atlanta hotels announced on June 13 they would begin accepting Negro guests who come to the city with conventions, the Atlanta Convention Bureau had nailed down three organizations for 1964 and 1965 meetings, a total of 3,000 delegates who otherwise would not have visited Atlanta. Walter Crawford, executive vice president of the Convention Bureau, says the hotels' decision opens up "the remaining 40% of the convention market that we estimate we haven't even been able to talk to before."

One frequently expressed fear of Southern white businessmen, that their establishments would be overrun by Negroes if they integrated, apparently is not materializing. "The Negroes want the right to enter your place of business, but they're not so anxious to use the right," says a Nashville banker.

At Knoxville, Tenn., William Tiller, assistant manager of the city's largest hotel, the Andrew Johnson, reports that although the hotel has been integrated more than a month, "we've had only three Negro families and two couples."